

Measures Directed Toward Halting Persecution. Measures Directed Toward Halting Persecutions - Folder 1

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(11-42)

CROSS REFERENCE ON . . . MEASURES DIRECTED TOWARD HALTING
PERSECUTION: STATEMENTS, POLICIES, AND
INFORMATION CAMPAIGNS INSPIRED BY BOARD:
(PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT)

FOR:

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

1. FOR MATERIAL RE BOARD'S REQUEST THAT THE HOLY SEE MAKE REPRESENTATIONS AGAINST THE CONTINUED PERSECUTION OF THE JEWISH POPULATIONS OF HUNGARY AND RUMANIA
2. FOR REPORTS OF PUBLICITY ACCORDED THE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT IN RESPONSE TO THE BOARD'S REQUESTS
3. FOR AN ACCOUNT OF ANTHONY EDEN'S SUBSEQUENT ENDORSEMENT IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS OF THE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT

SEE: 1. MEASURES DIRECTED TOWARD HALTING PERSECUTION: APPEALS THROUGH THE VATICAN

(RUMANIA AND HUNGARY)

2. COOPERATION WITH OTHER GOVERNMENTS

3. COOPERATION WITH OTHER GOVERNMENTS: UNITED NATIONS
(STATEMENT ON ATROCITIES AGAINST THE JEWS)

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MISS HOEDEL:

June 14, 1944

I think this ought to go in
our archives. Note that on page 5 promi-
nent reference is made to an excerpt
from the President's statement of March 24.

JWPehle

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COMMISSION TO STUDY
THE
ORGANIZATION OF PEACE

Fourth Report

Part III.
International Safeguard of Human Rights

EIGHT WEST FORTIETH STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

May, 1944

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COMMISSION TO STUDY THE ORGANIZATION OF PEACE

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FOREWORD

The Commission to Study the Organization of Peace was organized in November 1939 under the chairmanship of James T. Shotwell. Its *Preliminary Report* was released in November 1940. A second report on *The Transitional Period* was published in February 1942, and a third, on *The United Nations and the Organization of Peace*, in February 1943.

The Commission's Fourth Report deals with *The Continuing Organization of the United Nations* in relation to the problems of security against war, social and economic welfare, and international safeguards of human rights.

The Fourth Report is being issued in sections and the following parts have already appeared:

General Statement: Fundamentals of the International Organization

Part One: *Security and World Organization*

Part Two: *Economic Organization of Welfare*

Herewith the Commission presents Part III, the final section, of its Fourth Report entitled *International Safeguard of Human Rights*.

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The following members of the Commission have signed this statement:

James T. Shotwell, <i>Chairman</i>	I. L. Kandel
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Carter Goodrich	Harry Scherman
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Oscar L. Janowsky	C. E. A. Winslow
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Alvin Johnson	Quincy Wright
Anne Hartwell Johnstone	James Fulton Zimmerman

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International Safeguard of Human Rights

I. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

The Declared Purpose of the United Nations

Subscribing to the Atlantic Charter, the United Nations in their Declaration of January 1, 1942, added that their common action was based on the conviction "that complete victory over their enemies is essential to defend life, liberty, independence, and religious freedom, and to preserve human rights and justice in their own lands as well as in other lands. . . ."

This avowal of broad aims is more specific in President Roosevelt's interpretation of the Atlantic Charter. Although the Atlantic Charter does not mention *freedom of information*, the President has pointed out that no world society organized under the principles of the Atlantic Charter could survive without this freedom as well as religious freedom. He has also indicated that the right of peoples under the Atlantic Charter to choose their own form of government "does not carry with it the right of any government to commit wholesale murder or the right to make slaves of its own people." In his statement of March 24, 1944, the President again emphasized that we are concerned to eliminate oppressive practices as well as aggressive war:

"The United Nations are fighting to make a world in which tyranny and aggression cannot exist; a world based upon freedom, equality, and justice; a world in which all persons regardless of race, color, or creed may live in peace, honor and dignity."

Consistent with these statements, the Three Power Declaration signed at Teheran by Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin invited the active participation in "a world family of democratic nations" of all nations "whose peoples in heart and mind are dedicated, as are our own peoples, to the elimination of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance."

Our Supreme Court has singled out freedom of religion, speech, press and assembly as being "of the very essence of a scheme of

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ordered liberty." The United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain and China have incorporated these selfsame freedoms in the Moscow Declaration for liberated Italy, which is intended also for other liberated areas. As Secretary Hull said in his report to Congress:

"These principles—including freedom of religion, of speech, of press and of assembly, and the right of the people ultimately to choose their own form of government—are among the most basic human rights in civilized society."

In irreconcilable contrast, the Axis nations exalt the state as all-powerful in the interests of its rulers, not its people. The state becomes militarized and human beings are little more than cogs in a war machine. Men are born to an "education for death." Their worth as human beings is minimized and they derive what satisfaction they can from the prospect of a conquering state and a master race.

Human Rights in a Just Peace

If we seek to relieve people from the oppression of governments which keep them in darkness and persecute them, we do so not only because such tyranny outrages the conscience of civilized mankind. We do so because this throwback to barbarism reflects a ruthlessness which often extends beyond the nation's own borders. We have seen how easily the step has been taken from internal oppression to external aggression, from the burning of books and of houses of worship to the burning of cities. We have seen the diseased nation engage in propaganda campaigns which spread the infection abroad and weaken the victim nation by germs of religious and racial hatred. Thus, international concern for individual human rights goes to the heart of realistic measures for wiping out aggressive war.

Besides being an essential condition of any peace, the safeguard of human rights remains an end in itself as an integral phase of a just peace. The progress of civilization has reached a level from which it cannot and will not retreat. Men will not purchase peace at any price. They demand a just peace in which the worth of "all the men in all the lands" is honored, in which their freedom can expand. Freedom of information and freedom of religion are symbols which represent to us the opposite of that repression of the human mind and conscience which marks the fascist states. International organization cannot check aggression and promote welfare in the face of tyranny and oppression. Political security and economic abundance, which are expounded in Parts One and Two of this Fourth Report, would be neither tolerable nor enduring if they did not serve to

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enhance the freedom of men. As Roland S. Morris, former Ambassador to Japan, has put it in a *Commission* broadcast:

"Among the objectives for which we fight there is none more vital and fundamental than the attainment of a just world, where human rights are recognized and protected. These rights have been in the past generally recognized, but never adequately protected as belonging to mankind simply as mankind. They have been left to local or national enforcement, but never recognized in international law as superior to all other law. Today they are challenged by those aggressor nations who seek to subordinate them utterly to the interests of the state, which recognizes no rights superior to immediate national aims. Here the issue is joined with those who are convinced that there can be no just peace that does not recognize human rights as essential to an orderly world."

As basic human rights are protected in each country, the prevention of war is made easier. As war and the strain of its threat are eliminated, the universal protection of human rights can proceed more effectively. The relation between human rights and a just peace is close and interlocking.

The Bill of Rights Tradition

In the Anglo-American tradition, basic freedoms of the person have been placed beyond the reach of governmental attack. They are, in the language of the Declaration of Independence, "unalienable." They are, in the language of an older tradition, "natural rights," which governments cannot take away. John Locke, who revived the doctrine of natural rights, greatly influenced the Founding Fathers. Washington wrote in a famous letter:

"It is now no more that toleration is spoken of as if it were by indulgence of one class of people that another enjoyed the exercise of their inherent natural rights. For happily the government of the United States, which gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance, requires only that those who live under its protection should demean themselves as good citizens. . . ."

These rights have their legal source in the historic English Acts beginning with Magna Charta. They have their religious source in the Judeo-Christian insistence on the dignity and worth of man. They were given political impetus in the American and French Revolutions which reflected the ancient Greek respect for the reason of man. They are expressly protected in our Constitution, notably in

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the first ten amendments known as the Bill of Rights. Jefferson wrote that "a Bill of Rights is what the people are entitled to against every government on earth, general or particular, and what no just government should refuse, or rest on inference." The bills of rights of the American colonies helped inspire the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, wherein the rights were said to have universal application though final authority remained in the national state.

More recent bills of rights, as in the twentieth-century constitutions of Czechoslovakia, the Weimar Republic, and the Soviet Union, have made a significant addition to our civil liberties by including economic guarantees such as the "right to work" and social security. These impose positive duties of administration upon the state and not only a ban against arbitrary interference. Many of the constitutions of the states of our Union have also added various economic rights, like workman's compensation and the right to organize for collective bargaining. Some of these have also been read by the Supreme Court into our federal Constitution which, as Marshall said, was intended to endure for ages to come and to be adapted to the various crises of human affairs.

Notable statements of eminent international law and religious authorities in recent years have stressed the elimination of discrimination based on racial, religious or other prejudices. This emphasis acquires special pertinence because of the consequence of Hitler's gospel of Aryan superiority which has generated so much hatred and planted the seeds of war. Accordingly, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration has taken pains to adopt an explicit policy of non-discrimination in dispensing aid.

II. PROPOSED UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Great wars and revolutions have frequently yielded a "new birth of freedom." The bloodshed and sacrifice have not been in vain. They have marked turning points in history. Declarations emerge which express man's further reaches toward liberty and equality. The foundations are laid upon which the coming phase of history is to be organized. These declarations, if not themselves law, are frequently followed by positive law and governmental reconstruction. In our own national experience the Declaration of Independence was followed by the Constitution; the Emancipation Proclamation by the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments;

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Wilson's Fourteen Points by the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Permanent Court of International Justice, and the International Labor Organization. American influence led to the Minorities Treaties which were referred to in an American draft as "bills of rights."

The President took occasion to point out to the delegates to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration that we now mean business in a political and humanitarian, as well as military, sense. Addressing Congress, the President has described the goal of security as extending beyond suppression of aggressor nations to embrace social and moral security.

A pressing necessity now exists for comparing viewpoints on human rights, for canvassing and clarifying similarities and differences, for seeking to define minimum standards, for trying to raise levels of protection, and for creating appropriate machinery for their maintenance and continual improvement. The sooner we start, the better our chance for arriving at common understanding and effective modes of proceeding. Sufficient mutual confidence already exists to warrant going further without fear of rupture. With the Moscow Declaration we have passed beyond that anxiety. We have passed on to Cairo and Teheran. We shall be holding many United Nations conferences on various phases of the peace. Among the most urgent, we submit, would be a United Nations Conference on Human Rights.

The initiative for the conference might well come from the United States. The conference should be composed of government delegates from each nation, including representatives of private organizations dedicated to the preservation of human rights, and delegates of international organizations, governmental and private, similarly concerned. Details of representation and organization would have to be left to the conference itself. In general, there would be need for the conferees to approach the agenda with an open mind, with a firm conviction that the elementary values of democratic civilization are to be consolidated, and with a determination to devise practical machinery for implementing agreed standards. We have much to learn about the values and operations of one another's systems of government.

The primary aim of the conference should be to establish a permanent United Nations Commission on Human Rights with provision for continuing consideration of an international bill of rights and means for insuring its observance. The immediate adoption by the conference of an international bill of rights, which would have

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to be quite general in its terms, would provide an initial foundation. It would need constant refinement and broadening, however. It would have to be followed through by concrete proposals for making it effective in each nation. The creation of the International Labor Organization offers a sound precedent. In setting up this machinery the Versailles Conference was not content with a mere charter of labor's rights, many of which would by now have been outmoded. Instead the peace treaty created the International Labor Organization which, through its periodic conferences and permanent office, has succeeded in bringing about over eight hundred ratifications of some sixty conventions, improving conditions in various nations. Continual and increasing attention from an administrative body is needed in any area where standards are to be developed and their application sought. The International Labor Organization has been gradually developing a world opinion and increased focus on labor conditions. A similar parliament is now demanded to consider basic issues of human rights.

The United Nations Commission on Human Rights would be a quasi-autonomous body of experts—not only jurists but others experienced in public affairs. It would be vested with powers of investigation and advice. Its function would be the continuous development of standards of human rights and measures for their effective safeguard.

The development of standards would result from comparative research, special studies and inquiries, and the deliberations of conferences in the light of changing social conditions, increasing world solidarity, and democratic progress.

The development of effective measures would take the form of proposing needed reformulations of international law and organization for the growing protection of individuals and groups of individuals, offering aid and counsel to nations seeking to revise their legal systems to give effect to agreed international standards, and submitting recommendations to the "general international organization."

For these purposes the Commission would require a permanent secretariat. The secretariat would be directly responsible to the Commission which would meet periodically. The Commission would not be dominated by the "general international organization," but would be recognized by it and derive power from its support. The exact relation and division of authority will have to await the creation of central political bodies of the general organization.

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III. EXISTING INTERNATIONAL MEASURES FOR SAFEGUARDING HUMAN RIGHTS

In the past the protection of human rights has, in general, been the separate and independent responsibility of each nation. The individual person had to look to his own state's constitution and legal procedures. He could not look beyond.

