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United Nations Conference
Folder 2

000960

FFC-76
(11-42)

CROSS REFERENCE ON COOPERATION WITH OTHER GOVERN-
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FOR LET. 2/29/44 FROM BRITISH EMBASSY TO STATE
FOR LET. 3/4/44 FROM STATE TO WRB, & ENCLOSURES
FOR LET. TO STATE FROM WRB, 3/16/44

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

000961

GAR-913

PLAIN

London

Dated February 29, 1944

Rec'd 7 p.m.

Secretary of State

Washington

1885, 29th

As prelude to the forthcoming House Commons debate on Intergovernmental Committee and following up earlier editorials today's MANCHESTER GUARDIAN has editorial on refugee situation ending as follows:

"Successful effort demands as it has always demanded the use of men, money, time, energy personally directed with adequate authority to the work of rescue. This is what the American Government announces it is going to provide. It is what we are not providing but could still do if we chose. The ponderous intergovernmental Committee will never by itself do what is needed."

WIRANT

EJH

cc: Miss Chauncey (for the Sec'y) Messrs. Paul, Gaston, H.D. White, Felle, Luxford, DuBois, E. H. Bernstein, Stewart, Lesser, Friedman, Folick, Abrahamson, Miss Hodel, Miss Laughlin, Mrs. Cohn

000962

EE-384

PLAIN

London

Dated February 28, 1944

Rec'd 8 a.m.

Secretary of State

Washington

U.S. URGENT
1597, Twenty-eighth

By way of urgent reminder Embassy desires to state that reply from Department on two points is necessary to reach us by twenty-ninth if to be of use in preparing for parliamentary debate Wednesday morning on Inter-Governmental committee on refugees.

One. As requested in Embassy's 1393 eighteenth final paragraph consent is requested to statement premised on approval of holding of plenary meeting. Director has approval from Argentine, Brazil, Netherlands representatives expects French approval and urgently desires ours.

Two. Regarding the understanding requested in Embassy's 1554 twenty-fifth penultimate paragraph Foreign Office urgently desires expression of approval.

WINANT

RR

cc: Miss Chauncey (for the Sec'y) Messrs. Paul, H. D. White, Peble, Luxford, DuBois, H. N. Bernstein, Stewart, Lesser, Gaston, Friedman, Poliak, Abrahamson, Miss Hodel, Miss Trenchlin

000963

COPY

Coop. with Great Britain

No. 66.

(W 1657/16/48)

Foreign Office,

19th February, 1944.

Sir,

I draw your attention to the following Parliamentary Question and to the Reply which I returned to it on the 9th February:-

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

Reply: 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 aim 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 reaffirming 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 Intergovernmental Refugee Committee. This is also the policy which His Majesty's Government is fully determined to follow.

2. This Reply met the first of two requests received from the United States Government, namely, that His Majesty's Government should implement British and American co-operation in this matter of refugees by issuing a declaration of policy similar to that made by the President. The second request

DECLASSIFIED

By Authority of British

Gov't telegram 1-12-72

By RHP Date SEP 13 1972

was

See Mr. Pakenham's files

000964

was that I should give instructions to all His Majesty's Representatives abroad comparable to those which have been issued by the State Department to all United States diplomatic and consular offices. The instructions in question may be summarised as follows:-

- (a) That everything possible should be done to rescue the victims of enemy oppression and give them relief and assistance consistent with the successful prosecution of the war.
- (b) To co-operate closely with responsible private agencies engaged in the rescue, transportation, maintenance and relief of victims of enemy oppression.
- (c) To grant to such agencies facilities for sending messages in appropriate instances.
- (d) To give assistance in obtaining and verifying information.
- (e) To render an immediate report on the actual refugee situation, and in particular to state what each country is doing to rescue Jews and other persecuted minorities, how far refugees are admitted or debarred, details of all cases where refugees are turned back being furnished.
- (f) To explain to the Government the United States Government's views on the rescue of refugees and ascertain the extent to which each Government is prepared to co-operate.

3. I am aware that most of the actions laid down in the State Department's instructions to be taken by United States officials have, ever since the refugee question became one of real concern, formed part of the regular activity of your Mission, whenever opportunity arose. The purpose of this despatch is therefore only to remind you that His Majesty's Government have reiterated their policy of playing a full part in the alleviation, so far as is possible, of the plight of the victims of German oppression without distinction of race, religion or nationality; that His Majesty's Missions abroad should persist in carrying out this policy in so far as it is possible in the country where they are resident; and that finally close contact should be maintained with your United States colleague over this question. I should accordingly be glad if you would, on receiving this despatch, let your United States colleague know that you have been informed by me of the President's initiative and that you have received instructions to discuss with him what further measures, if any, can be adopted by you or aided and encouraged with responsible private organisations for achieving the purpose which both Governments have in view.

I am, with great truth and respect,
Sir,
Your Excellency's obedient Servant,
(For the Secretary of State)

(Signed) A.W.G. Randall.

000965

14-00000
7
CONFIDENTIAL COPY

2 - Jan Refugee
Bel Congo
7/1/44

AMJ -405

PLAIN

London

Dated March 1, 1944

Rec'd 11:05 p.m.

