

Cooperation with other Governments; United Nations; Great Britain

Folder 1

000846

CROSS REFERENCE ON COOPERATION WITH OTHER GOVERNMENTS:
UNITED NATIONS (GREAT BRITAIN)

FOR:

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

1. FOR MATERIAL RE QUOTE OF JEWISH IMMIGRANTS FOR PALESTINE
2. FOR MATERIAL RE DIVERSION OF SWEDISH SHIP FROM THE GREEK RELIEF FLEET FOR CARRYING ADDITIONAL REFUGEES FROM CONSTANZA TO TURKEY
3. FOR FURTHER MATERIAL RE THE BLOCKADE
4. FOR MATERIAL RE ESTABLISHMENT IN TRIPOLITANIA OF A TEMPORARY CAMP FOR REFUGEES FROM SOUTHERN ITALY
5. FOR MATERIAL RE REMOVING JEWISH REFUGEES FROM SOUTHERN ITALY, AS WELL AS FROM TURKEY, TO TEMPORARY CAMPS IN PALESTINE
6. FOR ACC'T OF A SCHEME PROPOSED TO WRB BY BRITISH TO SUPPLEMENT FINANCING OF RESCUE AND RELIEF PROJECTS

SEE:

1. PROGRAMS WITH RESPECT TO RELIEF AND RESCUE OF REFUGEES: EVACUATION TO SWITZERLAND
(ABANDONED CHILDREN FROM FRANCE, EVACUATION OF)
2. PROGRAMS WITH RESPECT TO RELIEF AND RESCUE OF REFUGEES: EVACUATION TO AND THROUGH TURKEY
3. POLICY MATTERS: THE BLOCKADE
4. PROGRAMS WITH RESPECT TO RELIEF AND RESCUE OF REFUGEE: TEMPORARY HAVENS (IN NORTH AFRICA: TRIPOLITANIA AND CYRENAICA)
5. PROGRAMS WITH RESPECT TO RELIEF AND RESCUE OF REFUGEES: TEM. HAVENS (IN PALESTINE)
6. COOPERATION WITH OTHER AGENCIES: INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE

CONTROL COPY

File

From: London

Dated: August 7, 1944

Recd.: August 11, 8 am

UNCLASSIFIED

SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON

AUG 11 1944

*noted
JBF*

W-968, August 7.

Refugee problems were touched upon in Parliamentary debates in the House of Commons on July 28 and again on August 1. On the former date Squadron Leader Fleming asked the Foreign Secretary if he would consider the advisability of granting British nationality to the remaining Jews in Nazi-occupied territory on terms similar to the offer made to the French in 1940.

Mr. George Hall, replying for the Government, said that this question had been considered but that the suggestion had been disapproved on the ground that the British Government was pledged to aid and rescue, as far as it was able, all victims of Nazi oppression regardless of race or religion, and also because it was felt that the Germans would not be deterred by what would amount merely to verbal British protection of Jews.

On August 1 the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Economic Warfare (Mr. Foot) was questioned by a number of members as to the response being made to the offer of

Admiral/

000840

London A-968

-2-

Admiral Northy to permit certain categories of Jews to leave Hungary.

Mr. Foot replied to the general effect that everything possible was being done and that the International Red Cross and the American and neutral governments were being consulted and kept informed. He added that several times during the past year the British Government had assured certain neutral governments that if arrangements could be made to receive children from enemy-occupied territory the American and British Governments would sanction the importation of additional supplies through the blockade. He asserted that since the reception of the Northy offer these assurances had been repeated and that he understood similar assurances had been or were being given by the United States Government.

In reply to a further question Mr. Foot said that there had not yet been time to receive any replies from the neutral governments to whom the assurances had been made. He commented further to the effect that the failure of earlier evacuation schemes had not been the fault of neutral governments but was due to the reluctance of the occupying authorities or the Nazi Government to let the children go.

F. Sidney Browne
SMB:dm
Original, hectograph and 4 copies.

11111

1100849

BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON 8, D. C.

August 7th, 1944.

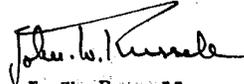
Ref: 105/126/44

My dear Mr. Friedman,

The Foreign Office have sent us a survey
of British Government activities on behalf of refugees.

It occurred to us that you might care to
have a copy of this survey for the use of the Board,
and I am accordingly sending you a copy. May I draw
your attention to the heading "Secret" in paragraphs
11, 13 and 16? It is asked that these may be regarded
as for the confidential information of the appropriate
United States Government authorities only.

Yours sincerely,


J. W. Russell
Second Secretary.

Mr. A. Friedman,
War Refugee Board,
United States Department of State,
Washington, D.C.

100850

August 7th, 1944.

Ref: 105/126/44

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It occurred to us that you might care to have a copy of this survey for the use of the Board, and I am accordingly sending you a copy. May I draw your attention to the heading "Secret" in paragraphs 11, 13 and 16? It is asked that these may be regarded as for the confidential information of the appropriate United States Government authorities only.

Yours sincerely,

J. W. Russell
Second Secretary.

Mr. A. Friedman,
War Refugee Board,
United States Department of State,
Washington, D.C.

100851

COPY

Survey of Activities of His Majesty's
Government on behalf of Refugees.

1. Declaration to Satellites.

On March 30 His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs declared in Parliament that satellite governments who dispelled citizens to destinations named by Berlin must know that such actions are tantamount to assisting in inhuman persecution or slaughter. This would not be forgotten when the inevitable defeat of the arch-enemy of Europe came about. He added:

"His Majesty's Government are confident that they are expressing the sentiments of all the Allied Governments in calling upon the countries allied with or subject to Germany to join in preventing further persecution and cooperate in protecting and saving the innocent."

This declaration has been repeatedly broadcast in the appropriate languages.

2. Refugees in the United Kingdom

From May 1940 to December 1943, 60,000 non-British refugees have been admitted into the United Kingdom and are still being admitted at the rate of at least 800 a month. Preparations have been made for the reception of a large influx of refugees from France who may have to be removed on account of military necessity.

3. From April 1, 1939, to March 31, 1944, 51,186 immigrants have entered Palestine plus their wives and children. Approximately 67,000 authorities to enter have been granted. The number who entered Palestine during the six months ending March 31 was 7,000. Between March 30 and May 15, 1944 over 1,200 Jewish refugees reached Istanbul from Constanza in small ships and were sent to Palestine.

Exchange of Palestinians and Germans: By two exchanges arranged in (1) December 1941 and (2) November 1942, 180 Palestinians against 350 Germans have been repatriated. A project for a further exchange of 280 Palestinians against 110 Germans is now being negotiated. This will bring the total of exchanges to 460 Palestinians against 460 Germans.

For refugees received in Palestine other than immigrants see paragraphs 4 and 7.

4. Polish Refugees

Some 40,000 Polish civilians of all ages and both sexes arrived in Persia between April and July 1942. All except approximately 8,000 have now been moved. They have been received in India, Palestine, Southern Rhodesia, South Africa, British Colonies in East Africa and Mexico. The New Zealand Government recently offered the Polish Government to take 700 Polish children until the end of the war. There is a possibility that we may be able to move about another 4,000 from Persia to their destinations in East Africa during the next six months. This would leave in effect only 2,000 removable since about 2,000 are occupied in work of importance for the war and it is possible that an even larger number may be engaged.

5. Jamaica

Jamaica has received approximately 500 refugees; this is additional to 1,500 evacuees from Gibraltar and a number of prisoners of war and civilian internees.

6. Mauritius

Mauritius has received approximately 1,500 refugees, the so-called "illegal immigrants" who failed to obtain authority to enter Palestine.

7. Greek Refugees

Greek Refugees who escaped from the mainland and the islands have been looked after by MERRA: 16,744 is the approximate number. 6,390 Greeks from the Dodecanese have also been received. These refugees are distributed in camps in Syria, Cyprus, Egypt and Palestine, and large numbers have passed through transit camps in Egypt on their way to the Belgian Congo, Ethiopia and Tanganyika where they have found asylum for the duration of the war. Since May 1 UNRRA has taken over refugee camps run by MERRA in Egypt, Palestine and Syria. The Greek and other refugees in Cyprus remain the responsibility of the local Government.

8. Refugees Found in Italy and Removed to Egypt

Nearly 25,000 Yugoslav refugees, many of whom are Jews, have been received in Southern Italy and taken on to refugee centres in Egypt where, under present arrangements, they are being cared for by the British Military Authorities. It is hoped to take 15,000 more, but this is not possible at the moment until UNRRA provide the necessary medical staff. Some 800 Jewish refugees have been moved from Southern Italy to Palestine.

9. North African Camp and Action in Spain Generally, especially on behalf of Sephardic Jews

The camp at Fedhala, where there is accommodation for upwards of 2,000 refugees, is now ready to receive them, and staff has gone out from this country to join the American staff and serve under the American director. About 500 stateless refugees from Spain are due to leave for Fedhala in about three weeks' time.

Among the refugees destined for Fedhala are 116 Sephardic Jews whom the Spanish Authorities do not wish to keep in Spain. Arrangements are being made for another smaller party of Sephardic Jews to be evacuated from Roumania via the Levant.

10. Shipping for Refugees from the Balkans

Every effort has been made by His Majesty's Embassy in Angora, in conjunction with the United States Embassy, the Jewish Agency and the International Red Cross, to obtain shipping for transporting all refugees who can be assembled and conveyed to any Black Sea ports. A considerable measure of success has attended their efforts, and our latest information is that the Jewish authorities in Angora, working with the Roumanian Red Cross, hoped to assemble a further 1,300 Jewish children from Bucharest at a Black Sea port.

The/

000853

The American War Refugee Board's representative in Angora did his best to obtain a Turkish vessel, the S.S. "Tari", but the scheme has unfortunately broken down on a refusal of a safe-conduct from the Germans, who gave as their reason the German wish not to offend the Arabs and the excessive publicity given to the scheme in the United States. The same insuperable obstacle has been met over a Swedish vessel, and we are now trying to find a Portuguese one.

11. Action with Tito

~~Secret~~

Marshal Tito has consented to facilitate the escape of Jewish refugees through his lines from Hungary with the idea that they should reach Southern Italy via Dalmatia.

12. Cooperation with the Turks

The Turkish Authorities have empowered their Consular Officers in Balkan capitals to grant transit visas to Jewish refugees who have been granted Palestine immigration certificates, even if these certificates are not in the hands of the applicants but merely held on their behalf by the Jewish Agency representative at Istanbul. The Turkish Authorities have further granted transit visas in response to various individual applicants by His Majesty's Government and have recently (between March 30 and May 19) allowed the passage through Turkey by rail of 1,230 refugees even although most if not all of these were without Turkish transit visas. Joint efforts by the United States and British Governments to induce the Turkish Government to give asylum to refugees have been unavailing.

13. Red Cross Action in the Balkans

The International Red Cross and the Roumanian Red Cross are attempting to assemble children and Jewish adult holders of Palestine immigration certificates for embarkation at Constantza. The children receive a special Swiss endorsement on their travel documents under a standing arrangement made last year with the Swiss Authorities. We are now examining the possibility of providing adult refugees with a similar endorsement or certificate.

~~Secret~~

Jewish applicants for facilities at the Turkish Legation in Budapest have been shadowed by the Gestapo and have disappeared. We are accordingly examining the possibility of having Turkish documents collected by the Swiss Representative in Budapest on behalf of the refugees.

14. Refugees with Latin-American Passports, in particular those interned at Vittel

Permission for 87 families (about 200 persons), Polish Jews interned at Vittel holding Latin-American passports to enter Palestine has been given by the High Commissioner. Lists of their names have been communicated to the Protecting Power (Switzerland). Secret. We have asked Peru, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Honduras, Paraguay and Ecuador to confirm the

validity/

DECLASSIFIED

By Authority of British

Gov't telegram, 1-12-72

By BK Date SEP 19 1977

validity of the passports issued respectively by their governments. We have asked Spain in her capacity as the Protecting Power of Latin-American nationals to obtain exit permits for these refugees to leave France in transit through Spain to Palestine. Ecuador, Paraguay and Cuba have been asked by us to confirm the validity of their passports held by refugees whether eligible or not for Palestine, (this action has been taken jointly with the United States Government) and the governments concerned have agreed to do so at least for meeting humanitarian purposes for which they were issued - viz. to afford protection to the holders until they can escape to territories outside enemy control. Ends. Secret. We have received information from the Swiss Government that the German Authorities took away the passports of the internees at Vittel but after verification of the identity and nationality of the holders returned them. We have passed this information to the Intergovernmental Committee. We have also informed the Holy See of all steps taken by us on behalf of internees with Latin American passports as the Vatican is interested in a scheme for saving them.

15. Encouragement to Neutrals.

Switzerland: His Majesty's Government and the United States Government agreed on the text of a joint note to the Swiss Government last January assuring them that favourable consideration would be given to requests for the purchase and extraordinary import through the blockade of additional supplies of foodstuffs and textiles to relieve the burden placed on Swiss resources as a consequence of assistance extended to refugees. At the request of the War Refugee Board on May 19 we have agreed to join in giving renewed assurances to the Swiss Government and have instructed His Majesty's Minister at Berne to concert action with his United States colleague accordingly.

Sweden: In reply to an enquiry from us on this subject some time ago, the Swedish Government replied that they were ready to find supplies for refugees out of their own resources though they subsequently accepted certain shipments of goods normally subject to blockade. We are, however, instructing His Majesty's Minister at Stockholm to concert action with his United States colleague in giving renewed assurances to the Swedish Government on this matter.

With regard to Turkey, Spain and Portugal we are instructing His Majesty's Government's Representatives to these countries to join with the United States Representatives in assurances that the provision of extra supplies would be arranged to meet the needs of refugees if a more generous policy towards the reception and care of them could be adopted.

16. Co-operation with the War Refugee Board

In March last we informed the United States Government that His Majesty's Government were in full sympathy with the purposes of the War Refugee Board whose creation they publicly welcomed and with whom they stated their determination to cooperate.

Sir Herbert Emerson, Director of the Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees, took advantage of his visit to Washington in April to get into touch with Mr. John Pehle, the Executive Director of the War Refugee Board. Together they were able to agree proposals for the working relationships which should prevail between the Intergovernmental Committee and the War Refugee Board. Mr. Pehle told Sir Herbert Emerson that his generous offer of unstinted cooperation was appreciated and assured him that the War Refugee Board intended to reciprocate

wholeheartedly./

wholeheartedly. Only in this way could they move forward together united in their determination to meet the tragically pressing refugee problem.

~~SECRET~~. The War Refugee Board suggested that Mr. Schwarz, of the American Joint Distribution Committee, should be empowered to organise the escape of Jewish refugees by clandestine routes through Axis-occupied territory and out over the Pyrenees. We examined this proposal and found it to be impracticable chiefly because the escape routes were already overcrowded by other persons whose escape was necessary, in the interest of the war effort but other means of rescue are being studied.

Through His Majesty's Embassy at Angora we cooperated closely with Mr. Hirschman, recently appointed Refugee Attache at the United States Embassy, in examining the possibility of providing shipping for evacuating refugees from the Balkans. The proposal to use the Turkish s.s. "Tari" has fallen through owing to the German refusal of a safe-conduct, and the consequent Turkish refusal to allow the vessel to be used. His Majesty's Government would therefore endeavour to furnish a ship for this purpose provided one month's notice is given, if other possibilities fail. Whether the German safe-conduct will be granted in this event is, however, doubtful.

DECLASSIFIED

By Authority of British

Gov't. telegram, 1-12-72

By RA/P Date SEP 13 1972

000856

I was Ref Bd - Pille

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DIVISION OF

1944 AUG 2 AM 9 35

COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS
(LIAISON)

From
LONDON

Dated July 27, 1944.

Recd. Aug 1, 2pm

~~Unretrieved~~

Secretary of State,
Washington, D.C.
1-920

CONTROL COPY

Reference is made to the Department's circular telegram of July 17, 9:20 a.m., regarding the method of accounting to be followed in recovering the cost of messages sent on behalf of representatives of the War Refugee Board and messages relating to the operation of the Board.

There is given below a list of all telegrams sent to date by this Embassy in the Board's interest. It includes messages sent on behalf of the Board, messages relating to the operations of the Board, and replies to telegrams of inquiry from the Board.

Telegram No.	Date
656	January 24
918	February 2
1006	February 5
1082	February 8
1162	February 10
1181	February 11
1210	February 12
1222	February 12
1348	February 17
1544	February 24
1711	March 2
2134	March 16, 7 p.m.
2162	March 16
2185	March 17, 7 p.m.
51	March 20, 5 p.m. to Amblegation, Lisbon
2245	March 20, 5 p.m.
2324	March 22
2647	March 31

2831/

10085

A-920 from London

- 2 -

<u>Telegram no.</u>	<u>Date</u>
2831	April 6 ✓
2907	April 10 ✓
3207	April 19 ✓
3233	April 20, 5 p.m. ✓
3641	May 4, 6 p.m. ✓
3642	May 4, 6 p.m. ✓
3653	May 4, 7 p.m. ✓
3857	May 12, 1 p.m. ✓
3915	May 13, 7 p.m. ✓
4205	May 25 ✓
4502	June 5, 5 p.m. ✓
4559	June 7, 6 p.m. ✓
164	June 13, 3 a.m. to Amblegation, Bern ✓
4737	June 14, 4 p.m. ✓
4745	June 14, 6 p.m. ✓
4832	June 16 ✓
4889	June 20, 11 a.m. ✓
5070	June 26, 10 p.m. ✓
5278	July 4, 10 p.m. ✓
5346	July 8, 5 p.m. ✓
5734	July 20, 7 p.m. ✓

..IN. NT

Shb: LIA

000858

*J. Van Dyke Bond
J.W. Pille*

PARAPHRASE OF TELEGRAM RECEIVED

FROM: American Embassy, London
TO: Secretary of State, Washington
DATE: June 29, 1944
NR-5681 8104

CONTROL COPY

We have just received from the Foreign Office a memorandum with respect to the wish of the War Refugee Board and the Department to remove refugees escaped from enemy territory to southern Italy, as set forth in Department's cable of June 8, No. 4418. The memorandum goes into detail with respect to the points which Rendall, head of the Refugee Department of the Foreign Office, mentioned as reported in Embassy's cable of June 7, No. 4567. There follows the substance of the memorandum:

1. The anxiety of the President and the State Department for the speedy removal from southern Italy of refugees who have escaped from enemy territory is shared by the British Government. It is stated by the Foreign Office that it was aware of the large number of refugees arriving from Yugoslavia in Italy and that it agrees emphatically with the view that in no way should the escape of refugees from the Balkans to Italy be discouraged. Marshal Tito has promised cooperation and such measures as are possible to alleviate the plight of Jews in Hungary have been taken by the British authorities.

2. The British military authorities in the Middle East

were

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By R. H. Parks Date **SEP 13 1972**

SB

000854

*Advised British
of UNRRA
negotiations
Hurry.*

were prepared and willing to accommodate 40,000 Yugoslav refugees in Egypt but since UNRRA has not been able as yet to secure the necessary medical staff the military authorities doubt that they could ^{can} accommodate more than the 25,000 who have arrived in Egypt already.

Therefore, the Foreign Office has requested the European headquarters of UNRRA to expedite provision of a medical staff.

*No admittance
in the form of
this as Geneva
office and credit
over for medical
work.*

3. Every effort to carry out plans already completed to move as many Jewish refugees as possible from the Balkans is being made by the British authorities. As soon as the Rumanian Red Cross, the Swiss authorities in Rumania, and the International Red Cross in conjunction with the Jewish Agency for Palestine can make the necessary arrangements, a British ship can be ready at 30 days notice to proceed to Genoa for the evacuation of Jewish refugees. However, it seems that in all probability the German Government will not grant the necessary safe conduct in this case any more than in that of the SS FARI for which the American Embassy to Turkey had negotiated. However, we will actively pursue the matter.

4. The establishment of a refugee camp in Tripolitania has been agreed to by the British Government and it is examining the proposal that Sicily should become a destination for refugees.

5. It is agreed to by the Foreign Office that camp Lyantey at Fedhula should not be open^{ed} to refugees from Italy as it must be kept available for those refugees coming from Spain.

6. Concerning the proposal that HN Government should grant

grant Palestine immigration certificates to ^{RECEIVED} ~~Yugoslav~~ refugees
in liberated Italy, the British while they do not doubt the
desirability of moving them for operational reasons. ^{UNAWARTEHLESS}
feel that since they are in an area where they are safe from enemy persecution,
they should give preference for rescue under the limited quotas
allotted for immigration into Palestine to those Jews who are
still in danger of their lives and can be got to safety out of
enemy controlled territory.

*It is hard on the
side of the
of British help
for this purpose*

The Foreign Office concludes by saying that this means
that while considerable numbers of Yugoslav refugees from Italy
have already been received in Palestine, in order that Palestine
may be kept available for Jews escaping in increasing numbers
through Turkey from places of danger, the alternative places of
refuge should be used to the greatest extent.

SECRET

110086

PROPOSED REPLY TO THE BRITISH AID MEMOIR OF JUNE 5.

6/13/44
not received
in files

The Aide Memoire dated June 5 concerning a proposal for the release of Jews from enemy territory has been examined by the Department and the War Refugee Board with a great deal of interest. Prior to the receipt of the Aide Memoire the American Ambassador in Turkey had advised this Government of the proposal in question and it was receiving consideration.

The following represent the present views of this Government with respect to the matter:

1. Any serious suggestions by the Germans to release Jews and other persecuted minorities which are not inconsistent with the successful prosecution of the war should not be rejected until they have been given the fullest possible consideration.

2. It is not possible, upon the basis of the facts presently known, to make a definitive judgment as to the character of the offer in question. However, this Government feels that it is important to explore the offer more fully before rejecting it and, in the meantime, to keep the door open. It is quite possible that the proposal in question is merely the forerunner of other proposals, and a flat rejection of the proposal might deny to the British and American Governments the opportunity of receiving and considering other offers which possibly would be more acceptable.

3. This Government also deems it important to keep the proposal in question under discussion for as long as possible in the hope that meanwhile the lives of many intended victims will be spared.

4. In order to keep open the proposal which has been made pending further exploration of the matter, this Government deemed it desirable to dispatch to the American Ambassador in Turkey the cable which has been furnished to the British Government. The British Government have already been advised that the special representative of the War Refugee Board is not authorized to enter into any understanding with the Germans in this matter, but simply to explore, under the direction of the American Ambassador, the circumstances surrounding the proposal, thereby indicating to the Germans that the matter is still open.

5. It is the view of this Government that it should be made clear to the Germans by actions as well as words that the British and United States Governments will find temporary havens of refuge for all Jews and similar persons in imminent danger of death whom the Germans are willing to release. This principle does not involve any commitment as to delivery of refugees which, of course, is subject to the necessities of military operations.

RECEIVED
The following information was received from the British Embassy in Washington on June 13, 1944.
The British Government is prepared to discuss this matter further with representatives of the American Government at their convenience.

RECEIVED
The following information was received from the British Embassy in Washington on June 13, 1944.

- 2 -

Pending the further exploration of the proposal in question, the British Government may wish to instruct its Ambassador in Turkey to take similar steps to those being taken by the American Ambassador, namely, an effort to keep negotiations open without in any way committing the two Governments to an understanding with the Germans.

This Government is prepared to discuss this matter further with representatives of the British Government at their convenience.

This was cleared with Mr. Pehle and ribbon copy was sent to Mr. Warren at State Department on June 14th - 3:45 p.m.

J.B.F.

JBF:bbk - 6/13/44

JBF

000863

* MAY 26 1944

My dear Mr. Ambassador:

In accordance with your request, I am sending to you herewith copies of all of the weekly reports of the activities of the War Refugee Board. In the future, I shall arrange to have our reports sent to you each week.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. W. Pehle

J. W. Pehle
Executive Director

The Honorable,
John G. Winant,
The American Ambassador,
London, England.

*Original signed by
J. W. Pehle*

JH
FH:lab 5/24/44

000815

PARAPHRASE OF TELEGRAM SENT

TO: AMEMBASSY, London
FROM: Secretary of State, Washington
DATE: May 18, 1944
NUMBER: 3953

Following for Kiefler from War Refugee Board.

It is proposed to approach the five principal neutrals in the manner discussed below concerning the passage through the blockade, subject to appropriate safeguards, of additional clothing and food in amounts sufficient to meet the added burdens on their resources in order to arrange for reception by those countries of larger numbers of adults and children refugees from enemy oppression. Such action is in furtherance of this Government's policy to use all available means consistent with successful prosecution of the war to further the rescue of victims of enemy oppression in imminent danger of losing their lives.

Switzerland and Sweden. Assurances that every attempt will be made to arrange for importation of whatever additional stocks of clothing and foodstuffs may be needed in those countries to meet requirements of refugees admitted there. This is a renewal of assurances which the United States and British Governments gave previously.

Turkey, Spain and Portugal. Assurances that if these countries adopt a more generous policy concerning the reception and maintenance of refugees, the United States and British Governments would make arrangements to furnish the supplies needed to meet the needs of refugees admitted to those countries.

Please try to obtain the prompt concurrence of the appropriate British authorities to this course of action so that it may be inaugurated with the least possible delay.

HULL
(GLW)

DCR:IDB:RM
5-27-44

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By R. H. Parks Date SEP 13 1972

Miss Chauncey (for the Sec'y), Abrahamson, Aksin, Bernstein, Cohn, DuBois, Frie
Gaston, Hodel, Laughlin, Lesser, Luxford, Mann, Mannon, Marks, McCormack, Sarge
Smith, Standish, Stewart, Weinstein, H. D. White, Pehle, Files.

Mr. Max Baughman, London
Secretary of State, Washington

1944

SECRET

The request contained in the Report
... we immediately sought consent of the
... The head of the Relief Section in
... because of the urgency of the
... the reply of the British Government
... we find the opinion of the Relief Section
... Camps who in Greek relief matters is the most
... is agreeable to diverting of a
... in Greek relief. The choice to be left
... seems likely and conditional
... and air safe conducts, but to any
... before the departure from the United
... of the last of the above addi-
... and two replacing Swedish ships approved by the Germans
... Camps is emphatic that whatever
... be made he would object strenuously.

Shall I guide my discussion with the Swedish Minister in
... in this matter to be the line taken by the
... British when their reply is received? Valuable time may be
... saved by your advance instructions.

With the Foreign Office and the Ministry of War Transport
... were approached by us upon receipt of the Department's
... cable of March 31, No. 2516. Instructions have gone forward
... to Gibson Graham which are generally favorable, according to
... an informal statement made yesterday by latter Ministry.

WIRANT

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By R. H. Parks Date SEP 13 1972

CC: Sec'y, Abrahamson, Akvin, Bernstein, Cohn, DuEde, Friedman, Gaston, Hodel, Laughlin,
Lester, Luxford, Nann, Nannom, Marks, McCormack, Paul, Pollak, Rains, Sargoy, Smith,
Standish, Stewart, Weinstein, R. D. White, Fehle, Fleck.

ORIGINAL TEXT OF TELEGRAM SENT

FROM: SECRETARY OF STATE, Washington
TO: AMEMBASSY, London
DATED: April 15, 1944
NUMBER: 3005

FROM WAR REFUGEE BOARD TO AMBASSADOR WINANT, LONDON.

Please refer to our no. 2516 of March 31.

Ambassador Steinhardt has just advised that there are a number of refugees who can be evacuated from Rumania in addition to those who can be carried in the one Turkish vessel for which charter negotiations are still continuing. Within the last few weeks approximately 500 refugees have been brought to Turkey on small Bulgarian boats. It is therefore extremely urgent that additional shipping be obtained without delay.

During the course of negotiations for a Turkish boat Ambassador Steinhardt suggested that we undertake to obtain from the Swedish Government permission to divert one or more of the ships carrying relief supplies to Greece for use in evacuation operations from Constanza to Turkey. Ambassador Steinhardt felt that this procedure was desirable in view of the delay in obtaining a Turkish ship and in view of the fact that the Greek relief ships of which there are twelve or thirteen in service were the closest to Turkey and could most easily be sent to Constanza. A request along these lines was addressed to the Swedish Government through the Ambassador here. In reply the Swedish Government indicated that certain obstacles such as obtaining the consent of the German, British and Canadian Governments would have to be overcome before a Greek relief ship could be used for evacuation of refugees. The Swedish Government indicated however that if these conditions and certain others could be met one ship, the SS BARDALANDA, arriving in Salonika about March 15, might be used.

The British Government apparently did not desire to have any Greek relief ships diverted for refugee evacuation. It is understood that the British Legation in Stockholm felt that any extraneous delay in the shipping schedule for Greek relief would have serious and deplorable effects. Moreover, the Board has been advised by the Washington representative of the Ministry of Economic Warfare that even a small loss of tonnage in the Greek relief schedule might leave a serious gap in deliveries. The Ministry of Economic Warfare suggested that it may be possible to reppen the question when four ships which are to be added to the Greek relief fleet have actually left the Baltic. The Ministry added however that even so it would be difficult to use a relief ship for this purpose and expressed the hope that ships can be obtained for this purpose in other quarters.

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By R. H. Parks Date SEP 13 1972 We have.....

