

Cooperation with Other Governments: United Nations: Polish Govt in Exile

FFC-76  
(11-42)

CROSS REFERENCE ON .....

FOR:

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

For further material concerning Latin American  
passports for Polish Refugees -

SEE: PROGRAMS WITH RESPECT TO RELIEF AND RESCUE OF REFUGEES; OTHER  
MEANS OF EFFECTING RESCUES (Recognition of Latin American  
Passports)



1022

AMBASADA  
RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ POLSKIEJ  
W WASZYNGTONIE  
POLISH EMBASSY  
2640 16TH STREET, N. W.  
WASHINGTON 9, D. C.

March 17th, 1945.

*File*  
*General O'Dwyer*  
*Collected to Mr. Znamiecki*  
*3/21/45*

Dear General O'Dwyer,

Referring to the conversation you were kind enough to have on March 7th with Dr. Jan Piotrowski and Mr. Aleksander Znamiecki, representing the Relief Department of the Polish Embassy, I wish to convey to you my sincere gratitude for your willingness to give assistance to the Polish people whose plight in concentration camps and work camps in Germany was presented to you.

The matter is really of great importance. As you know, the situation of the millions deported to Germany has always been tragic, but since Nazi Germany finds itself in the grip of the armies of the United Nations, the lives of the deportees has become almost hopeless. In their struggle for life, the Germans will not hesitate to brush away anyone who might be a burden to them.

With this in mind, my Government requested me to approach the War Refugee Board with the most urgent appeal for immediate assistance in food for these victims of war. The figures which were recently supplied by the International Red Cross in Geneva are no longer factual, since transferring of deportees occurs daily. However, in a cable communication of a few days ago it

Brig. Gen. William O'Dwyer,  
Executive Director, War Refugee Board,  
Department of the Treasury Building,  
Fifteenth Street and Pennsylvania Ave.,  
Washington, D. C.

was stated that a large number of them has been transferred to labor camps in Northern and Southern Germany. On the basis of information received from the Swiss and Swedish Delegates of the International Red Cross, my Government has learned that a most urgent need of food exists in many of these camps for which the accessible and authorized distributing centers are the infamous concentration camps in Dachau for the southern area, and Neuengamme for the northern area.

Steps have been taken to furnish you with more exact figures as to the location of all camps and the number of deportees at the earliest possible moment. Meanwhile, it is of utmost importance, according to the request of my Government, that at least 10,000 parcels monthly be sent to Neuengamme. The number of parcels needed for Dachau will be supplied later.

May I take this opportunity to express my high appreciation for your kind assurance given to Dr. Piotrowski and Mr. Znamiecki that the War Refugee Board would try to give of its own reserves of food parcels some immediate help to the Polish war victims wherever they can be reached. Your suggestion that this be done through the medium of the International Red Cross appears to be an excellent channel through which to achieve this aim in the most effective and rapid way. For your information, I would like to add that Neuengamme near Hamburg can best be reached from Goteborg, Sweden.

I have asked the Delegates of the Ministry of Social Welfare and of the Polish Red Cross in Geneva to cable more exact data on this subject and fully to cooperate with the representatives of the War Refugee Board and the International Red

Cross in this work.

The Polish people will be deeply grateful if, owing to your kindness, relief is extended by the War Refugee Board to the desperately situated Polish deportees.

I am,

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "J. Ciechanowski". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the typed name and title.

J. Ciechanowski  
Ambassador of Poland.

near the Polish Government,  
LONDON, July 26, 1944.

*3 War Refugee Board  
(Trans)  
Files*

**CONTROL COPY**

No. 638.  
X

Subject: Admission of Jewish refugees  
into the United States.

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

Sir:

1/ I have the honor to report that the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs in a letter dated July 20, 1944, enquired whether the United States would be willing to receive certain Jewish refugees who had been documented with passports issued by neutral countries. The letter, a copy of which is enclosed, states that neutral countries would not be requested to issue such passports unless the American and British Authorities express their willingness to receive the refugees.

Respectfully yours,

Rudolf E. Schoenfeld,  
Charge d'Affaires ad interim

Original and hectograph.

Enclosure:  
1/ as stated.

Copy to American Embassy, London.

MHC:DAS

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

Enclosure No. 1 to Despatch Polish Series No. 638  
July 26, 1944.