Thanks
a lot

3 Ans.
correct
ideas.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

30, first.
X
POLES FROM SCHENFELD.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

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 some victims

512
Circular cables

000966

-2- #30, first, from London.

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

000967

CONTROL COPY

Rec'd
Mar 4, 1944

~~RESTRICTED~~

RCC-757

PLAIN

London

Dated ^{March 2} February 2, 1944

Rec'd 11:58 p.m.

Secretary of State

Washington

^x
1711, Second.

House Commons sitting in committee yesterday debated Inter Governmental Committee on Refugees 2 1/2 hours and voted supplementary sum requested by Government. Attendance was small about 30 members. Critics generally upheld IGC but favored supplementing by a body like War Refugee Board with full time executive director. Richard Law spoke for Government and referring to necessity for international cooperation through IGC continued: 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

000968

-2-#1711, Second from London.

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 honorable 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 do not think that honorable members who have raised the question of the Refugee Board quite realize 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: 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

000969

-3-#1711, Second, from London.

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". "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 cooperation with other nations where that is necessary and individually as a Government where that is possible".

Forwarding airmail report.

WIN/NT

MFV
EMB

000970

2-6-44
TELEGR. SENT

RP

PLAIN

February 29, 1944 X

U.S. DEPARTMENT

AMERICAN EMBASSY

LONDON.

1503, Twenty-ninth

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DIVISION OF

MAR 1 1944

COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

Refer to your 1554 of February 25 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

made

000971

x
-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

000972

X
-S-#1508, 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)
(GIW)

WRB:GLW:MS
2-29-44

BC

EH

U

000973

1-
CONTROL COPY

MJB-652

3- War Refugee
Bd (Mr. Settle)
PLAIN

London

Dated February 25, 1944

Rec'd 2:20 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

US URGENT

1554, Twentyfifth

x
[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 Governments on refugee policy and believes that one question will be whether American Government has approved a plan for large scale (ten million

DECLASSIFIED

State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72

By R. H. Parks Date SEP 13 1972

dollars)

000974

-2-#1554, Twentyfifth, from London

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 action 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.

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.

MJF

WINANT

000975

13
MFG-513

Copy 2
Sent London
PLAIN

London

Dated February 24, 1944

Rec'd 11:59 p.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

1541, 24th.

[REDACTED], FOR LIMITED DISTRIBUTION FOR THE
WAR REFUGEE BOARD.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann has recently discussed with me and with Casaday, Goville and Hochler certain problems connected with the efforts to bring relief and rescue to the Jews of Nazi-occupied Europe, and the following questions are submitted at his request. He would like to receive answers from Washington while he is still in this country as the answers will affect his activities here. Dr. Goldmann plans to leave for Washington at the end of the first week in March.

1. Goldmann states that the American and British Governments are ready to put 8 million to 10 million dollars at the disposal of the International Red Cross for sending food, clothing and medical supplies

to the Jews

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

000976

7-217, 5725.
Department.
Section 22 of Code.
1-278

-2- #1541, February 24, - from London

to the Jews of Nazi-occupied Europe. He is assured by International Red Cross representatives, however, that it will be impossible to utilize anything like this amount of money if purchases must be confined to the neutral European countries. This is said to be due to shortages of goods and to existing priorities in the countries concerned. One of the International Red Cross representatives referred to is Alfred E. Zollinger who recently passed through London and is now in Washington. Goldmann urges that Zollinger be consulted there for confirmation of the described position in the neutral countries of Europe.

In view of the circumstances as stated the International Red Cross according to Goldmann asks specifically whether the War Refugee Board is in a position to take one or both of the following two courses of action: (a) seek to obtain from the appropriate American and British authorities permission to spend "a major part" of the 8 to 10 million dollars in Rumania and Hungary where conditions for the effective use of the funds are said to be more favorable; (b) seek to obtain authorization to purchase supplies in the United

000977

-3- #1541, February 24, - from London

in the United States or other American countries and, what is most important, to obtain British navicerts for the safe passage of the goods to European ports.

In regard to proposal (b) the International Red Cross is stated to be prepared to give assurance that, in the event navicerts are granted, no extra demand will be made upon shipping facilities. The International Red Cross is willing to assume full responsibility for transportation.

It is stated that for various reasons the International Red Cross does not feel in a position to approach the British Government directly on the above two proposals and they ask therefore whether the desired results might be effected through the intercession of the War Refugee Board.

2. Goldmann states that at the beginning of December the U. S. Treasury issued a license to the World Jewish Congress in New York for \$25,000 to be transferred to its representative in Geneva and to be used for Jewish rescue work in occupied European countries with the provision that regular reports about the use of

100978

-4- #1541, February 24, - from London

the use of this money be given to the American Legation in Berne Switzerland. It is understood by Goldmann that this license was later increased to \$100,000. Goldmann believes that the Joint Distribution Committee then applied for a license for \$3,000,000 for similar purposes and that this license was granted.