We have now received from Ambassador Steinhardt the following cable with respect to the necessity of obtaining one of the Greek relief ships for evacuation purposes:

QUOTE: Baron de Platen, Second Secretary of the Swedish Legation in Ankara, still offers hopes for the availability a Swedish vessel to transport refugees from Constanza to Haifa. This would be in addition to the TARI or any others, the SS BARDALANDA NOW in Istanbul is not fitted with equipment or life saving devices for refugee conveyance. Platen will explore the possibilities of reequipping the vessel for this purpose. The BARDALANDA is scheduled to sail today to arrive in Piraeus (Athens) on April 25 and scheduled thereafter to sail for Constanza. Platen believes that Stockholm could be induced to have this vessel return to Istanbul and thence to Constanza to embark refugees to Haifa. I have not been informed except indirectly through the State Department radio bulletin regarding the reply of the Swedish Government to our request through the Swedish Minister here and your request through Washington for a Swedish boat. In spite of any refusal by the Swedish Government I recommend that the Board urge Stockholm to give instructions to make the BARDALANDA available the latter part of April. This of course is not in lieu of the proposed trip of the SS TARI but in addition thereto. UNQUOTE.

In view of the urgency of the situation the Board would appreciate it if you would immediately discuss this matter with appropriate officials of the British Government with a view to obtaining that Government's consent to the use of the SS BARDALANDA for the purpose indicated in Ambassador Steinhardt's cable. As soon as such approval is obtained you should also discuss the matter with the Swedish Ambassador in London asking to communicate to his Government this Government's request for the use of the BARDALANDA, and asking them to approach the German Government to obtain the necessary safeconduct. In your discussions with the British you may wish to make clear that time is of the essence and that the rescue of additional refugees in imminent danger of death depends upon this boat being made available to the War Refugee Board.

The BARDALANDA may be leaving the Greek service, we are advised.

HULL

cc: Sec'y, Abrahamson, Aksin, Bernstein, Cohn, DuBois, Friedman, Gaston, Hedel, Laughlin, Lesser, Luxford, Mann, Mannon, Marks, McCormack, Paul, Pollak, Rains, Sargoy, Smith, Standish, Stewart, Weinstein, E. D. White, Pehle, Files.

April 12, 1947

Mr. Pella,

Hotel

This is the text of
the British guidance
on treatment of
the Rosenbergs
in which you are doubtless
interested.

Richard M. White

DL 1



1074

[REDACTED]

SUMMARY OF OFFICIAL GUIDANCE FOR BBC
(From British Political Warfare Mission)

"H.M.C. associate themselves wholeheartedly with declaration issued by President of U.S., warning Germany and her satellites of consequences of further persecutions in their territories and appeal to men of good will everywhere to assist so far as they are able in protecting the victims of oppression, threatened with torture and death. H.M.C. are taking every opportunity of conveying to the countries and governments concerned their full agreement with the President's declaration, and their determination to cooperate in all measures consistent with efficient prosecution of the war designed to give assistance and refuge to all who can find means of escaping the Nazis and Nazi-inspired tyranny."

[REDACTED]

CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED

By Authority of British

Gov't. telegram, 1-12-72.

By RHP Date SEP 13 1972

5

NO 804

PLAIN

London

Dated March 31, 1944

Rec'd 10:05 p.m.

Secretary of State

Washington

2647 Thirty First

FOR WAR RESOURCES BOARD.

In reference to President's statement (Department's telegram 2273 24th) the following questions and answers in House of Commons March 30th are of interest:

Mister Silverman (by private notice) asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether in view of the recent enemy occupation of Hungary and the rapid march of events in the Balkans he has any statement to make with reference to the urgent and immediate peril which now threatens Jews and other victims of Nazi persecution in those countries.

Mister Eden: Yes, sir. My Honorable Friend will have taken note of the statement made on 24th March by President Roosevelt on the subject of his question and of the fact that His Majesty's Government at once wholeheartedly associated themselves with the United States Government in this matter. Further action is now under discussion between the United States Government and His Majesty's Government and I wish now to take this opportunity to make on behalf of His Majesty's Government the following declaration: Evidence continues to reach His Majesty's Government and Allied Governments that the Nazi policy of extermination has not been halted. The persecution of the Jews has in particular been exemplified horror and intensity. On this His Majesty's Government in common with their Allies, now that the hour of Germany's defeat grows ever nearer and more certain, can only repeat their detestation of Germany's crimes and their determination that all those guilty of them shall be brought to Justice. But apart from direct guilt there is still indirect participation in crime. Satellite governments who expel citizens to destinations named by Berlin must know that such actions are tantamount to assisting in inhuman persecution of slaughter. This will not be forgotten when the inevitable defeat of the arch enemy of Europe comes about.

2 2647 Dist. from London

Happily there are individuals and even official authorities among the satellites who have resisted the evil German example and have shown toleration and mercy. These things are known to the Allies and in the hope of encouraging such good deeds and increasing their number His Majesty's Government are concerned to make it clear that those who have followed the right path will also not be forgotten in the day of final reckoning. The time of respite is short but there is still opportunity for the merciful to witness their acts of humanity. For the guilty to be released demands for their deeds of shame by releasing them and making so far as is possible restitution to the Allies. His Majesty's Government are confident that they are expressing the sentiments of all the Allied Governments in calling upon the countries allied with or subject to Germany to join in preventing further persecution and cooperate in protecting and saving the innocent. His Majesty's Government for their part are firmly resolved to continue in cooperation with all Government and private authorities concerned to rescue and maintain so far as lies in their power all those menaced by the Nazi terror.

Mister Silverman: May I while thanking the Right Honorable Gentleman for his full and extremely effective statement, make in my view supplementary

Miss Bathbone: Will the Right Honorable Gentleman ensure that the very important statement he has made is given the widest publicity in all enemy and enemy occupied countries and among their satellites and not least among the Slovaks whose attitude has been extremely unsatisfactory so that the message may be read by the people and not only by the Governments, possibly by leaflet as well as by radio.

Mister Eden: Yes, sir.

FINANT

MHM

cc Goo'y, Abrahamson, Akzin, Bernstein, Cohn, DuBois, Friedman, Gaston, Hodel, Laughlin, Lesser, Luxford, Mann, Mannon, Marks, McCormack, Paul, Pollak, Rains, Sargoy, Smith, Standish, Stewart, Weinstein, H. D. White, Fehle, Files.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FROM: [REDACTED]
SUBJECT: [REDACTED]
DATE: [REDACTED]
NUMBER: 2513

THE REFUGEE BOARD SENDS THE FOLLOWING FOR AMBASSADOR
[REDACTED]

There has been received from the Government of Turkey an offer to charter a Turkish ship to make a single trip for the purpose of carrying a number of refugees to Haifa from Constantinople. This offer is the result of an urgent appeal to facilitate the evacuation of refugees from Haifa and long negotiations between the Government of Turkey, Ambassador Steinhardt and the War Refugee Board's representative in Ankara. The War Refugee Board has authorized immediate charter of the vessel. In order to obtain the charter the United States Government has guaranteed replacement of the Turkish ship should it be lost on the voyage. Negotiations to obtain safe conduct from the appropriate governments are being carried on at the present time.

It has been indicated by the Turkish Government that unless equivalent tonnage is chartered to them by the United States Government, the vessel referred to will make only one trip because of the shipping shortage.

The War Refugee Board is trying to meet the Turkish requirements so that the vessel will make more than one trip. The War Shipping Administration has requested Malloch, the Mediterranean Regional Director of the War Shipping Administration, to explore the possibility that the Italians might be willing to charter to the Government of Turkey one of their vessels if arrangements for carrying out the evacuation program can be made. Malloch, who is working through MEDSO, has asked London to request Gibson Graham, British representative on MEDSO, to help in this endeavor. We request that you communicate as soon as possible with the British Ministry of War Transport with a view to obtaining Gibson Graham's assistance in this matter.

HULL
(RMH)

cc: Scoy, Abrahamson, Arzin, Bornstein, Gohn, DuBois, Frisman, Gaston, Hodel, Langlin, Lesser, Luxford, Mann, Marks, Mannon, McCormack, Murphy, Paul, Pollak, Rains, Sargoy, Smith, Standish, Stewart, Weinstein, H. D. White, Pohl, files.

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By R. H. Parks Date SEP 13 1972

Copy of telegram from the Foreign Office to
Viscount Halifax, dated March 30th, 1944

My Honourable friend will have taken note of the statement made on March 24th by President Roosevelt on the subject of his question, and of the fact that His Majesty's Government at once wholeheartedly associated themselves with the United States Government in this matter. Further action is now under discussion between the United States Government and His Majesty's Government, and I wish now to take this opportunity of making, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration.

Evidence continues to reach His Majesty's Government and, I understand, Allied Governments, that the Nazi policy of extermination has not been halted. The persecution of the Jews has in particular been of unexampled horror and intensity. On this His Majesty's Government, in common with their Allies, now that the hour of Germany's defeat grows ever nearer and more certain, can only repeat their detestation of Germany's crimes and their determination that all those guilty of them shall be brought to justice.

But apart from direct guilt there is still indirect participation in crime. Satellite Governments who expel citizens to destinations named by Berlin must know that such actions are tantamount to assisting in inhuman persecution or slaughter. This will not be forgotten when the inevitable defeat of the archenemy of Europe comes about.

Happily there are individuals and even official authorities among the Satellites who have resisted the evil of German example and have shown toleration and mercy. These things are known to the Allies, and in the hope of encouraging such good deeds and increasing their number His Majesty's Government are concerned to make it clear that those who have followed the right path will also not be forgotten in the day of final reckoning.

The time of respite is short, but there is still opportunity for the merciful to multiply their acts of humanity, and for the guilty to try to make amends for their deeds of shame by releasing their victims and making, so far as is possible, restitution to them. His Majesty's Government are confident that they are expressing the sentiments of all the Allied Governments in calling upon all the countries allied with or subject to Germany to join in preventing further persecution and co-operate in protecting and saving the innocent. His Majesty's Government, for their part, are firmly resolved to continue, in co-operation with all Governments and private authorities concerned, to rescue and maintain so far as lies in their power all those menaced by the Nazi terror.

MAR 29 1944

My dear Mr. Secretary:

Reference is made to the President's statement of March 24, 1944 concerning the murder of the Jews and other persecuted peoples by the Nazis and the Japs.

I am glad to note that the British Foreign Office issued a statement on the same day expressing the unqualified approval of the British Government of the President's statement. In my opinion, the approval of the President's statement or the issuance of a similar statement by the Russian Government is most important, particularly in view of the military situation in the Balkans. Such action by the Russian Government would undoubtedly have considerable influence on the leaders and people in Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary.

Accordingly, I would appreciate if you would advise me what action has been taken to date toward this end, and if none has been taken, I suggest that consideration be given to taking immediate steps in this direction.

I also suggest that consideration be given to the matter of obtaining similar action by all of the United Nations.

It would be appreciated if your Department would keep me advised of all developments in this regard.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J.W. Pehle

J. W. Pehle
Executive Director.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State

JED:JM:ecr- 3/28/44

*War Refugee Bd
JW Pella*

PARAPHRASE OF TELEGRAM SENT

copy only

FROM: Secretary of State, Washington
TO: AMEMBASSY, London
DATED: March 25, 1944, 9 p.m.
NUMBER: 2303

CONTROL COPY

The message given below refers to our telegrams of February 29 and March 10, 1944, nos. 1503 and 1812, which partially presents the steps the War Refugee Board has taken or is prepared to take in order to implement the Board's announced policies. The more detailed statement given below is for the British and refers to remittances of funds and similar transactions which have been authorized following the War Refugee Board's recommendation.

Relief and specific rescue projects:

A number of private organizations in the United States have been granted authority to carry on evacuation and relief operations in occupied Europe. Following the Board's recommendation, the Treasury Department has issued licenses granting the representatives of these organizations in Switzerland permission to finance their operations by acquiring the requisite local currency if necessary from persons in enemy territory against the payment of free exchange and to carry on such communications as may be necessary with persons in enemy territory.

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By R. H. Parks Date SEP 13 1972 The Board,

00087

The Board, Treasury and State Departments have taken the position that in these cases the main consideration is the saving of lives and that this is paramount to the possibility that certain amounts of free exchange may become available in enemy territory. Among the relief and rescue projects the execution of which has been facilitated by the Board and which have been sponsored by private organizations are the following:

1. Evacuation from France to Switzerland.

(a) Evacuation of Abandoned Jewish Children.

There has been issued a license for one rescue program involving abandoned children in hiding in France numbering several thousand who may be deported to Poland in the near future. Attempts are being made to sustain and keep alive these children in France but they cannot be brought into Switzerland in large numbers until some assurance is received by the Swiss Government that the children will be removed after the hostilities end. The Board has proposed that this Government give the Swiss assurances that American visas will be granted to 4,000 children from France entering Switzerland and that removals will be granted for these visas ^{as} if necessary.

(b) The

(b) The removal of Political and Christian Refugees and Scholars. Also steps have been taken by the Board to facilitate the operations which several private organizations are carrying out designed to rescue and give relief to political and Christian refugees and scholars who have been unable to leave France. Upon the recommendation of the Board, the Treasury issued licenses to make funds available in Switzerland for use in carrying forward this program.

(c) World Jewish Congress Program. With the aid of the Board, the World Jewish Congress has worked out a program to evacuate refugees into North Africa, Switzerland and Spain from Rumania and France. The Treasury Department has issued licenses authorizing the necessary operation up to a total cost of \$100,000 of which amount \$25,000 has already been sent to Switzerland.

2. Evacuation from Poland to Hungary.

Between the War Refugee Board and the Union of Orthodox Rabbis of the United States and Canada there has been worked out a plan to evacuate Jews from Poland to Hungary. In Hungary there are persons who are in a position to aid refugees across the Polish border into Hungary where there is

already

already a large Jewish community to help the refugees and aid them to become absorbed into the Hungarian economy. The Union has been granted authorization to communicate with and transmit funds to these persons. To meet the requirements of this plan, \$100,000 has been sent to Switzerland.

3. Program for Feeding Internees in Croatia, Hungary, Rumania and Czechoslovakia.

The International Red Cross has informed the Intergovernmental Committee of an urgent need for funds to purchase foodstuffs for distribution to internees in Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Hungary and Croatia. A large private organization in the United States provided \$100,000 at once after an approach was made by the Board. Under Treasury Department license, this sum has been remitted to Switzerland which permits the buying of the required foodstuffs not only in neutral countries but in Hungary and Rumania as well.

4. Plans for the Relief of Refugees in Shanghai.

Relief is presently being administered to 10,000 stranded refugees in Shanghai pursuant to licenses granted by the Treasury Department at the request of the Board to two private organizations. Authorization is given by these licenses for the borrowing of funds in Shanghai against a promise for reimbursement after the war's end.

MEMORANDUM

March 17, 1944

TO: Mr. Warren

6:15 p.m.

FROM: Mr. Peble

It will be appreciated if you will have the attached airgram from the War Refugee Board to Ambassador Winant in London dispatched at once.

(Initialed) J. W. P.

NY 100-3/15/44

AIRGRAM TO WINANT, LONDON FROM WAR REFUGEE BOARD

Reference is made to our No. 1509 of February 29 and our No. 1812 of March 10, 1944 which set forth, in part, the steps which the War Refugee Board has taken and is prepared to take in implementing its announced policies. The following is a more detailed statement for the British with respect to remittances of funds and similar transactions which have been authorized pursuant to the War Refugee Board's recommendation.

Specific Rescue and Relief Projects

Several private organizations in this country have been authorized to carry on relief and evacuation operations in occupied Europe. The Board has recommended and there have been issued by the Treasury Department licenses permitting the representatives of these organizations in Switzerland to engage in the necessary communications with persons in enemy territory and to finance their operations by the acquisition of the requisite local currency from persons in enemy territory, if necessary, against payment in free exchange. The State and Treasury Departments and the Board have taken the position that in those cases the saving of lives is paramount to the possibility that certain amounts of free exchange may become available in enemy territory. Among the rescue and relief projects sponsored by private organizations, whose execution the Board has facilitated, are the following:

1. Evacuation from France to Switzerland.

(a) Evacuating Abandoned Jewish Children. One of the rescue programs which has been licensed involves several thousand abandoned children in hiding in France who are presently subject to deportation to Poland. While efforts are being made to sustain the lives of these children in France, they cannot be brought into Switzerland in large numbers unless the Swiss Government has some assurance that the children will be evacuated after the war. The Board has proposed that this Government assure the Swiss that American visas will be issued to 5,000 children entering Switzerland from France and that such visas will be renewed as necessary.

(b) Evacuation of Scholars, Christian and Political Refugees. Steps were also taken by the Board to facilitate the operations of several private organizations engaged in the rescue and relief of scholars, christian and political refugees trapped in France. Treasury licenses were issued on the recommendation of the Board to provide funds in Switzerland with which to carry on this work.

(c) The World Jewish Congress Program. The Board has worked out with the World Jewish Congress a program to evacuate refugees

from France and Rumania into Spain, Switzerland, and North Africa. Appropriate licenses have been issued by the Treasury Department authorizing the necessary operations up to a total cost of \$100,000, of which \$25,000 has already been sent to Switzerland.

2. Evacuation from Poland to Hungary.

The War Refugee Board has worked out, with the Union of Orthodox Rabbis of the United States and Canada, a program to evacuate Jews from Poland to Hungary. The Union has been authorized to communicate with and to send funds to persons in Hungary who are in a position to assist refugees in crossing the Polish borders into Hungary where a large Jewish community is ready to help the refugees and aid in their absorption into the Hungarian economy. \$100,000 has been sent to Switzerland to cover these operations.

3. Feeding Program for Internees in Rumania, Hungary, Croatia and Czechoslovakia.

The International Red Cross has indicated to the Intergovernmental Committee in London its urgent need for funds to purchase foodstuffs for distribution to internees in Rumania, Hungary, Croatia and Czechoslovakia. The Board thereupon approached a large private organization in this country which agreed to provide \$100,000 at once. This sum has been remitted to Switzerland under a Treasury Department license which permits the purchase of the needed foodstuffs in Hungary and Rumania as well as in neutral countries.

4. Relief of Refugees in Shanghai

Relief is presently being afforded to 10,000 stranded refugees in Shanghai pursuant to licenses granted to two private organizations by the Treasury Department at the Board's request. These licenses authorize the borrowing of funds in Shanghai against a promise to repay after the conclusion of hostilities.

CONTROL COPY

London, England, March 23, 1944

No. 14, 623^x

BY AIR POUCH

Economic Warfare (Blockade) Series: No. 839

Subject: Meeting held at M.E.W. on March 16, 1944 to discuss the possible reception in Switzerland of children from German-occupied countries.

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

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to the Embassy's telegram No. 327 of January 13 and to transmit six copies of the minutes of a meeting held at the Ministry of Economic Warfare on March 16 to discuss with the Swiss the possibility of the reception in Switzerland of children from German-occupied countries.

Prior to the autumn of 1942, about 23,000 children were received in Switzerland from various parts of Europe; the children usually remaining in Switzerland for three months and then returning to their homes. According to the Swiss, transportation difficulties were principally responsible for the termination of this scheme in 1942 and remain the chief obstacle to a renewal of this scheme or the institution of a similar one.

Although the Swiss think that the German Government is aware of the Swiss desire to receive additional children, no official approach has yet been made to the German Government. When asked whether their Government would now be prepared to approach the German Government officially on this matter, Professor Kelley and Dr. Rezzonico promised to put the suggestion to Bern.

Respectfully yours,
For the Ambassador:

Ware Adams
Second Secretary of Embassy
Economic Warfare Division

Enclosure:

6 mimeographed copies of above-mentioned minute.

Suggested distribution by the Department:
Foreign Economic Administration, Washington.

MG:JH

(Despatch sent in original and hectograph to Department)

Record of meeting held at
the Ministry of Economic Warfare on March 16th, 1944.

Present:-

Mr. D. M. Foot (in the Chair))
Mr. Bliss) M.E.W.
Mr. Camps)
Mr. Seebohn)

Mr. I. L. Henderson, Refugee Department, F. O.
Mr. J. Bowering, Foreign Office.

Sir H. Emerson) Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees.
Dr. Kuhlmann)

Mr. Riefler)
Mr. Ware Adams) E. W. Division American Embassy.
Miss Camp)

Professor Keller)
Dr. Rezzonico) Swiss Legation.
M. J. de Rhan)

-----oOo-----

Mr. Foot, in explaining that the purpose of the meeting was to discuss the possibility of the reception in Switzerland of further children from German-occupied countries, said that the attitude of the British and United States Governments was set out in the letter he had sent to M. Thurnheer on 16th September last. He wanted to say that, realising what a very heavy burden Switzerland is already carrying in the matter of refugees, there being a total of at least 69,000 already in Switzerland, H.M.G. greatly appreciated the attitude of the Swiss Government in being ready to consider an even further burden. When the matter was recently discussed in Berne by H.M. Minister and the Swiss Government, we had been given a very sympathetic reply.

There were three things that ought to be considered - firstly how far the Swiss Government considered that it could contemplate the reception of further children, secondly what additional imports would be needed through the blockade into Switzerland either now or at a later stage in order to maintain such children, and thirdly what approach, or what form of approach, it might be necessary to make to the German Government, and possibly to the acting governments in occupied countries.

Professor Keller said that the Swiss were very glad to do what they had done. About 23,000 children had been received, from different parts of Europe, and the Swiss had fed and clothed them from their own resources. The Swiss Government were ready to continue the work on a larger scale, and at the moment saw no necessity to ask for additional imports. It might be that if, say, 50,000 additional children were admitted, they would wish to approach us at a later stage. In the meantime he thought it a good and practical idea to continue the discussions as set out by Mr. Foot.

Dr. Rezzonico.....

Dr. Rezzonico, after explaining the organization of the work, said that they could take far more children if necessary. They had had more applications from families in Switzerland to receive children than could be accepted. Families were ready to feed and clothe them from their own resources, and the organizations had made house-to-house collections for coupons, which would be available if more children came. (Some of the children arrived very badly equipped in the matter of clothing). But the main difficulty was transport. Since the autumn 1942 they had not been able to transport the children, despite approaches by the Swiss Kinderhilfe Organization to organizations in other countries, nor could they see any prospect of doing so.

To get matters moving, it might be necessary to approach the government of Germany and the local authorities in occupied countries; this had not yet been done officially, and he would like our views on how it should be done.

In the discussion which ensued the Swiss said that they thought the German Government were probably aware of the position unofficially, through their own Red Cross.

On being asked by Mr. Foot whether their government would be prepared to make an official approach to the German Government, Professor Keller and Dr. Rezzonico promised to put the suggestion to them.

Dr. Rezzonico explained that another difficulty which had been encountered was the reluctance of some of the families to allow the children to go, because of the risk of accidents, on the journey, bombing, etc. He further said that many of the children had to be removed from their hosts' homes because of tuberculosis and other disease.

The question of selection of the children then arose. Professor Keller said that the only qualification they had was that of necessity. The children were judged by ill-health or poor surroundings. Had we any other criteria? Mr. Foot said that what we wanted to avoid was any of the Quisling Governments having a voice in the selection. Mr. Riefler said that he thought it would be easy for the Quisling Governments to make sure that the children of anti-Quislings were not selected. Professor Keller said that this was a question of the independence of the local Red Cross and that he would seek elucidation of this point.

Professor Keller then went on to say that Switzerland would like to extend the scheme to all children suffering from the war. Although they did not think that the Germans would wish to send their children, they wished to make the offer to them. Of course in the case of children from Axis countries they would not ask for help from us. Mr. Foot said that this was quite reasonable, but that if Jewish children from Axis countries were evacuated to Switzerland, we should be willing to help in such cases.

Mr. Riefler asked if the selectors would have access to any part of the territories concerned, and if, the governments of the territories would have to be consulted first. Professor Keller said that this point would have to be cleared up.

He

He then went on to say that H.M.G. and U.S.G. had offered Switzerland financial help, but that they would not need this at present, as they had a large reserve from collections made in Switzerland. They would go on with the money at their disposal, and if necessary ask us for supplementary imports.

Mr. Bliss then raised the point of scarce commodities. Much as we appreciated the offer of the Swiss not to approach us unless it was absolutely necessary, allocations had to be made a long time ahead, and if the scheme went through it would be as well if the Swiss Government made applications at once, even if the goods were not wanted at once. It would be unfortunate if, because they delayed, we were compelled to refuse. Professor Keller said that the greatest need was for wool and cotton, applications for which were already under consideration at M.E.W. If they could get quotas for these goods, the children and the adult refugees could be supplied from within this quota. Mr. Bliss thought that the Swiss should particularly bear in mind the question of boots, leather and hides, which they promised to do.

Mr. Foot then reverted to the question of numbers, and asked if the figure of 50,000 was the one Professor Keller had in mind. Dr. Rezzonico and Professor Keller said that this figure could be considered later. They had had thousands of applications from families in Switzerland for children - far more than could be satisfied. They were ready to open their doors absolutely wide, and as far as possible to do it out of their own means. With reference to the transport problem, of course they would not have to consider 50,000 children at a time, but successive batches, as when they had done the work before children had been kept for 3 or 4 months and then sent back. Sir H. Emerson asked what was likely to be the maximum number of children in Switzerland, out of 50,000, at a time, but Dr. Rezzonico said that it was difficult to say. Mr. Foot said that it might very well happen that in the conditions that might arise in Europe this year it would be impossible to send the children back, and what was to happen then. Professor Keller said that this eventuality would present no difficulty. Children had been kept for longer periods before. The usual age of the children was from 6 to 16, but they had had babies in arms.

Mr. Camps said that presumably the Swiss would not ask the Germans to approve a large-scale out-and-dried scheme, but merely ask them to approve batches of children at the time. Professor Keller said they would put it to the Germans that they were ready to accept the children and continue the work. If necessary he would ask his Government if they would be prepared to make a direct approach to the Germans. They would leave the question of a figure to Berne. They would also submit to Berne the possibility of discussing alternative programmes - either a definite scheme covering so many children, or groups of children to be got in as possible.

The

RECEIVED
WAR REFUGEE BOARD
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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1944 APR 22 PM 3 44

The discussion then centred round which countries should be selected in view of the language difficulty. Mr. Camps said that although the Germans had evinced no desire to send their children, their attitude might be expected to undergo a change in the near future. Dr. Reszonico said that this had not happened so far, but that it would help the general scheme to offer to take German children.

Mr. Foot asked whether any other form of housing had been considered - such as camps, etc. Professor Keller said that on previous occasions they had sent some children to camps in the Alps. They had found that poor children who were received into wealthy homes went back spoiled and discontented. Mrs. Sulzer and a group of her friends had maintained some children in homes in the Alps, and the children were much happier there, under the care of a nurse.

Sir Herbert Emerson asked if children would be considered who had lost their parents, or whose parents had been deported or sent away to do forced labour. Dr. Reszonico said that they had previously had many children who knew nothing of the whereabouts of their families. Mr. Blies suggested that the right definition was "children not under the care of their parents" which covered orphans and refugees.

Mr. Foot asked if it would be possible to indicate to the selectors that they should look out particularly for Jewish children, and Mr. Riefler said that if very few Jewish children arrived, it would mean that the selectors were not impartial, and should be warned. Dr. Kulmann explained that many of the Jewish children in the west are in hiding, and have faked gentile ration cards and documents. Any interference might upset the existing state of things.

After further discussion it was decided that "children whose parents are not in a position to give them proper care" should be recommended especially to the selectors.

MAR 21 1944

Dear Mr. Taylor:

Thank you for your letter of
March 18, transmitting a copy of cable No. 1711
of March 2 from London, concerning the dis-
cussion in the House of Commons on the Inter-
governmental Committee and the War Refugee
Board.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) H. Morgenthau, Jr

Secretary of the Treasury.

The Honorable
Myron C. Taylor,
Washington, D. C.

JW
JWFehle:lnh 3/20/44



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

March 18, 1944

My dear Mr. Secretary:

In addition to the material which I sent you under cover of my letter of March 17 concerning refugees, I would call your attention to the attached telegram of March 2 from London which has recently been received in the Department.

Sincerely yours,

Myron C. Taylor

Myron C. Taylor

John Peckle
The Honorable

The Secretary of the Treasury.



Please prepare answer for my file
MCT *AKG*

700890

London, March 18, 1944

X
No. 14,548

SUBJECT: Excerpts for War Refugee Board

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

1/10

I have the honor to enclose herewith for the Acting Executive Director of the War Refugee Board, various excerpts from records of the press sent in response to the Department's telegram no. 1980 of March 16, 1944. The telegram under reference contained a request to Mr. Casaday from Mr. Pehle, and in the absence of Mr. Casaday who is away on account of illness the present enclosures are forwarded on his behalf.

As being pertinent to the request of the Acting Executive Director the following earlier communications from the Embassy might also be referred to: telegram 918, February 2; despatch 13,619 February 10; telegram 1210 February 12, telegram 1222 February 12; telegram 1711, March 2.

Respectfully yours,
For the Ambassador:

W. J. Gallman
Counselor of Embassy

Enclosures /
1/ Manchester Guardian, December 13, 1943,
"A Report on Refugees".

2/

5

000893

- 2/ Manchester Guardian, December 17, 1943,
"The Refugees".
- 3/ Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons,
February 3, 1944.
- 4/ Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons,
February 4, 1944.
- 5/ Manchester Guardian, February 4, 1944,
"The U. S. Refugee Board".
- 6/ Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons,
February 9, 1944.
- 7/ Manchester Guardian, February 12, 1944,
"Words and Action".
- 8/ Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons,
March 1st, 1944.
- 9/ The Times, March 2, 1944, House of Lords
Debate.
- 10/ Manchester Guardian, March 3, 1944,
"The Refugee Debate".