Most of the nations of the world have adopted bills of rights. To list these rights would not tell us very much, however, about what really happens in each nation. We would have to know the customs and traditions of a people, their capacity for self-government, how they feel about the rights that are guaranteed, how insistent they are that their officials observe the rights, how easily the rights can be suspended. What nations mean by the rights they purport to guarantee becomes clear only through analysis of their public opinion and their procedures for making the rights effective. Because of their variety no international bill of human rights could undertake to create a uniformity of national systems. A world of nations cut entirely to one pattern is no more possible than desirable. We may, however, seek to bring about certain minimal standards such as are established in the more forward-looking democratic countries, just as through the International Labor Organization we have sought to heighten continuously the level of conditions surrounding the day's work.

We are determined that hereafter no nation may be insulated and wholly a law unto itself in the treatment of its people. The absolute monarch, who ruled by "divine right," did as he pleased in his relations with other monarchs and with his own subject people. In an age of democracy—when the will and the welfare of people count, when science and industry have shrunk the world into an interdependent neighborhood—governments can no longer remain absolutely sovereign in either of these senses. The aggression of governments outward, as directed against other states, and the aggression of governments inward, as directed against their own people, must each be subject to world opinion and international pressures when a danger point is reached. How can the liberty of the individual continue to be a matter only for the law of each nation, as long as war periodically forces the nation to clip its people's liberty by regimenting industry and labor, by sending its youth off to be killed, by exposing its civilians to long-range bombing, by demanding sacrifices which often include acute economic distress? How can the problem of preventing war be a matter only for international law,

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having nothing to do with the law of each nation, when a nation by its law can cut its people off from the influence of foreign and world opinion, punish as traitors those of its citizens who try to hold the nation to its international obligations, and systematically persecute helpless groups of people in a way to arouse the indignation and apprehension of other nations?

There are certain respects in which international law and agencies already act on nations to help preserve certain human rights. These we shall now consider. They have the potentiality of expansion. They provide the starting point for the deliberations of the proposed Conference on Human Rights and the activities of the projected Commission on Human Rights.

Diplomatic Protection of Citizens Abroad

If a citizen travels or does business in another country, the diplomatic protection of his own country follows him. The treaties which developed in the nineteenth century usually provided that each of the countries should treat the nationals of the other as it does its own people. Sometimes a treaty between a strong and a weak nation resulted in aliens being in even a better position than native citizens. Thus some international standards of simple human rights have developed. In this connection it will be noted that strong nations are at the center of responsibility in the United Nations which tomorrow will be laying down the standards in the name and interest of humanity.

International law has operated with the principle that it is protecting the interest which the *nation* has in fair treatment of its own citizens abroad. The protection is not extended to the citizen in his character as an *individual human being*—which is our present concern—but in his status as a citizen abroad of another nation. It is not human rights *qua* human rights which are safeguarded.

Intervention in the Name of Humanity

If a person is ill-treated by his own country, international law does not generally try to protect him in any way. Sometimes, however, a country's mistreatment of its own people, or portions of them, is so ghastly, as in the case of the natives of the Belgian Congo or the persecution of Christian Armenians by the Turkish Empire, that world opinion becomes incensed. Sentiments of common humanity drive other nations to protest. In connection with our pro-

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test against the pogroms in Czarist Russia in 1905, Secretary of State Root wrote:

"For some who are in despair, the knowledge that there is friendliness and sympathy in the world may be an encouragement; and the expression of abhorrence and condemnation by the civilized world for the cruelties which have been practised, may in time come to have some little restraining effect."

As Secretary Root's measured language reveals, statesmen have been uncertain of the effectiveness of such "humanitarian intervention." That is so even when it is followed, as has sometimes been the case, by the breaking off of diplomatic relations. There is no orderly and organized international machinery for stepping in between helpless people and their rulers in order to bring relief. It is an index of the extent to which international law and organization must be enlarged when our common humanity yields no effective means for pursuing a demand to desist from the most hideous barbarities. The Council of the League of Nations in protesting against certain conditions in Spain resolved that they were in violation of "elementary dictates of humanity" and offended the "conscience of mankind." The most eminent international law authorities of Europe, Asia and the Americas, at a meeting of *L'Institut de Droit International* in New York in 1929, agreed that strengthening of international law in this regard was urgently needed. The teachings of authorities of high distinction are already recognized by the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice as one of the sources of international law, as are also "the general principles of law recognized by civilized nations." Little can be accomplished, however, without more effective international organization and sanctions.

Special International Procedures in Certain Fields

In the last hundred years there has been a development of more direct international protection in certain fields of humanitarian concern. Agreements have been reached for suppression of the slave trade. Slavery in any part of the globe has come to be viewed as repugnant to the common feelings and standards of humanity. Traffic in women and children has come under control. Under the League of Nations a Mandates Commission was created with special trusteeship machinery to protect and advance non-self-governing peoples.

The Treaty of Versailles set up the International Labor Organization out of the recognition, now deepened, that peace must rest on

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social justice. This organization was notable in giving international representation to the persons who were to be protected. Representatives of labor and industry, as well as of governments, participate. An industrial or labor association can protest to the International Labor Organization if a convention has allegedly been violated.

These organizations and arrangements are prime examples of *international governmental implementation* of the international interest in human life and dignity, in the welfare and progress of human beings, in stopping their degradation, and in advancing their condition and standards for their treatment. We must again remind ourselves, however, that legally speaking, just as in protection of citizens abroad, it is a nation's interest which is said to be protected and not that of the *individual human being*. With the great exception of the International Labor Organization, each nation is presumed to be a citadel in which individual persons huddle anonymously. Because of this basic dogma of international law, an individual seeking remedies under international law must secure the espousal of his cause by his nation or some nation. He has no direct access to international procedures or protection.

The Minorities Treaties

A slight departure from this dogma is found in the Minorities Treaties which were adopted after World War I. These treaties were made for Poland and other new, enlarged or defeated countries, or those later entering the League. They gave equal protection to individuals belonging to minorities of "race, religion or language"—ethnic, church or national minorities—in the states of east-central Europe. These states are composed, in a way unlike western states, of many organized and cohesive groups. Minorities had been provided for in previous peace conferences but these Minorities Treaties were the first systematically implemented international attempt to limit the absolute power of the state over its own subjects. Under them an individual member of one of these minority groups was permitted to petition the League of Nations for redress. An international procedure was made available to him. But his petition was not actually taken up unless some member of the League Council espoused it. The individual could push the button but he could not make the gears mesh. He was dependent on political factors in the Council.

A significant further step was taken in the procedure provided for Upper Silesia by the treaty between Poland and Germany, which

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embodied vital clauses of the standard Minorities Treaties. Under this procedure the individual had *locus standi* before a *regional international agency*. He could bring suit on the spot against the authorities of his own state. This procedure succeeded in staying the hand of the Nazis in Upper Silesia until 1937. It has many merits worth considering for similar local procedures in troubled areas hereafter.

The procedure under the Minorities Treaties, and in the Upper Silesia experiment, as well as the peculiar problems of human rights to which nationality tensions give rise, will be considered in a separate paper to be presented later by this *Commission*. This paper will also develop the issues of cultural, ethnic and religious group rights as a phase of the peculiar problems of freedom of association. The general human rights, with which we are here concerned, are not those of members of specified minority groups in certain countries only, but the rights of every one. Unlike Wilson's Fourteen Points and their preoccupation with national self-determination, authoritative statements of leaders of the United Nations express great concern also for the rights of man—"all the men in all the lands," as the Atlantic Charter has it.

IV. INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS MADE EFFECTIVE

The Role of Each Nation's Legal System

If we are to protect the human rights of men in every land we must do it with due regard for, and utilization of, the legal system and habits of each country. Even though international clearance, guidance, and implementation are developed, the enforcement of human rights must necessarily remain essentially a national and local matter.

To promulgate an international bill of rights as part of the international law of the future would not mean much in the absence of legal organization to apply and enforce it. There is no chance that such proposed organization will include at this time a general right of appeal from a nation's own courts to the Permanent Court of International Justice. But if we are to have international standards we cannot rely for their observance simply on the unspired disposition of each nation. Here is where the Commission on Human Rights will need to function, in ways to be determined, as a bridge between international standards and agencies, on the

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one hand, and the legal system of each nation, on the other. We must bring home the international standards while not needlessly interfering with the customary functioning of national governments. We must proceed, however, with the firm and steady insistence that human rights must be preserved as against the conflicting sensitivity of states. We shall get nowhere if, by deference to the absolutism of states, we are deterred at the threshold by the bogey of national sovereignty. As Professor Philip C. Jessup recently said in chiding his fellow international lawyers:

"We have taught the layman to worship the arch-fiction of the sovereign state and thereby we have built a Maginot line against the invasion of new ideas in the international world, and behind that rampart the demagogue and the reactionary are enthroned. The day of the fixed fortification has waned, but it must be we, the international lawyers of the democracies, that evolve the international legal strategy which will replace a law which is primarily and historically a law for the sanctification of the status quo with a law in motion."

The legal system of each country is already a tool for enforcing international obligations. Under our own Constitution treaties are part of the supreme law of the land and are enforced by our courts. In theory there is similar enforcement of international law in every nation. Many nations have expressly declared in their constitutions that international law is part of their national law.

The practice may vary somewhat from case to case, and impediments are not infrequently found, but, in general, national legal machinery can be an effective means for carrying out a nation's international duties and for vindicating rights which may accrue to an individual under international law. The strengthening of the Permanent Court of International Justice, which we have recommended, would not do away with this function of national tribunals any more than the creation of the United States Supreme Court eliminated the need for local courts. International law is not "foreign." It does not operate outside national borders in a never-never land "without a local habitation and a name." The more it is enlarged the more it will permeate our own institutions and processes. Our major need, as well as our opportunity, is to press national legal machinery more and more into an instrument for effective protection of internationally agreed standards of human rights. Competent authorities believe that there will be great fermentation in the revision of constitutions as the war comes to a

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close. This circumstance presents a practical opening for providing fundamental legal ground for protection of human rights.

The Range of Human Rights

The problem of fixing the gamut of human rights is itself extremely complex. No one could be facile in outlining their scope, certainly not in projecting the standards to be formulated and the means for assuring their observance. The American Law Institute has been deliberating on an international bill of rights. Others are preparing treatises on the same theme. A distinguished body of Canadian and American authorities has recently issued a formulation of "the international law of the future." Its first two principles bear directly on our problem:

"Each State has a legal duty to carry out in good faith its obligations under international law, and it may not invoke limitations contained in its own constitution or laws as an excuse for failure to perform this duty.

"Each State has a legal duty to see that conditions prevailing within its own territory do not menace international peace and order, and to this end it must treat its own population in a way which will not violate the dictates of humanity and justice or shock the conscience of mankind."*

These contributions, and others still to be made, will be advancing our thought. The problem is one which will engage for many generations the minds of those seriously concerned with international organization and the maintenance of a just peace. It must challenge increasingly the attention of peace groups in all lands in cooperation with cultural and humanitarian organizations. The following are some of the leading problems in the range of human rights which the Conference, and later the Human Rights Commission, would have to consider.

Constitutional Civil Freedoms

The *Commission to Study the Organization of Peace* premised as a first fundamental for the general international organization that it "should provide for eventual participation by all nations capable of fulfilling their responsibilities." It may, therefore, be proposed that, as a condition of such active participation, each nation

**The International Law of the Future: Postulates, Principles, Proposals (A Statement of a Community of Views by North Americans)*, International Conciliation, April 1944.

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adopt in its constitution or basic laws a guarantee of the four chief civil freedoms: speech, religion, press and assembly. Formal agreement to such a requirement should be sought. Except for consultative contact with the Commission on Human Rights and such increasing pressures as would result from continual international conference, each nation would naturally reserve the right to construe these freedoms in accordance with its own traditions and needs. We could no more have Russia or China tell us how much religious freedom to permit Mormons or Jehovah's Witnesses, for example, than we could tell those countries what degree freedom of religion should have there. Each of these freedoms is to a large extent relative to a particular social and political context. None of them anywhere is absolute and unconditional. Freedom of speech in our country, for instance, will not excuse slander, obscenity, or inciting to riot. Each of these freedoms is also relative to countervailing governmental ends like the safety of the state as against seditious activity.

Freedom of Information

Freedom of information, though a part of freedom of speech, should be singled out for closer and more direct international protection, inasmuch as no international organization could function if a government were able to isolate its people from news about the operations of the organization. Freedom of information, especially in matters of international concern, across and within the borders of each nation would be a right under particular surveillance by the Human Rights Commission. It is as pivotal as inspection and control of arms and their production.

Adequate Legal Machinery in Each Nation

It is of critical importance that nations should undertake, with the aid of the Commission on Human Rights, to establish more adequate national legal procedures, where needed, for vindication of the rights constitutionally guaranteed. These rights would have little meaning without a tribunal for enforcement to which the individual had easy and effective access.