Various Jewish organizations in Great Britain as well as a committee of members of Parliament headed by Eleanor Rathbone are said to be eager to approach the British Government requesting similar licenses and using the precedent established in Washington. Goldmann has asked these groups to refrain from approaching the British Government pending clarification of the specific points listed below. He is anxious on the one hand not to risk a flat refusal by the British if such risk could be minimized by using the American licenses as an argument of if possible by a direct appeal to the British by the U. S. Government or War Refugee Board. On the other hand he is anxious to avoid causing any embarrassment to the U. S. Government. He asks therefore:

(a) whether the British Government has been officially (repeat officially) informed of the issuance of the

U. S. Treasury

000979

-5- #1541, February 24, - from London

U. S. Treasury licenses referred to; (b) whether either the U. S. Government or the War Refugee Board would consider appealing directly to the British Government to issue similar licenses; (c) whether in any event there is any objection to an appeal to the British Government by Jewish or other organizations here utilizing the precedent of the U. S. Treasury licenses as an argument.

In view of Dr. Goldmann's planned early departure I am sure he would appreciate early consideration of the above enquiries.

NINANT

HTM

cc: Miss Chauncey (for the Sec'y) Messrs. Paul, Gaston, H. D. White, Fehle, Luxford, DuBois, E. H. Bernstein, Stewart, Lesser, Friedman, Pollak, Bundy, Miss Hedel

000988

FEB 24 1944

Dear Mr. Hayter:

I wish to thank you for your letter of February 18, 1944, enclosing for our information a copy of a letter from Sir R. Campbell to Mr. Hull, dated September 9, 1943, with respect to refugees who escaped from enemy-occupied countries into Turkey and other neutral countries.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. W. Pehle

J. W. Pehle
Acting Executive Director

Mr. W. G. Hayter,
First Secretary,
British Embassy,
Washington, D. C.

W *Feb* FHodel:hd 2/23/44

10098

BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON 8, D. C.

February 18th, 1944.

Ref. 105/25/44

Dear Mr. Pehle,

With reference to our conversation of February 17th, I enclose for your confidential information a copy of a letter from Sir R. Campbell to Mr. Hull, dated September 9th, 1943, about the position of refugees who escape from Nazi Europe into Turkey and other neutral countries.

The Foreign Office are anxious that in the interest of the refugees themselves this decision should be kept secret, and we were only authorised to disclose it in strictest confidence to Mr. Hull and Mr. Myron Taylor. The United States Ambassador at Ankara has also been informed of the position.

In view of London's emphasis on secrecy I am sure you will realise the importance of treating this information as strictly confidential.

Yours sincerely,


W. G. Hayter.

Mr. John Pehle,
United States Treasury,
Washington, D. C.

DECLASSIFIED
By Authority of British
Gov't. telegram, 1-12-72
By RHP Date SEP 13 1972

000982

C O P Y

Ref. 608/14/43.

September 9th, 1943.

My dear Hull,

I write to let you know that His Majesty's Government recently decided that in future all Jews, whether adults or children, who may succeed in escaping to Turkey from enemy-controlled territory since the closing of the Bulgarian-Turkish frontier in May last, will be eligible (after a preliminary security check in Turkey) for onward transport to Palestine, where they will be placed in camps, go through a further security check and if found satisfactory will be gradually released as legal immigrants into Palestine against the current half-yearly immigration quotas. By "onward transport" is meant such transport by sea or rail as may be arranged by His Majesty's Government in co-operation with the appropriate diplomatic mission.

This policy will also apply to Jews who manage to escape to other neutral countries, but where they have escaped to countries in which they are safe they will normally remain there. Thus the Jews at present in Mauritius, Cyprus and Spain would remain there (unless, as is hoped, arrangements can be made in the case of Spain to remove them for the duration of hostilities to Allied territory in North Africa) and only in very special cases and for very special reasons would authority be given for any onward transport to Palestine.

The numbers/

The Honourable
Cordell Hull,
Secretary of State of the United States,
Washington, D. C.

DECLASSIFIED

By Authority of British
Gov't. telegram, 1-12-72

By RAV Date SEP 13 1972

000983

- 2 -

The numbers to be admitted under these new proposals will not entail any increase in the total number of immigrants permissible for the period ending the 31st March, 1944.

I have been asked to emphasize the confidential nature of this letter, as secrecy is essential in the interests of the refugees themselves and His Majesty's Government intend to make no public announcement of the policy described above. They are, however, informing the Jewish Agency for Palestine in confidence of what is proposed.

I am writing a similar letter to Mr. Myron Taylor.

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd.) R. I. Campbell.

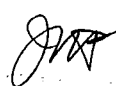
10098

FEB 16 1944

TO: Mr. Stettinius
FROM: J. W. Pehle

In connection with my conversation with you about obtaining the allocation by the British of some 10,000 Palestine immigration certificates to the British Consulates in Turkey and Spain, I am enclosing for your information a copy of a letter sent to Lord Halifax on February 12 by Will Rogers, Jr., Co-Chairman of the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe.

(Initialed) J. W. P.

 JWP:mgt 2/16/44

000985

The enclosed copy of our letter to Lord Halifax is self-explanatory. It was written after a prolonged and friendly telephone conversation in the course of which Lord Halifax seemed to be very favorably disposed to the idea. He told Congressman Rogers he would cable London that same day (Saturday, the 12th). Congressman Rogers will be back in Washington on Wednesday and he is to call Lord Halifax so that we may see him towards the end of the week, by which time he expected an answer from London.