CC:hje

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14548 - Dec 18, 1943

PAPER: MANCHESTER GUARDIAN NUMBER:

CITY: LONDON DATE: DEC 13 1943

A Report on Refugees

Next Friday, December 17, it will be twelve months since the House of Commons stood in silent protest against Hitler's extermination of the Jews. Now a statement has been issued in London and Washington about what has actually been done, especially by the Inter-Governmental Committee, to which after the Bermuda Conference in April, action was entrusted. There is to be a new "declaration by several nations" which will encourage neutrals to accept refugees, and this we are to have "shortly." Britain and the United States have been discussing plans with neutral States, and are determined to assist their efforts, but discretion, as one can understand, forbids details. It is a pity that the authors of the statement try to make the little that has been done look imposing by dragging in figures that are not relevant to recent events. Thus Switzerland is "at present" giving shelter to 60,000 persons; 60,000 refugees have been admitted to this country since May, 1940, and 196,000 immigrants from Europe have gone to the United States since 1938. We are even told that the Palestine Administration has offered to receive 34,000 potential Jewish refugees, the truth being that the Administration was bound under the 1939 White Paper to accept 75,000 by spring of next year and has kept immigrants out with such zeal that now, with only four months to go, it is 34,000 short of the permitted total. The new statement is trying to put the best face on the work of the Inter-Governmental Committee, and it is always possible that the Committee may be doing something more than can be published. But its slowness is painful, and the addition of twenty more States, bringing the total to 49 member Governments, will hardly quicken the pace.

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PAPER: MANCHESTER GUARDIAN

NUMBER:

CITY: LONDON

DATE: DEC 17 1943

THE REFUGEES

A Disappointing Twelve Months

By Eleanor F. Rathbone, M.P.

A year ago to-day Mr. Eden, on behalf of the United Nations, exposed to Parliament the "bloody cruelties" by which the Nazis were carrying out "Hitler's oft-repeated intention to exterminate the Jewish people in Europe" and promised future retribution. In a spontaneous gesture of horror and sympathy the House rose to its feet and stood for a moment in silence.

What has happened since? The terror has continued. Its ghastly methods of deportation, mass execution, starvation, or working to death are not restricted to Jews. The victims include innumerable other Russians, Poles, Czechs. But wholesale massacre on purely racial grounds is reserved for Jews. It is estimated that in Poland alone from 1,500,000 to 2,500,000 Jews have already perished.

As soon as they knew the facts the British public began to clamour not for future vengeance but for immediate rescue. Seldom has there been a more widespread, influentially backed agitation irrespective of creed, class, or political party. Perhaps the most weightily signed cable ever sent to a British statesman abroad reached Mr. Eden in Washington on March 20 asking that the problem should be treated 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.

RESCUE MEASURES

What has resulted? In actual rescue, very little. The difficulties were great. The victims were in enemy-controlled lands. The Nazis and their satellites would not let them go. Many thousands escaped into neighbouring neutral States. But this was only possible for the robust; seldom for the children and their mothers, the old or delicate. These could only get out by permission of their persecutors. The neutral States were all in some danger of invasion; also, their resources for sheltering and maintaining refugees were limited. The most obvious rescue measures were:

1. To assist these neutrals by drawing off their overburden of refugees, where possible, and meantime by help in food, money, permitting imports, etc.
2. To encourage them to negotiate with the enemy to let substantial numbers, especially of the children, and to help them as before and by promising to take off their hands post-war, if not earlier, definite numbers of refugees of their choice, for whom repatriation or resettlement was unobtainable.
3. Repeatedly to warn the enemy Governments of the consequences of the United States and to work on their peoples by similar warnings and by appeals to their religion and humanity.
4. To set an example to all these and to our allies by showing generosity ourselves.

Something has been done or planned in the first three of these directions but not with the energy that might have been expected in face of so terrible a tragedy and so united a national demand.

Consider the timing of Government action. Four months after the December declaration, a conference of the United Kingdom and the United States met at Bermuda. The whole problem of rescue and of post-war settlement was referred to the Inter-Governmental Committee originally set up at Evian in 1938. Some of the principal countries both of refuge and of persecution are not on it. But it functions. Its director, Sir Herbert Emerson, and his two deputies, one Swiss, one American, and the newly appointed Dutch secretary, can be trusted to do their best with the cumbrous machinery.

The question of assistance to neutral States is dealt with in an important statement from the Foreign Office concerning the results of the Bermuda conference. This foreshadows an assistance by several States promising assistance in maintaining and subsequently repatriating their own nationals. But, curiously, it says nothing about those who cannot be repatriated except that "international machinery now in operation" will assume responsibility for them.

THE NON-REPATRIABLE

Yet plainly this is the group likely to cause most difficulty. There are very many thousands of Jews who cannot be expected to return to countries where all their nearest relatives have been murdered, their homes destroyed or expropriated, and where anti-Semitism is deep-rooted. Also there are political refugees for whom repatriation may be impossible. Plainly the smaller allies cannot be expected to do more than repatriate their own nationals; those who could afford generosity are the United States and the British Commonwealth.

The United States, the statement says, has taken in since 1939 some 495,000 immigrants, mostly refugees. But this is less than a third of the number who might have admitted under her immigration laws. As to ourselves, we have taken in some 60,000 refugees since May, 1940, and are still admitting some 800 monthly. But nearly all these latter admissions are believed to be men needed for the armed forces or the merchant service and will be repatriable. It seems, therefore, that with the help of our colonies and the Dominions room could be found for substantial numbers, somewhere within the vast spaces under British control, Palestine is pledged under the terms of the White Paper to take in some 34,000 more Jews.

Then might not we, together with the United States, give definite assurances to neutral States that we will take in a definite number of proportion of those to whom they give hospitality? In this matter, should non-nations which are professedly Christian, follow the example of Chaucer's priest of whom it was said: "But Cristes love, and his apostles welve he taughte, and that he loved himself."

3 14548 Mar 18 1944

SOURCE: PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES, NUMBER:
House of Commons,
3 February 1944.
London. Cols. 1392-1393.

**ENEMY REFUGEES
(ORGANISATIONS)**

44. Major Petherick asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he will give a list of organisations owned or manned by German refugees; and whether such refugees gave, on entering the United Kingdom, undertakings not to engage in political activities.

Mr. H. Morrison: Organisations of which the members, or a substantial proportion of them, are racial or political refugees from Germany—or, indeed, from other European countries—vary widely in their character, purpose and size. Some, for example, are charitable, others cultural or social, while others again may have political aims of various kinds. I do not think it would serve any useful purpose to publish a list of such organisations. Refugees were not required on coming here to give an undertaking to refrain from political activities, but as guests in this country they are, of course, under a special obligation not to engage in political activities which will be resented by our people or may be unhelpful or embarrassing to the war effort of the United Nations.

Major Petherick: Is my right hon. Friend aware that some of these organisations, either consciously or unconsciously, are doing the work of Dr. Goebbels in trying to persuade the people of this country that the Germans are an honest, industrious people, and must be let down very lightly when the war is won?

Mr. Morrison: I was not aware of that. There are various tendencies, and I think it is undesirable for these organisations to get involved in activities that are controversial in our domestic sense, but I do not think there is very much to worry about.

Mr. Silverman: Does my right hon. Friend think there is any real harm in a German who has escaped from his country because he does not sympathise with the regime there trying to persuade others, if he can, that those governing Germany now are not governing with the consent of the people?

14548 Jan. 18, 1944

SOURCE: PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES, NUMBER:
House of Commons,
4 February 1944.
London. Cols. 1576-1582.

1575 *Landlord and Tenant* 4 FEBRUARY 1944 *Bill (Lords)* 1576

Mr. Tomlinson: That question was dealt with on the Second Reading.

Dr. Thomas: I only want it made clear.

Mr. Tomlinson: The answer to my hon. Friend's question would be that all this Bill does is to ensure that, in any time of misfortune, a percentage of those who are more unfortunate than others will receive consideration, whatever the position of the country may be.

Question, "That the Bill be now read the Third time," put, and agreed to.

Bill read the Third time and passed.

LANDLORD AND TENANT (REQUISITIONED LAND) BILL. [Lords.]

Considered in Committee.

[Mr. CHARLES WILLIAMS in the Chair]

CLAUSE I.—(Modification of obligations under repairing covenants in respect of damage occurring during a requisition of leaseholds.)

The Solicitor-General (Major Sir David Maxwell Fyfe): I beg to move in page I, line II, to leave out "where," and to insert

"if the lease determines while possession of the land is so retained, or if."

This Amendment deals with the position when the lease in question ends, during the requisitioning of the land. There may be circumstances arising between the end of the lease and the end of the requisitioning period, which prevent the landlord recovering compensation, and still make it unfair that he should recover under the covenant against the tenant. An obvious example is where the Crown, as requisitioning authority, instead of paying the landlord the compensation does the repairs which were necessary to the land. It would be quite unfair, in those circumstances, that the landlord should have a right against his tenant, but that right would crystallise at the end of the period of the lease. We, therefore, suggest by this Amendment that the right under the Covenant should be taken away in these circumstances, and we believe this to be fair because the covenantor at any rate can never get the compensation.

Amendment agreed to.

Clause, as amended, ordered to stand part of the Bill.

Remaining Clauses ordered to stand part of the Bill.

Bill reported with an Amendment; as amended considered.

Motion made and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the Third time."—(King's consent signified.)

Bill read the Third time and passed, with an Amendment.

GUARDIANSHIP (REFUGEE CHILDREN) BILL

Order for Second Reading read.

The Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Peake): I beg to move, "That the Bill be now read a Second time."

The purpose of this Bill is clear from its title. There are, approximately, 12,500 children now in this country who have come here either as war refugees—that is to say children from the Channel Islands or Gibraltar—or else on account of persecution on the Continent of Europe. Approximately 8,500 children came here in the years 1936-1939 from Central Europe under arrangements made by the Refugee Children's Movement, and 3,500 have come here from the Channel Islands since the outbreak of war. There are still about 400 of the children who came to this country during the Spanish civil war, and there are a few, as I have said, evacuated from Gibraltar. There is nobody at the present time who stands in the place of a parent to these children.

We all know from our experience the troubles that arise through lack of parental control, but in regard to these children it is not so much that the children themselves have been in mischief; it is that there is no authority to settle questions which arise from time to time concerning them. There are, for example, disputes as to their custody. These children have been found homes, voluntarily for the most part, in this country. Sometimes the home is, in the view of the persons who brought the child here, unsatisfactory and it may be desirable for the child to be moved. But there is no one who can insist on that being done. Again, in the case of young persons desirous of getting married under the legal age, the consent of a parent or guardian

SOURCE: PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,
House of Commons,
4 February 1944.
London. Cols. 1576-1582.

[Mr. Peake.]
is necessary and there is no person by whom such consent can be given. There is also, of course, the difficult question—in regard to which certain Jewish organisations have recently expressed some anxiety—of the religious education of these children.

The Bill provides, in Clause 1, Sub-section (1), that the Home Secretary may appoint a guardian to any person who fulfils the conditions laid down in that Clause. These are, first, that the person came here after the end of 1936 in consequence of the war or of religious, racial or political persecution; secondly, that there is no parent of the child in the United Kingdom and, thirdly, that the child has not attained the age of 21 years or, in the case of a female, is already married. Sub-section (2) provides that, where a guardian is appointed under this Bill, that guardian shall, to a certain extent, be able to delegate his powers to such societies or persons as he considers suitable to act on his behalf.

I want to make it quite clear that it is not the intention under this Bill to appoint separate individual guardians for each child. There is a large number of children here, and if the Home Office had to pick individual guardians for each child, and satisfy itself that these guardians were carrying out their duties properly, we would have to set up a separate administrative division of the Home Office. What we intend to do is to appoint suitable persons for suitable groups of children, and, for that reason, we desire the appointed guardians to have certain limited powers of delegating responsibility. Of course, if any important question arises which affects the welfare of the child directly, then a duty will lie upon the guardian to give personal consideration to the case. Sub-section (4) of Clause 1 provides for the revocation of the appointment of a guardian by the Home Secretary at any time, and it imposes a duty upon my right hon. Friend to revoke the appointment if the parent of the child at any time applies. It is always possible that the parents of these children will turn up, or that they may be able themselves to make certain arrangements. In that case, upon application, the Home Secretary will revoke the appointment of the nominated guardian.

Mr. Montague (Islington, West): Will or may?

Mr. Peake: The precise words of the Clause are these:

"He shall revoke such appointment on the application of a parent of the ward unless he is satisfied that proper arrangements have not been made by the parent for the care of the ward."

I think that is satisfactory. We also make it clear in the Clause that the powers of the High Court in relation to guardians are fully retained, that is to say, on application to the High Court a guardian may be removed by the High Court. The proposals in the Bill do not, in any way, override or interfere with the duties and responsibility of the High Court in regard to the guardianship of the child. I do not imagine there are any other points in the Bill which hon. Members would wish me to refer to at this stage, but if there are either I, with the leave of the House; or my right hon. and learned Friend the Solicitor-General will do our best to explain them.

Commander King-Hall (Ormskirk): In regard to the appointment of these guardians, is the Home Office likely to be in touch with certain organisations specially concerned with children. I have in mind "The Save the Children Fund."

Mr. Peake: Most certainly. We have consulted all the organisations connected with these children in preparing this Bill. They are all favourable to the proposals in the Measure and we shall consult them in regard to the appointment of guardians.

Mr. Maxton (Glasgow, Bridgeton): It seems that there is to be a sort of public trustee for refugee children. What sort of person has the right hon. Gentleman in mind? Is it to be a public official?

Mr. Butcher (Holland-with-Boston): I do not want to detain the House for more than a minute or two. Everybody recognises that this is a useful and proper Bill to bring forward at this time. It makes one wonder how the Government have managed to do without it up to the present, because I am sure there have been considerable difficulties. Merely for elucidation, I would like to ask the Solicitor-General to explain further the idea of block guardianship. Are we to have a large number of these children,

coming from the Channel Islands, put under the care of some responsible citizen from those Islands, who will be responsible for them or, alternatively, will they be allocated, so far as may be, with friends and relatives of their parents who have no local standing but who are on terms of friendship and intimacy with them? Another question I would like to ask is about the guardianship of those children who are not of British nationality. Is it proposed that the guardians appointed for them shall be of British nationality, or persons of the country of origin from which the country came?

The Solicitor-General (Major Sir David Maxwell Fyfe): With regard to the appointment of guardians there will be clear and obvious groups into which the children will fall—the Channel Islands group, the Czech group and so on—and they will, of necessity, be divided into geographical groups according to where they are situated. The supplementary idea is that there will be guardians for the children who are in different parts of the country. In answer to my hon. Friend the Member for Bridgeton (Mr. Maxton) as to the type of person, the suggestion is that the people who have been doing this voluntary work, with great success and sacrifice and kindness on their part, will be used for this purpose. I think it would be convenient that they should be of British nationality, but the overriding idea in their selection will be to use people who have already devoted themselves to this admirable work.

Sir Percy Harris (Bethnal Green, South-West): I want to impress on the Home Office the great importance of a Bill of this kind. It is one of the great tragedies of the war that thousands of people, throughout occupied countries have lost contact with their parents and relatives. I have no doubt that the Home Office have in mind that, as the enemy are driven further back and we open our Second Front, it is possible that a large number of refugee children may be thrown on our hands. This is a work of mercy, and I would like to congratulate the Home Office on having the foresight to bring in this Bill. But the human factor does come in and they have a great responsibility to think out very carefully the kind of foster-parents to whom these children will be entrusted.

From my own knowledge that some magnificent is being, done by people looking after children in homes and parents. is a danger—and the Office is aware of it—becoming the guardian. The point about blood being made guardian in every case be possible. The idea of family stability is rather difficult, they have a right to the persons who competent. At a time of shortage of persons and when almost is up to her eyes elsewhere, it must be suitable people. the Home Office all wish to ensure exploit this work.

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Enclosure No. 4. No. despatch 407. 548. 18. 1944
The Secretary of State, London, England.

SOURCE: PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,
House of Commons,
4 February 1944.
London. Cols. 1576-1582.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Children Bill

1578

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From my own knowledge, I can say that some magnificent work has been, and is being, done by people in this country in looking after children who have lost their homes and parents. Nevertheless, there is a danger—and I am sure the Home Office is aware of it—of unsuitable people becoming the guardians of these children. The point about block guardians ought to be cleared up. Have the Government in mind groups of persons and organisations being made guardians or will individuals in every case be personally responsible? The idea of farming out their responsibility is rather distasteful. If they do this, they have a responsibility to see that the persons who take over are equally competent. At a time when there is a great shortage of persons free to do this work, and when almost every married woman is up to her eyes in work at home and elsewhere, it must be very difficult to find suitable people. It makes the task of the Home Office very difficult. What we all wish to ensure is that nobody should exploit this work for financial gain.

Mr. Lipson (Cheltenham): As many of these children are of the Jewish faith I would like to make one or two observations on this matter. I agree with what my right hon. Friend the Member for South-West Bethnal Green (Sir P. Harris) said with regard to the care which is being and has been shown by so many people towards these children, in striking contrast to what they have had to undergo in less happy lands. As a result of what has taken place in so many countries in Europe, many Jewish children have, unfortunately, died. Therefore, it is all the more necessary to safeguard the religious faith of those who have been fortunate enough to survive, particularly those who have been fortunate enough to come to these islands.

I would like the Government to give an assurance that proper arrangements will be made, so far as is practicable, to see that these children are entrusted to guardians who will have regard to the religious faith of the parents of these children, so far as this is known. Many Jewish children here have been living in Christian households and I know how extremely careful their hosts have been to see that the children were able to follow their own particular form of religious faith. But there have been others who, from a zeal one can understand, and

14549
SOURCE: PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,
House of Commons,
4 February 1944.
London. Cols. 1576-1582.

[Mr. Lipson.]
perhaps because opportunities for Jewish observance were not easily accessible, felt it was right for the children to attend other places of worship and who have acted in a way which has been disturbing to those who wish these children to be brought up in the faith of their parents. Therefore, I should like to ask my right hon. Friend if the religious authorities of the Jewish community are being consulted about the choice of guardians for Jewish children and if everything will be done to safeguard the religious faith of these children. We are all extremely grateful for what has been done in looking after the material side of these children's lives and we hope that their spiritual welfare will not be neglected.

Mr. Montagu: I do not find in the Bill any special attention being given to religious education, as applying not only to Jews but to other sections as well. I do not know whether the Parliamentary Secretary has anything further to say on the matter.

Mr. Peake: New arrivals of children in this country will, of course, be covered by the Bill. We intend to appoint separate guardians for large groups of children, but the guardians will not be corporate bodies or committees. They will be individuals with a high degree of personal responsibility for the welfare of the children. There will, certainly, be different guardians for the different national groups, Spanish, Czech, German and so forth. There may also be separate guardians according to the geographical situation of the children, that is to say, whether they are in Scotland, England or Northern Ireland, but on that point I should not like to be dogmatic at this stage, because we have not yet selected the persons who are to be appointed.

Sir P. Harris: Is the right hon. Gentleman satisfied that suitable persons will be available?

Mr. Peake: I do not think there will be any great difficulty about that. The duties obviously will be responsible and onerous, but we have such excellent organisations which have been taking care of the children already, that I do not doubt that from those bodies suitable personnel can be found. In arranging for the care of these children, one of the most important considerations is that regard shall be paid to

their religious persuasion and that care should be taken to ensure that children belonging to a particular persuasion shall not be deprived of facilities for religious training and shall not be subjected to any form of proselytising which would be obnoxious to the views of the religious body to which the child's parents belong. The organisations responsible for the care of these children are fully conscious of the importance of this consideration and there has been no failure on their part to keep this principle prominently in mind; but as things stand at present, if any organisation should find that some foster-parents are failing to observe this principle, the organisation has no authority to remove the child if the foster-parents are obstinate.

One of the advantages of the Bill is that, when a legal guardian is appointed, that guardian will have authority to take any necessary steps to safeguard the child's religious education and, moreover, will have a legal duty to take such steps. This is a matter to which the Home Office has given close attention and the question was considered whether any express provision on this subject should be inserted in the Bill. We are, however, advised that under the existing law a child should be brought up in the religious faith of the father unless the father has waived his rights by allowing the child to be brought up in some other religion, and that in effect therefore there is a legal duty on the guardian to bring up his ward in the religion to which the child belongs. An express provision in the Bill is, therefore, unnecessary and it is undesirable to attempt to embody the principle in the Statute. I hope hon. Members will be satisfied that this important question is fully covered.

Question, "That the Bill be now read a Second time" put, and agreed to.

Bill accordingly read a Second time.
Bill committed to a Committee of the Whole House.—[Mr. Drew.]

Committee upon the next Sitting Day.

NEWCASTLE - UPON - TYNE CITY COUNCIL (TRIBUNAL OF INQUIRY)

Mr. Peake: I beg to move

That it is expedient that a Tribunal be established for inquiring into a definite matter of urgent public importance; that is to say, the administration by the Council of the City and

20090

5 to 10 pages Lt. 548c Mar 8 1944 311

PAPER: MANCHESTER GUARDIAN

NUMBER:

CITY: LONDON

DATE: FEB - 4 1944

THE U.S. REFUGEE BOARD

Work Already Begun

From our Special Correspondent

LONDON, THURSDAY.

Reports from Washington forecast the early appointment of an executive director of the new Refugee Board. Great care is apparently being exercised upon choosing one upon whom the initiation of a forward policy will so largely depend.

The new board is the object of widely varying interpretations. In many quarters the view is that the board is intended to be something more than an American parallel to the British Government's Sub-Committee for refugee questions, which body has not displayed great initiative in the past. Several observers are now of opinion that whatever may have been the immediate reasons for its inception, the Board will become instrumental in the framing and execution of a more progressive refugee policy.

Some reform of present methods is urgently asked for, not only by American Jewry, but also by the overwhelming majority of the liberal-minded electorate. The demand for changes is accompanied by strong criticism of official tardiness in the national as well as in the international sphere.

Among specific aspects of the question to which attention has been drawn with increasing frequency are the need for closer collaboration with the International Red Cross in supplying food parcels to camps in Eastern Europe, the transportation of refugees already out of immediate danger to more permanent havens, and an intensification of the actual work of rescue, perhaps on new lines and supported by additional means. In this connection it has been pointed out that the United States could admit a larger number of refugees without any emendation of the immigration laws, the annual quota allocated in the bills of 1921 and 1924 having never been filled during the past ten years.

RELATION TO OTHER BODIES

The Refugee Board has already begun its activities through the United States diplomatic service, but it is probable nevertheless that for the execution of its policy it will rely to a great extent on the Inter-Governmental Committee on U.N.R.R.A. and on the various private organisations. These last, for the time being at any rate, may be made more

use of in efforts to accelerate the process of rescue. The new body may first desire to discuss with the Inter-Governmental Committee and U.N.R.R.A. The question of future relations, and to secure its plans for more active rescue work by inducing the Inter-Governmental Committee in particular to extend its present field of activities. Should this prove to be the case it would confirm the view that in forming a powerfully representative national refugee agency President Roosevelt is resolved both to encourage the international organisations charged with the execution of policy and to give added impetus to the work in hand.

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SOURCE: PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,
House of Commons,
9 February 1944.
London. Cols. 1740-1742.

NUMBER:
6 MAR 18 1944

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HOUSE OF COMMONS

Wednesday, 9th February, 1944

OFFICIAL REPORT

[Mr. SPEAKER in the Chair]

PRIVATE BUSINESS

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE AND DERBYSHIRE
TRACTION BILL

Second Reading deferred till first Sitting
Day after 20th February.

ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

PRISONERS OF WAR (JAPANESE TREATMENT)

1. Major-General Sir Alfred Knox asked
the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs:

Cross Committee. They can only make inquiries and give reports with the full knowledge and approval of the Japanese authorities. The approximate number of prisoners of war from the British Commonwealth who are in Japanese hands is estimated to be 140,000. As regards reasonable treatment, I regret that on the information at present in the Government's possession I cannot go beyond what I said in the earlier statement. The good offices of the Soviet Government have been sought, and have been forthcoming in connection with the despatch of prisoner of war correspondence and also the forwarding of relief supplies through their territory.

Sir A. Knox: Will my right hon. Friend assure us that he will continue to take every possible step to help our people out there?

Mr. Eden: I can gladly give that assurance. I only wish we could do more.

Mr. Sorensen: Has the right hon. Gentleman any information to show that our prisoners of war in the southern part are now being transferred to the northern part?

Mr. Eden: Perhaps the hon. Member will put that question down.

Mr. Shinwell: When the right hon. Gentleman said the Russian Government's good offices were forthcoming, did that mean they were doing everything possible in the matter?

Mr. Eden: I have described what they have done in respect of transmitting correspondence and forwarding relief supplies. Of course, our representations have to go through the Protecting Power.

Captain Gammans: Could not the Russian Government be asked to be Protecting Power so far as these prisoners are concerned?

Mr. Leach: Can the right hon. Gentleman say whether the total of 140,000 includes civilian prisoners and, if so, what are the respective numbers?

Mr. Eden: I cannot give the detailed figures without notice. If the hon. Member will put down a Question I will give him an answer.

WAR REFUGEES (RELIEF MEASURES)

2. Mr. Lipson asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if his attention

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SOURCE: PARLIAMENTARY
House of Commons
9 February 1944
London. Cols.

1741

Oral Answers

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Oral Answers

1742

[Mr. Lipson.]

has been drawn to the decision of President Roosevelt to appoint a War Refugee Board to frame plans and inaugurate measures for the rescue, maintenance and relief of the victims of enemy oppression and the establishment of havens of temporary refuge; and will he consider the advisability of setting up a similar board in this country to co-operate with the one in U.S.A.

Mr. Eden: Yes, Sir. I am informed that President Roosevelt has established a War Refugee Board, consisting of the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury and the Secretary of War. The object of the Board, stated in the President's Executive Order, is to take all measures 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. This is an aid in the pursuit of which, within the same unavoidable limitations, His Majesty's Government have for some considerable time past been closely co-operating with the Government of the United States, and I am happy to take this opportunity of re-affirming His Majesty's Government's earnest desire and practical intention of associating themselves with the United States Government and with the War Refugee Board, in particular in endeavouring to carry out the aims which the President has set before it. In this country the primary responsibility for refugee questions rests with the Foreign Office which acts in close co-operation with the other Departments concerned, particularly the Home Office and the Colonial Office. As the House has already been informed, a Cabinet Committee on Refugees was set up some time ago and comprises the Ministers in charge of the Departments principally concerned. It is not considered necessary to set up any additional organisation, and in so far as international action is concerned, it is to be noted that the President's Executive Order speaks of using existing international organisations, in particular U.N.R.R.A. and the inter-Governmental Refugee Committee. This is also the policy which His Majesty's Government is fully determined to follow.

Mr. Lipson: Can my right hon. Friend say whether the machinery for this purpose, which has been set up by the

Government, is, in his opinion, really as effective as that created by the President of the United States, in view of the fact that this American Board has a director with special responsibilities in the matter, who is able to get into touch with the diplomatic representatives of foreign countries?

Mr. Eden: We think so but, of course, each country has its own particular method.

Miss Rathbone: Can the right hon. Gentleman claim that a strictly private Cabinet Committee is at all equivalent to this American Board, with its carefully defined position, its frequent access to the President and its executive director? Will he not consider appointing somebody analogous to that board?

Mr. Eden: I have considered it. The hon. Lady knows our machinery perhaps better than anyone, and knows that this War Cabinet Committee has a responsibility to the Foreign Office. We think that, on the whole, that is the best way.

000904

PAPER: MANCHESTER GUARDIAN NUMBER:

CITY: LONDON

DATE: FEB 12 1944

WORDS AND ACTION

The United Nations have never in the last eighteen months faced the refugee problem boldly. The refugees from Axis, and especially Hitler's, persecution are of all peoples and all kinds, but the great majority are Jews, and one says eighteen months because that is roughly the period during which the policy of "extermination" has been practised, as it still is, with the full knowledge of all of us. If there have been one or two slight signs that here and there the full fury of the Terror has recently been abated it is nevertheless true that in general it is being carried out with the old ferocity. In Denmark and in France, for instance, children between the ages of two and twelve have been seized, herded together, and deported to the "unknown destinations" which almost certainly mean death. It is now fourteen months since the House of Commons stood in silence to show its condemnation of such horrors. But, apart from very slight changes in our own immigration rules and some slight and unspecified efforts in neutral countries, all that has been done is to hand over the work of rescue and relief to the Inter-Governmental Committee in London. This body, consisting of a large number of Governments and not even yet fully constituted, is little likely to get at the insistent, practical work that is needed, however able and willing may be its officials. The main responsibility must necessarily be with Britain and the United States. To rely on this antiquated machine, crawling and creaking its slow way along, is to show that we have never recognised this to be an urgent problem, though urgency is its essence.

At this moment President Roosevelt has taken a step which holds out the promise of that sort of practical action which has hitherto been largely lacking. By Executive Order, whose text is now available, he has established a War Refugee Board consisting of the Secretary of State (Mr. Hull), the Secretary of the Treasury (Mr. Morgenthau), and the Secretary of War (Mr. Stimson). The object is "to take all measures 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." One quotation will show the working of the plan:

The functions of the Board shall include without limitation the development of plans and programmes and the inauguration of effective measures for the rescue, transportation, maintenance and relief of the victims of enemy oppression, and (b) the establishment of havens of temporary refuge for such victims.