Republic of Poland  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

70, Queen's Gate,  
London, S.W. 7.

Z.351 - e/a/44.

July 20th, 1944.

Dear Mr. Schoenfeld:

On July 3rd, Monsieur Romer addressed to you an official letter regarding deportations of Jews from Hungary to Poland, in which he expressed the Polish Government's conviction that it was a matter of the utmost urgency for the United Nations to reconsider the possibility of finding the means to save the Jewish populations. You were good enough to confirm that you had brought this communication to the attention of the U.S.A. Government.

Today I wish to raise one particular point in this same connection in which I am afraid we shall need your assistance.

The Council for the Rescue of Jews in Poland - a body which has been instituted for the explicit purpose of centralizing all activities concerned with the rescue of Polish Jews - has submitted the following suggestion.

The Polish Government are urged to approach certain neutral countries with a view to their instructing their representatives in Hungary, and possibly other enemy-occupied and dominated countries to issue, for humanitarian reasons, a number of passports to selected and trustworthy persons of the Jewish faith to enable them to evade deportation and to escape from the given occupied country.

Such a step would be taken by the Polish Government only in the event of the American and British Authorities expressing their willingness to accept these people - if not in the U.S.A. or the United Kingdom, then in some place specially reserved for foreign refugees. (It would appear from President Roosevelt's recent declaration that some of these people could be placed in so-called "ports of refuge").

I should be grateful if you would kindly let me know whether such an action would, in principle, meet with favourable consideration and support on the part of the American Government, and if so, whether it could be discussed in detail. I should like to mention that we have also approached the British Government in this matter.

I regret having to trouble you with this somewhat difficult question, but I hope that you will be able to give me the general views of your Government on the matter in the not too distant future.

Yours sincerely,

J. Librach.

Mr. Rudolf Schoenfeld,  
Minister Plenipotentiary,  
Charge d'Affaires of the U.S.A.  
to Poland,  
LONDON.

**CONTROL COPY**

*W. Refugee Bd.  
(1944)*

No. 548

near the Polish Government

London, March 24, 1944.

Subject: Present position of Polish victims of Nazi persecution; supplementary information regarding passport difficulties.

The Honorable  
The Secretary of State,  
Washington.

Sir:

Referring to the Department's instruction No. 634 of January 28 regarding measures for the rescue and relief of victims of Nazi persecution and to the Embassy's Despatch 539 of March 2 regarding the present position of Polish refugees, I have the honor to report that the Embassy is now informed by Count Meryk Rutten-Czapski, Head of the Refugee Department of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, that the Governments of Paraguay and Chile issue passports to Polish citizens to help them flee from countries collaborating with Germany or from Germany itself but that Peru, Ecuador and Venezuela have adopted an unfavorable attitude in such matters.

It will be recalled that in the conversation reported in our Despatch No. 539 of March 2, Count Czapski expressed the opinion that one of the most important things that could be done immediately to assist the rescue of Nazi victims was the provision of more passports entitling refugees to go to South American countries and that he further stated that some of the South American countries had recently tightened up on issuing these passports.

Respectfully yours,

Rudolf E. Schoenfeld,  
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

To the Department in original and hectograph.

J:sm

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# CONTROL COPY

near the Polish Government

No. 599

LONDON, May 23, 1944

Subject: WAR REFUGEE BOARD--Declaration of  
Polish Government.

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

Sir:

1/ Referring to the Department's telegram to the  
London Embassy of March 24, 1944, No. 2273, and to pre-  
vious correspondence regarding the War Refugee Board,  
I have the honor to enclose a copy of a declaration  
made by the Polish Government and passed by the Coun-  
cil of Ministers on April 26, 1944, in which the Polish  
Government declares that it is prepared to give full  
support to every endeavour made by the United States  
to implement the work of the War Refugee Board and  
that it will give its closest cooperation to the Board  
in carrying aid and rescue to Polish citizens.

Respectfully yours,

Rudolf E. Schoenfeld  
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim

To the Department in Original  
and Hectograph.