Judicial review of legislation, as in our own system, is not necessarily the best means for affording such protection. There is no lesser liberty in England without judicial review or any written constitution. Administrative protections, as in France, may be as good or better.

With respect to certain attributes of our own criminal trials, often

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considered essential, like a jury or the privilege against self-incrimination, Justice Cardozo has observed: "Few would be so narrow or provincial as to maintain that a fair and enlightened system of justice would be impossible without them." Thus procedural guarantees may vary.

In any event there would have to be a genuine assurance within each state of equal protection and enforcement, without arbitrariness, for all inhabitants of the state.

Nor can nations be permitted hereafter to deprive part of their population of a human right by the simple stratagem of denationalizing them and confining human rights to citizens only.

Avoidance of Discrimination

An underlying goal of the Commission on Human Rights would be to seek avoidance of discrimination based on fortuitous factors like race, religion, language, sex, or country of national origin.

Article IV of the Declaration of the International Rights of Man adopted by the high authorities on international law at the meeting of *L'Institut de Droit International*, alluded to earlier, reads as follows:

"No motive based, directly or indirectly, on distinctions of sex, race, language, or religion empowers States to refuse to any of their nationals private and public rights, especially admission to establishments of public instruction, and the exercise of the different economic activities and of professions and industries."

Article V adds cogently:

"The equality herein contemplated is not to be nominal, but effective. It excludes all discrimination, direct or indirect."

Of similar tenor is the first article of a declaration drawn by the *Ligue des Droits de l'Homme* in 1936, which does not have the limitation to nationals:

"The rights of a human being are irrespective of sex, race, nationality, religion or opinion.

"These inalienable and imprescriptible rights attach to the human personality. They are to be respected on all occasions and everywhere maintained against all political and social oppressions. The world-wide protection of these rights should be so guaranteed that no State should be able to refuse their enjoyment to any human being within its territory."

A formula couched in less legalistic and more literary terms has

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been proposed by H. G. Wells, based on discussion of a more elaborate declaration in England. It reads in part:

"I believe in the right of every living human being, without distinction of color, race, sex or professed belief or opinion, to liberty, life and subsistence, to complete protection from ill-treatment, equality of opportunity in the pursuit of happiness and an equal voice in the collective government of mankind."

The Conference of American States in 1938 made it clear that it is contrary to our systems to countenance "any persecution on account of racial or religious motives which make it impossible for a group of human beings to live decently."

The American "Catholic, Jewish and Protestant Declaration on World Peace," issued in 1943, adds an emphasis on international implementation:

"The dignity of the human person as the image of God must be set forth in all its essential implications in an international declaration of rights and be vindicated by the positive action of national governments and international organization. States as well as individuals must repudiate racial, religious or other discrimination in violation of these rights."

The general aim is to require a certain standard of conduct from all nations toward all men. International concern is directed toward how a nation treats its citizens, how it treats its aliens, how it treats all its inhabitants—how all men are treated in respect to their elementary rights as civilized human beings. There is a departure from the traditional dogma that only nations are subjects of international law. Individuals are hailed as direct subjects of rights and duties under international law. There is more concern to preserve the fundamental rights of human beings than the absolute sovereignty of national states.

The strength and importance of nationalism is still great and must be fully acknowledged. At the same time, however, it must be curbed in ways essential for world order and decency. International organization must reach out its hand to persons who would otherwise be completely at the mercy of a government which combines brutality with absolute power. International law must protect the legitimate interests of individual persons as well as of the potent groups of persons who constitute national formations. We are still dealing with a world of nation-states, however, not with individual citizenship in a world government. World citizenship for the foreseeable future is not a working conception.

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We may be chastened by Wilson's rejection at Paris of the principle of racial equality—a rejection which embittered the Oriental world. The cancerous Negro situation in our country gives fodder to enemy propaganda and makes our ideals stick like dry bread in the throat. In anti-Semitism we are a mirror of Nazi grimaces. These moles in our own eye are not to be passed over. There is, however, a vast difference between a governmental policy of persecution, as in Germany, and laggard customs which have not yet been broken on the wheel of a legal policy which forbids them. We cannot postpone international leadership until our own house is completely in order. Nor can we expect nations to agree that their own houses should be brought into order by the direct intervention of international agencies. We have only to consider the difficulties which any such course would encounter in our own or other countries. Through revulsion against Nazi doctrines, we may, however, hope to speed up the process of bringing our own practices in each nation more in conformity with our professed ideals.

Migration and Statelessness

Special attention must be given to the peculiarly international problem of statelessness and migration. The enormous displacement of populations in Europe and the widespread homelessness have created an unprecedentedly poignant refugee problem. When a nation expels people they become a burden on surrounding nations. Hence migration problems cannot be regarded as solely national. These urgent problems require special handling along the lines suggested in the Third Report of the *Commission to Study the Organization of Peace*. We there proposed the establishment of a separate agency for this purpose and pointed out that: "Failure to be prepared for these population movements will mean starvation and disease, great confusion and suffering, overloaded local agencies, and increase of criminality and disorder. The tragic situation affords the United Nations an opportunity to gain respect through protection of human rights."

Economic and Cultural Rights

Human rights are interwoven with economic security, particularly the security to pursue one's vocation, and with cultural advancement of every kind. The Human Rights Commission would need to cooperate closely with other international agencies like the International Labor Organization, the Organization of Intellectual Cooperation and any commissions on education, public health and

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000489

social welfare which may be erected. In its Philadelphia Charter adopted on May 11, 1944, the International Labor Organization affirmed that: "All human beings, irrespective of race, creed or sex, have the right to pursuit of both their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity."

The Functioning of the Commission on Human Rights

Drawing upon our accumulated experience with the Minorities Section of the League, its Mandates Commission, the Upper-Silesian Convention, the International Labor Organization, the national Committees on Intellectual Cooperation, and other experiments in international collaboration and implementation, we find that certain suggestions for the functioning of the Human Rights Commission emerge for consideration.

In the field of safeguarding human rights, the problem is, of course, in the first instance largely one of education and public sentiment. No legal organization or effort can succeed without a vigilant public opinion among the peoples of each land. To inform public opinion and awaken it to the importance of safeguarding human rights will be one of the prime functions of the Human Rights Commission.

With the aid and stimulation of the Human Rights Commission, enforcement of standards will still rest with the nations themselves in accordance with their own traditions and legal systems. The link between these and the international body might well be furnished by independent local committees in every nation or regional federation. Permission for them to appear before national tribunals to present the international viewpoint would, if granted, be a notable further step in the direction of bridging the gap between national and international law.

The Human Rights Commission should be empowered, under prescribed conditions, to receive petitions from individuals or groups of individuals who allege that they have been deprived of a human right encompassed in the international bill of rights—provided that the petitioner shall have first exhausted the remedies provided by his nation. Within limitations to be established by the political council of the "general international organization," the Commission may investigate. It is assumed that each of the big nations will have a veto power in the decisions of the political council.

If violations of human rights become flagrant or inveterate in any

[22]

area, the Commission may find that peace between nations is menaced and, if so, recommend to the political council that a trouble zone should be declared to exist. If this recommendation is approved, with the due and necessary concurrence of the larger powers, the Human Rights Commission should be definitely empowered, in its discretion, to establish a branch office in such trouble zones for the purpose of providing legal aid to aggrieved persons before national tribunals. The branch office would also follow the observance of any recommendation which the Commission may make or any judicial decision which may be made affecting human rights. The Commission should have the right, under limitations and procedures to be set up, to carry an appeal from the trouble-zone tribunals to the political council or Permanent Court.

During the period of transition, it may be imperative to establish such stringent enforcement machinery in the defeated nations. It would also be immediately available for mandated areas, if needed. It might also be appropriate in other places where Nazi propaganda has left its scars.

V. SUMMARY CONCLUSION

We have seen that the systematic violation of human rights may directly affect the peace of the world. We have seen also that the civilized goals for which we fight against a cruelly barbaric enemy demand the safeguard of human rights. Political and economic security are but minimal means to a broader end: the fulfillment of men and the enjoyment of civilized human rights.

Civilization is not possible without fundamental freedoms of human living. "This fact," as James T. Shotwell has pointed out, "has long been recognized in the development of law and justice within the state, but never until our own time has it become a major question of international relations. It is true that, throughout the centuries, prophets and leaders of the great religions have denounced oppression and appealed for justice between man and man on a universal basis. But these general precepts have only been incorporated into law within the confines of each nation. While international law drew its inspiration from the universal principles of Christian, Greek and Roman ethics, its field was limited to the relation of one government to another. Each state, jealous of its sovereignty, has regarded any expression of foreign interest in the welfare of its citizens at home, as an interference in its own affairs. Now, as a result of the Second World War, it has become clear that

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a regime of violence and oppression within any nation of the civilized world is a matter of concern for all the rest. It is a disease in the body politic which is contagious because the government that rests upon violence will, by its very nature, be even more ready to do violence to foreigners than to its own fellow citizens, especially if it can thus escape the consequences of its acts at home. The foreign policy of despots is inherently one which carries with it a constant risk to the peace and security of others. In short, if aggression is the key-note of domestic policy, it will also be the clue to foreign relations.

"There is, however, a more fundamental reason for regarding despotic governments as dangerous to the peace and prosperity of other nations than their own. No people can remain indifferent to the sufferings of innocent victims without losing something of their own spiritual life. We can no longer plead ignorance when these things happen in other parts of the world, for when oppression becomes a policy of state, the cries of the victims reach our ears from even the dungeons of the Gestapo. To ignore this suffering as having no part in our own lives is contrary to the dictates of Christian teaching. To offer only useless sympathy, attempting no measure of redress, is the kind of hypocrisy which lessens the moral fibre of those who attempt to satisfy their consciences with mere emotional appeals."*

Efforts to achieve freedom from fear and want will be enhanced if linked to a positive program for vindicating the human rights of all men. The problem, as we have seen, is extremely complex. A practical start toward solving it must be made. In summary of our main, general recommendations, therefore, we propose that measures be taken to safeguard human rights throughout the world by (1) convening without delay a United Nations Conference on Human Rights to examine the problem, (2) promulgating, as a result of this conference, an international bill of rights, (3) establishing at the conference a permanent United Nations Commission on Human Rights for the purpose of further developing the standards of human rights and the methods for their protection, (4) seeking the incorporation of major civil rights in national constitutions and promoting effective means of enforcement in each nation, (5) recognizing the right of individuals or groups, under prescribed limitations, to petition the Human Rights Commission, after exhausting local remedies, in order to call attention to violations.

*Reprinted with permission of Macmillan from James T. Shotwell, *The Great Decision*, 1944.

000491

MEMORANDUM

May 13, 1944

To : Mr. Friedman
From : R. B. Parke
Subject: President's statement in Italian Broadcasts (Ackermann's letter of April 24, 1944.)

Mr. Marks has suggested the following be submitted to you:

1. The first enclosure in Italian deals entirely with the President's statement of March 24, 1944. No reference, however, is made to the Japanese, except for a passing reference to "Asia". The situation of Jews, particularly, and of Norwegians and French is high-lighted. Most of the script consists of direct quotation of the statement. Stressed is the point that "all who share the guilt shall share the punishment".
2. The second item reports briefly on the President's statement, the main point being that the British Government is "in complete accord with the words of President Roosevelt".
3. The third item is a short news report that official circles announce that the British Government fully supports the President's statement.
4. Item four is a commentary on the report that "certain Hungarian envoys have been deprived of their Hungarian citizenship because they refused to adhere to the official serfdom of their country under the Germans", pointing out that this is the beginning of "the era of persecutions" in Hungary, particularly of the Jews. "The free people of Europe" are reminded that "Roosevelt has asked that they open their borders to the refugees from invaded Hungary".
5. The fifth item seems to be the strongest commentary on the "last warning" of the President. It clearly is directed against the "functionaries and subordinates", particularly in the satellite countries. They are warned that in carrying out atrocities there can be no discrimination between the leaders and their tools.

The newspaper clippings enclosed in Mr. Ackermann's letter also give prominence to the President's statement and to its bearing on the Jewish situation in Europe.


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R. B. Parke

000493

20 April, 1944

I have just received a telephone call from the Psychological Warfare Branch advising that a package had arrived from Italy containing a large amount of material on the dissemination of the President's statement on refugees.

It is too late for me to get these to Mike but I will forward them by pouch as quickly as possible.

L.E. *fea*

000494

TELEGRAM UNIT

See Bureau

JH

FLAIR

April 17, 1944

EMBASSY,

MOSCOW,
937-SEVENTEENTH
FOR AMBASSADOR FROM WAR REFUGEE BOARD.

With reference to the statement made by the President, (Department's 698, March 24) the British Government, in a reaffirmation of its attitude toward the Nazi war crimes and atrocities, directed that the WRC report the President's statement fully in all languages. Subsequently, on March 30, Mr. Eden, in the House of Commons, reiterated the position of the British Government with regard to these crimes.