The three departments concerned are to give their assistance at the request of the Board. All agencies and departments are to furnish such supplies, shipping, and other specified assistance as the Board may require.

done for immediate measures of rescue and relief. The American Government has clearly abandoned that defeatist, timid view, and we should follow suit. We should establish the same sort of working machine. We should lend our aid by appointing a general Director here and special officials abroad, by setting up temporary camps, by encouraging the border countries through assistance and also through example, and by more freely opening our own country, since about the admission of refugees we remain obstinately and discreditably mean. It is never possible to say much openly about what is being done, or may be done, in neutral countries lest the German spite discharges yet more poison, but one has only to mention what Sweden has done for Norwegian refugees and for the Danish Jews to realise how much more an energetic British-American policy could still accomplish. The Turks also should be stimulated to understand that their ally Britain expects them to encourage the escape of Balkan refugees over their borders, and every effort should be made to explain to the now hesitant satellites how carefully their conduct in this question is being watched. There is one other contribution we can make. We should announce that Palestine cannot and will not be shut to refugees after the present limit for immigrants is reached. No single one of these expedients will do much in itself, but practised all together they would reduce the sum of misery.

Special area.
maic status are to be a
the recommendation of the Board,
they are to work abroad "in places
where it is likely that assistance can
be rendered to war refugees." The
Board is to have an Executive Director
who has already been appointed,
and his duty will be to see to the
prompt execution of the plans.
Even this bare summary proves that,
to say the least, the scheme provides
precisely the machinery that has all
along been needed. It is said that Mr.
Roosevelt was moved to act by the
information reaching him that little
was in fact being attempted. Public
opinion in the United States will now
expect results. Public opinion in this
country should not be satisfied with
less workmanlike machinery or with
smaller results.
The Inter-Governmental Committee
and U.N.R.R.A. will proceed in their
leisurely way with plans for eventual
remedies. These are of great
importance, but we have done wrong
in assuming, as the British and
American Governments have hitherto
assumed, that next to nothing can

Volume 397
No. 39



Wednesday
1st Mar., 1944

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(HANSARD)

HOUSE OF COMMONS

OFFICIAL REPORT

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not later than
Tuesday, 7th March, 1944

STRICT ADHERENCE TO THIS ARRANGEMENT GREATLY FACILITATES THE PROMPT PUBLICATION OF THE VOLUMES

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person shall be re-engaged. If it were left, as it was originally, so that the obligation of re-engagement might have been satisfied by employing a man for a day or two, it would have been very foolish. The third point is in regard to priorities and the difficult position in which employers are already finding themselves where a number of men in the passage of time have held a given position. The question is which of them shall have a prior claim, and to deal with that point alone some legislation was necessary. With regard to the general question of how many people will benefit under the Bill, industry and employment of all kinds have been much dislocated by the extent of the struggle. There is, too, the difficult question of men who go into the Services at 19 or 20 and come out at 24 or 25 and who are so different that it will be difficult to fit them into their old positions. Despite all these difficulties and the fact that, because of them, the Bill will not operate in many cases, the Bill will cover a considerable field, and for the reasons I have given it should be passed. Personally, I shall be pleased to support it.

Lieut.-Commander Hutchison (Edinburgh, West): I would like to ask the Minister whether he will take such administrative action as is necessary, in conjunction with the Service Departments, in order to inform all officers and men who have been discharged or will be discharged from the Forces of their rights under this Bill so that no misconception shall exist.

Major Manningham-Buller (Daventry): I do not associate myself with the criticisms which the hon. and gallant Member for Brighton (Lieut.-Colonel Marlowe) made of the Minister's attitude in the Committee stage. I moved a number of Amendments in Committee, and I would like to pay my tribute to the way in which they were met by the Minister. It seems to me that the hon. Member for Stoke (Mr. Ellis Smith) supported our contention that the Title of the Bill is wrong, because, as we pointed out in Committee there is a grave danger of its effect being unduly exaggerated. I do not know whether in his reference to "our people" he meant people of the Labour Party, but I am sure that the Bill will be welcomed throughout these islands as a definite step in the right direction.

Mr. McCorquodale: I would like to thank the House for giving an unopposed passage to this Bill through its various stages and to thank unreservedly those who have given the closest study to it in Committee. There is no doubt in my Minister's mind and in my own that the Bill has been improved by the suggestions received from certain quarters. We are grateful for that help because I am sure it is the desire of all in the House to see the application of the Bill a success for the people to whom it applies. The hon. Member for East Wolverhampton (Mr. Mander) raised a rather important point to which I would like to refer. He said that the Bill would not be needed if the policy of full employment is satisfactorily applied. I think that he is wrong, because this Bill gives a choice to the returning Serviceman to go back to his old employment rather than to be put into any employment that might be available. The hon. and gallant Member for West Edinburgh (Lieut.-Commander Hutchison) asked whether we would give the fullest information to the men in the Forces about their rights under the Bill, and we will certainly look into that. The hon. Member for Stoke (Mr. Ellis Smith) raised points about administration which we have very much in mind. We are in the closest contact with the military authorities who have the proper information about the class of work in which members of the Armed Forces were before they were called up. I would like to thank other Members, especially the hon. Member for Colchester (Mr. Lewis), for their unreserved support for this small Bill.

I am confident that it will prove a workmanlike Measure, defining for the employer his obligations and duties to the returned Serviceman, and I know that the employer welcomes it. I would like to thank on my Minister's behalf the representatives of the employers and the great organised trade unions for their unflinching support and good will in the consultations which preceded this Bill and their promise of good will in its application. I am confident that it will help the employer by defining his obligations. It will also help the returning Servicemen and women, of whom there are many millions, by confirming their rights under the Bill and under the pledge that was given and by providing

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[Mr. McCorquodale.]
a means of establishing their rights if it is reasonable and practicable. The Bill also brings in many hundreds of thousands of volunteers who were previously left out. For that reason alone, if for no other, the Bill will be justified. It is an integral part, if only a part, of the Government's great scheme for resettlement after the war, and for that reason I commend it warmly to the House.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill accordingly read the Third time, and passed.

SUPPLY

Considered in Committee.

[Mr. CHARLES WILLIAMS in the Chair]
CIVIL ESTIMATES, SUPPLEMENTARY
ESTIMATE, 1943

CLASS II

FOREIGN OFFICE

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £1,525, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1944, for the salaries and expenses of the Department of His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and the salary of a Minister of State."

Mr. Mander (Wolverhampton, East): I hope that we may have some explanation of the precise duties which the Minister of State will perform. It would be interesting if the Foreign Secretary could let us know how it is proposed to allocate his duties between this country and abroad. I am delighted that the appointment has been made. I cannot think of anything more satisfactory for the foreign affairs of this country than that my two right hon. Friends should be associated together in their conduct. I hope that my support will not be too damaging to them. I think that the sum of £1,525 which it is proposed to spend on my right hon. Friend is money which will be very well spent.

The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Eden): It is intended that my right hon. Friend should assist me in the general conduct of foreign policy under the guidance of the War Cabinet. I need hardly say that I warmly welcome his assistance. I have no doubt that I shall stand in need of it, and of any other help I can find, in future as our problems get heavier, as I have no doubt they will.

As regards the actual work, I think the arrangement is really much the same as we have often had in the past in the Foreign Office. We have often had three persons, the Secretary of State and two Under-Secretaries, or perhaps the Secretary of State and the Chancellor of the Duchy, or some other Minister holding an office which does not entail work on its own account, in order to assist our deliberations. Generally, my right hon. Friend will also interest himself in the economic side of our work, as he has been doing, and the knowledge which he has gained at a number of conferences will be invaluable to us.

Question put, and agreed to.

CLASS II

DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR SERVICES

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £3,873, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1944, for the expenses in connection with His Majesty's Embassies, Missions and Consular Establishments Abroad, and other expenditure chargeable to the Consular Vote; certain special grants and payments, including grants-in-aid; and sundry other services."

Mr. Granville (Suffolk, Eye): I gather that we are now considering the Votes in connection with the Inter-Governmental Committee of refugees and relief of prisoners of war and contributions for the funds of the International Red Cross.

The Deputy-Chairman: Yes, that is so.

Mr. Granville: The Paper says that the additional provision required is a contribution towards the funds of the International Red Cross Society

"in recognition of the work of the society in the relief of prisoners of war."

It goes on to say:

"The expenditure out of this grant-in-aid will not be accounted for in detail to the Comptroller and Auditor General."

I quite understand that, but I thought we might have been told a little more about it.

The Minister of State (Mr. Richard Law): I must apologise to the Committee, and in particular to the hon. Member who has just spoken, and who has very kindly given way to me, I was not quite quick enough off the mark, but I hope I shall be able to give him satisfaction on the very important matter that we are discussing.

I do not think that it will be necessary to give any very long or detailed explanation of the first sub-head of the Supplementary Estimate, which is the grant-in-aid for the relief of prisoners of war, in the form of a further contribution towards the Funds of the International Red Cross. The Committee has always supported right through the war the efforts which the International Red Cross have made to improve the lot of prisoners of war and I do not suppose for a moment that the Committee would wish to withhold any further support that they could give to the International Red Cross.

The additional sum required under the Supplementary Estimate is not a big one, £3,873. The purpose of it is to enable the International Red Cross to maintain a sub-office in Shanghai, where they hope, and we hope, they will be able to be of some service to the very large number of British civilians who are interned in Shanghai, and of course, to help too, I hope, the very much smaller number of British prisoners of war who are there. We are quite satisfied that the International Red Cross is doing as much as possibly can be done for our prisoners of war and our fellow countrymen and women who are interned in the Far East. The fact that it cannot do more is in no way due to any lack of good will or of knowledge and effort on the part of the International Red Cross. It is simply, as I am afraid we all know, due to the attitude of the Japanese authorities. I have no doubt that the Committee will approve this grant-in-aid and I will, if I may, pass on to the second sub-head, the grant-in-aid for the Intergovernmental Committee on refugees. Here I think it would probably be for the convenience of the Committee if I dealt with this matter fairly fully, because it is some time since we had a Debate on this tremendously important subject.

This is not the first time that we have had to come to the House to ask for provision for the Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees, but we have never come to the House for provision on this scale, or indeed, anything like it. In 1939, the Committee was asked to provide £1,950, and in 1940 and 1941 provision was made on the same sort of scale. Since then, there has been no vote for the Inter-governmental Committee. Now I am asking the Committee, not for £2,000 but for

£50,000. I think hon. Members will have seen from the Estimate that that is only by way of instalment. On another occasion we shall be asking the Committee to underwrite our proportionate share of what we think may be the expenses of the Inter-governmental Committee in the coming year. That figure is £1,000,000, a provisional figure, and we have undertaken to underwrite £500,000 and the United States have undertaken to underwrite the other £500,000.

The difference between what we were asking in 1939 and 1940 for the Inter-governmental Committee and what we are asking now is an indication of the great growth there has been in this hideous problem of refugees. The comparison between £2,000 and £50,000—or, indeed, £500,000—is not out of place as a comparison of the growth in the horror and complexity of the problem. It is a measure of the determination and seriousness of purpose with which His Majesty's Government and the Government's representative on the Inter-governmental Committee are tackling the refugee problem.

It may be for the convenience of the Committee if I give a brief review of the events which led to the reconstitution of the Inter-governmental Committee. The refugee problem was, unfortunately, already of monstrous proportions before the war, and it is difficult to realise now that, even before the war, when civilised Governments like the Government of this country, and others, were in relation with the German Government, something like 400,000 human beings were being driven like cattle across the borders of Germany and were either expelled, or had to take refuge in other lands, to avoid a worse fate. It was to meet this appalling situation that developed even before the war that the President of the United States took the initiative in summoning a conference at Evian in 1938. Out of that conference grew the Inter-governmental Committee on Refugees.

The primary function of the Inter-governmental Committee in those days was to negotiate with the German Government so that the lot of those unhappy people might be improved and their escape from Germany facilitated. In short, so that the cruelty of the German authorities and the German people might, in some degree, be mitigated. I think it is a fact

[Mr. Law.]
that, before the war, the Inter-governmental Committee was able to do a great deal in mitigation. It co-ordinated the activities of the various voluntary societies and carried out an examination into the prospects of finding other homes for those unhappy people in various parts of the world. On the outbreak of war, all that work had to cease. There was another meeting of the executive of the Inter-governmental Committee in Washington in October, 1939, but, for the next two or three years after that, it never met again. There was, indeed, no scope or work that could usefully be done.

The work of the Inter-governmental Committee seemed to come to an end when the war broke out, but, of course, the problem remained. With every day that passed, the refugee problem increased in size, difficulty and horror, until it is calculated now that, when the war in Europe comes to an end, there will be something like 20,000,000 human beings who have been uprooted from their homes in Europe. A figure like that is so big that it is almost meaningless. It is literally true that the human imagination cannot comprehend the full extent of human misery contained in a figure of that magnitude. It very soon became clear, as the war progressed and as the refugee problem became more acute, that there was a problem which could be tackled with hope of success only upon the international plane. Accordingly, as hon. Members are aware, representatives of His Majesty's Government and the Government of the United States met some months ago at Bermuda, and went exhaustively into the whole refugee problem.

One of the recommendations which the Bermuda conference made was that there should be instituted at once international machinery to deal with the problem, and, as the Inter-governmental Committee still existed—though it had not been active for some time—it was thought to be the most satisfactory form of international machinery. Accordingly, in, I think, August last, the Executive of the Inter-governmental Committee met under the chairmanship of my right hon. Friend the Member for Horsham and Worthing (Earl Winterton). The executive consists, as the Committee are probably aware, of representatives of the United Kingdom,

the United States, the Netherlands, Brazil, the French National Committee of Liberation and Argentina. I would like to take this opportunity of saying how much His Majesty's Government appreciate the fact that the Inter-governmental Committee is still able to call upon the experience of my Noble Friend the Member for Horsham and Worthing in matters concerning refugees, and upon his wide sympathy and deep interest in regard to this matter. I would like at the same time to pay a tribute to the other representatives of other Governments who are serving on the Inter-governmental Committee at the present time. Other Governments are represented by their Ambassadors. It is a remarkable thing that these men, busy and over-burdened as they are, have been able to devote so much time to this hideous problem of refugees. And it is very much to the general advantage that they have been able to give that time, because it is an indication to the world as a whole of the importance which is attached to a solution of it by the respective Governments.

Mr. Lipson (Cheltenham): Does the right hon. Gentleman's reference to the amount of time these members have given mean that this Committee has met frequently since the Bermuda Conference?

Mr. Law: It has met several times since the Bermuda Conference. I know from my own experience that all the members of it take a most keen and deep interest in the problem. The Bermuda Conference recommended that the Inter-governmental Committee should be revived, that its membership should be extended and that its Mandate should also be extended. In accordance with that recommendation the Executive of the Inter-governmental Committee issued invitations to a number of other Governments who had not previously been associated with the work to join the Committee, and I understand that replies have already been received, affirmative replies, from Czechoslovakia, Egypt, India, Luxemburg, Poland, the Union of South Africa and the Soviet Union.

But it was necessary not only to expand the membership. It was necessary also to alter its Mandate. As I said earlier the original function of the Inter-governmental Committee was, in the main, to negotiate with the German

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authorities. Clearly that was no longer possible at the time when the Inter-governmental Committee was revived. It was limited under its original Mandate to dealing with refugees from Germany, Austria, and later on the Sudetenland. Clearly, that again was inappropriate. Its scope had to be much wider than that. Perhaps the most important change that has been made in the Mandate of the Inter-governmental Committee is this: under its original Mandate the Inter-governmental Committee had no financial responsibility of any kind for the maintenance of refugees. Clearly if that provision was maintained it could not do any effective work whatever, so the Mandate was revised, so that there now comes within the purview of the Committee refugees from the whole of Europe, and it was revised further so that the Committee can spend money upon the maintenance, the transfer and preservation of refugees. In other words, in the new reincarnation, the Inter-governmental Committee has changed from being in the main a piece of co-ordinating machinery into an executive office which will be able, of its own initiative, to undertake tasks in connection with the safety of refugees.

I think the Committee is aware that Sir Herbert Emerson, the League of Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, has for some time been the Director of the Inter-governmental Committee. I think it must be a matter for great congratulation that he has been confirmed in his appointment as Director of the Executive Committee. Sir Herbert Emerson, of course, continues to be League of Nations High Commissioner. It is very valuable that the two bodies which are dealing with refugee problems should have a link between them in the person of the Director. I suppose there is no one in this country, or indeed in the world, who has so wide a knowledge of this problem as Sir Herbert Emerson. I am sure too that there is no one whose heart is more deeply in it.

Sir Herbert Emerson is the Director. Under this new organisation an American citizen, Mr. Patrick Malin, who has had great experience of welfare work is Vice-director, and Doctor Sillem of the Netherlands is Secretary-General. In addition, Doctor Kullmann the Deputy League of Nations High Commissioner, is Honorary Assistant Director of the Inter-govern-

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mental Committee. With a team like that, there is, I can assure the Committee, every prospect that the executive machinery of the Inter-governmental Committee on refugees will be built up into as effective a piece of machinery as conditions permit. It is being steadily built up now. I hope very much that the Committee will not press me to go into details of the work of the Inter-governmental Committee. This refugee problem is one of those in which the more one talks about what is being done the less chance there is of achieving any thing. I think the Committee realises that fully as well as I do but I would just like to say this about what has been done.

The Vice-Director, Mr. Malin, is on a visit to North Africa and Italy, where he has been seeing conditions on the spot. The honorary Assistant Director, Doctor Kullmann, has just returned from a visit to Switzerland, where he has been going into the whole question of refugees. It is, I understand, the intention of the Executive Committee to have permanent representatives in those centres which are mainly concerned with the refugee problem. I can assure the Committee that the Inter-governmental Committee is making every possible effort to forward the work of rescue that is consistent with the effective prosecution of the war.

I would like to say just a word about the actual financial arrangements. The administrative expenses of the Inter-governmental Committee are being covered by a percentage contribution by all the member Governments. Our percentage is 12 per cent. and it is calculated that that will amount to £4,000 in the following year. It does not actually appear in this Vote because the Executive have enough funds to carry on until the end of March, but next year the Committee will be asked to make provision for something in the nature of £4,000 for administrative expenses. The operating expenses are another matter. They are likely to be very considerable. Indeed, we must all of us hope that they will be considerable because the greater the expenditure on operations the more chance there is of our being able to do something practical for the relief and rescue of the oppressed peoples of Europe. As I said earlier it has been calculated that operating expenses will amount to

[Mr. Law.]

£1,000,000 in the coming 12 months. The United States Government and ourselves have agreed to underwrite that £1,000,000. It was necessary, I think, to take that action because we could not afford delay, and we could not afford a long period in which neither the Committee nor the Director knew where they stood, but I should make it clear to the Committee that the other member Governments are being asked to contribute to the fullest extent to these operating expenses. I have no doubt that they will wish to share in this very important humanitarian work. Therefore, we may expect that though we are underwriting £500,000 we shall not be called on, in the event, to supply anything like that amount. However that may be I am quite sure that the Committee would not wish the Inter-governmental Committee on refugees to be under any disability at all through lack of finance.

There is just one more thing which perhaps I ought to add. As I have said the Executive Committee has met several times and, of course, it is the Executive Committee which directs and supervises the work of the whole organisation, but it may well be that the time will come when it is desirable to have a plenary meeting of the Committee, and I am able to say now that is being borne in mind by the Executive Committee. When opportunity offers I have no doubt they will give the fullest consideration to the possibility of calling together such a session. I do not think I have anything more to say at this stage. I expect that other hon. Members will be making contributions to our discussion, and if necessary I shall be very glad to reply to them. But I do commend most heartily this Vote to the Committee. I am sure that the Committee will want the Inter-governmental Committee to have the fullest possible support and that the Committee looks forward to its achieving, within the limitations imposed by war, very considerable results.

Mr. Granville: I apologise for having stood between the Committee and that very interesting statement which the right hon. Gentleman has made. I will only detain hon. Members for one of two moments before the Committee go on to discuss the second part of this Vote on Refugees. I would like very briefly to

refer to prisoners of war under the heading BB, which is:

"Relief of prisoners of war; contribution towards the funds of the International Red Cross (Grant in Aid)."

I understand from the right hon. Gentleman that the sum which is being voted is £3,873. As he says, of course, the Committee will not grudge the Government this item. I am sorry it is so small. I understood from the Minister for State that it is our contribution towards the setting up of an office in the Far East by the International Red Cross Society. I was rather sorry that the right hon. Gentleman did not tell us a little more about this because we have all a considerable number of constituents who are extremely anxious after the statement which was made in the House by the Foreign Secretary with regard to what is happening to our prisoners in the Far East, and the atrocities that have been committed by the Japanese. Although I understand that there is a great deal of anxiety and tremendous interest in this problem of the international refugees I am sorry that the right hon. Gentleman did not take a little more time in his speech to tell us what it is hoped to achieve by the setting up of this office by the International Red Cross in Shanghai because, so far—I shall be very brief about this—we have had, I think, two statements from the Foreign Secretary about what is happening out there, and we have also had a statement from someone connected with the International Red Cross. My view is that there is a feeling in the minds of the relatives and dependants of our prisoners of war in the Far East that these statements are somewhat contradictory. One was reassuring and others gave facts of brutal treatment. I realise that it might be difficult for the Foreign Secretary to give us all the information which is available to him from men who have escaped from the Far East, but I think it would be better if he could give us a little more information on what is intended with regard to this office which is to be set up. Is it hoped that, as a result, His Majesty's Government or our military authorities or the Red Cross will be able to make some contact with the Japanese Government, and make representations which will secure an alleviation of the conditions of our prisoners of war in their hands?

Mr. Law: I am extremely sorry if I gave the impression that I was dealing in a

cursorial way with the questions which the hon. Member has just touched upon. I certainly appreciate fully, and I do not think anybody could fail to appreciate, the deep anxiety which prevails throughout the country about the conditions of our prisoners of war and internees—

Mr. Granville: I thought the right hon. Gentleman wished to interrupt me. Perhaps I might be allowed to finish, as I have already been interrupted once. I know the difficulties of the Foreign Office. The difficulties of distance and the attitude of the Japanese constitute a tremendous handicap to the Government in trying to get improvement in the state of affairs, but I hope the Government will remember that this Japanese war may go on for years. What is to happen? I ask them to put themselves in the position of the dependants of these prisoners, who suddenly get this statement from the Foreign Secretary after they had received post-cards from prisoners saying that they were well treated.

The Deputy-Chairman: The hon. Member said he hoped the Debate would be short. He is now going into the question of the length of the war and a great many other things. This is a narrow Amendment, and I hope that he will keep to it.

Mr. Granville: Very well. I will confine myself to saying that I hope that in setting up this office no money will be spared, and no amount of initiative be lacking on the part of the Government in supporting the Red Cross, so that we shall have more information as to what is happening to our prisoners of war who are suffering in Japanese hands. I hope that the right hon. Gentleman will give a full assurance on that point.

Mr. Law: I apologise for interrupting the hon. Member just now. I thought he had finished. I was saying that we were conscious of the very deep interest in the House and in the country on the matters on which the hon. Member has touched. He asked whether the opening of this new office would lead to more success in the representations made by the International Red Cross to the Japanese authorities. It is really impossible to give any answer. One must hope that it will lead to improvement. It will certainly lead—I think it is bound to lead—to some improvement. The functions of the International Red Cross, as the hon. Member is probably

aware, are to transmit lists of prisoners of war, to distribute parcels, to visit camps, and so on. The Japanese authorities have been extremely stiff about allowing the International Red Cross to exercise their rights: in fact, they have not allowed them to exercise their rights, in spite of repeated representations, in what are called the occupied territories, the Philippines, Malaya, the Netherlands East Indies, and so on.

Mr. Mathers (Linlithgow): Are the Japanese authorities parties to the Convention?

Mr. Law: I will tell my hon. Friend that in a moment. As I was saying, in spite of repeated pressure from the International Red Cross and the protecting Power, the Japanese have refused to allow any visits to camps in the occupied territories. With regard to the obligations of the Japanese under the Geneva Convention, the Japanese Government did not ratify the Convention, but at the beginning of the war in the Far East they said that they were going to observe its provisions. How little they have kept their word the Committee are aware.

Miss Rathbone (Combined English Universities): While I do not intend to trouble the Committee with a very long speech, I am afraid I shall have to depart from the welcome brevity which has marked practically all the speeches in to-day's Debates, because I have a fair amount to say about the work of this Committee. This is the first opportunity we have had since 19th May of a general Debate on the refugee question. When some of us have asked in recent months for such an opportunity, we have been reminded that the opportunity would come when we discussed this Vote. That is my excuse for going in a little more detail into some of the questions which are troubling myself and others who are interested in refugees. Is it not rather significant of the importance attached to different aspects of the question, that not long ago we spent an entire day discussing U.N.R.R.A., and that the amount we then voted was £80,000,000, while now, when we have our first opportunity since May of discussing the work of the Inter-governmental Committee, the subject is sandwiched in between other subjects on a very busy day, and the amount we are asked to vote is £50,000. I was glad to hear that that

[Miss Rathbone.] covers only administrative expenses, and that the expenditure on the operative work of the Committee is likely to be something in the nature of £1,000,000.

I am not making any comparison between the Inter-Governmental Committee and U.N.R.R.A. U.N.R.R.A. covers a vast field. Its job is to deal with the whole post-war problem of rehabilitating distressed Europe. Dealing with displaced populations, who include refugees—that seems the new fashionable term for refugees—is only one part of its work. But this Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees also covers a pretty vast field. Consider some of its responsibilities. I noted that my right hon. Friend said that he did not want to go into detail in discussing its work, and that it would be better not to go into details. I quite recognise that, but there are certain facts known to us all as to the kind of work it has to do. First, it is responsible, I gather, for concerting immediate rescue measures for the victims of Nazi oppression, so far as they are dependent upon inter-governmental action; for instance, the removal from the neutral States of the overflow of those refugees they have taken in, and the maintenance of those refugees who are removed from neutral countries to havens of temporary refuge, and also of refugees who have escaped directly from enemy areas. We heard that the Deputy-Director, Mr. Malin, has been in Italy and North Africa, where, no doubt, he was considering that problem. We know that many thousands of refugees were found in that part of Italy which has now been liberated from the enemy.

Also, in regard to its post-war plans—and I attach extreme importance to this—the Committee is responsible for negotiating arrangements with neutral Powers as to what help we can give them in removing, now or after the war, the burden of refugees that they carry, so that they may be willing to take larger numbers. Obviously, what the small neutrals do largely depends on whether the burden is going to be a permanent burden or whether they can count on other nations relieving them of a part of it or assisting them with the maintenance of their refugees. For all this work what machinery has the Inter-Governmental Committee? It has a small office,

with several rooms, in Lower Regent Street. It has four people, whose identity has been described by my right hon. Friend: Sir Herbert Emerson, his American deputy, his Swiss deputy, and the Dutch secretary to the Committee—an admirable team. I know them all. I have the highest esteem for them all. They have wide experience and great knowledge of refugee problems, and their hearts are in their jobs. Sir Herbert, especially, has worked at this problem for a long time. He has a background of Civil Service experience and very great knowledge. We can be confident that any work done by a team like that will be done with the utmost discretion, with high technical efficiency. No rash promises will be made, and there will be no unwise publicity. It will all be in the best traditions of British and other diplomacy. But that technique has its disadvantages. It is inevitably slow—work that has to be consented to by a large number of nations working together has, I suppose, inevitably to be slow.

But when one thinks of the machinery of that little office, with three or four rooms, four people, with their two or three typists, and £50,000 which we are voting to-day for their expenses, one thinks of the tasks allotted to them. How many of the millions of men, women and children who are threatened not merely with death, but with torture, can be rescued? What is to be done with them if they are rescued, and, then, what is to be done with them after the war? It is just a little as though, seeing a number of people escaping from a hungry tiger, you sent after them a stage coach, drawn by four white horses, when what you needed was a Rolls-Royce. It seems rather a leisurely machine, and a small machine. I am not complaining; I suppose an Inter-Governmental Committee has to work in that way. We have been told that there are 36 member States on that Committee. They have not yet met in plenary session, but we are told that a meeting is likely to be arranged. That is not likely to lead to a quick result. When you have 36 Government representatives meeting together like this, every one of them will ask, "What does my Government think of it?" before they agree to anything. Then as to their Executive. I am not going to criticise them in the least. I have no justification for doing so, and I am told that they

work together admirably, but it is rather odd to note that you have the Argentine also—I make no comment, but note the name—and also the Netherlands and Brazil as members, the Liberation Committee of France is a member, and the other two members are the United States and ourselves. So far so good, but it is rather curious that most of the countries which are the chief victims of persecution, such as Poland, Czechoslovakia and the U.S.S.R. are not, as far as I know, represented on this Executive. Nor are the chief neutral countries which have space to receive refugees—Sweden and Switzerland. The Executive was appointed in 1938, but it has never been reviewed or added to with a view to making it rather more realistic. Is it not possible for something to be done about that?