Enclosure:  
1/ as stated

MHC:GMO

10023

Enclosure No. 1 to Despatch, Polish Series,  
No. 599, May 23, 1944

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DECLARATION BY THE POLISH GOVERNMENT  
PASSED BY THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS  
ON 28th APRIL, 1944:

The Polish Government welcomes with all appreciation the creation under a decree of the President of the United States of America of a War Refugee Board, the object of which is to give organized assistance to all victims of persecution and to all those threatened by death, irrespective of nationality, race or creed.

Whereas it is in full solidarity with the declaration of March 24, 1944, in which President Roosevelt once again defended the rights of all those who are oppressed and tortured, the Polish Government desires at the same time to point out that in the past it has more than once drawn the attention of the civilized world to the inhuman atrocities committed by the Germans. In no country is the number of persons - both Christians and Jews - who are tortured to death so great, nowhere the persecution so terrible as in Poland. To give help to the persecuted is the constant concern of the Polish authorities whether acting in Poland itself or in other countries.

The Polish Government is prepared to give its full support to every endeavour of the United States in this connection and to give the closest cooperation to the newly-formed War Refugee Board in carrying aid and rescue to Polish citizens, whether in or outside Poland.

**CONTROL COPY**

near the Polish Government

No. 539

LONDON, March 2, 1944.

subject: present position of  
Polish victims of Nazi  
persecution and sug-  
gestions for action  
to facilitate rescue.

The Honorable  
The Secretary of State,  
Washington.

Sir:

Referring to the Department's instruction No. 634, January 28, 8 p.m., regarding the War Refugee Board and the general policy laid down in the President's Executive Order of January 22 for the rescue and relief of the Jews of Europe and other victims of enemy persecution, and referring also to our telegram No. 30 of March 1 reporting generally on conversations with officials of the Governments to which this Embassy is accredited, I have the honor to report below the substance of conversations with Count Meryk Tutton-Czapski, Deputy Secretary General and Head of the Refugee Department of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In addition, there are 1/ 2/ enclosed two memoranda supplied by the Political Secretary of the European Division, World Jewish Congress, which deal with the general position of persecuted Jewish minorities of Polish origin and advance various suggestions for action to facilitate the rescue of these victims.

Count Czapski expressed himself as in general accord with the policy set forth in the President's Executive Order and indicated that the fullest possible cooperation on the part of his Government could be expected.

As regards the present position of Polish victims of Nazi persecution, Count Czapski states that the countries to which these victims are trying to escape are Rumania, Hungary, Switzerland, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy and Sweden. He thought that few, if any, were trying to escape to Soviet Russia. In spite of the great difficulties in evading the German authorities, the number of those persecuted in Poland and held in the various concentration camps is so great that the small percentage of people who do manage to escape makes up a considerable number of people. Experience has shown that the possibilities of escape depend on (1) the situation of the camps; (2) the political conditions in the countries to which escape is made; (3) the efficiency of the organizations assisting in escape; and (4) the amount of money

put

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State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72

By R. H. Parks Date **SEP 13 1972**

put at the disposal of these organizations. Count Czapski appeared to be particularly well informed about the position in France and the Iberian Peninsula as he has only recently come to London after two years as Polish Consul General in Algiers and traveled by way of Gibraltar and Portugal in order to gather as much information as possible about the position of Polish refugees. Since 1940, when about 500,000 Poles were still left in France, including about 80,000 Jews, Count Czapski's information is that about 20,000 had managed to get out of France, mainly younger persons able to go into the Army. On the other hand, possibly 40,000 to 50,000 Poles had been brought into France by the Germans for work so that the number of Poles in France at the present time probably exceeds 500,000.

Count Czapski thought that the Jews were being generally treated worse than non-Jewish Poles and that some of the Polish Jews from Belgium have had an especially bad time. Once the Polish refugees succeed in getting through into Spain their needs are adequately taken care of, he states, as the Polish delegates in Spain have funds and enjoy adequate facilities for this purpose.

Replying to a question as to what special obstacles are interfering with the rescue and relief of Nazi victims, Count Czapski mentioned the following:

- (a) the failure of some of the Governments on whose territory these victims arrive to give sufficient cooperation;
- (b) the problem of passports and funds necessary for their existence and the continuation of their voyage;
- (c) the problem of visas.

He thought that the question of the transfer of money to Switzerland was especially important for helping refugees in Switzerland and in countries like France to which money can be transferred more easily from Berne than from other neutral centers, but he considered that Lisbon was also of importance in this respect.