Peter H. Bergson

Washington, February 14, 1944.

000986

C O P Y

EMERGENCY COMMITTEE TO SAVE THE JEWISH PEOPLE OF EUROPE

2317 - 15th Street, N. W., Washington, 9, D. C.

Adams 0840

February 12, 1944.

The Right Honorable the Viscount Halifax, K. G.,
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary,
The British Embassy,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Ambassador:

Following our telephone conversation this morning, I hasten to give you further details of the specific proposal which we discussed.

We believe it would be most advisable and opportune if the Palestine administration would place some 10,000 - out of the now available 30,000 immigration certificates - with the British Consuls in Turkey and Spain. The British Government could inform the Turkish and Spanish Governments of this action, which might very well result in saving the lives of many Jews who might escape from Nazi-controlled Europe into Turkey or Spain. At present it is not only the Nazis who make it difficult for the Jews to leave. There are also definite restrictions of admittance into Turkey and Spain. The assurance that such escaping Jews will receive certificates to Palestine will assure Turkey and Spain that these people enter their country only in transit and they will thus ease the restrictions on admittance which now prevail.

We feel that if this is done without delay it will do a great deal to help save many thousands of lives. I am under the impression that this proposal does not require any change of the existing policy of His Majesty's Government in regard to Palestine, and I do hope that speedy action in this direction can be taken.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Will Rogers, Jr.

Will Rogers, Jr., M. C.
Co-Chairman

10098

MEMORANDUM

February 14, 1944

The State Department was advised that the cable to London in reply to No. 1006 was despatched at 11 P. M., February 9, 1944. The cable was numbered 1019.

M. G. Taylor

000988

IG-1

PLAIN

London

Dated February 12, 1944

Rec'd 9:18 p.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

1222, Twelfth.

FOR SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY AND THE WAR REFUGEE
BOARD FROM CASADAY.

Since February 1 the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN has devoted three editorials to the War Refugee Board and its program. The first two were brief, owing presumably to lack of specific information but all have been strongly favorable to the Board's objectives and have urged the establishing of a similar board here. Quoted below are excerpts from a lengthy editorial in today's GUARDIAN: "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

Copy 2

000988

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 Intergovernmental 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

be with

-3- 1222, Twelfth, from London

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)."

After summarizing the main provisions of the executive order the editorial continues: "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 Intergovernmental

000991

-4- 1222, Twelfth, from London

The Intergovernmental Committee and UNRRA 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 be 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 discredibly 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

000992

-5- 1222, Twelfth, from London

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."

WINANT

WWO

cc to: Hadel
Lesser
Luxford
Pollock
Friedman
Pehle
Dubois
E.M. Bernstein

000993

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 CABLE #1210, 2/12/44

SEE: NO RECORD AS OF THIS DATE (6/27/44)

000999

February 11, 1944

Dear Mr. McCloy:

I am transmitting herewith for your information a copy of a telegram sent to the British Embassy, Washington, by the British Foreign Office. Also attached is a copy of a letter which I am today sending to Mr. Stettinius on this matter, together with a copy of the proposed reply to the British telegram.

I will take this matter up with you or Mr. Bundy when I have received the views of the State Department on the proposed reply.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. W. Pehle

J. W. Pehle
Acting Executive Director

Mr. John J. McCloy,
Assistant Secretary of War,
War Department.

JWP:mgt 2/11/44

000996

(Roger Lindberg)

* FEB 11 1944

Dear Mr. Stettinius:

Reference is made to your letter of February 5, enclosing a copy of a telegram dated January 25 from the British Foreign Office to the British Embassy here, concerning the issuance of a declaration regarding Hitler's extermination of the Jews of Europe. The advice of the War Refugee Board is requested.

There are of course two important phases of carrying out the announced policy of this Government to take all measures within its power to rescue the victims of enemy oppression who are in imminent danger of death. One is the taking of action designed to get the Hitlerite forces and particularly their subordinates and their satellites to cease committing atrocities against the Jews and other civilian victims of enemy savagery. The other is the taking of action designed to rescue the persecuted minorities of Europe from death despite the attitude of our enemies.

The essential feature of the first phase of this job, as I see it, is to convince the leaders and the people in Germany and Germany's satellites that this Government and other members of the United Nations view most seriously the policy being followed by the enemy and are determined to see to it that those responsible will be punished. This involves not only the making of appropriate statements and representations, but also making them under such circumstances as will convince the leaders and the people in enemy countries that we mean business and seeing to it that such statements are brought home to these groups.

A program of this character offers the best potentialities for saving hundreds of thousands of lives. The number of persons we can reasonably hope to rescue despite the attitude of our enemies obviously can not be compared with the far greater number which might be saved from death by changing the attitude of enemy governments and particularly their functionaries and subordinates.

If it is a fact that, as the British state, there is little evidence that the 1942 declaration perceptibly lessened the persecution of the Jews, the question arises as to whether this declaration was issued under such circumstances and was given such publicity in the enemy countries as to maximize the effectiveness of what was said in the declaration.