Now I come to a more important point. Many of us have had our minds on this point for over a year, and we then suggested that what was wanted in this country was a new organ of Government which would co-operate with the Inter-Governmental Committee so as to secure the full-time concentration of first-class minds on this question. Well, only two or three weeks ago the United States did that very thing. President Roosevelt set up a War Refugee Board, composed of the Secretary of State, Mr. Cordell Hull, the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Morgenthau, and the Secretary of State for War, Mr. Stimson. We have a sub-committee of the Cabinet here composed of three equally eminent Ministers, but the difference is that the American Board's functions are clearly defined and it has a full-time Executive Director. Its functions are set out in a pamphlet—which I have here—

The Deputy-Chairman: I think we are getting a little wide, because if it is possible to pay a tribute to the American representatives on this Board, in a wide way, such as is now being done, it would be equally possible to criticise them, and it is not within the duty of this Committee to criticise or otherwise comment on the representatives of a foreign Government in that way. I did not wish to stop the hon. Lady before, but I do not think we must go any further.

Miss Rathbone: I bow to your Ruling, Mr. Williams, but the point I wanted to make was that the Inter-Governmental

Committee can only act, just as the League of Nations did, through the individual Governments represented on the Committee. It cannot do anything itself except on a small scale, because all its action depends upon what the individual Governments may do, and, therefore, I want to say that, while we gladly vote this money, we should supplement the work of this Committee by insisting that an organ similar to the Board in the United States, with a full-time executive director in constant touch with the director in the United States, should be set up. The American Board has direct access to the President himself. The object is that it would make it so much easier for the Inter-Governmental Committee to do its work if it had in London a body representing His Majesty's Government which really is carrying out the recommendations made by the Inter-Governmental Committee.

This is a vast problem. This Inter-Governmental Committee is an inevitably slow mechanism in tackling so vast a problem as the problem with which it has to deal. There are questions of shipping and transport, collecting of refugees, questions as to where refugees are to be kept until permanently settled, and questions of negotiations with neutrals. There are questions of food supplies and so forth. It is a huge business, and it is the one hope of rescue for millions of people, nearly every one, in a way, a separate problem. You really cannot work it unless the nations represented on the Committee have their separate machinery for co-operation with the Inter-Governmental Committee, for perpetually working backwards and forwards as between it and themselves to carry out the projects planned on a far bigger scale than would be possible if the work depended on a Committee with so small a mechanism of operation.

This is my last word. I ask the Committee to recognise that we in this country have a rather special responsibility for this Inter-Governmental Committee. We ought to take the initiative and set a lead to other nations by what we ourselves are doing to help the Inter-Governmental Committee. For one thing, the Committee is situated in London, while the headquarters of U.N.R.R.A. are in the United States, where we expect that a good deal of the planning out will be

[Miss Rathbone.]

done. The chairman of the Inter-Governmental Committee and the British representative on it is the Noble Lord the Member for Horsham (Earl Winterton), and therefore the Committee looks a good deal to him, because we know his great interest in this problem, and we want to see that he is able to say to his Committee that the British Government is going to do so-and-so and thus give a lead for the whole of the world. There is another reason for our special responsibility. We know that though very many of these threatened millions are non-Jewish, the majority of them are Jewish—the Jews being the one race which Hitler threatens with wholesale extermination of men, women and children, and he is doing it. He threatens to exterminate the entire Jewish population of Europe. Well, we hold the gates of Palestine and we promised the Jews a National Home there—

The Deputy-Chairman: I am afraid the hon. Lady must keep off Palestine and the Home for Jews. If we once begin to discuss that, there will be absolutely no end to it, and it has nothing to do with the Question before the Committee.

Miss Rathbone: In our hearts, it was very much to do with it, because we always remember how many people are already massacred who might be alive and happy now if they had been allowed to go to that promised land. We remember also that the British Empire is a big place. If I cannot mention Palestine, for God's sake, let us find a place somewhere in the Empire where these people can get in. I was reminded by the Under-Secretary for the Home Department in putting a question—

The Deputy-Chairman: We cannot go into Home Office matters on this Vote.

Miss Rathbone: I will not go further with it. But if it was a mistake to mention the Home Office, it was not my mistake but that of the Under-Secretary in telling me that I should be able to raise the question on this Vote. We vote this money gladly and only wish that the sum we are voting was larger. I hope the Vote for the operational activities of the Inter-Governmental Committee, which we shall be asked to agree to later, will be larger because we have a heavy responsibility in this matter. Let us save

all the threatened victims we can and not grudge the money, but vote it gladly.

Mr. Lipson (Cheltenham): I am sure the Committee will understand why it was somewhat difficult for the hon. Lady to keep within the rules of debate. We know how very strongly she feels on this subject, and how much she has done herself to arouse public opinion to a sense of responsibility in the treatment of refugees, and we are extremely grateful to her. I welcome the increase in the amount of the grant from £2,000 to £50,000, with the promise of underwriting £1,000,000 for further operations, because this increased expenditure, I hope, means an increase of activity. One naturally asks oneself—Is the amount that is being spent even now enough, and are we really tackling this problem as it ought to be tackled, because we were reminded by the right hon. Gentleman, in introducing the Vote, that this is a problem which is really beyond what the imagination can conceive, and therefore the action dealing with it ought to be in accordance with the need. We were asked not to inquire into the details of the work. We will respect that request, but we are very much left in the dark as to what actually is being done. So far as we are told today, all that has been done is that certain machinery has been set up, but we did not find, in the information given to us, any sense of urgency or of the importance of the time factor. There are millions of tragedies behind this particular problem, so we ask ourselves how many lives are being saved and whether this problem can be tackled only by the orthodox method associated with inter-governmental committees.

I would like to ask the member of that Committee in what spirit they approach this problem. Do they see it in this light? Supposing the positions were reversed, and, instead of them being an inter-governmental committee trying to bring succour and relief to victims of Nazi terror, they were those victims and were themselves the refugees? Could they honestly say that they themselves, in those circumstances, would be satisfied with what was being done by the Inter-Governmental Committee? It seems to me that that is a very fair test. But for the grace of God, the position might have been reversed, and, instead of the Inter-Governmental Committee being in the

position of being able to help, they might themselves have been needing this help, and I want to submit, in all earnestness, that that is the test they should apply to this problem. I have to confess that I cannot find anything in the record of achievement of the Inter-Governmental Committee to justify any very great confidence that they are alive to the urgency of this problem, and that the action they have taken is commensurate with the need.

Mr. Silverman: Will the hon. Member not agree that, within the limits which they exercise, they do show a sense of urgency, and that, after all, we should be very grateful to them?

Mr. Lipson: Surely the answer to that is this—that, if the limits of their powers are too narrow or too confined, the Committee ought to say so, instead of saying that they are able to deal with the problem, when they know they are not in a position to do so.

Earl Winterton (Horsham and Worthing): I gather that my hon. Friend is criticising my Ambassadorial colleagues on the Committee and myself—the representatives of the United States and other countries—when he talks of "they." It is only in order to make the point clear that I have interrupted.

Mr. Lipson: We are asked to vote a sum of money towards the work of an Inter-Governmental Committee. It is only right that we should ask, Are we getting value for the money that is being spent?; is enough money being spent?; and is the dividend in the shape of lives being saved adequate?

Whereupon, the GENTLEMAN USHER OF THE BLACK ROD being come with a Message, The CHAIRMAN left the Chair.

Mr. SPEAKER resumed the Chair.

ROYAL ASSENT

Message to attend the Lords Commissioners.

The House went; and having returned—Mr. SPEAKER reported the Royal Assent to:

1. Landlord and Tenant (Requisitioned Land) Act, 1944.
2. Courts (Emergency Powers) (Scotland) Act, 1944.

3. Prize Salvage Act, 1944.
4. Guardianships (Refugee Children) Act, 1944.
5. Supreme Court of Judicature (Amendment) Act, 1944.
6. Disabled Persons (Employment) Act, 1944.
7. House of Commons Disqualification (Temporary Provisions) Act, 1944.
8. Income Tax (Offices and Employments) Act, 1944.

SUPPLY

Again considered in Committee.

[MAJOR MILNER in the Chair]

Question again proposed:

"That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £53,873, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1944, for the expenses in connection with His Majesty's Embassies, Missions and Consular Establishments Abroad, and other expenditure chargeable to the General Vote; certain special grants and payments, including grants in aid; and sundry other services."

Mr. Lipson: I should like to make it clear that, in the remarks that I am making, I am not concerned with personalities but with a very great tragic human problem. I have to ask myself whether the machinery and the means we have taken to deal with this problem bear a proper relation to it, and are adequate. This matter of the rescue of refugees is on my conscience, as I believe it is on the conscience of a great many people, and we in this Committee have a very definite responsibility in the matter.

Therefore I would say this. It may be necessary to conceal a great deal of the work of the Committee, but many of us feel that we are not in a position to estimate the value and the importance and the seriousness of the work that this Committee is carrying out, and we would like a complete assurance as to whether the machinery is adequate for its purpose or not and, if it is adequate, that the machinery is being used to the full so that the object in mind may be achieved. We would also like an assurance that the Committee will not hesitate to use, if need be, unorthodox methods to try and save human lives. We would also like it to be considered whether it is advisable to supplement the action taken by the Inter-Governmental Committee by similar action

[Mr. Lipson.]
to that which President Roosevelt has found it necessary to take in America—he was apparently so impressed with the urgency of the problem that he thought inter-governmental machinery by itself was not sufficient. I would like further consideration to be given to that matter.

We in this country are engaged in a life and death struggle. That was true when we began the war, it still is true, and we can only hope to succeed in that struggle by God's help. If we go to God and ask Him to help us in our trouble, I think we ought to put ourselves in a position to say to Him that we have helped those we were in a position to help. That is the test which I would apply to the work of this Inter-Governmental Committee. Here are these hapless refugees, for whom we have a special responsibility. Can we honestly say, with a clear conscience, that impressed by the urgency of the problem, by the importance of the time factor, we have done everything that is humanly possible to save human lives? Unless we can give a satisfactory answer to that, I submit we have not done what we ought to have done. To do anything less than the maximum possible in a problem of this kind, is simply not good enough.

Mr. Silverman (Nelson and Colne): I would like at once to dissociate myself, and any organisation interested in this matter with which I may be concerned, from any kind of criticism, implied or express, direct or indirect, of the Inter-Governmental Committee. So far as I am aware its work is done with efficiency and urgency and in a spirit of co-operation to which no one who speaks with any sense of responsibility, could fail to pay earnest and sincere tribute. Nobody would pretend, however, that the work they are doing is going to rescue all those threatened by the evil thing that stalks throughout Europe to-day. I will have a word or two to say about that a little later on, but I thought it was right to say so much at once, so that there should be no doubt about it.

We are concerned to-day with a Supplementary Estimate and we cannot bring in and debate large issues of general policy. One can only deal with the new circumstances that have necessitated a Supplementary Estimate at all, new cir-

cumstances that have arisen since 19th May, I think it was, when last the House or the Committee had any opportunity of discussing these matters. There have been, since 19th May, great changes in Europe in the circumstances that these measures are designed to meet. John Pehle, a member of the executive of the body in America charged with these matters, said the other day, quite rightly, that unless this job were done within the next few months there would be no job left to do. It is in that spirit that the problem has to be approached. I would like to direct the attention of the Committee to some of the things that have in fact been happening since May of last year, because, not merely do things happen, but we get knowledge of them. I have a copy of a document which has reached London. It only concerns Poland and I think it only concerns the Jews. May I, in passing, say that I speak in this matter as a Jew, and as a Jew I would say at once that this is by no means entirely a Jewish problem—not by any means—and no Jew, knowing the facts, would think that it was, or would lose any opportunity of pointing out that it was not.

It remains true, however, what the hon. Lady said, that it is very largely a Jewish question, and that among the refugees the Jews are the only ones against whom the Nazis have declared a policy of complete extermination, regarding them—as they expressly say—as belligerent enemies. I do not quite know what they mean by that because, if the Jews were really belligerent enemies, I suppose the Geneva Convention would apply to them, and certainly no attempt is made to make it apply. But the Nazis regard themselves as making war upon them in the sense of rooting them out utterly, in an endeavour to solve what is sometimes called the Jewish question by the extermination in Europe of any Jews at all. That policy is to be resisted from outside, but it is also resisted from within, and I want to draw the attention of the Committee to some things that are happening. This report comes from the Jewish National Committee, operating somewhere in Poland, and it reached London in February of this year. In this report it is stated—

"Last month we still reckoned the number of Jews in the whole territory of Poland as 250,000 to 300,000. In a few weeks not more

than 50,000 of us will remain. In the last moment before death the remnants of Polish Jewry appeal for help to the whole world. The blood shed by 3,000,000 Jews in Poland will pursue not only the Hitlerite beasts but all those who uttered words but did not act to save a people condemned to extermination by the Hitlerite murderers. May this, perhaps our last voice from the abyss, reach the ears of the whole world."

There follow descriptions of mass murders.

"In the early days of November, 1943, all the Jews in the two large concentration camps in Poland numbering 25,000 people, were completely annihilated. On Wednesday, November 3rd, the 10,000 Jews in the camp of Travniki were marched out, surrounded and machine-gunned. The women and children were loaded into 50 lorries, transported to the execution place and murdered by machine-gunning. On Friday, November 5th, several thousand Jews were massacred in a similar way in the district of Lublin."

I am not going to weary the Committee with a further recital of horrors, but there are others of the same kind. They resist.

"On the fourth day, the Jewish youth of Bialystok attacked their persecutors with hand-grenades, fire bombs and a couple of machine-guns, killing and wounding several hundred Germans and Ukrainians. The Germans brought up, as in Warsaw, field-artillery and tanks with 1,000 armed policemen and S.S. and many detachments of Ukrainians. They set fire to the Ghetto from all sides. The violent fighting continued for eight days. Afterwards, the Jews set fire to, and destroyed the notorious death-camp of Treblinka in the region of Chelm-Lublin. The Jews organised themselves into fighting groups and attacked the Germans and Ukrainians, disarming and killing the majority of them. They burnt the gas-chambers and the crematoria, and the survivors fled to the forests in the neighbourhood."

It is against that kind of background that we are considering to-day this Supplementary Estimate. It will grow as military defeat after military defeat is forced upon the Germans. As they retreat, the last retiring German soldier will kill the last available Jew. What proposals have we to make about that? I would like to make one or two practical suggestions. I understand that the right hon. Gentleman is going to reply. I cannot ask him to give positive and constructive replies to all the things that I propose to suggest now, but I do hope they will be urgently and sympathetically considered, and that if anything can be done about it, it will be done without undue delay.

When the news first became known of this active initiation of the policy of complete extermination, there was enacted in this Chamber an historic scene, when a

declaration was made of the intentions of all the United Nations. That declaration was simultaneously made elsewhere. I would suggest to the right hon. Gentleman that the time has come when a new declaration might be made. It is doubtful whether it has very much effect, but it has some. We do know that there are people in Europe who listen. We do know that there are people in Europe who react. We have information about heroic acts done in enemy-occupied countries which have the effect of actual rescue, and many of us think that a new declaration made now, a new joint warning by the heads of the Allied Nations, might be heard. But not only a warning: a declaration, that the satellite States could hear, about the special measures they could take to stop the deportation, persecution and killing of the Jews. A call made in the name of the leaders of the United Nations to the peoples of Europe to do what they could to prevent massacres, and the deportations preliminary to massacres. It is not a thing which requires any expenditure of money, energy or machinery; it is a declaration which, if it succeeded in saving any lives, would be justified. I think it is realised that the declaration that was made before was not altogether without effect. A new one made now might be very opportune indeed. Certainly the neglect of it would be difficult to justify if there was only the remotest prospect that the making of it would succeed in saving any lives at all.

I would like to say something about the particular machinery that this Supplementary Estimate is designed to pay for. I have already said something about the spirit in which the work of this Committee is done, but they are charged with looking after refugees, that is to say, looking after people who have already escaped. It is only when a man, woman or child has succeeded in escaping from somewhere or other that he or she comes under such jurisdiction and powers as the Inter-Governmental Committee possess. Obviously, that cannot be enough, because there ought to be some way of creating refugees, of getting people out so that they could acquire the status of refugees and this machinery become responsible for them. I am inclined to think that it was along those lines that the United States were thinking when they set up the United States War Refugees Board.

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[Mr. Silverman.]

We have been asked not to talk too much about certain matters and nobody would dream of doing so but people can be got out, they are being got out, and some attempt ought to be made at active rescue.

If the United States thought it worth while to set up special Government machinery alongside the Inter-Governmental Committee might it not be worth while to consider whether we, too, ought not to set up parallel machinery in this country? I do not refer to this by way of praise, censure or criticism of the United States at all; I point to it as an example of the way in which one of our principal Allies is attempting to meet their obligations when faced with exactly the same problem. It was not a light thing for the United States to do. They have not set up their Board merely for the sake of adding machinery to machinery. Presumably, there is a practical function which that Board will carry out. If that is so is it not reasonable to inquire whether similar machinery might not be set up here to carry out the same kind of functions, which, I think, are distinguished from the functions of the Inter-Governmental Committee, in the way I have indicated?

May I say, in passing, that I am afraid there is a growing feeling that the initiative in these matters, the active urgency of endeavour, is passing from London to Washington? I think that if there were any justification for such a view it would be a very great pity, because we here have a proud and long record of rescue of the victims of political and religious persecution, extending over many centuries. It is one of our proudest traditions; it is one of the things we stand for in the world. Nobody pretends that we have ceased to stand for it, but there is a tendency to push over the initiative in these matters to the United States of America. I think we ought to be careful of that; we ought to resume the initiative ourselves. It is not merely in accordance with our traditions to do so, but also because we are 3,000 miles nearer the scene. I am not at all sure whether some of the machinery we have here is not a little cumbersome, whether the delay in considering matters, reaching plans and carrying them out is not longer than sometimes it might be. I know that the Minister feels as keenly about these

matters as I do, but I would invite him most earnestly to look again at this aspect of the question and make quite certain that our country does not take the second place, instead of the first place, which both practical politics and our traditions would compel us to occupy.

I would like to see created in this country machinery parallel to the United States War Refugees Board. I would like to see it done in a large way, in such a way as would make it clear to the world that we do recognise the heavy obligations which rest on our shoulders in these matters and that we do not intend to lag behind anybody in the discharge of those obligations. I would like to urge continued and even closer co-operation with those bodies in the world which are charged with the responsibility of practical rescue wherever it is possible. Bodies like the World Jewish Congress and the National Rescue Committee in Palestine are both actively engaged in such rescue work as can be done. I would like to see a method evolved of associating bodies of that kind with the Inter-Governmental Committee, with the State machinery, wherever it may be set up, concerning itself with active rescue and organisation of rescue. A large number of people who are getting out are Stateless. They themselves might be organised and be an some way or other represented on these bodies, because nobody knows more about the means of rescue than they do. I need not say any more about other matters which have been dealt with by my hon. Friend the Member for the Combined English Universities (Miss Rathbone).

In conclusion, may I repeat that the urgency of this matter is extreme, that it is literally true that those you save within the next few months will be the only ones who can be saved, since afterwards none will be left? Do not let us have it on our conscience that there were people who might have been saved but who were not saved because we were not willing to take from our other pressing obligations the time, energy or machinery necessary to save them. If the employment of that time, energy or machinery were to delay victory by a single day none of us would ask for it to be taken, but it is not correct to say that the only way of saving these people is by ensuring a quicker victory. As defeat crowds upon defeat for the enemy so massacre crowds upon massacre.

The very coming of victory may mean the extermination of the last remnants of the Jewish people in Europe. Well, if that sacrifice were necessary in order again to bring freedom to the world, let it be made. But no one is certain that it is necessary. At any rate, do not let it be on our conscience that there were any lives at all that might have been saved that we neglected to save.

Lieut.-Colonel Sir Walter Smiles (Blackburn): I intervene in this Debate only after hearing the last two speeches. One would imagine that the only refugees in the world at present were Jews. Great publicity is given to every atrocity against the Jews, and it is the feeling of many people in this country that so times the publicity is given to the Jews in this matter as to members of other races who are maltreated or murdered. That feeling is springing up, and it would be just as well for my hon. Friend the Member for Cheltenham (Mr. Lipson) and my hon. Friend the Member for Nelson and Colne (Mr. Silverman) not to forget that.

Mr. Lipson: I did not mention the word "Jew" once in my speech.

Mr. Silverman: Perhaps the hon. and gallant Member opposite would do me the courtesy of remembering that I expressly said in my speech very much what he is saying now.

Sir W. Smiles: I apologise if I am wrong, but we shall see in Hansard later what was said. At any rate, I think the hon. Member for Nelson and Colne mentioned some organisation for rescue work in connection with Jewish refugees.

Mr. Silverman: I expressly said that this problem was not by any means an exclusive Jewish problem and that no Jew thought it was so. I also said that, nevertheless, it was largely a Jewish problem.

Miss Rathbone: I think I know all the organisations working on this problem. We are perpetually stressing that it is not only a Jewish problem. Many non-Jewish people have been, and are being, victimised, but the majority of the victims are Jews. Everybody knows that that is so. Hitler's policy of exterminating a whole people is confined to the Jews. They are the principal victims.

Sir W. Smiles: I expected to have a good many interruptions, because no-

body can mention a topic like this without exciting a good deal of feeling. But I always imagined that the Jews were members of a religion and not of a race. For that reason it would surely be better for us to talk about the Poles or the Greeks, or any one else, and include the Jews in that. I have been in touch with some of the Polish organisations during the past week and I have heard something of the terrible atrocities committed and the massacres, and I have heard of the gas chambers. I have believed what I have heard to be true, although when you hear it for the first time you would almost imagine that it was far-fetched. However, after hearing of these things from peoples lips one believes them to be true, even in 1944. But these people were talking about the Poles that were massacred; they were not talking about those of one religion. If we are to give relief and help—and I am quite sure that every penny the Foreign Secretary asks for would be agreed to without demur in this House—let us at any rate give to the Belgians and the Greeks also. I get letters from my own constituency, from the Society of Friends I think it is, and they tell me that the Belgians and the Greeks have suffered more than any one else. I suppose nobody really knows, perhaps even the Foreign Secretary himself hardly knows, who has suffered the most, but I am quite sure that when a Debate on this subject takes place it will be very much better for the newspapers to give publicity to the fact that we are voting money for the Greeks, the Poles and the Belgians rather than for those of one religion only.

Mr. Graham White (Birkenhead, East): Whatever the hon. Member for Nelson and Colne (Mr. Silverman) may or may not have said in the course of his speech, there was one sentence which will dwell in the memory of all who heard it, and that was the striking phrase that if the sacrifice were necessary of all the Jewish lives in order that liberty might come again to the world, then let it be made. Having made that statement, I do not think anyone would want to cavil at anything else he might have said. He expressly said in his opening sentences that he was not speaking for the Jews alone and, indeed, who would propose to limit this discussion to the question of the Jews? We are, in fact, living witnesses of a most repugnant phenomenon

[Mr. White.] We have enemies inspired by a fanaticism which apparently is even stronger than any inspiration and effort which has been inspired by good purposes. In the last few weeks they have stated their intention to fight to the last man in this fifth year of war and then to commit suicide in large numbers. They are inspired by the same fanaticism to wreak their vengeance on anybody who would prevent them.

I would support the hon. Member for Nelson and Colne in his suggestion that machinery, the counterpart of that which has been set up in Washington, might be set up in this country if I did not believe that the right hon. Gentleman who carries the responsibility in this House had not considered it an unworkable piece of machinery. I hope it might at least go forth from the House of Commons to-day that as we were all of one mind when we passed the original Resolution on this matter so there is no difference of opinion among us to-day. We Members of the House of Commons are aware that there are some aspects of this terrible manifestation that it might be unwise to discuss. We realise that may be so, and we are consequently very guarded in anything we may say.

What we do want from the right hon. Gentleman is an assurance that nothing which could conceivably be done to save even one life will be neglected. My hon. Friend the Member for Nelson and Colne said that, as events march on, there may in a few months be no problem of this particular kind to solve, but I am not sure that I am as pessimistic as that. There are events on the horizon which will make the satellite countries reflect very seriously as to their course of action and it may well be, sooner rather than later, that events will take place which will make some of the satellite countries, who are now holding down large populations, consider very seriously whether even at this late stage they cannot do something which can be placed on the credit side of their balance sheet. I do not know what can be done. The right hon. Gentleman may have some means at his disposal, and I emphasise that aspect of the affair. I only intervened because I wanted to express my conviction that we were unanimous in the matter: There has never been any difference of opinion. We, as individual

Members, have not the responsibility; it lies upon the shoulders of my right hon. Friend, and he himself must seek the best way out.

Mr. Astor (Fulham, East): I am going to back up the words spoken with such eloquence by the hon. Member for East Birkenhead (Mr. G. White). I am interested in the refugee question, and in the Middle East I actually had to look after a very large refugee camp of Greeks. I want to make one or two points which I think are important. It is very important to keep perfectly separate the refugee question and Palestine. We were able to get enormous help in the Lebanon, Palestine and Egypt from the local inhabitants because there was no question of creating—

The Chairman: I am sorry to interrupt the hon. Member but we cannot discuss conditions in Palestine on this Vote.

Mr. Astor: With great deference I will avoid that point. I only wanted to skate over it very briefly, because it has, to some extent, almost prejudiced the possibility of getting Jewish refugees out of Eastern Europe, and I think that, whatever may be people's feeling in the matter, it does not in any way take away from the Christian duty to get as many of these refugees out as we possibly can. If we neglect to do anything now which can possibly be done, we shall curse ourselves later on for our short sightedness. In the recent pamphlet of my right hon. Friend the Minister of Health it said there were not enough dentists in this country to provide treatment for all the children in need of it. I wonder how many Jewish dentists before the war—

The Chairman: The hon. Gentleman is now encroaching upon the Home Office. That matter does not arise here.

Mr. Astor: I only wanted to suggest certain considerations which might influence a representative of that Committee in his attitude towards refugees.

Earl Winterton (Horsham and Worthing): I can give my hon. Friend the assurance that my opinion will not be biased by any of the matters he has mentioned, one way or the other.

Mr. Astor: I very much regret that my noble Friend is not going to be influenced to some extent—

Earl Winterton: My hon. Friend is trenching on a very dangerous form of argument. I have no Ministerial responsibility. Ministerial responsibility rests with my right hon. Friend opposite. I merely represent his views.

Mr. Astor: I am very sorry if anything I say may not be able to sway my noble Friend, but I hope I am still at liberty to mention certain considerations in which he may take an interest on reflection. I hope we shall not follow the American system of setting up a special office, because all my experience is that these new mushroom Government Departments are never strong enough to deal with a really strongly-entrenched Government Department.

The Chairman: The hon. Member is not entitled to discuss the arrangements made by another country. Will he please confine himself to the subject matter of the Estimate.

Mr. Astor: With deference, Major Mälnér, the hon. Member for Nelson and Colne (Mr. Silverman) mentioned the possibility of having some form of separate office. I do not want to go further than he did. I was only following up what he said on the purely practical point that it is not the best system of organisation to start a special body but to get a really high official in an existing Department specifically charged with this. On the question of what we can say to neutral countries, the principle has been admitted that the satellite Powers can work their passage back. We have definitely made a distinction between the treatment of Germany and the treatment of the satellites. We must make it absolutely clear that one of the factors influencing our treatment of the satellite Powers after the war is their attitude towards the refugees within their borders. There is a wide divergence, and we should make it quite clear and explain to them that in our relief operations immediately after the war, in any sanctions that we may impose, in our general treatment of them politically, this will be a factor which will definitely influence our treatment of them. I want to reiterate what has been said, that this should go out from the House of Commons as having been backed up by representatives of every party.

Mr. D. Grenfell (Gower): I should like to follow in the same direction and in

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the same tone as the hon. Member for East Fulham (Mr. Astor). If I were not able to convince the Committee that this is a case of exceptional urgency I should not have felt it worth while to listen to the speeches already made. My first reflection is that we are a highly fortunate body of politicians to occupy the only available place in Europe for a discussion on this subject. In this small island we are separated from the mainland of Europe by a very narrow sea, and we have been able to escape the sense of dread, fear and horror which closer acquaintance with the problem has conveyed to people in various parts of Europe. This is not really a Jewish question, though the Jewish people are involved to perhaps a greater extent than anyone else. There are other refugees—Greeks, Yugoslavs, Belgians, French, Norwegians and Danes have been mentioned—many of whom have found a home away from home and many of whom are here enjoying our hospitality, if it can be termed such.

I regard it as a very great privilege for Members of this House to be able to extend this offer and to make this modest provision of £50,000, envisaging a larger expenditure later on, to be applied to what is called operational expenditure. Operational expenditure is very difficult to define, but it certainly means the making of provision for the reception, maintenance, transport and regulation of this very unhappy traffic which is now taking place surreptitiously under clandestine arrangements. Many are escaping. They are leaving the areas of danger and coming within reach of a helping hand and what we are proposing is that at least £50,000 shall be available to extend that and to meet halfway those people who are fleeing from the wrath of their enemies on the Continent and seeking salvation and sanctuary in this very fortunate country and in other parts of the world.

I agree with the right hon. Gentleman who is responsible for the Estimate that this is not the end, but the beginning of a very large plan of salvation, in which we are joined directly by the United States, who have committed themselves to the same financial extent as we have done. I should like us not to be too squeamish about the nationality and the religion of the people we are saving. This is the anniversary of the patron saint of my country. His name was David, but

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[Mr. Grenfell.]