One of the most important things that could be done immediately, in Count Czapski's opinion, was the provision of more passports entitling refugees to go to South American countries. This was of particular importance for Polish refugees in Switzerland. Some of the South and Central American countries, it appeared, had recently tightened up on issuing these passports.

Count Czapski said that the Polish Government was doing all within its power to assist refugees of Polish origin, mainly through the following measures:

- (a) interventions on behalf of refugees by Polish Legations in neutral countries and by Protecting Powers in the enemy occupied areas;

(b)

- (b) special organizations of rescue; and
- (c) material help in the form of passports, visas, food, money and clothes.

Discussing what opportunities there might be for special action by the American Government to facilitate the rescue and relief of the victims of enemy oppression, Count Czapski said that in his view the following measures were most important:

- (a) intervention with the Governments of those countries in which the United States are represented;
- (b) assistance with the passport and visa problems; and
- (c) permission for money to be transferred from America to different states in Europe.

The two enclosed memoranda dealing with the positions of the persecuted Jewish minority in Poland have been drawn up by two separate persons, both of whom, according to Mr. A. L. Easterman, Political Secretary of the European Division World Jewish Congress, are authorities on the subject. Although they overlap to a certain extent, taken together they appear to provide a comprehensive treatment of the subject from the Jewish point of view. Among specific suggestions for action, in addition to those suggested by Count Czapski, are the following:

(1) Establishment of an organization to provide would-be refugees with identity cards, ration cards, work cards, or other papers necessary for movement in enemy-occupied territory.

(2) Organization of liaison between officials of certain special services, representatives of Allied governments, and officials of Jewish rescue agencies, so as to have continuous exchange of information as to possibilities of rescue.

(3) Pressure on Hungarian authorities to permit and facilitate entry of refugees from Slovakia, Moravia and Bohemia.

(4) Political action to secure that 9,500 Jews in Vittel already in possession of passports should be exchanged for Germans in those American countries from which these Jews have received their passports.

(5) Action by Allied Governments (a) to appeal to the peoples of their countries to extend all possible help to the remnants of the Jewish population; (b) to direct their official and secret agents to give protection to Jewish refugees in Hungary, Slovakia, Bukovina and France; (c) to ask underground movements in France, Poland, Roumania,

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Greece, etc., to enlist all able-bodied Jews in their military activities and to protect women and children and the old by concealment and other means; (d) to give orders to burn extermination camps and to assassinate the executioners.

(5) Finding ways and means, in view of the dangerous situation of a considerable number of Jews now in Southern France, of getting them to Spain and from there to Portugal or directly to Palestine.

(7) Soviet Government to be asked to request military authorities to do what is possible to save remnants of Jews from extermination by retreating German Army.

(8) Provision of more havens of refuge for those able to escape.

respectfully yours,

Rudolf L. Schoenfeld  
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim

Enclosures:

1/ and 2/ as stated.

Original and hectograph to Department.

W.L.

Enclosure 1/ to Despatch No. 539,  
Polish Series, March 2, 1944.

First Memorandum submitted by European Division World  
Jewish Congress

ABSTRACT

RESUME

### I. Possibilities of rescue.

There exists in almost all territories occupied by the Nazis rather important possibilities of getting out of the country a certain number of Jews by smuggling them through the border to adjoining neutral or satellite countries. This work is actually being carried out at the present moment, especially by representatives of the World Jewish Congress and of the Jewish Agency for Palestine.

According to our latest information, 7500 Jews were, so far, brought in this way from Poland to adjoining countries, namely: 3,000 to Hungary, 3,000 to Roumania, and 1,500 to Slovakia. The same work is being carried out in France by smuggling people through the border to Switzerland and Spain. Five hundred Jewish children were brought in this way by the representatives of the World Jewish Congress from France to Switzerland. The number of adults who succeeded in crossing legally the border from France to Switzerland is estimated at 8/10,000. The same number may apply to the people who crossed the border from France to Spain as it is quite impossible to give the exact estimate at the present moment. This work is being continued.

The actual activities in this field, as far as the World Jewish Congress is concerned, are being directed by the Geneva Office of the World Jewish Congress in the closest co-operation with the Headquarters in New York. A second office for this particular purpose is being established now in Spain.