You are requested to approach the appropriate authorities of the Soviet Union and ascertain whether, in view of the positive action taken by the British Government, the Soviet Government would take similar action and issue a statement expressing its attitude concerning the crimes and atrocities of the Nazis. It is felt by the Department that such action on the part of the Soviet Government would have a most profound and important effect upon the leaders and people of Rumania and Hungary.

Please report the result of your discussions concerning this matter.

WRL
(SLW)

WHD:GLW:KG
4/17/44

JH

LN

A-B

cc: Sec'y, Abrahamson, Akria, Borastein, Cohn, DeLois, Friedman, Gatten, Hodel, Laughlin, Lesser, Loxford, Mann, Mammen, Marks, McCormack, Paul, Pollak, Rains, Sargoy, Smith, Standish, Stewart, Weinstein, E. B. White, Fable, Files.

000495

TO: Mr. Mann
FROM: Mrs. Cohn
DATE: April 11, 1944

A proposed reply to the British Embassy (prepared by the Board on February 10 on the subject of whether or not this Government planned to issue a declaration on atrocities against the Jews, and submitted to State) is reported by Mr. Friedman to have been handed by Mr. Warren to Mr. Thorold of the British Embassy. For purposes of the Manual now in preparation, we would like a copy of the reply actually submitted to Mr. Thorold.

J. Cohn

*Miss Rhea is sending copy
to Mrs. Cohn*

000496

CONTROL COPY

CH-434

PLAIN

London

Dated April 10, 1944

Rec'd 12:17 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

2907, tenth.

FOR WAR REFUGEE BOARD

This morning's TIMES prints a letter signed by Crewe, President, David R. Grenfell, Chairman, and Eleanor F. Rathbone, Vice Chairman, of the National Committee for Rescue from Nazi Terror, which approves recent statement by the President and Eden on refugee policy and continues:

"If the USSR Government would issue a corresponding statement, that might weigh heavily in countries expecting a Russian advance but our main concern is with our own government. Are there not ways of helping not only in finding havens for those who escape but in facilitating escape or maintenance in hiding pending liberation? Only experts can decide what is possible without impeding military operations. We know that different methods suit different governments and that

much

War Refugee Bd (from Dehle) files

000497

-2- #2907, tenth, from London

Much may be going on here of which we are ignorant. But it does seem that these complicated questions must require more adequate machinery than the excellent but small Refugee Department of the Foreign Office. The Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees is equally lightly staffed. President Roosevelt has set up a War Refugee Board of three principal Secretaries of State with precisely defined functions dealing with rescue, maintenance, transport, relief, etc. with direct access to himself. We have a Cabinet Subcommittee but the difference is that the American Board has a full time Executive Director, no doubt amply staffed, who can give the attention impossible to principal ministers and can advise action affecting all these diverse functions. Does not a question so difficult and involving the fate of such innumerable victims deserve a more amply equipped machinery here?"

WINANT

REP

000498

CONTROL COPY

3 W-2 Refugee
Bd (Mr. Dille)

PLAIN

London

Dated April 6, 1944

Rec'd 11:47 p.m.

File

Secretary of State

Washington

2831, 6th.

FOR WAR REFUGEE BOARD.

Pursuant to Department's 1812, March 10 and 2273, twentyfourth.

Embassy wrote Foreign Office on thirteenth and twentyseventh and now has reply dated April fourth.

"On the former I have to inform you we have sent a copy to all our diplomatic missions abroad most intimately concerned with refugee problems for their information.

As regards your letter of the 27th relating to the President's warning statement to enemy powers and in particular to Germany issued on the 24th March, you will by now have seen a declaration of warning similar in character which was made by our Secretary of State in the House of Commons on the 30th March. The original draft had been previously telegraphed to our Embassy in Washington for communication to the

State

000499

-2- 2831, April 6, 1944 From London

State Department, but as there were one or two minor changes in the text as it finally issued, I enclose a copy -1.E. of the text as read by Mr Eden - for your information. We have also communicated a copy to the various Allied governments in London and Cairo.

We of course fully share the President's view of the importance of the psychological warfare value of his declaration, and on and since the date of issue of the British statement we have been taking parallel action in the case of our own statement which has been broadcast in all our foreign transmissions so that it should come to the notice of the satellite governments and their peoples".

Enclosure to letter comprises statement by Eden house Commons as reported in Embassy's 2647, thirtyfirst.

WINANT

EDA

000500

World Jewish Congress

"Berliner Boersen-Zeitung", March 31, 1944 Translation

AN EMOTIONAL EXPLOSION IN THE WHITE HOUSE

Roosevelt issues a call for the rescue of the Jewish saboteurs in Hungary.

Let no one say that the man responsible for the infamous acts perpetrated by "Murder Inc.," against tens of thousands of European women and children has no human feelings. The only trouble is that it is rather difficult to arouse them from their imposing tranquility. Let American women weep over the loss of their sons the lives of whom he, Roosevelt, so solemnly promised to preserve; let millions of children die of starvation, or let the people of Puerto Rico and Costa Rica bemoan their miserable existence under the Stars and Stripes -- the conscience of the President of the U.S.A. does not stir. But as soon as the Chosen People begins its plaintive howlings because of its being hindered, in one place or another, in its peaceful work of decomposing and fleecing the local population, veritable Niagara Falls of Rooseveltian emotion immediately burst forth in roaring cascades.

Of late, it is the purgative measures in Hungary that cause this noble humanitarian of the White House sleepless nights. Roosevelt is not at all concerned over the fact that Hungary was greatly in danger of being played into the hands of the Bolsheviks and of becoming the victim of a regime even bloodier than Bela Kun's. But it almost breaks his heart to learn that the Jewish accomplices of the Soviets and their western partners were grabbed by their necks in Hungary. What matters to him the fate of 12 millions of Hungarians when the parasitic well-being of 800,000 Hebrews, along with their Refugee Relations from other East-European countries is at stake? And with furious indignation Roosevelt has issued a call which merits our attention if for nothing else than for its extraordinary distortion of the facts.

Roosevelt, friend and ally of Bolshevism, that people-slaughtering monster; over-lord of a plutocracy which just now again demonstrated that in order to firmly establish its tyranny it intends to break by all possible means the will to self-assertion of other nations; - this self-same Roosevelt begins his appeal by the statement that the Allies are fighting now for such a world-order in which tyranny and aggression could no longer exist. He paints a picture of misery in the German-occupied European countries, as though it referred to regions which had benefited by the Anglo-American "liberation".

He wails about the innocent Poles murdered in cold blood as though it were not his own dear friend of Moscow whose hangman's mark is to be found on each and every one of the necks of the ten thousand corpses of Katyn. He compiles a long list of European nations deserving commiseration, but in vain does one look for his mention of those Baltic peoples, who now have to bemoan the fate of hundreds of thousands of persons slaughtered or carried off during the short period of Bolshevik rule in those countries.

Instead, Mr. Roosevelt flies into passion over the alleged brutalities committed by the Japanese against American soldiers, a fairy-tale of atrocities long since refuted by the reports of a Red Cross commission. And when he talks of those terrorist-fliers that were tried in Japan, he shudders not at their

000501

cynically avowed purpose to mow down Japanese children with machine-gun bullets, but rather at the punitive justice that has made short work of this gangster-mob.

But all this is merely an introduction to his heart-rending appeal directed to all "freedom-loving peoples" to unite themselves for a "campaign of justice and humanity". This appeal is followed by blunt threats against all those who would dare to step too close to that whole Jewish lot in Hungary or elsewhere, because this, according to the wholesale murderer of the populations of Rome and Castel Gandolfo "would signify the climax of tragedy".

Roosevelt, friend and paid servant of Baruch, Morgenthau and Frankfurter, declares the following to be his most sacred fundamental laws: "neither race, nor religion, nor color are of any importance whatsoever". Every human being should be able to live "in peace, honor and dignity, in liberty, equality and justice" in that world for which Mr. Roosevelt pledges to fight.

But at the very same time we read in a report in the "Daily Mail" from the U.S.A. that the Negro-problem is growing continually and becoming more and more dangerous; that 12 millions of black Americans are living in ghettos surrounded by criminals, prostitution, disease, penury and despair and that in the opinion of some American politicians they should be isolated still further. The report goes on to say that in Washington, f.i., 200,000 Negroes are closely herded in living-quarters more infested and neglected than even the worst slums. But the landlords collect their rentals almost with cudgels. An American woman who interfered for a more humane treatment of the colored people, has just now once more declared: we always speak in the U.S.A. of race-equality; but we do practically nothing to give words a substance.

And let us add to this another report about "life in equality, honor and dignity", in so far as it has to be put up with by the Mexicans in the U.S.A. (and mind you, they are Allies) This report originates from the obviously competent pen of the former Under-Secretary of State Sumner Welles. It says in parts: There are no schools for Mexican children. Mexicans may not travel side by side with citizens of the U.S.A. Certain hotels, cinemas and other places of amusement are closed to them. But most shocking of all is the fact that the restaurant of a certain large hotel went so far as to refuse to wait on one of Mexico's highest officials. Workers who have been recruited in Mexico are given no chance to work under conditions equal to those of the white Americans, and many of them are merely being exploited. And Sumner Welles firmly maintains that we have before us here the facts of a case of systematic "discrimination".

Just the same, we have understood the President of the U.S.A. quite well. Because we have known for quite some time that whenever he speaks of race-equality, he means Jewish dictatorship. Thus shall it not have been in vain that he applied himself directly even to us Germans with a request that we intervene for the unhappiest victims of our time. We could think of no unhappier victims than those hecatombs of women and children who already slain as a result of the war-conflagration that has been kindled by Jewry, and because of the enemy's terroristic methods of aerial warfare which is another product of Jewish brains. Mr. Roosevelt may be assured that here we shall give his Hebrew proteges a dose of their own medicine! an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth!

6/5/44-#591-fh

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2 - War Refugee
Bel(mv
Behle)
7/10

MO - 884

PLAIN
London

Dated March 31, 1944

Rec'd 10:05 p.m.

Secretary of State
Washington

2647, Thirty-first.
FOR WAR REFUGEE BOARD.

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

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

Mister Eden: Yes, sir. My Honorable Friend will have taken note of the statement made on 24th March by President Roosevelt on the subject of his question and of the fact that His Majesty's Government at once wholeheartedly associated themselves with the United States Government in this matter. Further action is now

under

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-2- 2647, 31st, from London

under discussion between the United States Government and His Majesty's Government and I wish now to take this opportunity of making on behalf of His Majesty's Government the following declaration: Evidence continues to reach His Majesty's Government and Allied Governments that the Nazi policy of extermination has not been halted. The persecution of the Jews has in particular been exemplified horror and intensity. On this His Majesty's Government in common with their Allies, now that the hour of Germany's defeat grows ever nearer and more certain, can only repeat their detestation of Germany's crimes and their determination that all those guilty of them shall be brought to justice. But apart from direct guilt there is still indirect participation in crime. Satellite governments who expel citizens to destinations named by Berlin must know that such actions are tantamount to assisting in inhuman persecution of slaughter. This will not be forgotten when the inevitable defeat of the arch enemy of Europe comes about.

Happily there are individuals and even official authorities among the satellites who have resisted the evil German example and have shown toleration and mercy. These things are known to the Allies and in the hope of encouraging

000504

-3- 2647, 31st, from London

encouraging such good deeds and increasing their number His Majesty's Government are concerned to make it clear that those who have followed the right path will also not be forgotten in the day of final reckoning. The time of respite is short but there is still opportunity for the merciful to multiply their acts of humanity, for the guilty to try to make amends for their deeds of shame by releasing their victims and making so far as is possible restitution to them. His Majesty's Government are confident that they are expressing the sentiments of all the Allied Governments in calling upon the countries allied with or subject to Germany to join in preventing further persecution and cooperate in protecting and saving the innocent. His Majesty's Government for their part are firmly resolved to continue in cooperation with all Government and private authorities concerned to rescue and maintain so far as lies in their power all those menaced by the Nazi terror.

Mister Silverman: May I while thanking the Right Honorable Gentleman for his full and extremely effective reply add that it makes in my view supplementary questions unnecessary.

Miss Rathbone: Will the Right Honorable Gentleman ensure that the very important statement he has made is given

000505

-4- 2647, 31st, from London

given the widest publicity in all enemy and enemy occupied countries and among their satellites and not least among the Slovaks whose attitude has been extremely unsatisfactory so that the message may be read by the people and not only by the Governments, possibly by leaflet as well as by radio.

Mister Eden: Yes, sir."

WIIHANT

MEM

000506

COPY:DC:AGH

INCOMING TELEGRAM

*requested by
Mrs Deab
WRB*

TEM-588

This telegram must be paraphrased before being communicated to anyone other than a Governmental agency. (BR)

Madrid

Dated March 29, 1944

Rec'd 9 a.m., 31st.

Secretary of State

Washington.

1101, March 29, 7 p.m.

Department's 817, March 24.