David originally was not a Welsh name. David was a Jew, a lovable character, a brave man and a human man, and the David who became the patron saint of our country was equally lovable and equally brave. The oaths that we take, the vows we offer in this House were originally based upon a Jewish institution and a great Jewish character, who lived his life and died equally bravely as he had lived. There is the problem.

I should like us to dismiss the priorities in this matter. A Jew is no more entitled to sympathy in distress than anyone else, and I do not think anyone else says that in the House, but it is a lamentable fact that millions of people are homeless in Europe. No one can predict the proportion of those who can get away from the areas of danger, but certainly there are areas where life is very uncertain, and there is no object more worthy of human sympathy than a hunted human being. I did some work in relation to the Sudeten Germans in the time of Munich and I was privileged to conduct the two first parties from Prague to Gdynia. It was very uncomfortable for me, but I willingly incurred the risks and discomfort and fatigue attendant upon those journeys.

I shall always remember the courtesy of the Foreign Secretary of those days. There was no hesitation at all, and on the direct applications that I made to him sufficient sums were made available to send 400 people who were in immediate danger of their lives. They were German speaking people—there may have been some Jews among them—and they were in danger. On that journey I had occasion to go through Poland and I saw the Polish ghetto. I, who had always been sympathetic with the history of that race, saw in a way I had never previously witnessed the limitations and hardships long ago imposed on the Jewish community. There are people who have escaped from Hungary and other places, and if there is anything we can do in Parliament to help them we should do it.

I congratulate my right hon. Friend on the sympathy and understanding he has shown. He is a worthy son of a worthy father. This just gives him an opportunity which is natural to him, and I believe that he will avail himself of it. It is an opportunity which will be fully

taken by us in this House and shared by our people. Do not let us be afraid to tell our people about these things. In this country 1 per cent. of our population is of the Jewish race. What is wrong with the 99 per cent. that they should not be told? In Germany the percentage is also 1 per cent. We know what was wrong with the German Reich and the German people. We must carry out our work of charity, rescue and salvation regardless of race. I hope that the Committee will dedicate itself to-day, not merely by supporting this Vote, but by doing and preparing to do something much more in the next six or twelve months than we have done in this regard in the last two or three years. If this Vote is only a spur to greater effort to help these people towards personal security, we shall have done a good day's work in this Committee.

Mr. Law: I am sure that my hon. Friend the Member for Gower (Mr. Grenfell) truly represented the views of the Committee when he welcomed the payment which it is proposed that we shall make towards the expenses of the Inter-Governmental Committee. I am sure, too, that he represented the views of hon. Members when he urged that the refugee problem should not be left only to the Inter-Governmental Committee, but that we should work at it in other ways ceaselessly until we can get some kind of solution. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Nelson and Colne (Mr. Silverman) referred us back to the dark and hideous background against which we have to consider this problem. I think he was quite right to do so. He was right to impress upon us once again, not only the importance of the problem, but its urgency. The hon. Member made what was certainly a dismal prophecy, and what may prove to be a true prophecy, when he said that, as defeat drew nearer Germany, so the excesses against the Jews would increase in intensity. That may be so, but I hope that it will not be so. I am more inclined to agree with my hon. Friend the Member for East Birkenhead (Mr. Graham White) when he reminded us that as defeat drew nearer to Germany, so the satellite countries would attempt to re-insure by treating these unhappy people more decently and giving them the sanctuary which they lack at the present time.

The hon. Member for Nelson and Colne asked me to consider various suggestions

he made, and, in particular, the possibility of making a new declaration which he described, I think, as a call to the peoples of Europe from the heads of the United Nations. Certainly that will be considered, but in the meantime I would consider the hon. Gentleman and my hon. Friend the Member for East Fulham (Mr. Astor), who also touched upon the necessity of giving warning, particularly to the satellites of Germany, that there has never been any doubt about the attitude of opinion in this country and, indeed, of world opinion, to what has been going on in Europe under German rule and to the persecution of the Jews and the general treatment of minorities and refugees. 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. There can be no doubt whatever of that, and, indeed, the satellite countries are now getting very serious warnings through the wireless, to which we must hope they are paying due attention. I have no doubt that the Committee will vote the Supplementary Estimate for this purpose, but more than one of my hon. Friends have expressed their feeling that what we are doing in voting this money, and, indeed, what the Inter-Governmental Committee can do, is not really sufficient for the problem. I was, incidentally, glad that the hon. Member for Nelson and Colne dissociated himself from the criticism of the Inter-Governmental Committee which the hon. Member for Cheltenham (Mr. Lipson) made earlier. I am sure that that criticism was not in any way justified and that the Members of the Committee are treating this matter with just the seriousness and sincerity which the hon. Gentleman himself would require.

My hon. Friend the Member for the English Universities (Miss Rathbone) took the same point of view as the hon. Member for Cheltenham. She, too, felt that the machinery of the Inter-Governmental Committee was not enough. She compared it to a stage coach when what she wanted was a Rolls Royce. She criticised the smallness of the present office of the Committee in London, and deduced from the size of the office and the number of typists the theory that the Inter-Governmental Committee was not up to its job. She, the hon. Member for

Cheltenham and the hon. Member for Nelson and Colne stressed the fact, as it seemed to them, that this must be so and that the Inter-Governmental Committee cannot be up to its job because the President of the United States has just recently created the War Refugee Board. I hope that I may be able to persuade my hon. Friends, or to persuade the Committee as a whole, that that is a fallacy, and that the fact that the War Refugee Board has been set up in the United States is not in any sense a criticism of the Inter-Governmental Committee.

Mr. Silverman: No doubt the right hon. Gentleman will recognise that, when I advocated the setting up of machinery in this country parallel to the War Refugee Board of the United States, I was not doing so in any way as a criticism of the Inter-Governmental Committee. The point I was making was, that as the Inter-Governmental Committee was charged with the fate of refugees after they had become such, there ought to be governmental machinery to provide the Committee with the raw material.

Miss Rathbone: I think we all must make it clear that none of us were criticising the Inter-Governmental Committee when speaking of the War Refugee Board. The Inter-Governmental Committee, because it is inter-governmental, must depend upon the actions of the Governments represented upon it, and therefore, both Governments should have their own separate machinery for dealing with the work. Such machinery would supplement and not supersede the Inter-Governmental Committee.

Mr. Law: I am afraid that I must have expressed myself badly, and I apologise to hon. Members and to the Committee for doing so. I did not really mean to imply that they had said that the institution of the War Refugee Board was a criticism of the Inter-Governmental Committee, but I did mean to imply, and I think it is clear that what I am going to say now is a true representation of what they said, that in their view the institution of the War Refugee Board showed that there was a gap which had to be filled and which the Inter-Governmental Committee was not filling. I do not think that even that criticism is altogether justified.

Mr. Lipson: Did not the right hon. Gentleman himself say that the work of the Inter-Governmental Committee was not sufficient by itself to deal with this problem?

Mr. Law: Yes, Sir, and if the hon. Member had had a little more patience he would have found that I was going to repeat exactly that argument. I spoke earlier in the Debate about the necessity for international co-operation in these matters. I think every hon. Member would agree that there are some matters which can be handled far better by an inter-governmental body of this kind than by any particular Government, but that does not at all rule out the necessity that, as well as international action, there has to be national action in these matters. For that reason, His Majesty's Government welcomed most heartily the institution of the War Refugee Board in the United States, and we shall be willing, and indeed anxious, to give that War Refugee Board, as a part of the United States administration, our very warmest support and sympathy. We are working on all these matters in the closest relations with the United States administration. I do not know whether it is generally known among hon. Members that we have recently sent instructions to every one of our missions abroad likely to be involved in refugee matters that they should seek out and collaborate with their American opposite numbers on refugee matters to the fullest extent in their power.

I know that I cannot go very far in discussion of the War Refugee Board without transgressing the Ruing which you have given, Major Milner. On the other hand, there has been such a great deal said about the War Refugee Board and so many appeals have been made to the Government here to institute a similar body in this country that I hope I may, without getting into trouble, just touch upon that aspect of the matter. I do not think that hon. Members who have raised the question of the Joint Refugee Board quite realise the constitutional difference between this country and the United States. Under our system of ministerial responsibility it would, in fact, be impossible for us to institute an independent body which would control Ministers and heads of other Departments outside it; in fact there is not the same need for

such a body in this country. There is already a Cabinet Committee concerned with these matters, and that Cabinet Committee has at its disposal an administrative staff in the form of the Refugee Department of the Foreign Office. So we really have the substance of what the President of the United States has just instituted, in the shape of the War Refugee Board. For constitutional reasons, I do not see how we could imitate the structure of that Board, and, for practical reasons, I cannot see that we should gain any advantage from imitating it.

Miss Rathbone: One thing that struck us very much was that the American Board had a whole-time executive director, who was directly in touch with three Secretaries of State and had direct access to the President. Has the Refugee Department of the Foreign Office access to Ministers and to the Prime Minister in the same way?

The Chairman: We cannot go into the details of this organisation. The right hon. Gentleman has said quite sufficient about it.

Mr. Law: Might I answer, in a sentence, what the hon. Lady has asked? We have really got exactly what she wants. We have a full time administrative staff, not in the persons of single directors, but in the shape of the staff of the Refugee Department of the Foreign Office. That staff is directly responsible to my right hon. Friend and, through him, to the Cabinet Committee. I do not think there really is the practical difference that some hon. Members imagine there to be.

I do not think there were any other points raised in the Debate. I think the Committee has made it abundantly clear that it wants the work of rescue for these unfortunate people to be proceeded with with the utmost possible vigour and dispatch. I can assure the Committee that His Majesty's Government are prepared to do everything they possibly can to find a solution of this problem, in co-operation with other nations where that is necessary, and individually as a Government where that is possible.

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolved:

That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £53,873, be granted to His Majesty, to defray

the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1944, for the expenses in connection with His Majesty's Embassies, Missions and Consular Establishments Abroad, and other expenditure chargeable to the Consular Vote; certain special grants and payments, including grants in aid; and sundry other services."

CLASS V

OLD AGE PENSIONS

Resolved:

That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £350,000, be granted to His Majesty to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1944, for the payment of Old Age Pensions, pensions to blind persons, and for certain administrative expenses in connection therewith."

Resolutions to be reported upon the next Sitting Day; Committee to sit again upon the next Sitting Day.

REPORT [11th February]

Resolutions reported:

CIVIL ESTIMATES, SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATE, 1943

CLASS II

DOMINION SERVICES

1. "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £70, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1944, for sundry Dominion services, including certain grants in aid, and for expenditure in connection with Ex-Service Men in Eire, and for a grant in aid to Eire in respect of compensation to transferred officers."

DEVELOPMENT AND WELFARE (SOUTH AFRICAN HIGH COMMISSION TERRITORIES)

2. "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £20,800, be granted to His Majesty to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1944, for the development of the resources of the South African High Commission Territories and the welfare of their peoples."

CLASS V

SUPPLEMENTARY PENSIONS

3. "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £3,000,000, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1944, for the payment of Supplementary Pensions to certain persons in receipt of Old Age Pensions or Widows' Pensions."

Resolved:

That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding

CLASS VI

MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES

4. "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £10, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1944, for the salaries and expenses of the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, and of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, including grants, grants in aid and expenses in respect of agricultural education and research, eradication of diseases of animals, and improvement of breeding, etc., of live stock, land settlement, improvement of cultivation, drainage, etc., regulation of agricultural wages, agricultural credits, and marketing; fishery organisation, research and development, control of diseases of fish, etc.; and sundry other services including certain remanet subsidy payments."

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE FOR SCOTLAND

5. "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £8,520, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1944, for the salaries and expenses of the Department of Agriculture for Scotland, including grants for land improvement, agricultural education, research and marketing, expenses in respect of regulation of agricultural wages, certain grants in aid, and remanet subsidy payments."

STATE MANAGEMENT DISTRICTS

6. "That a supplementary sum, not exceeding £10, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1944, for the salaries and expenses of the State Management Districts, including the salaries of the central office, and the cost of provision and management of licensed premises."

CLASS X

MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES (WAR SERVICES)

7. "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £10, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1944, for the cost of the war services of the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries."

MINISTRY OF AIRCRAFT PRODUCTION

8. "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £10, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1944, for the salaries and expenses of the Ministry of Aircraft Production."

MINISTRY OF FUEL AND POWER

9. "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £10, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1944, for the salaries and expenses of the Ministry of Fuel and Power."

MINISTRY OF HEALTH (WAR SERVICES)

10. "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £10, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1944, for the cost of the war services of the Ministry of Health."

MINISTRY OF HOME SECURITY

11. "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £10, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1944, for the salaries and expenses of the Ministry of Home Security."

MINISTRY OF SUPPLY

12. "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £10, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1944, for the salaries and expenses of the Ministry of Supply, including the expenses of the Royal Ordnance Factories."

MINISTRY OF WAR TRANSPORT

13. "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £10, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1944, for the salaries and expenses of the Ministry of War Transport."

MINISTRY OF WORKS (WAR SERVICES)

14. "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £10, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1944, for the cost of the war services of the Ministry of Works."

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE FOR SCOTLAND (WAR SERVICES)

15. "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £10, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1944, for the cost of the war services of the Department of Agriculture for Scotland."

CLASS II

IMPERIAL WAR GRAVES COMMISSION

16. "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £3,916, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1944, for certain salaries and expenses of the Imperial War Graves Commission, including purchase of land in the United Kingdom and a grant in aid."

CLASS VIII

SUPERANNUATION AND RETIRED ALLOWANCES

17. "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £50,000, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1944, for superannuation

and other non-effective annual allowances, additional allowances, gratuities, compassionate allowances and supplementary pensions in respect of civil employment."

CLASS I

TREASURY AND SUBORDINATE DEPARTMENTS

18. "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £6,930, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1944, for the salaries and other expenses in the Department of His Majesty's Treasury and Subordinate Departments, and the salaries and expenses of certain Ministers appointed for special duties."

Resolutions agreed to.

INDIA (ATTACHMENT OF STATES) BILL [Lords]

Order for Second Reading read.

The Attorney-General (Sir Donald Somervell): I beg to move, "That the Bill be now read a Second time."

This Bill is concerned with the parts of India known as Kathiawar and Gujerat in which, together with large Indian States with full administrations, there are a very large number of small and in some cases very small areas described as States, though I think it would probably be more accurate in the use of language to describe them as estates. They are scattered. Their number is about 400 and the total population is some 800,000. Forty of them are less than a square mile in area, and more than half are about the size of an ordinary rural parish—seven, eight or nine square miles. The problem as to how these areas can best be administered so that those who live in them may have the advantages in such matters as education, health services, communications, and so on which individually owing, as the House will see, to the size of the areas, they cannot of course provide for themselves, has engaged for some years the attention of the Viceroy in his capacity as Crown representative.

The reason for submitting this Bill to Parliament is a recent decision in the local court which is called the Court of the Judicial Commissioner in which appeals from courts established by the Crown representative for these small States are heard. This Judicial Commissioners' Court held that the steps which the Viceroy had been taking with a view to

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Parliament

AID FOR REFUGEES

BRITISH AND AMERICAN COOPERATION

HOUSE OF LORDS

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 1

The LORD CHANCELLOR took his seat on the Woolsack.

The Reinstatement in Civil Employment Bill was received from the Commons, and read a first time.

The House of Commons Disqualification (Temporary Provisions) Bill and the Income Tax (Offices and Employments) Bill passed their remaining stages.

A Royal Commission, consisting of the LORD CHANCELLOR, EARL DE LA WARR, and LORD ADDISON, sat and signified the Royal Assent to the following Acts:—Landlord and Tenant (Requisitioned Land), Courts (Emergency Powers) (Scotland), Prize Salvage, Guardianship (Refugee Children), Supreme Court of Judicature (Amendment), Disabled Persons (Employment), House of Commons Disqualification (Temporary Provisions), and Income Tax (Offices and Employments).

SOIL FERTILITY

VISCOUNT BLEDISLOE asked the Government what steps they were taking, by making provision for larger supplies of fertilizers and/or by prescribing different methods of husbandry, to maintain the ebbing fertility of the farm lands of Great Britain, with a view to the continued maximum output of home-grown food both during and after the war. He also moved for papers. The noble lord said we could not satisfy our post-war food requirements as well as the crying needs of the enemy-occupied countries unless we made good serious soil deficiencies, the chief of which were humus on the one hand, and phosphates on the other. The cumulative effect of the long application of phosphates to cultivated land was of all factors the most serious, and the most conducive to plant starvation and deficiency diseases. This was especially so in the case of permanent pasture. No basic slag or other phosphate fertilizer was to-day available for unploughed permanent pastures. Indeed, there was a Government ban on its application. That ban should now be lifted, and our people here should have a fair share of the North African phosphates. Without the increased presence of phosphates and lime the campaign of the Minister of Agriculture for a large increase in our livestock seemed incapable of fulfilment. He asked for an immediate impartial investigation into the effects of chemical fertilization on our farm land.

LORD ADDISON said he had no doubt that we could maintain increased herds of livestock by using scientific methods. Our land, scientifically treated, had at reservoir of fertility still unused that was almost incalculable.

The EARL OF PORTSMOUTH said that we should do everything possible to return to the soil the animal and vegetable waste of the farm and also the waste of the cities where possible.

The DUKE OF NORFOLK, Joint Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Agriculture, said that, broadly speaking, the cultivated land of Great Britain was not suffering from any serious deficiency of phosphates. The supply of nitrogenous fertilizers was satisfactory. Apart from transport difficulties, it should not be difficult for farmers to get the nitrogenous fertilizers required. The Government did not consider that, taking Great Britain as a whole, fertility had been lost. Large areas had been greatly improved by mechanical cultivation, drainage and liming. The area under temporary leys this year had been increased by 700,000 acres and it was expected that there would be a further increase in 1944. That development would result in an immense number of cattle and sheep. He had no doubt that an increase in the quality of our livestock would be possible before many years passed and, if we set about it in the right way, we could bring it about by a quicker method than most people believed. The Government had not fed the Lord Bledisloe had any foundation for his gloomy forebodings. The programme of the Government's four-year plan would, it was hoped, maintain a proper balance between livestock and crops. But the Government agreed that the fertility of the soil was of paramount importance to the future production of food. The motion was, by leave, withdrawn.

FORESTRY

scheme of organization. Mr. NOEL BAKER (Derby, Lab.)—I regret that I cannot hold out any hope that it will be possible to provide additional trains this year for holiday travel. It is therefore more important than ever before that workers' annual holidays should be spread as equally as possible over the summer months. The Minister of War Transport has asked the Government departments who are concerned, and the Minister of Production has asked the Regional Production Boards to do everything in their power to ensure that this shall be done. Replying to further questions, Mr. NOEL BAKER said that the staggering of workers' holidays would be the most effective method of organizing holiday travel, if there was going to be holiday travel. The conditions were going to be very difficult, if people travelled they would have to accept discomfort, and he thought they would bear it with the same cheerful fortitude that they showed last year. The Ministry were doing all they could to organize the staggering of holidays.

THE ATLANTIC CHARTER

Mr. BURKE (Butley, Lab.) asked the Minister of Information if the Atlantic Charter had been the subject of any broadcasts within this country during the last 12 months and, if so, upon how many occasions; whether any public meetings had been arranged by his department dealing with the principles of the Charter within the same period; and, if so, how many and in which regions. Mr. BRENDAN BRACKEN (Paddington, N. U.)—There have been three specific broadcasts about the Atlantic Charter in the past year, but references to it have been frequent both in home and overseas transmissions. Likewise, while only a few meetings under M.O.I. auspices have taken the Atlantic Charter as their subject, its principles are naturally used as a text whenever a speaker has occasion to discuss the war aims of the United Nations. The supply of factual information about the Charter continues to be the purpose of the great majority of meetings held on M.O.I. platforms. Mr. BURKE asked whether, in view of the increasing importance of the Charter as the war went on, the Minister could arrange for some broadcasts, particularly the Government point of view and their proposals, if any. Mr. BRACKEN—If we have any large demands to hold meetings on the subject of the Charter we shall certainly fulfil them. SIR H. G. WILLIAMS (Croydon, S. U.)—Having regard to the fact that this raises controversial issues, is it not entirely improper that Government money should be spent on explaining a Charter, the meaning of which nobody actually knows, and where you do understand it it is rotten? Mr. BRACKEN—The question once more raises the dilemma which often faces the Ministry of Information. One hon. member desires discussion on a certain subject, and another does not.

CONSERVATIVE INDUSTRIAL POLICY

Mr. W. J. BROWN (Rugby, Ind.) asked the Minister of Supply whether his Director-General of Regional Organization sought and obtained his permission before becoming a member of the Conservative and Unionist Party organization's sub-committee on industry, and whether he approved the pamphlet, "The Future of British Industry," of that sub-committee before that Director-General subscribed to it.

SIR A. DUNCAN (City of London, Nat.)—No, Sir.

Mr. BROWN—Why not? SIR A. DUNCAN—The subject-matter of the report that the hon. member signed had nothing whatever to do with his duties in the department. Mr. BROWN—Can we make that my Civil servant is free to sign any report he likes dealing with Government policy, provided it does not deal with a particular piece of work in which he is engaged? If so, that is a complete departure from existing practice. SIR A. DUNCAN said he did not mean that there was any such departure. They were speaking of a member of Parliament, and in that case, the only restraint must be less restraint so far as public matters were concerned.

U.K. CORPORATION

Mr. DALTON, President of the Board of Trade (Bishop Auckland, Lab.), in a written reply to VISCOUNT HINGHINGBROOKE (Dorset, S. U.), states:—The board of directors of the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation, Chairman, Viscount Hinghambrooke, chairman, Sir Francis Joseph; directors, Mr. A. Chester Beatty, Mr. A. D. Campbell, Mr. G. A. McEwen, and Mr. E. H. Lever; managing directors, Mr. J. E. Hambro, Captain W. A. Sherrin, Mr. C. P. Lester, Sir Frank Wilson, Mr. L. C. Paton, and Mr. E. J. Shearer. The number of persons in the direct employment of the corporation at home and abroad on January 1, 1943, was 1,091. The corporation operates in the following countries:—Africa, Argentina, Ceylon, Cyprus, East Africa, Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, India, Iran, Iraq, Italy, North Africa, French, Palestine, Persia, Portugal, Spain, South Africa, Syria, Turkey, United States, West Africa (French). The broad classes of merchandise which it handles include raw materials, foodstuffs, and other goods.

Obituary

FALLEN OFFICERS

"THE TIMES" LIST OF CASUALTIES

We have received news of the death of the following officers in addition to those whose names have been published in the official list:

- THE ARMY
 - AUSTIN, Lieut.-Colonel F. K., Royal Signals.
 - NEWTON, Lieutenant A. J. G., R.A.
 - SAVORY, Lieutenant F., R.A.
- ROYAL AIR FORCE
 - FALCONER-STEWART, Squadron Leader R. G., F.C.O.
 - GRAVILLE-SMITH, Flying Officer J. N., V.R.
 - MILLAR, Flying Officer J. G., A.F.M.
 - WILKIE, Flying Officer, D.C.

SIR MILES MATTINSON, K.C.

POLITICS, THE BAR, AND THE CITY

Sir Miles Mattinson, K.C., died on Tuesday night at the age of 89. He was born in 1854 at Newcastle-on-Tyne, the son of Thomas Mattinson, and in 1874 obtained the Bacon scholarship at Gray's Inn, and in the following year the Inns of Court studentship in jurisprudence. In 1877 he won the Arden scholarship and was called to the bar, joining the Northern Circuit, where he soon acquired a fair practice. He was appointed Recorder of Blackburn in 1886, holding that office until his resignation in 1922. In 1897 he took silk. He was the author of a volume on the law of corrupt practices at elections, and of another on precedents in pleading. At the dissolution in April, 1880, Mattinson stood for Carlisle as a supporter of Lord Beaconsfield's Government, but was unsuccessful. In 1885 and in 1886 he contested the Sturminster Burghs. His opportunity, however, came in 1888, when he was returned without opposition for the Walford Division of Liverpool. He did not stand for this constituency at the general election in 1892, and indeed made no further attempt to enter Parliament until January, 1910, when he was heavily defeated by the Liberal and Labour candidates at Bolton. In the House of Commons Mattinson was not an effective speaker, but his attendance was regular and his loyalty unflinching. Gradually, however, he realized that Parliament and the great did not offer enough scope for his abilities and powers of application. Accordingly, he took himself to the City. Here Mattinson at last found his true vocation. With intensive industry he applied himself to the details of company law and to the intricacies of that technical finance which governs the movements of Lombard Street and the Stock Exchange. He soon learnt to appreciate the precise bearing of a financial problem, and to master the dissection of a balance-sheet with a precision. He gained a recognized position in the sphere of trust companies and financial institutions. At a company meeting, at the briefest notice on the desk for casual reference, he would fluently pass in review the affairs concerned with refugees. The administrative expenses of the committee would be covered by percentage contributions of members. Great Britain's share would be 12 per cent., or about £4,000. Operating expenses were likely to be very considerable, and the purpose of underwriting £1,000,000 was to save the committee from temporary difficulties. Mr. GRANVILLE (Eve, Ind.) said he would like an assurance that, as the result of the setting up of the International Red Cross office at Shanghai, the Government, or our military authorities, or the International Red Cross would make some contact with the Japanese Government so that an effort could be made to try to secure an alteration of the conditions suffered by our prisoners of war.

PRISONERS IN FAR EAST

Mr. LAW said that the Government were fully aware of the conditions of our prisoners of war.

Parliament AID FOR REFUGEES

BRITISH AND AMERICAN COOPERATION

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FORESTRY

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UK CORPORATION

Mr. DALTON, President of the Board of Trade (Bishop Auckland, Lab.) in a written reply to Mr. HINGHAMBROOKE (Dorset, S., U.) stated:—The board of directors of the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation are—Chairman, Viscount Sinton; Sir Francis Joseph, Director; Sir Frank Nicholson, Chester; Mr. D. Campbell, Mr. G. A. McEwen, and Mr. E. H. Laver, managing directors; Mr. J. H. Hambro, Captain V. A. Leighton, Mr. C. P. Lester, Sir Frank Nicholson, Mr. E. C. Taylor, and Mr. E. J. Sharkey. The number of persons in the direct employment of the corporation at home and abroad on January 1 was 1,091. The corporation operates in the following countries:—Austria, Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Ceylon, China, Cote d'Ivoire, France, French Indo-China, Greece, India, Iraq, Italy, Japan, Korea, Malaya, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Persia, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Syria, Tanganyika, Turkey, U.S.A., and Venezuela. The broad classes of merchandise which it handles are those required to fulfil Government programmes. It would be difficult to give a list of the goods which it handles.

well, but the House would look for wider proposals to achieve full employment. SIR H. HODSWORTH (Bradford, S., Lab.) said it was a good Bill and he hoped that all Government workers would be able to carry it into effect. SIR J. ALBANY (Gravesend, U.) said that practically all the Bill would do would be to guarantee 52 weeks' employment in the small number of cases in which a bad employer was unwilling to take a man back when he was in a position to do so.

Mr. SILVERMAN (Nelson and Colne, Lab.) hoped that the Government would come forward with proposals to deal with unemployment. Mr. LEWIS (Colchester, U.) said that even if the Bill was nothing more than a gesture, it would be well worth making.

Mr. MAJOR MANNINGHAM-BULLER (Davenport, U.) said that the Bill would be welcomed throughout the country. Mr. MCCORQUODALE, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Labour (Sowerby, U.) said that the Bill had been improved during its passage through the House and he thought it would give a very good result. It was a part of the Government's great scheme for reconstruction after the war.

The Bill was read the third time. The House went into Committee of Supply. COMMANDER WILLIAMS, Deputy Chairman of Committees (Torquay, U.), in the chair. On a supplementary estimate for the Foreign Office. Mr. MANDER asked for some explanation of the duties of the Minister of State. (Mr. LAW) said he was delighted with the appointment. Mr. EDEN said it was intended that Mr. LAW should assist him in the general conduct of foreign policy, under the guidance of the War Cabinet. He warmly welcomed Mr. LAW's assistance. Mr. LAW would also interest himself in the economic side of the work, of which he had much knowledge gained at various conferences. That would be invaluable. The Vote was agreed to.

REFUGEE PROBLEMS

BRITISH SHARE OF RELIEF

On a supplementary Vote exceeding £53,873 for embassies, missions and consulates abroad, and other expenditure.

Mr. LAW, Minister of State (Hull, S.W., U.) explained that £3,873 was required for the International Red Cross and £50,000 for the Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees. The Vote for the International Red Cross was to enable that organization to open an office in Shanghai to aid the large number of British civilians interned there, and also the very much smaller number of British prisoners of war. The Government were quite satisfied that the International Red Cross was doing as much as possible in the Far East. That it could not do more was due entirely to the attitude of the Japanese authorities. The Vote of £50,000 for the Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees was only an indication because when the House would be asked to authorize this country's share of the £1,000,000 which was likely to be required for expenses in the coming year. Of that the Government had undertaken to undertake half and the United States half.

The sum involved was an indication of the great growth of the hideous problem of the refugees. When the war in Europe ended there would be something like 20,000,000 human beings who had been uprooted from their homes. Such a figure defied the imagination. One could not comprehend the extent of the misery that it represented. Certain changes had to be made in the committee following the Bermuda conference. Its membership had been enlarged and its scope extended. The committee could now deal with refugees from the whole of Europe and spent money on maintenance and transfer which it could not do before. A certain amount of work was being done now. Executive officers had been sent to North Africa and Italy and to Switzerland. It was intended that there should be permanent representatives of the committee in centres concerned with refugees.