### II. Obstacles in the way of rescue

The main obstacle interfering with the work of rescuing Jews is of a financial nature. Would there be much more considerable funds available for the work of rescue, much more could be done in this field. For instance, the cost involved in bringing people over the border from Poland to Roumania or Hungary is 150 dollars per person; the cost of smuggling people from France into Spain is much greater, viz:- at present, approximately, 800 dollars per person. This problem is, in reality, a two-fold one, i.e. firstly, of securing the necessary funds, and secondly, of securing a license to have the funds transmitted to neutral countries and used for this particular purpose. Funds for

REGRADED  
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rescuing

rescuing people from Poland and other Nazi-occupied territories must be transmitted to Switzerland; funds for rescuing people from France are being transmitted to Switzerland and Spain, and Portugal, respectively.

Funds transmitted for rescue work are being used, actually, not only in order to cover the expenses of smuggling people over the borders, but also in order to provide them with certain quantities of food to save them from the danger of starvation and to arm them and enable them to fight against the Germans and to provide them with certain documents, especially passports to South and Central American countries which may save them, at least for the time being, from the danger of deportation and extermination.

### III. Suggestions for Rescue

In order to improve the existing possibilities of rescue, the following ought to be done:-

- (a) Considerable funds must be placed at the disposal of organizations active in the field of rescue, and eventually at the disposal of the special representatives of the War Refugee Board to be appointed in the neutral countries of Europe, especially in Switzerland, Spain and Portugal.
- (b) The Governments of the neutral countries of Europe must be informed that the United States Government are greatly interested in the work of rescue and expects their co-operation in this field, especially by admitting all refugees who will manage to escape to their territory. The same information must be transmitted to the Governments of the satellite countries. The Governments of the neutral countries must also be informed that the United States Government is ready to cover the expenses involved in the maintenance of the refugees and to ship to the respective countries the necessary quantities of food for this purpose.
- (c) The Governments of the Central and South American countries must be requested to place at the disposal of their Consulates in Switzerland and in Spain, a certain number of passports to be granted to persons in occupied territories, whose lists will be submitted by the Offices of the World Jewish Congress, on the understanding that these passports are being issued only for purposes of rescue and that the bearers will claim no additional rights, especially the right to enter the particular country or to be recognized as its citizens after the War.

(d)

- (d) Immediate steps should be taken to have persons with Latin-American passports interned at present in special camps in France and in Germany exchanged for Germans in their respective countries, eventually also for Germans in other countries, as for example, in South-West Africa.
- (e) Pressure should be exerted on the Romanian government to have Jews deported to Transnistria repatriated as soon as possible, and also to enable as many Jews in their country as possible to proceed from Romania to Palestine or to other countries in the Near East. The same pressure should be exerted on the Hungarian government, especially as far as the emigration of children to Palestine is concerned.
- (f) Proper steps shall be taken to save Jewish children in France from the danger of deportation and extermination. This can be done by securing visas for these children to the United States and other American countries, and also by influencing the Vichy authorities to issue exit visas for them. The number of children involved is about 8,000.
- (g) Negotiations shall be continued with the Swedish Government to approach the German authorities and secure exit visas for a certain number of Jewish children in the occupied territories to go to Sweden, on the understanding that all expenses involved will be covered by the British and the United States Governments, that the necessary food will be shipped to Sweden and that the repatriation of the children will be guaranteed immediately after the war.

#### IV. Forestalling extermination

To forestall the Axis plot to exterminate the Jews, the following measures should be carried out in addition to those suggested in the previous answers:-

- (1) A new warning shall be issued in the strongest possible form directed both to Germans and to the satellite nationals stressing that every person in any capacity whatsoever responsible, directly or indirectly, for atrocities against the Jewish population, will be punished with all severity of the law immediately after the war, or even during the war when captured by the Allies. It would be very advisable to repeat the Moscow Declaration of the Allied Powers with special reference to Jews, who, unfortunately, were then omitted altogether.

In view of the fact that the civilian population in Germany may not be fully informed about atrocities committed by German officials and soldiers in the occupied territories, it may be

advisable

advisable to disseminate information about them and also to give a warning in the form of leaflets dropped from planes. The importance of these activities is especially great at the present moment; on the one hand, the danger of extermination of the remnants of European Jewry during the withdrawal of the German armies and, on the other hand, the German officials and soldiers may be strongly impressed by words of warning now that the near defeat of Germany is, in all probability, clear even to them.