President's statement of March 24 briefly reported in syndicated EFE despatch appearing in Madrid press March 26 but so far as is known has received no further press attention. It is being published in Embassy's Spanish language bulletin and full text and translation of statement have been transmitted to Foreign Office with request for fullest publicity.

HAYES

WSB

CONFIDENTIAL

000507

First received in Dept. on April 2 in undecipherable condition

PARAPHRASE OF TELEGRAM RECEIVED

FROM: The American Ambassador, Ankara
TO: The Secretary of State, Washington
DATE: March 29, 1944
SUBJECT: BSS

As my number 14 the following message is from the Ambassador and Kirgizbas for the War Refugee Board

In our opinion exceptionally well timed was the President's declaration of March 25. In the Turk and Balkan press as well as on the radio it has received considerable publicity. It is our information that this declaration has made a deep impression on the people of the Balkans as well as in the Central European states where it is known at the present time.

Reliable information has been received by us from Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania to the effect that it would be desirable to have the President's declaration broadcast in all of the Slavic and European languages by the Algerian and American stations at least once a day. In addition to such daily broadcasts we further suggest that the announcer should stress the penalties awaiting those committing or adding in the commission of atrocities against Jews or any other minorities, regardless of religion, race or nationality. Since a great many people in this area do not have radios it might be well to consider dropping pamphlets from air planes on bombing missions to the countries of Europe and the Balkans. Such pamphlets to set forth the President's declaration. That the United Nations now have agents in every part of the Balkans and Europe who are making a record of all of the persons who participate in acts of persecution or violence against the Jews or other minorities might well be effectively incorporated in a statement appearing in such pamphlets and used also by Radio announcers, as a further means of restraining excesses.

STAINBARD

NOTE: Original message undecipherable.
DGM:MPZ
4/10/44

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By R. H. Parks Date SEP 14 1972

Sally Abrahamson, ACZM, Bernstein, Cohn, DeBois, Friedman, Gaston, Neitz, Sushitz, Tanczyk, Burford, Mann, Mannon, Marks, McCormack, Paul, Rallap, ...

From Leonard A. Williams
(Algeria)

3/27/44

FEATURE

BN 29

REACTIONS TO ROOSEVELT'S WARNING TO
WAR CRIMINALS

(106)

Washington, March 27 (UPI) — The United States War Refugee Board issued today the following statements by Government and labor leaders in connection with President Roosevelt's Refugee appeal of Friday.

Vice President Henry A. Wallace said:

"I have been profoundly touched by the President's statement on March 22, because it so strikingly calls to our minds the terror which the events of the past few days brought to thousands of Jews, and to other minorities in the European states. May the President's appeal to human decency find an answer in many hearts in all lands, so that, when the period of bondage is ended, there may remain at least a remnant."

Senator Robert F. Wagner, of New York, who was in Washington, House of Representatives, said:

"President Roosevelt's condemnation of Hitler's ruthless persecution and slaughter of Jews and other oppressed peoples has the full support of the civilized world. In calling on the German people, and all peoples of countries occupied by Nazis to disavow and frustrate Hitler's desire to exterminate the Jews, the President has made clear again that we are determined to achieve a world where all people, regardless of race or creed may live in freedom, honor and dignity. In his warning that those who participate in the Jewish slaughter of Jews and other oppressed people stand convicted and will be punished, the President voices the unshakable will of the American people, and the peoples of the United Nations, that Hitler and his minions shall not escape justice."

From William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor:

"The A.F.L. endorses heartily the pledge of President Roosevelt to make every effort to rescue the victims of Nazi and Japanese persecutions. Labor also supports the President's appeal to the free nations of Europe and Asia to open their doors to the refugees of oppression."

From Philip Murray, President of the Congress of Industrial Organizations:

"I heartily endorse President Roosevelt's pledge for all possible assistance for the victims of Nazi and Japanese brutality. The emergency is particularly acute today, in view of Hitler's encroachments on Balkan countries, where European Jews have found a temporary refuge. American labor hopes, as does the President, that the free people of Europe and Asia will open their doors to those of the victims of Nazism who were fortunate enough to reach their borders."

(Over)

(106)

A1

[REDACTED]

OWI'S USE OF PRESIDENT'S "REFUGEE STATEMENT" IN BROADCASTS
FROM NEW YORK
AND SAN FRANCISCO

MARCH 30, 1944

I. Broadcasts from New York

MARCH 27, 1944

USE OF PRESIDENT'S "REFUGEE STATEMENT" IN OWI BROADCASTS

Heavy play was given in all major languages. Most desks used the complete text or other complete versions repeatedly. In addition, the major languages transmitted the statement in numerous abridged versions, in news and feature shows, giving paraphrases combined with quotes, ~~building commentaries around the statement,~~ building commentaries around the statement, and using editorial and other opinion. Also the British endorsement was duly considered in most languages.

ENGLISH: Very heavy play. Between 1:00 P.M. of the 24th and noon of the 26th the statement was used in one form or another every hour on the hour, with a total of 1,295 lines including 374 lines of quotes. The complete text was played only once on the 25th.

FRENCH: Good coverage in news and feature shows, use of six different versions. Between 1:30 P.M. of the 24th and 11:30 A.M. of the 26th the statement was referred to in 40 shows. Complete text played twice on 24th and once on the 25th.

GERMAN: Reference to the statement was made in 51 shows during the 48 hour period (i.e. complete omission only in eight feature shows). Use of a full version of 525 words, 11 times, and of a slightly abridged version of 350 words, 10 times, all within 24 hours after issuance of statement.

ITALIAN: The complete text was not given on the 24th, but once on the 25th and twice on the 26th. Summaries included the British endorsement; there were short versions, use of sample, incorporation in features.

IBERIAN: 36 Spanish shows referred to the statement between 5:15 PM on the 24th and 5:15 PM on the 26th. 13 Portuguese broadcasts played it during a similar period. The complete text was never given in either language. Samples were used in Spanish five times, apart from short quotes and comments of the press, with British endorsement. Portuguese used 10-line quotes six times, etc.

SCANDINAVIAN: The statement was played twice to Sweden, thrice to Norway, once to Denmark, and thrice to Finland. Complete text never used, but quotes and paraphrases, constituting items of 7 to 34 lines.

CENTRAL AND SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE: Four playings to Yugoslavia, three each to Rumania, Poland, Hungary, and Bulgaria, two each to Greece and Czechoslovakia. Complete quotes once in Greek and Hungarian, thrice in Polish. The rest was paraphrased with quotes.

REGRADED
UNCLASSIFIED

000511

SEE [unclear]
I. [unclear]
ATTACH TO [unclear]
[unclear]
OMIT USE OF [unclear]

NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST: The Arabic show of the 24th used a paraphrased item with quotes. The Turkish desk used a 400 word version both on the 25th and the 26th. (Paraphrase and comments).

REGRADED
UNCLASSIFIED

000512

Emergency Fund for the President, Natl.
Defense, 1942-1944 - Allotment to War
Refugee Board

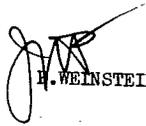
March 25, 1944

HONORABLE F. H. LA GUARDIA
MAYOR, CITY OF NEW YORK
CITY HALL
NEW YORK, N. Y.

WOULD APPRECIATE STATEMENT FROM YOU ENDORSING PRESIDENT'S STAND
YESTERDAY ON SAVING JEWS IN HITLER-DOMINATED EUROPE. UTMOST
IMPORTANCE TO SHOW AMERICAN LEADERS UNITED BEHIND RESCUE PROGRAM.
PLEASE WERE COLLECT BRIEF STATEMENT FOR USE IN TODAY'S SHORT-WAVE
BROADCASTS TO EUROPE.

(Initialed) J.W.P.

J. W. PEHLE
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
WAR REFUGEE BOARD
TREASURY BLDG., WASH., D. C.


H. WEINSTEINals 3/25/44

000514

STATEMENTS, POLICIES, AND INFORMATIONAL CAMPAIGNS INSPIRED BY THE BOARD

A

000515

WRB

B-33

WAR REFUGEE BOARD RECORDS

000516

2882

1944 MAR 25 PM 12 39

WU17 DL

BOSTON MASS MAR 25 1944 1158A

JOHN PEHLE ACTING DIRECTOR

WAR REFUGEE BOARD THE TRASURY

FOLLOWING TELEGRAM SENT PRESIDENT TODAY QUOTE UNITARIAN
SERVICE COMMITTEE DEEPLY APPRECIATIVE YESTERDAYS STATEMENT
RE REFUGEES IN EUROPE PLEDGES UTMOST SUPPORT ALL EFFORTS
MADE UNQUOTE

ROBERT DEXTER

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000517

MEASURES DIRECTED TOWARD HALTING PERSECUTION:

A. STATEMENTS, POLICIES, AND INFORMATIONAL CAMPAIGNS
INSPIRED BY THE BOARD

1. PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT
 - a. PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT - LETTERS & CABLES RE
 - b. STATEMENTS MADE RE: PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT OF 3/24/44
2. OWI PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE

B. APPROACHES TO OFFENDING GOVERNMENTS

1. THE SATELLITES
2. THE GERMANS
 - a. Warnings

C. APPEALS THROUGH THE VATICAN

1. SLOVAKIAN DEPORTATIONS
2. RUMANIA AND HUNGARY

000518

ROOSEVELT WARNS GERMANS ON JEWS

The New York Times
Sat., March 25, 1944
Says All Guilty Must Pay for
Atrocities and Asks People
to Assist Refugees

The President's statement on
aid to refugees, Page 4.

By JOHN H. CRIDER

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.
WASHINGTON, March 24—
President Roosevelt took the unusual step today of appealing to the German people, as well as the peoples of all subjugated Europe, to do all in their power to assist the escape of Jews and other victims of Nazi persecution. With particular reference to the Jews who escaped to Hungary and the Balkans from Germany, he declared it would be a "major tragedy" if they should "perish on the very eve of triumph over the barbarism which their persecution symbolizes."

[Secretary of State Cordell Hull, on Friday, called upon Hungary to rise against the Nazis. He declared that resistance to the German invader was the only way for the Hungarians to regain the respect and friendship of the free nations of the world.]
The President said his statement

000519

ROOSEVELT WARNS GERMANS ON JEWS

Continued From Page One

had the approval of Prime Minister Churchill and Premier Joseph Stalin, with whom he had kept in close touch.

In calling upon German citizens for aid in hiding and otherwise assisting the persecuted to escape "the Nazi hangman," the President pointed out that "Hitler is committing these crimes against humanity in the name of the German people."

The President also asked the Germans and other Europeans to "keep close watch, and to record the evidence that will one day be used to convict the guilty."

More than his appeal for aid to help the oppressed escape Nazi clutches, the President called upon "the free peoples of Europe and Asia temporarily to open their frontiers to all victims of oppression." He pledged the United States would "persevere in its efforts to rescue the victims of brutality of the Nazis and the Japs," and declared: "We shall find havens of refuge for them, and we shall find the means for their maintenance and support until the tyrant is driven from their homeland and they may return."

Permanent Aide Named

Mr. Roosevelt commended the work of the War Refugee Board that he set up in January to assist the persecuted in occupied areas, and made permanent the appointment of John W. Pehle as executive director of the board. Mr. Pehle, formerly in charge of the Treasury's Foreign Funds Control, was named on a temporary basis on Feb. 4.

Mr. Roosevelt declared we have a foreign policy even if some people do not think so. He paused twice, in reading the statement to his news conference, to remark, regarding certain paragraphs, that these represented foreign policy.

The President commended the following opening paragraph of the statement to some of those people who he said have been wondering around asking ballhops whether we have a foreign policy:

"The United Nations are fighting to make a world in which tyranny and aggression cannot exist; a world based upon freedom, equality and justice; a world in which all persons regardless of race, color or creed may live in peace, honor and dignity."

Warns All Guilty Persons

After the President had referred to the "systematic torture and murder of civilians" by the Nazis and Japanese, he called attention to another statement of policy:

"It is therefore fitting that we should again proclaim our determination that none who participate in these acts of savagery shall go unpunished. The United Nations have made it clear that they will pursue the guilty and deliver them up in order that justice be done. That warning applies not only to the leaders but also to their functionaries and subordinates in Germany and their satellite countries.

When he had read the first sentence of the foregoing paragraph the President told his news conference there's some more foreign policy—you're getting a lot today.

Answering a question whether havens were being provided for persons whom he said had been rescued from Nazi-dominated Europe, the President replied that we were taking care of all we can get out now—a great many of them in North Africa.

Asked if we were prepared to bring some of them here, the President replied that there were not enough of them yet to make that necessary.

Text of the Statement by Roosevelt

WASHINGTON, March 24 (AP)—Following is the text of President Roosevelt's statement today promising help to rescue the "victims of brutality" of the Nazis and Japanese:

The United Nations are fighting to make a world in which tyranny and aggression cannot exist; a world based upon freedom, equality and justice; a world in which all persons regardless of race, color or creed may live in peace, honor and dignity.