The administrative expenses of the committee would be met by the percentage contributions of members. Great Britain's share would be 12 per cent. or about £4,000. Operating expenses were likely to be very considerable, and the proposal of £50,000 was a very small sum to save the committee from temporary difficulties. Mr. GRANVILLE (Eve, Ind.) said he would like an assurance that as the result of the ending of the International Red Cross office in Shanghai the Government, or our military authorities, or the International Red Cross would make some contact with the Japanese Government so that an effort could be made to try to secure the liberation of the conditions suffered by our prisoners of war.

PRISONERS IN FAR EAST

Mr. LAW said that the Government were in the possession of the very deep anxiety felt in the House and the country about our prisoners of war.

acted in relation to the persecution of refugees. The satellite countries were now getting serious warnings through the wireless, to which it must be hoped that they were paying due attention. But as well as international action there had to be national action in these matters, and for that reason the Government welcomed most warmly the institution of the War Refugee Board. The Government had recently sent instructions to every Embassy likely to be involved in refugee matters to the effect that they should seek out and collaborate with their American opposite numbers to the fullest extent. There was already a Cabinet Committee concerned with these matters which had at its disposal the Refugee Department at the Foreign Office, so that really there was in this country in substance what the President of the United States had just instituted there.

The Estimate and a Supplementary Estimate for old-age pensions were agreed to.

INDIAN STATES BILL

SIR D. SOMERVELL, Attorney-General (Crewe, U.), moved the second reading of the India (Attachment of States) Bill. He said the Bill was concerned with the linking up of a large number of small states to large fully administrative ones. About 400 small states were involved and their total population was 800,000. Forty were less than a square mile in area and more than half about seven, eight, or nine square miles. It was obvious that such units could not provide for themselves the services of education, health, communications, and so forth, and the proposed solution seemed the most helpful and practicable. The rulers of the larger states had agreed to afford these services. The dignities and minor powers of the small states would be preserved and the Viceroy would maintain continuing responsibility and would be in a position to intervene if required to secure the progress and development of the small states.

Mr. PETHICK-LAWRENCE (Edinburgh, E., Lab.) said that the House was bound to back the Government on this Bill, with the proviso that they must realize that they were being trusted to play the game in this matter.

SIR S. REED (Aylesbury, U.) said that petty jurisdiction in the small states concerned had held back progress. The change suggested would be to the benefit of the 800,000 people.

Mr. MAXTON (Glasgow, Bridgeton, I.L.P.) said that the Bill should never have been brought before the House. The Government of India had got a knock in the courts but were not prepared to accept it.

Mr. GRAHAM WHITE asked whether the Chamber of Princes had been consulted about the possible effect of the Bill on future developments of Indian policy. He did not think there was any alternative to the proposals in the Bill. The states concerned could not be left as they were.

Mr. BUTLER, President of the Board of Education (Saffron Walden, U.) said the case for the Bill was absolutely overwhelming. Although it had not been possible, owing to the varied and complex position, to consult the inhabitants of these states, every effort had been made to ascertain local opinion.

The Bill was read a second time. On the motion for the adjournment, COMMANDER KING-HALL (Ormskirk, Ind.) urged that copies of *Hansard* should be distributed to the armed forces. This would greatly assist the work of the education officers. He asked that 500 copies of *Hansard* should be made available daily to the services' educational organizations at the public expense.

Mr. ASHSTON, Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Rushcliffe, U.) said if representations were made by the service departments for additional copies of *Hansard* no obstacle would be placed in the way by the Treasury or the Stationery Office. There was, however, a definite physical limit to the number of copies that could be produced—something like 2,000 above the present edition. There was no question of increasing that number so long as the war lasted, not because of a shortage of paper but because of printing difficulties.

The House adjourned.

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1948

Mar 15 1948

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DATE: MAR 15 1948

THE REFUGEE DEBATE

The discussion in the House of Commons on the rescue of refugees was necessary because there is so great a gap between the need and the measures that have been taken to relieve it. Everyone admits this. The difference is between those who say that little could at any time have been done, or could be done now, and those who say that a great deal more could have been, and could still be, accomplished if we set our minds (and put our backs) into the task. Ever since the December, 1942, protest against the German persecution the Government has represented the view that, with the best will in the world, not much can be done and that the little that can be accomplished must be left to a cumbrous, clanking international machine. No one doubts the good intentions of the British or United Nations' Governments, but intentions save no lives. Mr. Richard Law praised the work of the Inter-Governmental Committee to which the Bermuda Conference committed the work of rescue. But there are two difficulties. The first is that, according to Mr. Law, "the more one talks the less chance there is of achieving anything at all." This is so far true that discussion of what any one of Germany's neighbours is doing or might do is likely to incite the Germans to intervene, as they did last year in one well-known case. But if one must not talk on that point one must talk all the more about the question of the practical machinery which is needed if rescue and relief work—including that which is possible among Germany's neighbours—is to go on. On this the Government's statement, in spite of the assurance that it wants to work "with the utmost possible vigour and dispatch," carries us little farther.

The second difficulty lies in the nature of the Inter-Governmental Committee itself. Mr. Law explained that the Committee is being expanded. "Continuing Terror," the new pamphlet of the National Committee for Rescue, says that "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. But such a body, even if it has an Executive Committee of six, is surely no fit machine to handle a task the essence of which is urgency and rapid, definite action. The Government, to some extent recognised the need when members commended to it the War Refugee Board just appointed by President Roosevelt. It is true that we had to seek out and collaborate with Americans in refugee work. But

one of the measures that ought to be taken. Since it is true that only a fraction of the persecuted can be saved, and since any one measure can only save a few out of that poor total, it is essential that as many channels as possible should be simultaneously used. The National Committee for Rescue has drawn up a Ten-point Programme which includes rescue in countries that are coming, or will come, under Allied control; encouragement to neutral States (British and American agreement can do much here); a more generous admission of immigrants to our own country, which we owe our self-respect and also our reputation; larger transport facilities; the pursuit of a more creditable policy in opening up Palestine to Jewish refugees; and a more active policy in putting pressure on the Germans and their clients. We ought to do more with the clients. Mr. Law said that they were now, he thought, getting very serious warnings through the wireless. If it is true, as so many voices say, that Bulgaria, Rumania, and Hungary are becoming more and more eager to get out of the war, then they should be in a frame of mind to recognise that the Allies will not forget their treatment of refugees, whatever the nationality and the race. The leading Allied statesmen should raise their voices to inform and warn them, and the practical machinery should be there (as in the American Refugee Board) to take advantage of all opportunities.

000922

...the best will in the world, not much can be done and the little that can be accomplished must be left to a creaking international machinery. No one doubts the good intentions of the British or United Nations Governments, but intentions save no lives. Mr. Richard Law praised the work of the Inter-Governmental Committee to which the Bermuda Conference committed the work of rescue. But there are two difficulties. The first is that, according to Mr. Law, "the more one talks the less chance there is of achieving anything at all." This is so far true that discussion of what any one of Germany's neighbours is doing or might do is likely to incite the Germans to intervene, as they did last year in one well-known case. But if one must not talk on that point one must talk all the more about the question of the practical machinery which is needed if rescue and relief work—including that which is possible among Germany's neighbours—is to go on. On this the Government's statement, in spite of the assurance that it wants to work "with the utmost possible vigour and dispatch," carries us little farther.

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Even so, the creation of an engine like the War Refugee Board is only

...and also in our larger transport facilities... of a more creditable policy... Jewish... and a more active policy... in getting pressure on the Germans and their allies. We ought to do more with the clients. Mr. Law said that they were now, he thought, getting very serious warnings through the wireless. If it is true, as so many voices say, that Bulgaria, Rumania, and Hungary are becoming more and more eager to get out of the war, then they should be in a frame of mind to recognise that the Allies will not forget their treatment of refugees, whatever the nationality and the race. The leading Allied statesmen should raise their voices to inform and warn them, and the practical machinery should be there (as in the American Refugee Board) to take advantage of all opportunities.

PARAPHRASE OF TELEGRAM SENT

FROM: Secretary of State, Washington

TO: American Embassy, London

DATE: March 17, 1944

RE: [REDACTED]

In connection with the following message we refer to
your message of February 24, 1944, No. 1021, regarding the
activities of the International Red Cross at World Jewish Congress.

1. The Acting Co. Intergovernmental Committee for Europe in occupied Europe the International Red Cross could
operate in to provide food and medicines to the Jews and other
persecuted minorities in those areas and to advise Intergovernmental
that the War Refugee Board is ready to see that funds for
necessary operations are made available immediately was one
of the first actions of the War Refugee Board. Intergovernmental
urgent request to Intergovernmental Committee for funds to
purchase foodstuffs in Rumania, Hungary and neutral countries
for distribution to internees in central Europe was expedited
by the War Refugee Board and the American Jewish Joint Distri-
bution Committee immediately made available to Intergovernmental for
this feeding program \$100,000, as was stated in air cable to
you of February 9, 1944, No. 1020.

No decision has been made by the War Refugee Board to
approach the blockade authorities regarding the shipment of
supplies to the Jews and other persecuted people of Europe
from this country.

3. The license
DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By R. H. Parks Date **SEP 13 1972**

The license which the State Department issued in December to the World Jewish Congress was amended later by the Treasury Department with the State Department's approval permitting rescue and relief operations in enemy and enemy occupied territories up to a total cost of \$100,000, of which amount there has already been remitted to Switzerland \$25,000. A license was given the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee to carry on similar operations costing \$400,000, of which amount there has been remitted to Switzerland \$200,000. Licenses to carry on similar relief and evacuation operations from Switzerland have also been issued to several other private organizations in the United States.

As stated in our telegram of February 29, 1944 No. 1803, a detailed statement of the actions already taken and of the programs initiated to bring rescue and relief to the persecuted people of Europe is being prepared by the War Refugee Board for your information and for submission to the British Government.

There is no objection on the part of the War Refugee Board to Jewish or other organizations in Great Britain appealing to the British Government for permission to finance and carry on operations similar to those which this Government has authorized.

H/LL

CC: Sec'y, Abrahamson, Kamin, Bernstein, Cohn, DuBois, Friedman, Gaston, Hodol, Kauglin, Leaser, Luxford, Mann, McCormack, Paul, Pollak, Rubin, Smith, Standish, Stewart, H. D. White, Pehlo, Files, Mr. Sargoy

FFC-76
(11-42)

CROSS REFERENCE ON COOPERATION WITH OTHER GOVERNMENTS
UNITED NATIONS (GREAT BRITAIN)

FOR:

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

FOR LET. FROM WRB TO STATE, DATED 3/16/44, ENCLOSING COPIES OF
LETTER FROM THOROLD & TAFT

SEE: POLICY MATTERS: CLEARANCE OF CERTAIN LICENSING WITH THE BRITISH

000-926

1
CONTROL COPY

FROM

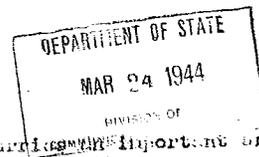
LONDON

Dated March 13, 1944

WCD: M 23 100

Secretary of State

Washington



The Economist for March 11 carries an important article entitled "America in the Middle East".

After referring to pre-war American interests in that area and remarking that relations between the American oil companies and the British authorities were formerly cordial, the article continues by saying that the present war opened a new phase in American interests in the Middle East. The full cooperation of the British and the Americans in the Middle East Supply Centre is emphasized and the Centre is described as "a model of how two Great Powers can work together without friction.... It was not unreasonable to hope that it might be typical of the cooperation which would be possible after the war in the Middle East."

The article continues by stating that two events have recently occurred which make the issue much more doubtful -- Mr. Ickes' statement regarding American oil reserves and the projected pipe line, and the resolutions in Congress regarding free immigration of Jews into Palestine and the reconstitution of "Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth". These two sudden American incursions into Middle Eastern politics are so out of keeping with the line of close co-operation with the British, and with the regional discussion of difficulties hitherto pursued through the Combined Boards at Washington and the Supply Centre at Cairo, that they raise in a very urgent form the question of what post-war course the Americans will follow in the Middle East. The first possibility is, of course, a return to isolation....there are definite signs that permanent intervention in the affairs of the Middle East is intended. The pipe-line is one. The wide scope of General Royce's military mission to Saudi Arabia....is another."

The article continues by saying that if American intervention in the Middle East "is to be unilateral, spontaneous/

modio/

000927

GHE

PLATIN

MARCH 11 1944

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DIVISION OF
MARCH 12 1944
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

AMEMB LISBON,

PORTUGAL

1943, eleventh

OF JOURNAL SCHEMATIC FOR WAR REFUGEE BOARD.

Thank you for your cable of March 2 from Lisbon. Programs outlined therein being carefully studied by the War Refugee Board. We would appreciate any information you can send me concerning refugee problems in northern European area. J. W. Pehle, Acting Executive Director.

HULL
(GEM)

HULL

WRE:LF:RG
3/10/44

Portugal

710928

13 1944
5:15

March 10, 1944

* 10:30 a.m.

TO: Mr. Warren
FROM: J. W. Peble

It will be appreciated if you will have the attached cable dispatched at once to Dr. Joseph Schwartz, Central Council for Jewish Refugees, Upper Webburn Place, London.

Attachment.

Filed 3/9/44

000923

1843
3/11/44

CABLE TO DR. JOSEPH SCHWARTZ, LONDON

Thank you for your cable of March 2 from Lisbon. Programs outlined therein being carefully studied by the War Refugee Board.

Would appreciate any information you can send me concerning refugee problems in northern European area. J. W. Fehle, Acting Executive Director.

000930



EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

WFB
D.P.C.
BC
C/P

London, March 11, 1944

X
No. 14393

Subject: Palestine Immigration Numbers.

*Text was
referred*

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

Upon receipt of the Department's airgram A-83, 7:20 p.m., January 19, 1944 the Embassy immediately discussed with the appropriate British officials the matter of immigration into Palestine and expressed the hope of the United States Government that the British authorities might reconsider their position, and authorize numbers to be allocated permitting children to enter Palestine within the total allowable under the White Paper.

The view expressed by the Foreign Office was that, although there is no intention on the part of the British Government to close immigration into Palestine after March 31, 1944, (the time limit originally expressed in the 1939 White Paper for the immigration quota established therein) it is nevertheless undesirable to freeze any substantial number of certificates for cases that may never arise. By way of confirming the views expressed in that discussion the Foreign Office addressed to us a letter dated February 18, 1944. A copy is enclosed.

1/

It will be observed that the Foreign Office assumes that the aspect of the matter which gives concern to the Department is the effect upon Switzerland of British refusal to issue to refugee children to whom Switzerland may be considering giving temporary asylum quota numbers assured to be valid for immigration into Palestine after the war. To that presumed basis of the Department's inquiry the Foreign Office addresses its answer, pointing out that, so far as it is aware, the Swiss Government has made no representations either to the Intergovernmental Committee nor to the British Government regarding conditions on which Switzerland would be willing to receive refugee children. It should particularly be noted that the Foreign Office holds open appropriate consideration of the matter if and when the Swiss Government approaches the Intergovernmental Committee for concrete assurances. The position stated is that the British Government does not wish, on a hypothetical basis, to complicate its administering of the immigration quota into Palestine.

The Embassy has taken the occasion, by way of obtaining expressions of view of possible use to the Department

in/

840.48 REFUGEES/5372

PS/SE

000431

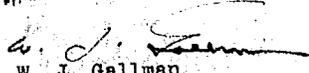
in weighing the tenability of the British reply as above, to consult representatives here of several concerned organizations with regard to present practice in issuing quota numbers for immigration into Palestine. There is general agreement among them that, for reasons of political equilibrium in Palestine and the Arab area while the war continues, the British Government is seeking to keep the total of immigration into Palestine well within the number previously announced, in spite of lengthening the period of time to which it is to apply. On the other hand there is also general agreement that difficulties of travel and exit from enemy-occupied territory are the actual determining limitations under present conditions rather than lack of availability of numbers.

The 1939 White Paper (Cmd. 6019, May 1939, entitled PALESTINE, Statement of Policy; enclosed with despatch 2679, May 18, 1939) laid down certain conditions (page 10 and 11), including Palestine's economic absorptive capacity, to govern the admission of some 75,000 Jewish immigrants into Palestine in the five year period from April 1, 1939 to March 31, 1944. In the House of Commons on November 10, 1943 (Parliamentary Debates, vol. 393, No. 120, column 1152; enclosed with despatch 12278, November 17, 1943) the Secretary of State for the Colonies reported that up to the end of September 1943 the number of Jews who entered Palestine against the total of 75,000 to be admitted under the existing quota system was 43,922, leaving a balance of 31,078 concerning which he made the following carefully-worded statement:

".....There are thus 31,078 who, it may be fairly assumed, would have reached it before 31st March, 1944, but for the exigencies of the war. His Majesty's Government have been considering this position, and have reached the conclusion that it would be inequitable to close the doors of Palestine to these persons on account of the time factor. No effort will be lacking on the part of His Majesty's Government to facilitate their arrival, subject to the criterion of economic absorptive capacity.

The unused balance of 31,078 as of the end of September 1943 has been reduced at the present to approximately 26,000 according to statements informally made to us at the Foreign Office.

Respectfully yours,
For the Ambassador:


W. J. Gallman
Counselor of Embassy

Enclosure: *att*

1/ Copy of letter (W 1586/134/48) of January 18, 1944 from A.W.G. Randall of the British Foreign Office.

CC/LZ/PB

0000932

COPY.

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(Refugee Department),
3, Cleveland Row,
St. James's,
S.W.1.

No. W 1586/134/48.

18th February, 1944.

Dear Bucknell,

Your letter of 29th January about the Swiss application to Germany at the request of the Inter-governmental Committee to allow Jewish children to leave France.

Before replying I thought it best, to explain our position at greater length to Coville, and I should now like to confirm this as follows:-

Our understanding is that the Swiss Government has been requested to try to obtain exit permits for Jewish children from France. If these are given the children will receive hospitality in the United States (5,000), in Canada and elsewhere, and there will be negotiations with the Spanish and Portuguese Governments to get the children in question through those countries in order that they may proceed overseas. The Swiss Government will be asked to grant temporary asylum to some of the children, but it seems more practicable, in view of the number of visas offered elsewhere, that the children should be directed through Spain and Portugal.

So far the Swiss Government has not obtained any promise of exit permits. They have also made, so far as I am aware, no representations to the Inter-governmental Committee or to us regarding conditions on which they would receive children in their own territory. The question of the children going eventually to Palestine is therefore entirely hypothetical, and the feeling of our authorities is that in these circumstances it would be undesirable to freeze any substantial number of certificates for cases which may never arise, as this would reduce the stock available for the regular allocations which are made in agreement with the Jewish Agency. Of course, if the German Government agreed to give exit permits and if asylum offered in countries other than Switzerland proved insufficient or it proved impracticable to transport the children to those

Mr. Howard Bucknell, Jr.,
United States Embassy,
1, Grosvenor Square,
W.1.

RECEIVED
1944 FEB 23

1944 FEB 23

countries, and if the Swiss Government then agreed to take a certain number of children themselves only on the condition that the children in question were received elsewhere at the end of the war, it would be open to the Swiss Government then to go to the Intergovernmental Committee, which would have the duty of seeing how far the Swiss Government's condition could be met. In this concrete case, the British Government could be approached in respect of Palestine or other territories for which it is responsible in exactly the same way as other members of the Committee could be approached. The mere existence of the Intergovernmental Committee and the fact that Switzerland is a member of it would appear to be a sufficient assurance to the Swiss Government that they will not have to shoulder the present or future burden of refugees in Swiss territory with no prospect of international assistance, but the assurances your Government and mine have given the Swiss Government of sympathetic consideration over any obstacles to a continuance of the Swiss Government's humanitarian action surely makes all apprehensions rather unreal.

In the light of the above, I hope you will agree that our reluctance to freeze Palestine permits in a purely hypothetical case where no concrete action or objection has been raised by the Swiss Government should, if properly understood, prove no hindrance to the efforts which are now being made by the Intergovernmental Committee and the Swiss Government to persuade the German Authorities to allow children to depart, and I should be grateful if this explanation could be conveyed to the State Department. We are very anxious that the balance of immigration permissible into Palestine should be used as far as possible for refugees* from Nazi terror; our concern is to secure that it is used to the best advantage and that permits should not be frozen for people who may not be able to use them.

Yours sincerely,

A.W.G.Randall

P.S. Since writing the above I have heard that the Swiss Government have undertaken to receive 1500 children from France if they can reach the frontier, and no conditions so far as I know have been attached to this offer.

NAZI SS RAM

000934

FFC-76
(11-42)

CROSS REFERENCE ON . . COOPERATION WITH OTHER GOVERN-
MENTS: UNITED NATIONS (GREAT
BRITAIN)

FOR:

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

FOR MEMO DATED 3/10/44 FROM MR. PERLE TO MR. STETTINIUS
RE: PROBLEMS OF THE BOARD

SEE: POLICY MATTERS - BOARD'S POSITION ON THE PALESTINE ISSUE

000935

TELEGRAM SENT

LEG

PLAIN

March 10, 1941

EMBASSY,

LONDON.

1812, tenth

Following our cable no. 1503 of February 29 you may

wish to make clear to the British Government that the steps which the War Refugee Board is taking and is prepared to take are in accordance with the following general patterns:

(1) The Board realizes that its chances of saving most of the Jews and other victims of enemy oppression from death lies in the possibility of changing the actions and attitude of the enemy, particularly his satellites, subordinates and functionaries. The Board is convinced that it is of utmost importance to undertake at once an organized and concentrated effort to make clear, by all appropriate means, to all Axis satellites that the Allied Governments view 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 action as criminal participation in organized murder. The Board also believes it necessary to make clear to the satellites by all possible means, its intention to do everything in its power to rescue such unfortunates who are in danger of death, in order not only to give the satellites a clear view of the attitude of this country in the matter, but also of the opportunities which exist for assisting in the execution

000936

-2- #1812, tenth, to London

execution of our policy. The Board feels very strongly that a campaign of this kind must be made through all possible channels and be constantly repeated at every available opportunity. The Board believes that parallel action on the part of other Allied Governments would do a great deal to assure the success of this endeavor. At the moment it is important that pressure be brought to bear particularly on Rumania and Bulgaria, because in those areas there are many refugees in imminent danger of death who can be evacuated to Turkey and other places if those Governments permit it.

In addition to making ^{bringing pressure thru various channels} formal representations to the governments of the satellite countries, the Board feels that there should be employed in this campaign all available means for effecting the widest dissemination of our attitude not only to the governments themselves but to the largest number possible of the people of satellite countries. In this connection the Office of War Information is cooperating with the War Refugee Board in bringing home to the people in Germany and the satellite countries the fact that we consider this matter to be of paramount importance and intend vigorously to pursue all possible means of accomplishing our objective.

(2) In addition to this program designed to bring about a change in the actions and attitude of our enemies, the Board

000937

-3- #1812, tenth, to London

Board is convinced that there is a real opportunity for actually bringing many of these peoples out of German controlled territory. The Board is determined to do what it can to bring these people out, in as large numbers as possible. The Board is certain that this Government and its Allies can find for these persons temporary havens of refuge. The Board feels very strongly that some solution of any problems which may arise in finding a temporary refuge for these people once they have escaped from Hitler can and must be found by the British and American Governments and that in any event such problems must be subordinated to the program of rescue.

The following examples of measures which have already been taken by the Board will illustrate the extent to which this Government is prepared to go in actually bringing people out of Hitler's control.

(a) This Government has requested the cooperation of the neutral European countries in this endeavor. Thus, in order to increase the flow of refugees ^{through} ~~through~~ ^{Spain} ~~Spain~~ and Turkey from occupied areas ^{this} ~~the~~ Government ^{is} ~~are~~ of ~~these~~ ^{is} ~~countries~~ ^{are} being requested to relax border and other controls, etc. The Board is offering to arrange for financing the setting up of reception camps which would receive refugees entering those countries and would make it possible to take them on to other places as rapidly.

000938

-4- #1012, tenth, to London

rapidly as possible.

(b) This Government is actively engaged in trying to solve the problem of getting ships to transport refugees. Thus, one of the greatest opportunities for actually rescuing such people exists in the areas adjacent to Turkey and the Black Sea. It is known that in Transnistria, Rumania and Bulgaria there are substantial numbers of refugees in imminent danger of death. It also appears that arrangements can be made with the Turkish Government to receive refugees from these areas. There are strong indications that the Rumanian Government at least will permit a substantial number of these refugees to leave Rumania. It is indispensable that means of transportation be found at once.

The Board, in this connection, is endeavoring to arrange for a small Turkish vessel to proceed to the Rumanian port of Constanza and evacuate to Turkey approximately one thousand children. That the charter of the S. S. VATAN, a small Turkish vessel, might be obtained, has been reported by the Board's representative in Turkey providing a guarantee to replace the ship in the event of loss would be made to the Turkish government. Such a guaranty was promptly offered by this Government. The possibility of obtaining some Swedish ships for this purpose is also being taken up with the Swedish Government.

000939

-5- #1812, tenth, to London

Government. The Board is also exploring other possibilities.

(c) Licenses to six private organizations in the United States have already been issued by this Government giving permission to their representatives in Switzerland, in order to carry on relief and evacuation operations in enemy territory, to engage in the required communication and financing transactions. Our 242 of January 7, 1944 and also our A-139 of January 31, 1944, describe, in this connection, licenses which now have been amended to permit the acquisition, if necessary, of local funds against payment in free exchange or free currency notes, from persons in enemy or enemy-occupied territory. Four additional private agencies have received identical licenses. This Government ^{has} included in issuing these licenses that any danger involved in permitting the enemy to acquire such relatively insubstantial quantities of foreign exchange was far outweighed by the saving of lives.

More complete details will be sent to you shortly concerning these measures as well as others which the Board has taken or is planning to initiate.

HULL
(GLW)

MRH:CLW:KRS
3/8/44

BC

DE

NEA

EH

000940

TELEGRAM SERVICE

BE

PLAIN

March 9, 1944

PLAIN

War Refugee Board

AMEMBASSY,

LONDON.
X1792, Ninth
FOR SCHOENFELD FROM MR. PEHLE, ACTING DIRECTOR,
WAR REFUGEE BOARD.

We greatly appreciate the information contained in your no. 80 of March 1. We have already taken action along the lines of most of the suggestions referred to by you.

Any further information or suggestions which you can submit to us will be very welcome.

STETTINIUS
(ACTING)

MRB:GL:KG
3/8/44

BC

800941

March 7, 1944

* 10:50 a.m.

TO: Mr. Warren

FROM: Mr. Pehle

Please transmit as soon as possible the
attached cable from the War Refugee Board to
Schoenfeld in London.

(Initialed) J. W. P

Attachment.

JHD:cor
3/8/44

000942

1792
3/9/44

AMEMBASSY

LONDON

FOR SCHOENFELD FROM MR. PHELLE, ACTING DIRECTOR,
WAR REFUGEE BOARD.

We greatly appreciate the information contained in
your No. 30 of March 1. We have already taken action
along the lines of most of the suggestions referred to
by you.

Any further information or suggestions which you
can submit to us will be very welcome.

JHM:JED:ecr
3/8/44

000943

AMJ - 405

PLAIN
London
Dated March 1, 1944
Rec'd 11:05 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington,
30, first.

POLES FROM SCHOENFELD.

Officials dealing with refugee and displaced persons problems for Governments of Norway, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Netherlands and Belgium have been informed of policy outlined in your 634, January 25, 8 p.m., and in all cases have signified desire to cooperate to fullest extent possible. Reaction of all those officials to establishment of war refugee board and to general policy as explained in your 634 was favorable. Possible overlap with activities of UNRRA and Intergovernmental Committee was mentioned but with recognition that main consideration is prompt and effective action. All those consulted stress importance of the following measures: (A) Transfer of adequate funds to various neutral centers especially Bern as most important distribution center for France Hungary and Germany for use in securing release of some victims and generally facilitating travel and overcoming difficulties crossing frontiers. (B) Assistance in providing passports and visas prerequisite for entry to neutral countries. (C) Pressure on neutral countries especially Spain to relax frontier regulations and to permit and facilitate entry of refugees. Suggested propaganda measures included: (A) Broadcasts designed to dispose individual officials in occupied territories and satellite countries to help rather than hinder movement of refugees trying to reach neutral countries. (B) Broadcast appeals by Allied Governments to home populations to help Jewish victims. (C) Continuously repeated warnings and threats to Germans themselves to occupying forces and to Quislings of punishment to those participating in crimes against persecuted minorities. (D) Enlisting aid of Vatican in appeals to Roman Catholic countries such as Slovakia to refrain from persecution and to prevent deportation of Jews. Fuller reports for individual countries on present position of their persecuted minorities now living in areas under German control together with suggestions for action to facilitate rescue of such victims are being transmitted by air mail.

EJH

WINANT

cc: Miss Chauncey (for the Sec'y) Messrs. Paul, H. D. White, Fehle, Gaston, Luxford, DuBois, E. N. Bernstein, Stewart, Lesser, Friedman, Pollak, Abrahamson, Misses, Hodel and Laughlin, E.M. Cohn

FFC-76
(11-42)

CROSS REFERENCE ON COOPERATION WITH OTHER GOVERN-
MENTS: UNITED NATIONS (GREAT BRIT-
AIN)

FOR:

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

FOR LET. DATED 3/4/44 FROM STATE TO WRB, & REPLY BY WRB, 3/16/44

SEE: POLICY MATTERS: CLEARANCE OF CERTAIN LICENSING WITH THE BRITISH

000945

March 3, 1944

Secretary Morgenthau

J. W. Pehle

For your information.