- (b) The United Nations Commission for the Investigation and Punishment of Nazi Crimes must be brought to full activity. Facts made known by investigations of this Commission, and also sentences issued by them, should be published and disseminated as fully as possible. Special importance from this point of view should be attached to the publication of all lists of criminals prepared by the Commission, and also all sentences issued against them.
- (c) The underground movement in all occupied countries and the guerrilla armies must be made conscious of the special task to save Jews in all possible ways.
- (d) The Jewish population in the occupied territories should be armed in a proper way and enabled to defend themselves.

V. Help by Neutrals

The main help which can be given by neutrals is by admitting the Jews who managed to escape from occupied territories and by making it possible that food and medicaments be sent from those countries to the occupied territories. This problem has been dealt with in the preceding answers. The same refers to certain satellite countries, especially Hungary.

VI. Special Help by the United States

The existing possibilities of help to be granted by the United States Government are enumerated in the answers to question I and II. In order to have this help organized in a proper way, it is most advisable to have representatives of the War Refugee Board appointed in the neutral countries of Europe, namely: in Switzerland, Spain, Portugal, Sweden and Turkey. Contact could be established between them and the existing offices of the Jewish organization active in the field of rescue, especially the Jewish Agency for Palestine, the World Jewish Congress and the American Joint Distribution Committee, which would be glad to assist with their experience and advice and to direct the attention of the representatives of the War Refugee Board to the existing possibilities in this field.

VII. Governments in Exile

Special measures regarding rescue of the Jewish population were adopted by several governments in exile. The governments of Belgium and Holland issued strong warnings to their nationals not to yield to anti-Semitic propaganda conducted by the Germans but, on the contrary, to combat it. The Dutch government is now preparing a special campaign of rescue for its Jewish nationals deported to Poland.

Several meetings of representatives of the Polish, Yugoslav, Greek and Czech Governments, together with representatives of the World Jewish Congress, were held in New York to discuss the possibilities of rescue work to be carried out for the Jewish population of all those countries. The underground division of the Polish government, situated in Poland itself, has a special department for rescuing Jews in which the four leading Polish parties, and the Jewish population, as such, is represented. This department takes care of concealing Jews among the gentile population and of arming the Jewish population, and also of smuggling Jews out of the territory of Poland. The expenses are covered by the Polish government and by subsidies of several Jewish organisations.

VIII. Comment on War Refugee Board

The establishment of the War Refugee Board made a deep impression on public opinion throughout the world. The example of the United States Government may be followed by several other Governments. The Polish Government is now considering a plan to establish a special division, to be affiliated to the office of the Prime Minister, for the rescue of Polish Jewry. A similar institution is being organised by the Dutch Government.

Second Memorandum submitted by European Division World  
Jewish Congress. The cross-headings for Sections  
IV, V, and VI have been inserted.

CONFIDENTIAL:

9th February, 1944

P O L A N D

I. General Position.

From the Jewish point of view there are, roughly speaking, three different areas in Poland, a western and north-western area, which consists of the part incorporated into the Reich, a central area, the so-called General Government, and the eastern area. There are still some Jews in the first area in a number of places, in particular in Lodz and its surroundings. In the second area a concentration of Jews into 54 villages or rather Ghettos took place during November 1942. The majority of these Jewish settlements and ghettos have already been liquidated. There the Jews are to be found in the majority of cases, or in labour camps, or in hiding, in Polish houses, especially in Warsaw and in the villages and mostly under false names. These are all baptized Jews or the intelligentsia or workers, in other words the leaders of the underground movement. In the third area the number of Jews left is negligible. The situation of those remaining Jews shows the following three features:

1. Starvation as a result of exhaustion, under-nourishment and diseases.
2. Deportation of the unemployable elements to the extermination centres, in particular, Treblinka, Sobibor, Majdanek, Auschwitz, Belzec.
3. The rounding up of Jews in hiding, in forests, villages etc. and their execution.