000996

In this connection, it must be borne in mind that the 1942 declaration was issued at a time when Germany and her satellites had high hopes for victory. A declaration issued at a time when Germany and her satellites know they have lost the war has potentialities so great that it can hardly be compared with the declaration which was issued in 1942.

The statement by the British that the 1942 declaration seemed to indicate to the Germans a means whereby they could distress and embarrass the Allies is not fully understood. So long as any government participating in such a declaration is determined to do all in its power to prevent the murder of the Jews, and this fact is made clear to the Germans by action as well as words, it is difficult to see how any such statement could embarrass such government. On the other hand, if the position of such government is that expressed by certain British officials to our Embassy in London in December (see Cable 8717 from Winant, December 15) - in simple terms that they were apparently willing to accept the probable death of thousands of Jews in enemy territory because of "the difficulties of disposing of any considerable number of Jews should they be rescued" - and if this attitude is known to the Germans by virtue of the actions if not the words of such government, then the contention that a declaration might embarrass such government has some significance.

With respect to the statement on the punishment of atrocities issued at the Moscow Conference, there is merit in the contention that if this declaration had specifically mentioned the atrocities against the Jews, Hitler and his cohorts might have been more convinced of our attitude on their treatment of these people. In this connection, it is noted that the British themselves place chief reliance on the 1942 declaration rather than the Moscow declaration. In view of the fact that Hitler has always specially singled out the Jews - reserving, as Secretary Hull stated in his address before Congress on November 18, "for the Jews his most brutal wrath" - there is much to be said for the fact that any statement on our part which omits any specific reference to the Jews loses much of its effectiveness in Germany and among her satellites by reason of the omission.

We are now mapping out a program of action which we feel that this Government might take designed to get Germany and her satellites to desist in their persecution of the Jews and other minority groups in Europe. In this connection, we have been actively considering the issuance of a strong declaration relating specifically to the murder of the Jews.

- 3 -

We expect to have ready in the near future for submission to the members of the Board a declaration which we feel might be issued by this Government. It is anticipated, of course, that the declaration would be issued by the President.

In the meantime, it is suggested that a reply along the lines of the attached be sent to the British Embassy here. This reply has been cleared with the Treasury Department and, upon receipt of your approval, I will be glad to clear it with the War Department. When the reply is sent to the British, it is suggested that you send the text of the reply, together with the text of this letter, to Ambassador Winant for his use in discussing this matter with the British in London.

I am sending a copy of this letter and its enclosure to Mr. McElroy of the War Department.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. W. Fehle

J. W. Fehle
Acting Executive Director.

Enclosure.

Honorable Edward R. Stettinius, Jr.,
Under Secretary of State,
Department of State,
Washington, D. C.

JED:scr
2/10/44

000000

FPC-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 CABLE #1181, 2/11/44 FROM LONDON

SEE: NO RECORD AS OF THIS DATE (6/27/44)

7/12/45

000999

PROPOSED REPLY TO THE BRITISH EMBASSY.

The War Refugee Board, which has been charged with carrying out the announced policy of this Government to take all measures within its power to rescue the victims of enemy oppression who are in imminent danger of death, has under consideration the type of action which this Government might take, designed to get the Hitlerite forces and particularly their subordinates and their satellites to desist in their persecution of the Jews and other minority groups in Europe.

In this connection, the War Refugee Board has under active consideration the issuance by this Government of a strong declaration relating specifically to the murder of the Jews. It is important that the leaders and the people in Germany and Germany's satellites be convinced that this Government and other members of the United Nations view most seriously the policy being followed by the enemy and are determined to see to it that those responsible will be punished. This involves not only the making of appropriate statements and representations but also making them under such circumstances as will convince the leaders and the people in enemy countries that we mean business and seeing to it that such statements are brought home to these groups.

A program of this character offers the best potentialities for saving hundreds of thousands of lives. The number of persons we can reasonably hope to rescue despite the attitude of our enemies obviously can not be compared with the far greater number which might be saved from death by changing the attitude of enemy governments and particularly their functionaries and subordinates.

Your Foreign Office states that there is little evidence that the 1942 declaration perceptibly lessened the persecution of the Jews. The question therefore arises as to whether this declaration was issued under such circumstances and was given such publicity in the enemy countries as to maximize the effectiveness of what was said in the declaration.

In this connection, it must be borne in mind that the 1942 declaration was issued at a time when Germany and her satellites had high hopes for victory. A declaration issued at a time when Germany and her satellites know they have lost the war has potentialities so great that it can hardly be compared with the declaration which was issued in 1942.

- 2 -

The statement by your Foreign Office that the 1942 declaration seemed to indicate to the Germans a means whereby they could distress and embarrass the Allies is not fully understood. So long as the governments participating in such a declaration are determined to do all in their power to prevent the murder of the Jews, and this fact is made clear to the Germans by action as well as words, it is difficult to see how any such statement could embarrass such governments.

Whether this Government will issue a declaration on Hitler's atrocities against the Jews depends on whether we feel that the issuance of such a declaration would help to save some Jews from death.