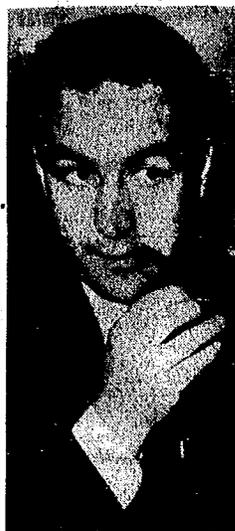
In the meantime, in most of Europe and in parts of Asia, the systematic torture and murder of civilians—men, women and children—by the Nazis and the Japanese continue unabated. In areas subjugated by the aggressors—innocent Poles, Czechs, Norwegians, Dutch, Danes, French, Greeks, Russians, Chinese, Filipinos—and many others—are being starved or frozen to death or murdered in cold blood in a campaign of savagery.

Cites Slaughter of Captives

The slaughters of Warsaw, Lidice, Kharkov and Nanking—the brutal torture and murder by the Japanese, not only of civilians but of our own gallant American soldiers and fliers—these are startling examples of what goes on day by day, year in and year out, wherever the Nazis and Japs are in military control—free to follow their barbaric purpose.

In one of the blackest crimes of all history—begun by the Nazis in the day of peace and multiplied by them a hundred times in time of war—the wholesale systematic murder of the Jews of Europe goes on unabated every hour. As a result of the events of the last few days hundreds of thousands of Jews who, while living under persecution, have at least found a haven from death in Hungary and the Balkans, are now threatened with annihilation as Hitler's forces descend more

HEADS REFUGEE BOARD



John W. Pehle
Associated Press, 1941

heavily upon these lands. That these innocent people, who have already survived a decade of Hitler's fury, should perish on the very eve of triumph over the barbarism which their persecution symbolizes, would be a major tragedy.

It is therefore fitting that we should again proclaim our determination that none who participate in these acts of savagery shall go unpunished. The United

Nations have made it clear that they will pursue the guilty and deliver them up in order that justice be done. That warning applies not only to the leaders but also to their functionaries and subordinates in Germany and in the satellite countries. All who knowingly take part in the deportation of Jews to their death in Poland or Norwegians and French to their death in Germany are equally guilty with the executioner. All who share the guilt shall share the punishment.

Hitler is committing these crimes against humanity in the name of the German people. I ask every German and every man everywhere under Nazi domination to show the world by his action that in his heart he does not share these insane criminal desires. Let him hide these pursued victims, help them to get over their borders, and do what he can to save them from the Nazi hangman. I ask him also to keep watch, and to record the evidence that will one day be used to convict the guilty.

In the meantime, and until the victory that is now assured is won, the United States will persevere in its efforts to rescue the victims of brutality of the Nazis and the Japs. In so far as the necessity of military operations permit this Government will use all means at its command to aid the escape of all intended victims of the Nazi and Jap executioner—regardless of race or religion or color. We call upon the free peoples of Europe and Asia temporarily to open their frontiers to all victims of oppression. We shall find havens of refuge for them, and we shall find the means for their maintenance and support until the tyrant is driven from their homelands and they may return.

In the name of justice and humanity let all freedom loving people rally to this righteous undertaking.

000521

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION
WASHINGTON

June 21, 1944

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mr. Weinstein
FROM: George A. Lary *galy*

You might be interested in a paragraph taken from a recent report submitted by our Cairo outpost:

"President Roosevelt's statement on refugees, made on March 24, was used in three leaflets. It was carried rather fully in Eothesis, the Greek weekly newspaper edited in Cairo, in the April 7 edition. A paragraph from the statement was the peg for a commentary in Soldaten Nachrichten, newspaper for German troops, edited in Bari, in the April 13 edition. It was the heart of a Hungarian leaflet. Bari was also asked to use it in an Albanian newspaper published in Bari."

The above mentioned leaflets and newspapers are dropped from planes in the Balkans and in Hungary. We have much information of wide dissemination in these countries.

As you probably know we are working in the Mediterranean Theatre together with the British PWE and the Allied military PWE. In this theatre the British have a dominant role which does not mean that they monopolize psychological warfare.

You will also be interested in the attached memo, which shows that our broadcasts are not only heard in Hungary but that we also receive considerable publicity from the quisling press.



ATTACHMENT:

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-73
By R. H. Parks Date SEP 14 1972

000522

June 19, 1944

MEMORANDUM

TO: Wallace Carroll
FROM: George A. Lanyi
SUBJECT: Hungarian echo to the Voice of America

Hungarian propaganda continues to "talk back" to us. This time one of the key-figures of the present Quisling-regime, Francis Rajniss, editor of the Government evening paper, "Esti Ujseg" writes in an editorial on June 3:

"After Catholic Prelate Erdoegh, Calvinist Clergyman Geza Takaro also spoke in New York broadcasting, requesting Hungarians to aid the Jews because latter were persecuted owing to religion, race and love of liberty." Takaro and Erdoegh support the enemy while Nagyvarad, Miskolc, Szeged, Pusaokladany suffer raids inferno. Takaro spoke on the very Friday which was mourning day for Hungary. Mourning lasted after towns bombing. Takaro calls those bombs liberations May-message. Clergyman who speaks thus denies christianity by siding with Anglo-Saxon-Soviet alliance."

The Rev. Geza Takaro, Minister of the First Hungarian Reformed Church in New York has several times talked for us, namely last Xmas, at Easter and more recently on behalf of the Hungarian Jews. His broadcasts have been effective and were favorably commented on by Hungarian circles in neutral capitals and also on one occasion by the State Department. The Rev. Takaro did not refer to our bombs as "liberations May-message." Such bad taste can only be shown by the Hungarian would-be Goebbels, Rajniss, who is well known for both, distortions and extortions. In addition the broadcast was not given on "mourning Friday" but on Thursday June 1.

000523

OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION
Overseas Operations Branch
Washington

GENERAL DIRECTIVE

Week of February 26 - March 2, 1944

Copy No. 82

WAR REFUGEE BOARD

1. Background

On January 22 President Roosevelt set up a War Refugee Board consisting of the Secretaries of State, War and Treasury, and issued an Executive Order stating: "It is the policy of this Government to take all measures within its power to rescue the victims of enemy oppression who are in imminent danger of death, and otherwise such victims all possible relief and assistance consistent with the successful prosecution of the war." A White House statement issued the same day said that "it was urgent that action be taken at once to forestall the plan of the Nazis to exterminate all the Jews and other persecuted minorities in Europe."

2. Propaganda Treatment

- (a) We should use all available news news to emphasize, especially to the satellites, that the rescue of the Jews and other "persecuted minorities" now under Nazi rule is a part of the policy of the United States Government.
- (b) In news commentary we must remind the satellites such as Hungary, whose large Jewish population includes many refugees, that we shall judge them in part by the manner in which they treat the Jews and other helpless minorities in their midst.
- (c) We should make clear that all those who participate in any way in crimes against helpless minorities share in the guilt of the executioners, and will be judged and punished in accord with our solemn pledges. We should point out that this was announced as agreed United Nations policy in the declaration of December 17, 1942.
- (d) In our output to Sweden, Switzerland, and Portugal, as well as to the satellites, we should pay tribute to the humanitarian work these three neutral countries have already done in helping refugees to escape from Nazi control and in giving them refuge, food and shelter. In this way we can use the power of example to influence our listeners in enemy-occupied countries to show humanity toward helpless minorities.

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By R. H. Parks Date SEP 14 1972

000524

TELEGRAM SENT

FMH

PLAIN
March 24, 1944

AMEMBASSY,
MOSCOW.
699, twenty-fourth
FOR THE AMBASSADOR FROM THE WAR REFUGEE BOARD.

PLEASE refer to our circular airgram of January 26, 1944, with reference to the institution of the War Refugee Board and to our No. 554 of March 11, 1944 setting forth the aims of the Board. In this cable we stressed the importance of bringing home to the people in German controlled Europe the seriousness with which the United Nations view in this matter.

There is quoted below the text of a statement issued by the President on March 24, 1944.

QUOTE: (TEXT OF THE MESSAGE IS ATTACHED HERETO)

UNQUOTE.

A copy of this statement was communicated to the Soviet Ambassador here, for transmission to his Government, prior to its issuance by the President.

It would be appreciated if in addition you would make this statement available to the appropriate officials of the Russian Government, indicating to them the significance of this step as a means of following up the objectives which the War Refugee Board is trying to accomplish.

At the same time you should emphasize to the Russian authorities the extreme importance which this Government attaches to the program outlined in our No. 554 with specific reference to the value of a psychological program designed to change the actions and attitude of our enemy, and particularly his satellites, functionaries and subordinates.

HULL
(GLW)

WRB:GLW:AMM
3/24/44

EE

SJCR

Miss Chauncey (For the Sec'y), Abrahamson, Aksin, Bernstein, Cohn, DuBois, Friedman, Gaston, Hodel, Laughlin, Lesser, Luxford, Mann, McCormack, Paul, Pollak, Rains, Standish, Stewart, White, Fehle, Files

000523

CONTROL COPY

TELEGRAM SENT

*2 - War Refugee Bd
(one Public)*

PLAIN

March 24, 1944

40

AMEMBASSY,

LONDON.

2273, twenty-fourth

FOR THE AMBASSADOR FROM THE WAR REFUGEE BOARD

see England

Refer our 1503 of February 29 and our 1812 of March 10, which set forth in part the steps which the War Refugee Board has taken and is prepared to take in implementing its announced policies.

See tonight's radio bulletin for text of statement issued by the President today.

This statement was made available in advance to the British Embassy here, which has been advised ^{by the Public Office} that the WRB has been instructed to report the statement fully in all languages as reaffirmation of the attitude of the United Nations and in particular of His Majesty's Government as well as the United States Government toward the Nazi and Japanese war crimes and atrocities. You are requested to suggest to the British Government the significance of this step as a means of following up the objectives which the War Refugee Board is trying to accomplish. At the same time you should emphasize to the British authorities the

extreme

770526

-2- 2270, March 24, to [unclear]

extreme importance which this Government attaches to the program outlined in our 1812 with specific reference to the value of a psychological program designed to change the actions and attitude of our enemy, and particularly his satellites, functionaries and subordinates.

Please ask Schoenfeld to call this statement to the attention of the representatives in London of the governments-in-exile to which he is accredited and to advise them of our desire that it be given the widest possible publicity.

HULL
(CLR)

NRB:GLW:VHJ

BC

S/CR

SA/M

3/24/44

000527

CABLE TO AMBASSADOR WINANT, LONDON

Further reference is made to our No. 1503 of February 29 and our No. 1512 of March 10, 1944, which set forth in part the steps which the War Refugee Board has taken and is prepared to take in implementing its announced policies.

There is quoted below the text of a statement issued by the President on March 24, 1944.

(Here take in annexed statement)

It would be appreciated if you would make this statement available to the appropriate officials of the British Government, indicating to them the significance of this step as a means of following up the objectives which the War Refugee Board is trying to accomplish. At the same time you should emphasize to the British authorities the extreme importance which this Government attaches to the program outlined in our No. 1512 with specific reference to the value of a psychological program designed to change the notions and attitude of our enemy, and particularly his satellites, functionaries and subordinates.

This statement should also be called to the attention of the representatives in London of the governments-in-exile and they should be advised of our desire that it be given the widest possible publicity.

JMB:bbk - 3/24/44
jro

Transmitted by memo
7 3/24/44

100521

TELEGRAM SENT

CONTROL COPY

PLAIN

March 24, 1941

AMLESTATION,

BERN.

991, Twenty-fourth

FOR THE MINISTER FROM THE U.S. REFUGEE BOARD

Tonight's radio bulletin contains an important statement by the President on refugees and Nazi persecutions.

The War Refugee Board is convinced that it is of utmost importance to undertake at once an organized and concentrated effort to make clear, by all appropriate means, to all Axis satellites that the Allied Governments view in a most serious light their assistance in any form to Hitler's program to exterminate the Jews, and other similar groups, regarding all such action as criminal participation in organized murder. The Board also believes it necessary to make clear to the satellites by all possible means, its intention to do everything in its power to rescue such unfortunates who are in danger of death, in order not only to give the satellites a clear view of the attitude of this country in the matter, but also of the opportunities which exist for assisting

-2- #991, Twenty-fourth, to Bern

assisting in the execution of our policy. The Board feels very strongly that a campaign of this kind must be made through all possible channels and be constantly repeated at every available opportunity.

You are requested to see that the utmost publicity be immediately given to the President's statement in local newspapers, radio, and in any other manner feasible. Please make every endeavor to have this publicity included on such radio broadcasts for foreign consumption as may emanate from the country to which you are accredited. It would be extremely helpful if you could obtain favorable comment from prominent governmental or other personages with respect to the statement for use in connection with the publicity program.

For your information, in view of the importance of the statement and the program which it implements, the Office of War Information expects to employ its full facilities in calling this matter and appropriate comment thereon to the attention of Axis, satellite and other countries.