The Germans have fixed special remuneration for disclosing the places of hiding. In November 1943 the Jews of Sobibor destroyed the extermination camp and killed several hundred Germans. As a result a part of the Jews were killed off and the remainder escaped into the woods.

Possibility of rescue from Poland could depend upon (a) the possibility of concealment; (b) the opportunity of escaping from a labour or extermination camp; (c) crossing the Hungarian, Slovak or the Bukovina frontier, by means of payment on the Polish side and with the help of our organizations outside Poland; (d) in certain cases on receiving foreign passports and getting into Switzerland or France. In the last few months about 1,500 Jews entered in this way into Hungary.

II. Special difficulties in the way of saving Jews are:

- (a) Lack of food to hold out, lack of adequate funds necessary for crossing the Polish border.
- (b) Lack of proper political pressure on the populations of the countries south of Poland to give organized help to Jews crossing the frontier (threat of retribution or the promise of concessions in future).

III. Suggested measures to improve rescue measures:

**BEST AVAILABLE COPY**

III. Suggested measures to improve rescue measures:

- (a) Political action in the American countries to increase the number of foreign passports for the Jews in Poland.
- (b) Political action in the American countries to secure that those Jews who possess already the passports and are at the present moment in Vittel and . . . and other camps, will not lose their passports. The number of those Jews is estimated to be 9,500.
- (c) Political action to secure that those 9,500 Jews will be exchanged for Germans in those American countries, from which the Jews have received their passports. If this does not happen, the Jews will be threatened with re-deportation and extermination. Action is, therefore, required to get for all these Spanish and Portuguese transit visas, so that they should be able to proceed from Portugal to those countries to which they have got passports or to Palestine. It will be necessary, of course, to secure to those people means of existence and means of transport.
- (d) Jewish refugees from Poland who are now in Hungary, Slovakia and Bukovina, are there in a very dangerous situation, in particular will the danger be increased with the German withdrawal. It is, therefore, very urgent to get them out in time. The road to Turkey is barred by Roumania, Yugo-Slavia and Bulgaria. At the present moment, therefore, there are only the following ways of escape for that group:
  1. Spreading them out and getting them into hiding and not keeping them in camps, because the Germans have got an easy access to those camps.
  2. Getting them out occasionally by air - with Hungarian help - or getting them out via Constanta-Istanbul. This road is possible, if Roumanian help can be secured through political pressure.
  3. Getting them out of Hungary at the moment the Soviet forces occupy Slovakia and Rumania. By way of those countries they get to Turkey and from there to Palestine. They have to be warned, of course, of Rumanian cartels and Turkish agents and Albanian transit visas, because until the liberation of Greece and the Aegean Sea, the sea route is almost excluded.
- (e) Directives by the Allied Governments to their official and secret agents to give protection to Jewish refugees in Hungary, Slovakia and Bukovina and France.
- (f) Directives by the Allied powers to their diplomatic and consular representatives in Berlin, Stockholm, Ankara, Istanbul and Madrid that (a) they should get into contact with the representatives of the World Jewish

CONGRESS

Congress and the Jewish Agency in those places in order to organize help; (b) to putting at the disposal of these organizations by the War Refugee Board of financial means to finance the rescue of Jews from Poland and other actions. This can be done either by drawing on the money reserves which are in the possession of those diplomatic and consular authorities or by special allocations.

- (g) A considerable number of Polish Jews are now in Southern France. There are also children there who are in hiding. Their situation is dangerous. Steps have to be found to get them to Spain and from there to Portugal or from Spain directly to Palestine (as it happened with the last transport from Spain to Palestine).
- (h) It is recommended that the Governments of the United States and of Great Britain or the War Refugee Board should ask the Soviet authorities that the Soviet military authorities should do what they can to save the remnants of Jews from their extermination by the retreating German Army.
- (i) The establishment of contacts between the Allied Governments and the pro-Allied underground movements in France, Poland, Roumania, France, Greece and to ask them that (a) all able-bodied Jews should be enlisted in their military activities; (b) that the old, children and women should be protected by concealment and other means.