JED
JEDuBois:secr
2/10/44

WJG

00 100

NMC-105

* PLAIN

London

Dated February 10, 1944

Rec'd 1 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

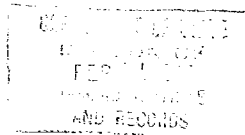
1144, Tenth

Eden yesterday answered refugee question in
Commons along lines Embassy's 1082, Eighth. Record
going forward airmail.

WINANT

MJF

FEB 14 1944



001002

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

February 8, 1944

Official File Copy

92

FILING AUTHORITY

TO: Mail & File

ANS.

NO ANS. R.Q.

INITIAL

DATE 2/8/44

in files @ Ha

Dear Mr. Pehle:

It occurred to me that you would be interested in seeing the attached copy of a reply Mr. Stettinius has received from Sir Ronald Campbell relative to the recent cable sent to London at the request of the War Refugee Board. I am also enclosing for your information a copy of a letter received from Governor Lehman.

Mr. Travers called my attention this morning to several cables requiring action and on which the Department would appreciate the advice of the Board. They are, specifically, No. 370 from Madrid, No. 301 from Stockholm, No. A-38 from Tegucigalpa and No. 883 from London. I presume copies of all of these have reached you through the usual channels. There is also an information cable from Bern, No. 624, in which you would be interested. In addition, Mr. Travers has a considerable number of miscellaneous despatches and letters, some of which require action and some of which I think you would like to see for information. I would suggest, therefore, that you may want to get in touch with Mr. Travers and have someone from your office go over these various matters with him.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Hayden Raynor

Hayden Raynor,
Special Assistant to
the Under Secretary

Encs.

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

001003

British Embassy
Washington 8, D. C.
3rd February, 1944

My dear Ed,

Thank you very much for your letter of February 1st, enclosing a copy of a telegram sent to Mr. Winant about the War Refugee Board. Lord Halifax has telegraphed to Mr. Eden expressing the hope that he will find it possible to fall in with your wishes in this matter.

Yours ever,
RONALD CAMPBELL

The Honourable
Edward R. Stettinius, Jr.,
Under Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

00 100 4

UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

1734 New York Avenue, NW.
Washington 6, D. C.
February 1, 1944

My dear Mr. Stettinius:

Thank you most kindly for your letter of January 31, 1944, with respect to the 700 refugees who recently left Spain and Portugal with visas for Palestine under arrangements made by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee which had been providing relief for them for some time.

We are watching these developments very closely, particularly through a member of our staff, Mr. Moses Beckelman, who is now in Madrid working closely with Ambassador Hayes to determine the number of refugees whom it may prove practicable to provide for at the proposed camp at Casablanca.

With kindest regards, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

HERBERT H. LEHMAN

Director General

The Honorable
Edward R. Stettinius, Jr.
Under Secretary of State
Washington, D. C.

001005

Official File Copy

John W. Little *FEC*

Mr. John W. Little

FEB 11 1944

D. J. Loherty

IG-505

PLAIN

London

Dated February 8, 1944

Rec'd 4:50 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

1082. Eighth.

[REDACTED] FOR LIMITED DISTRIBUTION.

In absence of Department's reply to Embassy's 1006 fifth Foreign Office this afternoon says Foreign Secretary in answer to question in Parliament tomorrow will refer to announced policy of American Government to take all measures within its power to rescue the victims of enemy oppression who are in imminent danger of death and otherwise to afford such victims all possible relief and assistance consistent with the successful prosecution of the war and will probably reaffirm the purpose and practical intention of British Government to cooperate with us therefor. He is expected to mention foreign home and colonial offices as being concerned with refugee questions and to state that a Cabinet committee of heads of concerned offices already exists.

Foreign

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-78
By R. H. Davis Date SEP 13 1972

001000

-2- 1082, Eighth, from London

Foreign Office tells us fuller parliamentary discussion is expected in supplementary estimates debate perhaps two weeks hence. Meantime Foreign Office expects to inform its representatives particularly in countries where refugee question is active of American instructions regarding War Refugee Board and instruct representatives to cooperate with American colleagues in matter.

WINANT

CSB

001001

2/8/44

TO: Mr. Stettinius
FROM: J. W. Pehle

With regard to Mr. Raynor's letter of February 7, 1944, transmitting a copy of Cable No. 1006, received from London, there is transmitted herewith a suggested reply.

The suggested reply has been cleared with the War Department.

(2) J. W. Pehle

JWP:mgt 2/8/44

[Handwritten signature]

[Faint handwritten notes]

001000

TO: Mr. Bundy
FROM: J. W. Pehle

I am transmitting herewith a copy of Cable No. 1006 of February 5, 1944, from London, and a copy of the proposed reply which I cleared with you and which I am sending to the State Department today.

(s) J. W. Pehle

JWP:mgt 2/8/44

001009

REPLY TO CABLE 1006 FROM WINANT

1019 - 219/44

Although the Secretary of War is on the War Refugee Board, and although the President has made it clear that the existing facilities of the War Department, as well as the State and Treasury Departments, will be employed to aid Axis victims to the fullest extent possible consistent with the successful prosecution of the war, it is not contemplated that combat units of the armed forces will be employed for the purpose of rescuing victims of enemy oppression unless such rescues are the direct result of military operations conducted with the objective of defeating the armed forces of the enemy. The War Department, as well as the State and Treasury Departments, is of course prepared to cooperate fully with the Board in carrying out the President's Order. There are obviously many ways in which the policy of this Government can be actively implemented by the War Department short of operations involving the use of combat units. The foregoing is for the confidential information of the British Government.