You

000530

-3- #991, Twenty-fourth, to Barn

You are requested to report by cable as soon as possible the measures you have taken to comply with these instructions together with the results thereof. Significant clippings and official comment should be sent by airmail. It must be borne in mind that the effectiveness of this statement will depend in large measure upon the extent to which adequate publicity can be obtained for it, particularly in German controlled Europe.

This cable has been cleared with the Office of War Information.

HULL
(GLW)

CODE ROOM:

Please repeat the foregoing telegram to;

as #502
STOCKHOLM/ with the following opening sentence: "FOR THE
MINISTER AND OLSEN FROM THE WAR REFUGEE BOARD"

as #850
LISBON/ with the following opening sentence: "FOR THE
MINISTER FROM THE WAR REFUGEE BOARD"

as #817
MADRID /with the following opening sentence: "FOR THE
AMBASSADOR FROM THE WAR REFUGEE BOARD"

ANKARA

000531

-4- #991, Twenty-fourth, to Bern

as #253

ANKARA / with the following opening sentence: "FOR THE
AMBASSADOR AND HIRSCHMANN. WAR REFUGEE BOARD'S NO. 13"

CAIRO with the following opening sentence: "FOR THE
AMBASSADOR ~~LANDIS AND BIKSELL~~ FROM THE WAR REFUGEE BOARD" GREEK SERIES NO46 x

WRB: GLW: GER WE NOE SE NE) TEA

3/24/44

000532

March 24, 1944

12:15 p.m.

To: Mr. George K. Warren
From: J. V. Peble

It would be appreciated if the attached urgent cables relating to the statement issued today by the President were immediately dispatched as indicated.

The sending of these cables has been cleared with the Office of War Information, which is employing its full facilities in giving publicity to the President's statement.

These cables have not been cleared with the White House, and it is assumed that the State Department will do whatever is necessary in this regard.

000533

CABLE TO: (1) MINI. HARRISON, BERN # 991 - 3/24
(2) MINISTER JOHNSON AND OLSEN, STOCKHOLM
(3) MINISTER NORWEG, LISBON
(4) AMBASSADOR HAYES, MADRID
(5) AMBASSADOR STEINHARDT AND HIRSCHMANN, ANKARA
(6) MINISTER KIRK, LANDIS AND MIKESSELL, CAIRO

The President on March 24 issued the following statement:

[Here take in annexed statement]

The War Refugee Board is convinced that it is of utmost importance to undertake at once an organized and concentrated effort to make clear, by all appropriate means, to all Axis satellites that the Allied Governments view in a most serious light their assistance in any form to Hitler's program to exterminate the Jews, and other similar groups, regarding all such action as criminal participation in organized murder. The Board also believes it necessary to make clear to the satellites by all possible means, its intention to do everything in its power to rescue such unfortunates who are in danger of death, in order not only to give the satellites a clear view of the attitude of this country in the matter, but also of the opportunities which exist for assisting in the execution of our policy. The Board feels very strongly that a campaign of this kind must be made through all possible channels and be constantly repeated at every available opportunity.

You are requested to see that the utmost publicity be immediately given to the President's statement in local newspapers, radio, and in any other manner feasible. Please make every endeavor to have this publicity included on such radio broadcasts for foreign consumption as may emanate from the country to which you are accredited. It would be extremely helpful if you could obtain favorable comment from prominent governmental or other personages with respect to the statement for use in connection with the publicity program.

For your information, in view of the importance of the statement and the program which it implements, the Office of War Information expects to employ its full facilities in calling this matter and appropriate comment thereon to the attention of Axis, satellite, and other countries.

You are requested to report by cable as soon as possible the measures you have taken to comply with these instructions together with the results thereof. Significant clippings and official comment should be sent by airmail. It must be borne in mind that the effectiveness of this statement will depend in large measure upon the extent to which adequate publicity can be obtained for it, particularly in German controlled Europe.

This cable has been cleared with the Office of War Information.

THIS IS WRB ANKARA CABLE NO. 13

JTW

00053

TELETYPE UNIT

PLAIN

March 24, 1944

PLAIN

War Refugee Board

CONTROL COPY

AMHEP

ALGIERS.

893, Twenty-fourth.

FOR ~~RECORD~~ AND ACKERMAN.
/Chapin/

This War Refugee Board's no. 1.

The President on March 24 issued the following statement:

QUOTE: (TEXT OF THE MESSAGE IS ATTACHED HERETO) UNQUOTE

The War Refugee Board is convinced that it is of utmost importance to undertake at once an organized and concentrated effort to make clear, by all appropriate means, to all Axis satellites that the Allied Governments view in a most serious light their assistance in any form to Hitler's program to exterminate the Jews, and other similar groups, regarding all such action as criminal participation in organized murder. The Board also believes it necessary to make clear to the satellites by all possible means, its intention to do everything in its power to rescue such unfortunates who are in danger of death, in order not only to give the satellites a clear view of the attitude of this country in the matter, but

also

000535

393, 24th, to Algiers

-2-

also of the opportunities which exist for assisting in the execution of our policy. The Board feels very strongly that a campaign of this kind must be made through all possible channels and be constantly repeated at every available opportunity.

You are requested to cooperate with the local representatives of the Office of War Information to see that the utmost publicity is immediately given to this statement in local newspapers, on the radio, and in any other manner feasible. Also please make every endeavor to have this publicity included on broadcasts for foreign consumption such as those emanating from Radio France and the United Nations Radio. It would be extremely helpful for use in connection with the publicity program if you could obtain favorable comment from prominent governmental or other personages with respect to the statement.

For your information in view of the importance of the statement and the program which it implements, the

Office

000536

003, 24th, to Algiers

-3-

Office of War Information expects to employ its full facilities in calling this matter and appropriate comment thereon to the attention of Axis, satellite, and other countries.

You are requested to report by cable as soon as possible the measures you have taken to comply with these instructions together with the results thereof. Significant clippings and official comment should be sent by airmail. It must be borne in mind that the effectiveness of this statement will depend in large measure upon the extent to which adequate publicity can be obtained for it, particularly in German controlled Europe.

This cable has been cleared with the Office of War Information.

HULL
(GLW)

WRB:GLW:AMM

WE

SA/M

3/24/44

000537

CABLE TO AMBASSADOR WILSON AND ACKERMANN, ALGIERS.

The President on March 24 issued the following statement:

[Here take in annexed statement]

The War Refugee Board is convinced that it is of utmost importance to undertake at once an organized and concentrated effort to make clear, by all appropriate means, to all Axis satellites that the Allied Governments view in a most serious light their assistance in any form to Hitler's program to exterminate the Jews, and other similar groups, regarding all such action as criminal participation in organized murder. The Board also believes it necessary to make clear to the satellites by all possible means, its intention to do everything in its power to rescue such unfortunates who are in danger of death, in order not only to give the satellites a clear view of the attitude of this country in the matter, but also of the opportunities which exist for assisting in the execution of our policy. The Board feels very strongly that a campaign of this kind must be made through all possible channels and be constantly repeated at every available opportunity.

You are requested to cooperate with the local representatives of the Office of War Information to see that the utmost publicity is immediately given to this statement in local newspapers, on the radio, and in any other manner feasible. Also please make every endeavor to have this publicity included on broadcasts for foreign consumption such as those emanating from Radio France and the United Nations Radio. It would be extremely helpful for use in connection with the publicity program if you could obtain favorable comment from prominent governmental or other personages with respect to the statement.

For your information in view of the importance of the statement and the program which it implements, the Office of War Information expects to employ its full facilities in calling this matter and appropriate comment thereon to the attention of Axis, satellite, and other countries.

You are requested to report by cable as soon as possible the measures you have taken to comply with these instructions together with the results thereof. Significant clippings and official comment should be sent by airmail. It must be borne in mind that the effectiveness of this statement will depend in large measure upon the extent to which adequate publicity can be obtained for it, particularly in German controlled Europe.

This cable has been cleared with the Office of War Information.

THIS IS ALGIERS CABLE NO. 1

JWT

*Transmitted by
wire 3/24/44*

000530

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

March 24, 1944

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

The United Nations are fighting to make a world in which tyranny and aggression can not exist; a world based upon freedom, equality and justice; a world in which all persons regardless of race, color or creed may live in peace, honor and dignity.

In the meantime in most of Europe and in parts of Asia the systematic torture and murder of civilians -- men, women and children -- by the Nazis and the Japanese continue unabated. In areas subjugated by the aggressors innocent Poles, Czechs, Norwegians, Dutch, Danes, French, Greeks, Russians, Chinese, Filipinos -- and many others -- are being starved or frozen to death or murdered in cold blood in a campaign of savagery.

The slaughters of Warsaw, Lidice, Kharkov and Nanking -- the brutal torture and murder by the Japanese, not only of civilians but of our own gallant American soldiers and fliers -- these are startling examples of what goes on day by day, year in and year out, wherever the Nazis and the Japs are in military control -- free to follow their barbaric purpose.

In one of the blackest crimes of all history -- begun by the Nazis in the day of peace and multiplied by them a hundred times in time of war -- the wholesale systematic murder of the Jews of Europe goes on unabated every hour. As a result of the events of the last few days hundreds of thousands of Jews, who while living under persecution have at least found a haven from death in Hungary and the Balkans, are now threatened with annihilation as Hitler's forces descend more heavily upon these lands. That these innocent people, who have already survived a decade of Hitler's fury, should perish on the very eve of triumph over the barbarism which their persecution symbolizes, would be a major tragedy.

It is therefore fitting that we should again proclaim our determination that none who participate in these acts of savagery shall go unpunished. The United Nations have made it clear that they will pursue the guilty and deliver them up in order that Justice be done. That warning applies not only to the leaders but also to their functionaries and subordinates in Germany and in the satellite countries. All who knowingly take part in the deportation of Jews to their death in Poland or Norwegians and French to their death in Germany are equally guilty with the executioner. All who share the guilt shall share the punishment.

000539

- 2 -

Hitler is committing these crimes against humanity in the name of the German people. I ask every German and every man everywhere under Nazi domination to show the world by his action that in his heart he does not share these insane criminal desires. Let him hide these pursued victims, help them to get over their borders, and do what he can to save them from the Nazi hangman. I ask him also to keep watch, and to record the evidence that will one day be used to convict the guilty.

In the meantime, and until the victory that is now assured is won, the United States will persevere in its efforts to rescue the victims of brutality of the Nazis and the Japs. In so far as the necessity of military operations permit this Government will use all means at its command to aid the escape of all intended victims of the Nazi and Jap executioner — regardless of race or religion or color. We call upon the free peoples of Europe and Asia temporarily to open their frontiers to all victims of oppression. We shall find havens of refuge for them, and we shall find the means for their maintenance and support until the tyrant is driven from their homelands and they may return.

In the name of justice and humanity let all freedom loving people rally to this righteous undertaking.

oOo

000540

TREASURY DEPARTMENT

INTER OFFICE COMMUNICATION

File
~~*St. Paul*~~

Date March 23, 1944

TO : Mr. Pehle
FROM: Miss Laughlin

Vatican

Mr. Friedman has suggested that we prepare a memo offering a suggested approach through the Apostolic Delegate to the Vatican on the President's Proclamation.

We suggest that at your conference today with His Excellency, Archbishop Cicognani, you take him into your confidence by showing him an advance copy of the Proclamation, calling his attention to the gravity of current events as manifested by Germany's seizure of the satellite countries, and solicit his recommendations on the advisability of the Vatican giving appropriate publicity to this humanitarian document through the most expedient channels available to the Holy Father.

The War Refugee Board will be pleased to cooperate in the preparation of any statement along these lines for His Excellency's submission to the Holy See.

*No attachment to file
Received in file*

000541

March 23, 1944

: Mr. Pehle
: Miss Laughlin

Mr. Friedman has suggested that we prepare a memo offering a suggested approach through the Apostolic Delegate to the Vatican on the President's Proclamation.

We suggest that at your conference today with His Excellency, Archbishop Cicognani, you take him into your confidence by showing him an advance copy of the Proclamation, calling his attention to the gravity of current events as manifested by Germany's seizure of the satellite countries, and solicit his recommendations on the advisability of the Vatican giving appropriate publicity to this humanitarian document through the most expedient channels available to the Holy Father.

The War Refugee Board will be pleased to cooperate in the preparation of any statement along these lines for His Excellency's submission to the Holy See.

ALaughlinslr 3/23/44

000542

March 23, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES:

I called Achilles at the State Department today on the President's statement. He said that no word had been received from the British other than Halifax's statement to Secretary Hull that the British were considering making a similar statement. I asked Achilles whether the President's statement had been given to any other governments and he said it had been given to the Russian Government yesterday morning at the request of the White House.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'JMT', is located below the main text of the memorandum.

000543

March 23, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES:

I called Achilles at the State Department today on the President's statement. He said that no word had been received from the British other than Halifax's statement to Secretary Hull that the British were considering making a similar statement. I asked Achilles whether the President's statement had been given to any other governments and he said it had been given to the Russian Government yesterday morning at the request of the White House.