#### IV. Suggested measures involving pressure on the Enemy Countries.

- (A) A new united declaration by the Governments of the U.S.A., Great Britain, U.S.S.R., China, the Dominion, which would reiterate the warning of retribution, if the extermination policy is not discontinued.
- (B) A similar declaration by the other Allied Governments.
- (C) A systematic campaign through radio to drive home to the German people the nature and extent of the annihilation policy practiced on the conquered peoples, especially the Jews, and to call upon the German people to take action against it.
- (D) The dropping of millions of leaflets over Germany and the German occupied countries. These leaflets ought to contain details of the massacres.
- (E) The Parliaments of the U.S.A., Great Britain, U.S.S.R., and the Dominion, should once more express their resolve to punish all the direct and indirect perpetrators of atrocities.
- (F) A similar declaration should be made by the leaders of the various Churches.
- (G) A systematic press campaign in the same spirit.
- (H) The publication of 10,000 names of German war criminals guilty of massacres of the conquered peoples, especially Jews. Their names should be given in the leaflets, dropped over Germany and the occupied territories and should be

brochure

broadcast on the wireless. It should be stressed that the punishment will be most severe if the extermination policy is carried on.

V. Suggested action by U.S.A.

- (a) More visas should be secured for Jews who might be able to escape.
- (b) Financial guarantees to the neutral countries for the maintenance of the refugees should be given by the War Refugee Board.
- (c) NOTE. Suggestion that the U. S. A. Government should ask its secret agents to investigate where the Polish and other Jews deported to Poland are to be found at the present moment, and to ask the Polish Government to give orders to its agencies to extend every possible active help to the Jews and, if possible, to rescue them by force from the concentration, labour and extermination camps and to place them in widely spread and secure hiding places or to incorporate them into the activities of the underground movement.

VI. Suggested measures by the Allied Governments established in London.

- (a) An appeal of these Governments to the peoples of their countries to extend all possible help to the remnants of the Jewish population.
- (b) The governments should give secret orders to their underground movements and their underground armies to give organised help to the Jews.
- (c) These governments ought to declare that the tearing down of the walls of the ghettos is one of the aims of the underground movement.
- (d) Orders should be given to burn extermination camps and to assassinate the executioners.
- (e) To enlist the Jewish population into military activities.
- (f) The leadership of the labour movements in exile ought to call upon the workers of the respective countries to put themselves at the head of the activities mentioned in b - f.
- (g) The Committee set up by the various Allied Governments in exile to collaborate with the War Refugee Board in the U.S.A. or with its representation in London, ought to include one or two representatives of the Jewish population of their countries.
- (a) The leadership of the various underground movements ought to include representatives of the Jewish population (where this is not the case.)

AMJ - 405

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

Secretary of State,  
Washington.  
SO, first.

FOIA FROM SCHEFFELD.

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 23, 9 p.m., and in all cases have signified desire to cooperate to fullest extent possible. Reaction of all these officials to establishment of war refugee board and to general policy as explained in your 634 was favorable. Possible overlap with activities of USHRA and Intergovernmental Committee was mentioned but with recognition that main consideration is prompt and effective action. All those consulted stress importance of the following measures: (A) Transfer of adequate funds to various neutral centers especially Bern as most important distribution center for France, Hungary and Germany for use in securing release of some victims and generally facilitating travel and overcoming difficulties crossing frontiers. (B) Assistance in providing passports and visas prerequisite for entry to neutral countries. (C) Pressure on neutral countries especially Spain to relax frontier regulations and to permit and facilitate entry of refugees. Suggested propaganda measures included: (A) Broadcasts designed to dispose individual officials in occupied territories and satellite countries to help rather than hinder movement of refugees trying to reach neutral countries. (B) Broadcast appeals by Allied Governments to home populations to help Jewish victims. (C) Continuously repeated warnings and threats to Germans themselves to occupying forces and to Quislings of punishment to those participating in crimes against persecuted minorities. (D) Existing aid of Vatican in appeals to Roman Catholic countries such as Slovakia to refrain from persecution and to prevent deportation of Jews. Fuller reports for individual countries on present position of their persecuted minorities now living in areas under German control together with suggestions for action to facilitate rescue of such victims are being transmitted by air mail.

EJH

WINANT

cc: Miss Chauncey (for the Sec'y) Messrs. Paul, H. D. White, Fehle, Ganten, Lufford, Dubois, E. M. Bernstein, Stewart, Lasser, Friedman, Pollak, Abrahamson, Misses, Redel and Laughlin, Mrs. Coda