You state that the British have a Cabinet Committee on Refugees in existence, whose composition has not even been made public. As indicated in our 774 of January 31 this Government would view with favor the issuance by the British Government of a declaration of policy similar to that made by the President. We would also deem it desirable if the composition of the Cabinet Committee on Refugees and its functions and responsibilities were made public. What is the reaction of the Foreign Office to the issuance of instructions to its representatives in other countries comparable to the instructions contained in Department's 6347

JWT

001010

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

88
CITY OF NEW YORK
TO: NEW YORK
AND:
NO. 1006
INITIAL
DATE

February 7, 1944

Dear Mr. Pehle:

I enclose herewith a copy of cable No. 1006 received from London relative to the War Refugee Board. You will receive a copy of this in the usual way but because of the urgency of the request on the second page, I am sending this copy to you by special messenger.

We would appreciate the advice of the Board as to the reply which should be made.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Hayden Raynor

Enclosure.

Hayden Raynor,
Special Assistant
to the Under Secretary

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

LFR-739

PLAIN

London

Dated February 5, 1944

Rec'd 3:55 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

1006, fifth
[REDACTED]

FOR LIMITED DISTRIBUTION

Pursuant to our communications regarding War Refugee Board (Reference Embassy's 918, second) Foreign Office has discussed matter with us informally and confidentially. A question has been put in House of Commons asking whether British Government intends making similar move and answer will probably be made February 9 although not yet approved at higher level. Present Foreign Office expectation is that answer will be broadly sympathetic with establishment of War Refugee Board and state that no similar British move is called for because Cabinet Committee on Refugees already exists and functions. (Incidentally, its composition has not been made public and perhaps will not be divulged on this occasion.)

Foreign

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

001012

-2- #1006, fifth, from London

Foreign Office states that one effect here thus far of War Refugee Board publicity is that concerned unofficial organizations interpret the words "rescue the victims of enemy oppression who are in imminent danger of death" coupled with the fact of Secretary of War's membership on the Board as promising military measures (for example, surprise parachute troop movements) for the specific purpose of rescue of such victims, and British Government would consequently find useful any statement which the American Government might see fit to make or suggest in clarification. Such statement would be particularly useful if immediately made, in time for reference in answer in Parliament.

WINANT

WTD

00 10 13

CONTROL COPY

OFFICE OF
THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

February 5, 1944

*131

FILING AUTHORITY
TO: MAIL & FILE
ANS.
NO ANS. S.O.
INITIAL
DATE

Dear Mr. Pehle: /

Mr. John Russell, Second Secretary of the British Embassy, has just called at the Department and left with us the attached copy of a telegram dated January 25 sent to the British Embassy here by the British Foreign Office. You will note that a reply is requested and we should greatly appreciate the advice of the War Refugee Board as to the reply.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Hayden Raynor

Hayden Raynor,
Special Assistant to
the Under Secretary

Enc.

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

CONTROL COPY

Executive officers of World Jewish Congress in London have for some time been pressing us to give favourable consideration to a proposal that United Nations should issue a new declaration concerning continuing execution of German policy of exterminating Jews in Europe. They have recently reverted to this proposal and in favour of it have maintained that deportation of Jews from Greece, Bulgaria, France and other parts of Europe and their mass execution in Poland are being systematically continued and that situation of Jews remaining in occupied territories and satellite countries is becoming increasingly perilous. They maintain that omission of any specific reference to crimes against Jews from Moscow declaration on German atrocities has caused deepest anxiety and disappointment among Jews throughout world.

2. H.M.G. are not in favour of issue of any new declaration specifically concerned with atrocities against Jews, their attitude in matter was made clear in their declaration of 17th Dec. 1942. There is nothing that could now be added to that declaration and it seems unlikely that any repetition of it would be any more successful than was original declaration in restraining Germans. There is little evidence that 1942 declaration perceptibly lessened persecution of Jews. On contrary it seemed to indicate to Germans a means whereby they could distress and embarrass Allies while among Jews it raised hopes and expectations of far-reaching action whose fulfillment has in circumstances of war proved impossible as U.S.G. will be aware from their experience at Bermuda conference and after world Jewish Congress may be moved in part by a desire to secure from Allies some statement which they could represent as constituting a measure of recognition of separate national status for Jews.

3. Since however world Jewish Congress is mainly American in inspiration and in view of pressure which they will doubtless seek to bring to bear on U.S.G. in election year, we should prefer, before turning down present proposal, to have an indication of U.S.A.'s views and if possible some assurance that we may count upon their support, should a similar request be made to them.

8

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

~~DIVISION OF REFUGEE AFFAIRS~~
EASTERN HEMISPHERE

February 4, 1944

FFC - Treasury - Mr. Pehle:

Re: Refugees

Attached hereto is a copy of telegram
number 882 of January 31 from London.