I think you will be interested in the attached exchange of cables with Winant in London dealing with an anticipated debate in the House of Commons on the refugee problem.

I consider the reply sent by State to Winant, which we drafted, an effective method of dealing with the British under present circumstances.

(Signed) J. W. Pehle

JWP:mgt 3/3/44



000946

PLAIN
London
Dated February 25, 1944
Rec'd. 2:20 p.m.

Secretary of State

Washington

US URGENT

1554, Twentyfifth

[REDACTED] FOR LIMITED DISTRIBUTION

Randall, Foreign Office counselor, has personally approached Bucknell to discuss problems raised by an anticipated debate in House Commons Wednesday, March first on inter-governmental committee on refugees and to ask for any suggestions which Department and War Refugee Board may have.

Debate is in connection with estimates and will give ample time for adverse critics to air views. Richard Law will probably make part of reply for Government. From statements by interested organizations Foreign Office expects there will be effort to show a rift between United States and British Government's on refugee policy and believes that one question will be whether American Government has approved a plan for large scale (ten million dollars) relief of Jews in enemy occupied areas which has been blocked by British. Foreign Office has in mind replying that such is not the case, that British and American Government's have machinery for acting together in refugee matters including membership on the part of both in the inter-governmental committee, that relief and assistance must of necessity be comprised of such actions as are consistent with successful prosecution of the war as was stated by the President in establishing War Refugee Board, that several joint agencies including economic policy agencies of course given consideration to relief proposals in connection with problems of successful prosecution of war, and that consideration of several proposals is currently pending.

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By R. H. Parks Date SEP 13 1972

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Foreign Office would like to have an understanding with Department that British Government, if challenged as anticipated, might reply along foregoing lines with Department's approval. Embassy agrees with Foreign Office in foreseeing danger if impression would be given that two Governments are drifting apart in refugee policy.

Foreign Office has instructed all Missions abroad to consult with United States colleagues with a view to seeing what further measures can be adopted for helping forward refugees along lines of President's executive order.

WINANT

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COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20520
TELEPHONE 4612-1111
MAIL ROOM 4612-1111
RECORDS SECTION 4612-1111
GENERAL INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION 4612-1111
INSPECTION 4612-1111
OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL 4612-1111
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE 4612-1111
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF THE ARMY 4612-1111
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY 4612-1111
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF THE AIR FORCE 4612-1111
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF THE AIR FORCE 4612-1111

RP
X

PLAIN
February 29, 1944 X

U.S. URGENT
AMERICAN EMBASSY

LONDON.

1803, Twenty-ninth

Refer to your 1884 of February 28 with respect to anticipated debate in the House of Commons on the refugee problem.

As previously stated, it is the policy of this Government to encourage and participate in effective cooperative efforts with other governments in taking all possible measures for the speedy rescue and relief of the Jews of Europe and other victims of Hitler's persecution. This Government hopes and believes that its actions in this matter will not be unilateral and that the British Government will actively cooperate in concrete measures designed to carry out this policy.

We agree that it would be unfortunate if this Government and the British Government should drift apart in refugee policy. We hope such will not be the case. Whether this will happen is not of course dependent as much upon the expressions of policy

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-2-1503, February 29th, to London

made by each government as it is upon the actual steps which are taken by each government to put these policies into effect.

Although the War Refugee Board has been in existence only a few weeks a number of concrete measures have been initiated for the purpose of carrying out without delay the policy announced by the President. The Board is now preparing for your information and for submission to the British Government a detailed statement of the action already taken and of the programs initiated to rescue and bring relief to war refugees. We feel that the Foreign Office should know, before making its proposed reply in Parliament, that the Board has under consideration various additional steps of which we hope to apprise it in the near future. The British Government will then be in a better position to judge the actual significance of the policy of this Government and to determine the steps it is prepared to take to carry out a similar policy.

The War Refugee Board has no objection in principle
to

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-3-#1608, February 29th, to London

to a plenary meeting of the Intergovernmental Committee,
but has not definitely formulated its views on future
actions which may be requested of the Committee.

The War Refugee Board is pleased to be informed
that the British Foreign Office has instructed all
of its missions abroad to consult with United States
diplomatic and consular representatives with a view
to cooperative action.

STETTINIUS
(Acting)
(GLW)

WRB:GLW:MS
2-29-44

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The very coming of victory may mean the extermination of the last remnants of the Jewish people in Europe. Well, if that sacrifice were necessary in order again to bring freedom to the world, let it be made. But no one is certain that it is necessary. At any rate, do not let it be on our conscience that there were any lives at all that might have been saved that we neglected to save.

Lieut.-Colonel Sir Walter Smiles (Blackburn): I intervene in this Debate only after hearing the last two speeches. One would imagine that the only refugees in the world at present were Jews. Great publicity is given to every atrocity against the Jews, and it is the feeling of many people in this country that to times the publicity is given to the Jews in this matter as to members of other races who are maltreated or murdered. That feeling is springing up, and it would be just as well for my hon. Friend the Member for Cheltenham (Mr. Lipson) and my hon. Friend the Member for Nelson and Colne (Mr. Silverman) not to forget that.

Mr. Lipson: I did not mention the word "Jew" once in my speech.

Mr. Silverman: Perhaps the hon. and gallant Member opposite would do me the courtesy of remembering that I expressly said in my speech very much what he is saying now.

Sir W. Smiles: I apologise if I am wrong, but we shall see in Hansard later what was said. At any rate, I think the hon. Member for Nelson and Colne mentioned some organisation for rescue work in connection with Jewish refugees.

Mr. Silverman: I expressly said that this problem was not by any means an exclusive Jewish problem and that no Jew thought it was so. I also said that, nevertheless, it was largely a Jewish problem.

Miss Rathbone: I think I know all the organisations working on this problem. We are perpetually stressing that it is not only a Jewish problem. Many non-Jewish people have been, and are being, victimised, but the majority of the victims are Jews. Everybody knows that that is so. Hitler's policy of exterminating a whole people is confined to the Jews. They are the principal victims.

Sir W. Smiles: I expected to have a good many interruptions, because no-

body can mention a topic like this without exciting a good deal of feeling. But I always imagined that the Jews were members of a religion and not of a race. For that reason it would surely be better for us to talk about the Poles or the Greeks, or any one else, and include the Jews in that. I have been in touch with some of the Polish organisations during the past week and I have heard something of the terrible atrocities committed and the massacres, and I have heard of the gas chambers. I have believed what I have heard to be true, although when you hear it for the first time you would almost imagine that it was far-fetched. However, after hearing of these things from peoples lips one believes them to be true, even in 1944. But these people were talking about the Poles that were massacred; they were not talking about those of one religion. If we are to give relief and help—and I am quite sure that every penny the Foreign Secretary asks for would be agreed to without demur in this House—let us at any rate give to the Belgians and the Greeks also. I get letters from my own constituency, from the Society of Friends I think it is, and they tell me that the Belgians and the Greeks have suffered more than any one else. I suppose nobody really knows, perhaps even the Foreign Secretary himself hardly knows, who has suffered the most, but I am quite sure that when a Debate on this subject takes place it will be very much better for the newspapers to give publicity to the fact that we are voting money for the Greeks, the Poles and the Belgians rather than for those of one religion only.

Mr. Graham White (Birkenhead, East): Whatever the hon. Member for Nelson and Colne (Mr. Silverman) may or may not have said in the course of his speech, there was one sentence which will dwell in the memory of all who heard it, and that was the striking phrase that if the sacrifice were necessary of all the Jewish lives in order that liberty might come again to the world, then let it be made. Having made that statement, I do not think anyone would want to cavil at anything else he might have said. He expressly said in his opening sentences that he was not speaking for the Jews alone and, indeed, who would propose to limit this discussion to the question of the Jews? We are, in fact, living witnesses of a most repugnant phenomenon

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[Mr. White.]
in history. We have enemies inspired by a fanaticism which apparently is even stronger than any inspiration and effort which has been inspired by good purposes. In the last few weeks they have stated their intention to fight to the last man in this fifth year of war and then to commit suicide in large numbers. They are inspired by the same fanaticism to wreak their vengeance on anybody who would prevent them.

I would support the hon. Member for Nelson and Colne in his suggestion that machinery, the counterpart of that which has been set up in Washington, might be set up in this country if I did not believe that the right hon. Gentleman who carries the responsibility in this House had not considered it an unworkable piece of machinery. I hope it might at least go forth from the House of Commons to-day that as we were all of one mind when we passed the original Resolution on this matter so there is no difference of opinion among us to-day. We Members of the House of Commons are aware that there are some aspects of this terrible manifestation that it might be unwise to discuss. We realise that may be so, and we are consequently very guarded in anything we may say.

What we do want from the right hon. Gentleman is an assurance that nothing which could conceivably be done to save even one life will be neglected. My hon. Friend the Member for Nelson and Colne said that, as events march on, there may in a few months be no problem of this particular kind to solve, but I am not sure that I am as pessimistic as that. There are events on the horizon which will make the satellite countries reflect very seriously as to their course of action and it may well be, sooner rather than later, that events will take place which will make some of the satellite countries, who are now holding down large populations, consider very seriously whether even at this late stage they cannot do something which can be placed on the credit side of their balance sheet. I do not know what can be done. The right hon. Gentleman may have some means at his disposal, and I emphasise that aspect of the affair. I only intervened because I wanted to express my conviction that we were unanimous in the matter. There has never been any difference of opinion. We, as individual

Members, have not the responsibility: it lies upon the shoulders of my right hon. Friend, and he himself must seek the best way out.

Mr. Astor (Fulham, East): I am going to back up the words spoken with such eloquence by the hon. Member for East Birkenhead (Mr. G. White). I am interested in the refugee question, and in the Middle East I actually had to look after a very large refugee camp of Greeks. I want to make one or two points which I think are important. It is very important to keep perfectly separate the refugee question and Palestine. We were able to get enormous help in the Lebanon, Palestine and Egypt from the local inhabitants because there was no question of creating—

The Chairman: I am sorry to interrupt the hon. Member but we cannot discuss conditions in Palestine on this Vote.

Mr. Astor: With great deference I will avoid that point. I only wanted to skate over it very briefly, because it has, to some extent, almost prejudiced the possibility of getting Jewish refugees out of Eastern Europe, and I think that, whatever may be people's feeling in the matter, it does not in any way take away from the Christian duty to get as many of these refugees out as we possibly can. If we neglect to do anything now which can possibly be done, we shall curse ourselves later on for our short sightedness. In the recent pamphlet of my right hon. Friend the Minister of Health it said there were not enough dentists in this country to provide treatment for all the children in need of it. I wonder how many Jewish dentists before the war—

The Chairman: The hon. Gentleman is now encroaching upon the Home Office. That matter does not arise here.

Mr. Astor: I only wanted to suggest certain considerations which might influence a representative of that Committee in his attitude towards refugees.

Earl Winterton (Horsham and Worthing): I can give my hon. Friend the assurance that my opinion will not be biased by any of the matters he has mentioned, one way or the other.

Mr. Astor: I very much regret that my noble Friend is not going to be influenced to some extent—

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Earl Winterton: My hon. Friend is trenching on a very dangerous form of argument. I have no Ministerial responsibility. Ministerial responsibility rests with my right hon. Friend opposite. I merely represent his views.

Mr. Astor: I am very sorry if anything I say may not be able to sway my noble Friend, but I hope I am still at liberty to mention certain considerations in which he may take an interest on reflection. I hope we shall not follow the American system of setting up a special office, because all my experience is that these new mushroom Government Departments are never strong enough to deal with a really strongly-entrenched Government Department.

The Chairman: The hon. Member is not entitled to discuss the arrangements made by another country. Will he please confine himself to the subject matter of the Estimate.

Mr. Astor: With deference, Major Milner, the hon. Member for Nelson and Colne (Mr. Silverman) mentioned the possibility of having some form of separate office. I do not want to go further than he did. I was only following up what he said on the purely practical point that it is not the best system of organisation to start a special body but to get a really high official in an existing Department specifically charged with this. On the question of what we can say to neutral countries, the principle has been admitted that the satellite Powers can work their passage back. We have definitely made a distinction between the treatment of Germany and the treatment of the satellites. We must make it absolutely clear that one of the factors influencing our treatment of the satellite Powers after the war is their attitude towards the refugees within their borders. There is a wide divergence, and we should make it quite clear and explain to them that in our relief operations immediately after the war, in any sanctions that we may impose, in our general treatment of them politically, this will be a factor which will definitely influence our treatment of them. I want to reiterate what has been said, that this should go out from the House of Commons as having been backed up by representatives of every party.

Mr. Gower: I should like to go in the same direction and in

the same tone as the hon. Member for East Fulham (Mr. Astor). If I were not able to convince the Committee that this is a case of exceptional urgency I should not have felt it worth while to listen to the speeches already made. My first reflection is that we are a highly fortunate body of politicians to occupy the only available place in Europe for a discussion on this subject. In this small island we are separated from the mainland of Europe by a very narrow sea, and we have been able to escape the sense of dread, fear and horror which closer acquaintance with the problem has conveyed to people in various parts of Europe. This is not really a Jewish question, though the Jewish people are involved to perhaps a greater extent than anyone else. There are other refugees—Greeks, Yugoslavs, Belgians, French, Norwegians and Danes have been mentioned—many of whom have found a home away from home and many of whom are here enjoying our hospitality, if it can be termed such.

I regard it as a very great privilege for Members of this House to be able to extend this offer and to make this modest provision of £50,000, envisaging a larger expenditure later on, to be applied to what is called operational expenditure. Operational expenditure is very difficult to define, but it certainly means the making of provision for the reception, maintenance, transport and regulation of this very unhappy traffic which is now taking place surreptitiously under clandestine arrangements. Many are escaping. They are leaving the areas of danger and coming within reach of a helping hand and what we are proposing is that at least £50,000 shall be available to extend that and to meet halfway those people who are fleeing from the wrath of their enemies on the Continent and seeking salvation and sanctuary in this very fortunate country and in other parts of the world.

I agree with the right hon. Gentleman who is responsible for the Estimate that this is not the end, but the beginning of a very large plan of salvation, in which we are joined directly by the United States, who have committed themselves to the same financial extent as we have done. I should like us not to be too squeamish about the nationality and the religion of the people we are saving. This is the anniversary of the patron saint of my country. His name was David, but

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[Mr. Grenfell.]

David originally was not a Welsh name. David was a Jew, a lovable character, a brave man and a human man, and the David who became the patron saint of our country was equally lovable and equally brave. The oaths that we take, the vows we offer in this House were originally based upon a Jewish institution and a great Jewish character, who lived his life and died equally bravely as he had lived. There is the problem.

I should like us to dismiss the priorities in this matter. A Jew is no more entitled to sympathy in distress than anyone else, and I do not think anyone else says that in the House, but it is a lamentable fact that millions of people are homeless in Europe. No one can predict the proportion of those who can get away from the areas of danger, but certainly there are areas where life is very uncertain, and there is no object more worthy of human sympathy than a hunted human being. I did some work in relation to the Sudeten Germans in the time of Munich and I was privileged to conduct the two first parties from Prague to Gdynia. It was very uncomfortable for me, but I willingly incurred the risks and discomfort and fatigue attendant upon those journeys.

I shall always remember the courtesy of the Foreign Secretary of those days. There was no hesitation at all, and on the direct applications that I made to him sufficient sums were made available to send 400 people who were in immediate danger of their lives. They were German speaking people—there may have been some Jews among them—and they were in danger. On that journey I had occasion to go through Poland and I saw the Polish ghetto. I, who had always been sympathetic with the history of that race, saw in a way I had never previously witnessed the limitations and hardships long ago imposed on the Jewish community. There are people who have escaped from Hungary and other places, and if there is anything we can do in Parliament to help them we should do it.

I congratulate my right hon. Friend on the sympathy and understanding he has shown. He is a worthy son of a worthy father. This just gives him an opportunity which is natural to him, and I believe that he will avail himself of it. It is an opportunity which will be fully

taken by us in this House and shared by our people. Do not let us be afraid to tell our people about these things. In this country 1 per cent. of our population is of the Jewish race. What is wrong with the 99 per cent. that they should not be told? In Germany the percentage is also 1 per cent. We know what was wrong with the German Reich and the German people. We must carry out our work of charity, rescue and salvation regardless of race. I hope that the Committee will dedicate itself to-day, not merely by supporting this Vote, but by doing and preparing to do something much more in the next six or twelve months than we have done in this regard in the last two or three years. If this Vote is only a spur to greater effort to help these people towards personal security, we shall have done a good day's work in this Committee.

Mr. Law: I am sure that my hon. Friend the Member for Gower (Mr. Grenfell) truly represented the views of the Committee when he welcomed the payment which it is proposed that we shall make towards the expenses of the Inter-Governmental Committee. I am sure, too, that he represented the views of hon. Members when he urged that the refugee problem should not be left only to the Inter-Governmental Committee, but that we should work at it in other ways ceaselessly until we can get some kind of solution. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Nelson and Colne (Mr. Silverman) referred us back to the dark and hideous background against which we have to consider this problem. I think he was quite right to do so. He was right to impress upon us once again, not only the importance of the problem, but its urgency. The hon. Member made what was certainly a dismal prophecy, and what may prove to be a true prophecy, when he said that, as defeat drew nearer Germany, so the excesses against the Jews would increase in intensity. That may be so, but I hope that it will not be so. I am more inclined to agree with my hon. Friend the Member for East Birkenhead (Mr. Graham White) when he reminded us that as defeat drew nearer to Germany, so the satellite countries would attempt to re-insure by treating these unhappy people more decently and giving them the sanctuary which they lack at the present time.

The hon. Member for Nelson and Colne asked me to consider various

he made, and, in particular, the possibility of making a new declaration which he described, I think, as a call to the peoples of Europe from the heads of the United Nations. Certainly that will be considered, but in the meantime I would remind the hon. Gentleman and my hon. Friend the Member for East Fulham (Mr. Astor), who also touched upon the necessity of giving warning, particularly to the satellites of Germany, that there has never been any doubt about the attitude of opinion in this country and, indeed, of world opinion, to what has been going on in Europe under German rule and to the persecution of the Jews and the general treatment of minorities and refugees. 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. There can be no doubt whatever of that, and, indeed, the satellite countries are now getting very serious warnings through the wireless, to which we must hope they are paying due attention. I have no doubt that the Committee will vote the Supplementary Estimate for this purpose, but more than one of my hon. Friends have expressed their feeling that what we are doing in voting this money, and, indeed, what the Inter-Governmental Committee can do, is not really sufficient for the problem. I was, incidentally, glad that the hon. Member for Nelson and Colne dissociated himself from the criticism of the Inter-Governmental Committee which the hon. Member for Cheltenham (Mr. Lipson) made earlier. I am sure that that criticism was not in any way justified and that the Members of the Committee are treating this matter with just the seriousness and sincerity which the hon. Gentleman himself would require.

My hon. Friend the Member for the English Universities (Miss Rathbone) took the same point of view as the hon. Member for Cheltenham. She, too, felt that the machinery of the Inter-Governmental Committee was not enough. She compared it to a stage coach when what she wanted was a Rolls Royce. She criticised the smallness of the present office of the Committee in London and the number of typists the theory that the Inter-Governmental Committee was not doing its job. She, the hon. Member for

Cheltenham and the hon. Member for Nelson and Colne stressed the fact, as it seemed to them, that this must be so and that the Inter-Governmental Committee cannot be up to its job because the President of the United States has just recently created the War Refugee Board. I hope that I may be able to persuade my hon. Friends, or to persuade the Committee as a whole, that that is a fallacy, and that the fact that the War Refugee Board has been set up in the United States is not in any sense a criticism of the Inter-Governmental Committee.

Mr. Silverman: No doubt the right hon. Gentleman will recognise that, when I advocated the setting up of machinery in this country parallel to the War Refugee Board of the United States, I was not doing so in any way as a criticism of the Inter-Governmental Committee. The point I was making was, that as the Inter-Governmental Committee was charged with the fate of refugees after they had become such, there ought to be governmental machinery to provide the Committee with the raw material.

Miss Rathbone: I think we all must make it clear that none of us were criticising the Inter-Governmental Committee when speaking of the War Refugee Board. The Inter-Governmental Committee, because it is inter-governmental, must depend upon the action of the Governments represented upon it, and therefore, both Governments should have their own separate machinery for dealing with the work. Such machinery would supplement and not supersede the Inter-Governmental Committee.

Mr. Law: I am afraid that I must have expressed myself badly, and I apologise to hon. Members and to the Committee for doing so. I did not really mean to imply that they had said that the institution of the War Refugee Board was a criticism of the Inter-Governmental Committee, but I did mean to imply, and I think it is clear that what I am going to say now is a true representation of what they said, that in their view, the institution of the War Refugee Board showed that there was a gap which had to be filled and which the Inter-Governmental Committee was not filling. I do not think that even that criticism is altogether justified.

Mr. Lipson: Did not the right hon. Gentleman himself say that the work of the Inter-Governmental Committee was not sufficient by itself to deal with this problem?

Mr. Law: Yes, Sir, and if the hon. Member had had a little more patience he would have found that I was going to repeat exactly that argument. I spoke earlier in the Debate about the necessity for international co-operation in these matters. I think every hon. Member would agree that there are some matters which can be handled far better by an inter-governmental body of this kind than by any particular Government, but that does not at all rule out the necessity that, as well as international action, there has to be national action in these matters. For that reason, His Majesty's Government welcomed most heartily the institution of the War Refugee Board in the United States, and we shall be willing, and indeed anxious, to give that War Refugee Board, as a part of the United States administration, our very warmest support and sympathy. We are working on all these matters in the closest relations with the United States administration. I do not know whether it is generally known among hon. Members that we have recently sent instructions to every one of our missions abroad likely to be involved in refugee matters that they should seek out and collaborate with their American opposite numbers on refugee matters to the fullest extent in their power.

I know that I cannot go very far in discussion of the War Refugee Board without transgressing the Ruling which you have given, Major Milner. On the other hand, there has been such a great deal said about the War Refugee Board and so many appeals have been made to the Government here to institute a similar body in this country that I hope I may, without getting into trouble, just touch upon that aspect of the matter. I do not think that hon. Members who have raised the question of the Joint Refugee Board quite realise the constitutional difference between this country and the United States. Under our system of ministerial responsibility it would, in fact, be impossible for us to institute an independent body which would control Ministers and heads of other Departments outside it; in fact, there is not the same need for

such a body in this country. There is already a Cabinet Committee concerned with these matters, and that Cabinet Committee has at its disposal an administrative staff in the form of the Executive Department of the Foreign Office. We really have the substance of what the President of the United States has instituted, in the shape of the War Refugee Board. For constitutional reasons, I do not see how we could imitate the structure of that Board, and, for practical reasons, I cannot see that we should gain any advantage from instituting it.

Miss Rathbone: One thing that struck me very much was that the American Board had a whole-time executive director who was directly in touch with the Secretaries of State and had direct access to the President. Has the Refugee Department of the Foreign Office access to Ministers and to the Prime Minister in the same way?

The Chairman: We cannot go into the details of this organisation. The hon. Gentleman has said quite sufficiently about it.

Mr. Law: Might I ask— in a sentence, what the hon. Lady has a good? We have really got exactly what she wants. We have a full-time administrative staff, not in the persons of single directors, but in the shape of the staff of the Refugee Department of the Foreign Office. The staff is directly responsible to my right hon. Friend and, through him, to the Cabinet Committee. I do not think there is the practical difference that some hon. Members imagine there to be.

I do not think there were any other points raised in the Debate. I think the Committee has made it abundantly clear that it wants the work of rescue for these unfortunate people to be proceeded with with the utmost possible vigour and despatch. I can assure the Committee that His Majesty's Government are prepared to do everything they possibly can to find a solution of this problem, in co-operation with other nations where that is necessary, and individually as a Government where that is possible.

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolved:

That a supplementary sum of £1,000,000 be granted to His Majesty's Government for the purpose of

MINISTRY OF HEALTH (WAR SERVICES)

10. "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £10, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1914, for the cost of the war services of the Ministry of Health."

MINISTRY OF HOME SECURITY

11. "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £10, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1914, for the salaries and expenses of the Ministry of Home Security."

MINISTRY OF SUPPLY

12. "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £10, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1914, for the salaries and expenses of the Ministry of Supply, including the expenses of the Royal Ordnance Factories."

MINISTRY OF WAR TRANSPORT

13. "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £10, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1914, for the salaries and expenses of the Ministry of War Transport."

MINISTRY OF WORKS (WAR SERVICES)

14. "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £10, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1914, for the cost of the war services of the Ministry of Works."

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE FOR SCOTLAND (WAR SERVICES)

15. "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £10, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1914, for the cost of the war services of the Department of Agriculture for Scotland."

CLASS II

IMPERIAL WAR GRAVES COMMISSION

16. "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £10, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1914, for the salaries and expenses of the Imperial War Graves Commission, including purchase of land in the United Kingdom and abroad."

CLASS VIII

SUPERANNUATION AND RETIRED ALLOWANCES

17. "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £10, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1914, for superannuation

and other non-effective annual allowances, additional allowances, gratuities, compassionate allowances and supplementary pensions in respect of civil employment."

CLASS I.

TREASURY AND SUBORDINATE DEPARTMENTS

18. "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £6,930, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1914, for the salaries and other expenses in the Department of His Majesty's Treasury and Subordinate Departments, and the salaries and expenses of certain Ministers appointed for special duties."

Resolutions agreed to.

INDIA (ATTACHMENT OF STATES) BILL [Lords]

Order for Second Reading read.

The Attorney-General (Sir Donald Somervell): I beg to move, "That the Bill be now read a Second time."

This Bill is concerned with the parts of India known as Kathiawar and Gujerat in which, together with large Indian States with full administrations, there are a very large number of small and in some cases very small areas described as States, though I think it would probably be more accurate in the use of language to describe them as estates. They are scattered. Their number is about 400 and the total population is some 800,000. Forty of them are less than a square mile in area, and more than half are about the size of an ordinary rural parish—seven, eight or nine square miles. The problem as to how these areas can best be administered so that those who live in them may have the advantages in such matters as education, health services, communications, and so on which individually, owing, as the House will see, to the size of the areas, they cannot of course provide for themselves has engaged for some years the attention of the Viceroy in his capacity as Crown representative.

The reason for submitting this Bill to Parliament is a recent decision in the local court which is called the Court of the Judicial Commissioner in which appeal from courts established by the representative for these small States has been heard. This Judicial Commissioner held that the States were not Crown property and had been taking

the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1944, for the expenses in connection with His Majesty's Embassies, Missions and Consular Establishments Abroad, and other expenditure chargeable to the Consular Vote; certain special grants and payments, including grants in aid; and sundry other services."

CLASS V

OLD AGE PENSIONS

Resolved:

"That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £350,000, be granted to His Majesty to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1944, for the payment of Old Age Pensions, pensions to blind persons, and for certain administrative expenses in connection therewith."

Resolutions to be reported upon the next Sitting Day; Committee to sit again upon the next Sitting Day.

REPORT [11th February]

Resolutions reported:

CIVIL ESTIMATES, SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATE, 1943

CLASS II

DOMINION SERVICES

1. "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £10, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1944, for sundry Dominion services, including certain grants in aid, and for expenditure in connection with Ex-Service Men in Eire, and for a grant in aid to Eire in respect of compensation to transferred officers."

DEVELOPMENT AND WELFARE (SOUTH AFRICAN HIGH COMMISSION TERRITORIES)

2. "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £20,800, be granted to His Majesty to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1944, for the development of the resources of the South African High Commission Territories and the welfare of their peoples."

CLASS V

SUPPLEMENTARY PENSIONS

"That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £100,000, be granted to His Majesty to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1944, for the payment of Supplementary Pensions, pensions to blind persons, and for certain administrative expenses in connection therewith."

CLASS VI

MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES

4. "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £10, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1944, for the salaries and expenses of the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, and of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, including grants, grants in aid and expenses in respect of agricultural education and research, eradication of diseases of animals, and improvement of breeding, etc., of live stock, land settlement, improvement of cultivation, drainage, etc., regulation of agricultural wages, agricultural credits, and marketing; fishery organisation, research, and development, control of diseases of fish, etc.; and sundry other services including certain remanet subsidy payments."

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE FOR SCOTLAND

5. "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £8,520, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1944, for the salaries and expenses of the Department of Agriculture for Scotland, including grants for land improvement, agricultural education, research and marketing, expenses in respect of regulation of agricultural wages; certain grants in aid, and remanet subsidy payments."

STATE MANAGEMENT DISTRICTS

6. "That a supplementary sum, not exceeding £10, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1944, for the salaries and expenses of the State Management Districts, including the salaries of the central office, and the cost of provision and management of licensed premises."

CLASS X

MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES (WAR SERVICES)

7. "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £10, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1944, for the cost of the war services of the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries."

MINISTRY OF AIRCRAFT PRODUCTIONS

8. "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £10, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1944, for the salaries and expenses of the Ministry of Aircraft Production."

MINISTRY OF FUEL AND POWER

9. "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £10, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1944, for the salaries and expenses of the Ministry of Fuel and Power."