WIR
William I. Riegelman

EH:WIR:AMN

001015

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

EOC-144
This telegram must be
paraphrased before being
communicated to anyone
other than a Governmental
agency.

From
London
Dated January 31, 1944
Rec'd. 6:40 p.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

US URGENT

882, January 31, 10 p.m.

FOR THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY FROM CASSADAY
Department's 749, January 29. *not in files*

I have discussed with the Ambassador the message
under reference. He tells me he has already taken up
the President's action with the Intergovernmental Com-
mittee for refugees. He has suggested that the British
form a governmental committee of Ministers similar to
that established in the United States.

The Ambassador wants to help in every way he can.
He asks me to thank you for your message.

WINANT

1000 1000 1000 1000

1000 1000 1000 1000

001011

010100

Mr. Peñe
Mr. Luxford
Mr. Dubois
Mr. Lesser
Mr. Friedman
Miss Hodel

Y
p
Per to:

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

EOC-144
This telegram must be
paraphrased before being
communicated to anyone
other than a governmental
agency.

From
London
Dated January 31, 1944
Rec'd. 8:40 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.
US URGENT

882, January 31, 10 p.m.
FOR THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY FROM CANADAY
Department's 749, January 29.
I have discussed with the Ambassador the message
under reference. He tells me he has already taken up
the President's action with the Intergovernmental Com-
mittee for refugees. He has suggested that the British
form a governmental committee of Ministers similar to
that established in the United States.
The Ambassador wants to help in every way he can.
He asks me to thank you for your message.

WINANT

1944 FEB 7 AM 8 50
RECEIVED
FOREIGN FUNDS CONTROL
TREASURY

53

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
THE UNDER SECRETARY

February 1, 1944

Dear Mr. Pehle:

I am attaching herewith a copy of the telegram to the Embassy in London regarding the War Refugee Board which we discussed over the telephone yesterday.

Hayden Raynor
Hayden Raynor
Special Assistant

U:IJ

00 10 19

TELEGRAM SENT

PLAIN

January 31, 1944

AMEMBASSY
LONDON

774 - Thirty-first.

The following telegram is sent at the request of
the President's War Refugee Board:

Refer to Department's cable 634 of January 25 con-
cerning the President's Executive Order establishing
the War Refugee Board and declaring the policy of this
Government.

In discussing this matter with the British Foreign
Office, you are requested to make it clear that the
establishment of the War Refugee Board represents this
Government's determination to effectively carry out
without delay the policy heretofore agreed upon by the
two Governments to take all possible measures for the
speedy rescue and relief of the refugees of Europe.

Although this Government on its part intends to take
all possible action with all possible speed, we hope that
this effort will not be unilateral and we wish to make it
clear that it continues to be the policy of this Govern-
ment to encourage and participate in effective cooperative
efforts with other governments.

As the President has stated, the Board of course will
cooperate fully with the Intergovernmental Committee and
other interested international organizations.

You are requested to make clear to the British
Government the position of this Government and our desire
for its cooperative action. You should explore with the
appropriate officials of the Foreign Office the possi-
bility of implementing such cooperation through the issuance
by the British Government of a declaration of policy similar
to that made by the President and the issuance by the
Foreign Office of instructions to its representatives in
other countries comparable to the instructions contained
in the Department's telegram 634.

Please keep us informed of the attitude of the
British on this matter.

FOR THE
HULL
(ES)

U:HR

BC

001020

COPY

REFUGEES IN BRITISH TERRITORIES

Great Britain

Refugee Germans, Austrians, Belgians and Poles	99,114	
Refugee children	13,000	
Italian prisoners of war	<u>37,407</u>	149,521

Colonial

Jamaica

Refugees	558	
Evacuees from Gibraltar	1,500	
Prisoners of war	572	
Civilian internees	<u>538</u>	3,218

Mauritius

Illegal immigrants from Palestine	1,590	
Greek refugees coming	<u>1,000</u>	2,590

Cyprus

Refugees from Greece	4,650	
Additional population	<u>180</u>	4,830

East Africa

Polish refugees from Persia	21,000	
Italian prisoners of war	60,000	
Additional population	<u>9,964</u>	90,964

Palestine

Jews admitted April 1, 1939 to September 30, 1942	<u>38,000</u>	<u>38,000</u>
--	---------------	---------------

Total 289,113
(Including 97,979
prisoners of war)

* Total refugees being cared for by British
as declared in Parliament April 7, 1943 632,710

Total of those given in confidential memorandum
attached to British Embassy note of Jan. 20,
1943 to Department, as above 289,113

Remainder unaccounted for 393,597

*From Washington Times-Herald of April 8, 1943.

A;L/BRANDT:MSL

001021

The Following Pages Are the Best Available

001022

[Mr. McCorkindale.]
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. CHURCHILL WILLIAMS in the Chair]

CIVIL ESTIMATES, SUPPLEMENTARY
ESTIMATE, 1913

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, 1914, 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 £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, 1914, 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 represented 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 Winteron). 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

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-

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 anything. 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 or 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

cursory 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 Consular 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 Treblinka 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 Chełm-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.

[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 cumbrous, 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 in 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.