(initials) J.W.P.

JWP:lh 3/23/44

000544

OFFICIAL FILE

March 22, 1944.

TO: Judge Rosenman
FROM: J. W. Pehle

Pursuant to our conversation I am attaching hereto a suggested insertion in the proposed statement by the President dealing specifically with the events in Hungary and the Balkans. It is suggested that the two sentences indicated be inserted after the first sentence of the fourth paragraph.

The military events in Hungary and Rumania in the last few days have certainly made the statement a timely one.

(Initialed) J.W.P.

JWP WP: lhh 3/22/44

000543

As a result of the events of the last few days hundreds of thousands of Jews, who while living under persecution have at least found a haven from death in Hungary and the Balkans, are now threatened with annihilation as the forces of darkness descend more heavily upon these lands. That these innocent people, who have already survived a decade of Hitler's fury, should perish on the very eve of triumph over the barbarism which their persecution symbolizes, would be a tragedy unparalleled.

JWA

000546

March 20, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES:

After I talked to Reynor about the Declaration, Achilles called me back to say that he had received the Declaration from Tom Blake of the White House on Saturday afternoon and had given it to Hayter of the British Embassy late Saturday night. I asked him whether he was waiting for the British views and he said "no"; that the statement had merely been given to the British for their information and presumably the White House would issue the statement shortly.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'JWA', is located below the main text of the memorandum.

000547

March 21, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES:

At the War Refugee Board meeting this morning Secretary Hull said that the British had asked for two or three days to consider the proposed statement by the President. After discussing the matter later with Secretary Morgenthau I called Judge Rosenman and said that if the British were going to issue a parallel statement perhaps the Russians ought also to be consulted. Rosenman was agreeable but thought that the problem was one for the State Department. After discussing the matter further we decided not to take the matter up with State since we now understand that the British are merely considering commenting on our statement and not considering the issuance of a simultaneous statement.

J. W. R. C.

000543

Mar. 16, 1944

Secretary Morgenthau

J. W. Pehle

When you talk to the White House about the issuance of the statement you might want to stress the following points:

1. The statement is badly needed as a base on which we can build the whole OWI campaign on the psychological warfare side.
2. Although some of us would have preferred the statement in its earlier form we are all agreed that even as amended it will be helpful and are anxious to get it out promptly.

(Signed) J.W. Pehle

JWP

000547

March 6, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES:

The attached draft of a declaration by the President of the United States with an accompanying memorandum signed by Stettinius and Stimson and to be signed by Secretary Morgenthau was sent to the Secretary at his home on Sunday, March 5. The memorandum was signed by the Secretary and given to Stettinius to present to the White House.



000550

March 9, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES:

I discussed with Mr. Stettinius this morning the developments in connection with the proposed declaration.

Stettinius said that he had been discussing the matter with the President and that the whole matter was "off the track". He said that he had explained to the President that the proposed declaration was a very carefully drafted document which had the approval of the three top cabinet officials who had studied the matter very carefully and had had several changes made at their request. Stettinius said that nevertheless the President felt the declaration referred to the atrocities against the Jews in too pointed a manner and further that it would not be proper for him to issue a declaration, that he issued statements and not declarations. I told Stettinius about my discussion with Judge Rosenman yesterday. Stettinius agreed that there was nothing we could do about the declaration problem at this point and that he was not sure that any statement would be issued.

During the course of our discussion Stettinius read over the new statement.

At 11:30 I discussed the new declaration with Secretary Stimson. He read the new statement over carefully and said that he felt the new statement was much stronger than the old one regardless of the reasons why the changes in it had been made.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, likely belonging to the author of the memorandum, is located in the lower right quadrant of the page.

000551

DECLARATION BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

*As cleared
with Sec of
Treasury
subject to
change in
the
Berlin*

One of the blackest crimes in history, the systematic murder of the Jews of Europe, continues unabated.

The Nazi leaders have made it clear that they have not abandoned the plan to exterminate all the Jews within their grasp. More than two million men, women and children already have been put to death solely because they were Jews.

The world will not forget the Japanese torture of our soldiers nor the slaughters of Lidice, Kharkov and Nanking. The world will not forget the murder of the Jews.

Our youth is fighting and dying on the battlefronts to make a world in which tyranny and barbarity can not exist; a world based upon freedom, equality, and justice; a world in which all persons regardless of race, color or creed may live in peace, honor and dignity.

It is, therefore, fitting that we should again proclaim our determination that none who participate in such acts of savagery shall go unpunished. The United Nations have made it clear that they will pursue the guilty and deliver them up in order that justice be done. Let that warning now be repeated so that no one shall fail to hear and understand. Let it be clearly understood that this applies not only to the leaders but also to their functionaries and subordinates, whether they be in Germany or in the satellite countries. He who takes part in the deportation of Jews to their death in Poland is equally guilty with the executioner. All who share the guilt shall share the punishment.

To be changed

The Hitlerite forces are committing these crimes against humanity in the name of the German people. Let every German and every man everywhere under Nazi domination by his actions demonstrate to the world that in his heart he does not share these insane desires. Let him hide these victims, help them to get over the borders, and do what he can to save them from the Nazi hangman. Let him also keep watch, and record the evidence that can one day soon be used to convict the guilty and acquit the innocent.

In the meantime, and until the victory that is now assured is won, we shall persevere in our efforts to rescue the victims of Hitler's brutality. In so far as the necessities of military operations permit, this Government will use all means at its command to aid the escape of Jews and other intended victims of the Nazi executioner. We call upon all the peoples of

Europe to lend assistance to this task. We call upon the free peoples of Europe to open their frontiers to the victims of oppression. We shall find havens of refuge for them, and we shall find the means to assure their maintenance and support until the tyrant is driven from their homelands.

In the name of justice and humanity let all freedom loving nations rally to this righteous undertaking.

700553

FEB 29 1944

To: Assistant Secretary of War McCloy
From: J. W. Pehle

This is the declaration which I talked to you about today.

I would appreciate it very much if you would get Secretary Stimson to sign the attached memorandum so that the memorandum can be signed by Secretary Morgenthau upon his return tomorrow and promptly submitted to the President.

(Signed) J.W. Pehle

JWP:mgt 2/29/44

JWP

000554

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

February 28, 1944

*File
for files*

Dear John,

I have just tried to reach you on the telephone, and in your absence from town will drop you this note as I know you will wish to know promptly that the State Department is ready to approve the declaration. I am sending this to you by special messenger.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,



Mr. John Pehle
Treasury Department
Washington, D. C.

000555

Feb. 25, 1944

Mr. Stettinius

J. W. Pehle

Attached is the new draft of the proposed Declaration by the President. I will check with you on this on Monday morning and I hope we can move forward then as I consider it of the utmost importance and urgency.

(initials) J. W. Pehle

Attachment

JWP
JWP:lh 2/25/44

000556

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

*7/11
for
files*

February 25, 1944

Dear John,

Thank you for having sent me
copies of the resolution, which I
have sent forward to Mr. Hull by
airmail tonight.

Sincerely yours,



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

000557

REPLY OF THE BOARD TO THE BRITISH EMBASSY

February 26, 1944

The War Refugee Board has considered the message recently received from the British Embassy at Washington inquiring as to the views of the United States Government with respect to the issuance of a new declaration by the United Nations concerning the continuing execution of the German policy of exterminating Jews in Europe.

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 prevail upon enemy-governments and particularly their subordinates and satellite governments to desist from persecution of the Jews and other minority groups in Europe.

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 the view of the Board that the leaders and people in Germany and in the satellite countries must 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. The Board believes that appropriate statements and representations should be pressed home to those to whom they are directed and should be issued under such circumstances as to achieve maximum effectiveness.

The reasoning of the Board is that a program of this character offers the best potentialities for saving thousands of lives. The number of persons who can be rescued despite the exit controls imposed by the enemy will be small in comparison to the number of persons who would be saved from death in the occupied areas if the policy of enemy governments could be changed. Obviously no step can be left untaken which might serve to change this policy or to weaken the will of their functionaries and subordinates to carry it out.

The Board having considered the comment of the British Government with respect to the ineffectiveness of the 1942 declaration, points out that the 1942 declaration was issued at a time when Germany had high hopes of victory. In contrast a declaration issued when Germany and the satellite governments know that they have lost the war has infinitely greater potentialities. Further, the Board lacked sufficient information for full understanding of the comment of the British Government that the 1942 declaration seemed to indicate to the Germans a means whereby they could distress and embarrass the Allies.

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In its view no embarrassment can possibly result to United Nations governments, participating in such a declaration under discussion, determined to do all in their power to prevent the murder of Jews. The Board has confidence that action on the projects currently under discussion between the British and United States Governments will serve to press this determination home effectively to the Germans.

The issuance of such a declaration is under active consideration by the War Refugee Board and when a decision has been reached the British Government will be informed. In the event that an affirmative decision is taken by the Government of the United States, the British Government may wish to reconsider the position stated in the message under discussion in order that they may take parallel action.

000559

MEMORANDUM

The War Refugee Board has considered the message recently received from the British Embassy at Washington inquiring as to the views of the United States Government with respect to the issuance of a new declaration by the United Nations concerning the continuing execution of the German policy of exterminating Jews in Europe.

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 prevail upon enemy-governments and particularly their subordinates and satellite governments to desist from persecution of the Jews and other minority groups in Europe.

The War Refugee Board has under active consideration the issuance by this Government of a strong declaration relating

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relating specifically to the murder of the Jews. It is the view of the Board that the leaders and people in Germany and in the satellite countries must 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. The Board believes that appropriate statements and representations should be pressed home to those to whom they are directed and should be issued under such circumstances as to achieve maximum effectiveness.

The reasoning of the Board is that a program of this character offers the best potentialities for saving thousands of lives. The number of persons who can be rescued despite the exit controls imposed by the enemy will be small in comparison to the number of persons who would be saved from death in the occupied areas if the policy of enemy governments could be changed. Obviously no step can be left untaken which might serve to change this policy or to weaken the will of their functionaries and subordinates to

carry

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carry it out.

The Board having considered the comment of the British Government with respect to the ineffectiveness of the 1942 declaration, points out that the 1942 declaration was issued at a time when Germany had high hopes of victory. In contrast a declaration issued when Germany and the satellite governments know that they have lost the war has infinitely greater potentialities. Further, the Board lacked sufficient information for full understanding of the comment of the British Government that the 1942 declaration seemed to indicate to the Germans a means whereby they could distress and embarrass the Allies. In its view no embarrassment can possibly result to United Nations governments, participating in such a declaration under discussion, determined to do all in their power to prevent the murder of Jews. The Board has confidence that action on the projects currently under discussion between the British and United States Governments will serve to press this determination home effectively to the Germans.

The issuance of such a declaration is under active

consideration.

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consideration by the War Refugee Board and when a decision has been reached the British Government will be informed.

In the event that an affirmative decision is taken by the Government of the United States, the British Government may wish to reconsider the position stated in the message under discussion in order that they may take parallel action.

Department of State,

Washington,

862.4016/2310

WRB:GLW:KG 2/26/44

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SWP

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000563

Declaration
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

~~VISA DIVISION~~

MEMORANDUM

February 21, 1944

To: War Refugee Board - Mr. J. E.
DuBois, Jr.

From: Mr. G. L. Warren

Attached are two copies of the draft memorandum to the British Embassy about which I spoke with you over the phone on Saturday.

C

T. G. Clarke

WRB:GLW:MCC:KG

000564

TQ:

FILES - Room 194

Here are extra copies of the reply actually given to the British Embassy back in February on the question of whether or not the Board proposed to issue a statement on atrocities against the Jews. You may recall that your files did not have this statement: in the Bible we had to use the reply proposed to State (appearing as attachment #3 to V A - 1). We have now obtained from the State Department the attached copy of the reply actually made.

KC
K Cohn

000565

Draft Memorandum to British Embassy

February 19, 1944

The War Refugee Board has considered the message recently received from the British Embassy at Washington inquiring as to the views of the United States Government with respect to the issuance of a new declaration by the United Nations concerning the continuing execution of the German policy of exterminating Jews in Europe.

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 prevail upon enemy-governments and particularly their subordinates and satellite governments, to desist from persecution of the Jews and other minority groups in Europe.

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 the view of the Board that the leaders and people in Germany and in the satellite countries must 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

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responsible will be punished. The Board believes that appropriate statements and representations should be pressed home to those to whom they are directed and should be issued under such circumstances as to achieve maximum effectiveness.

The reasoning of the Board is that a program of this character offers the best potentialities for saving thousands of lives. The number of persons who can be rescued despite the exit controls imposed by the enemy will be small in comparison to the number of persons who would be saved from death in the occupied areas if the policy of enemy governments could be changed. Obviously we must leave no stone unturned in our efforts to change it or to weaken the will of their functionaries and subordinates to carry it out.

The Board having considered the comment of the British Government with respect to the ineffectiveness of the 1942 declaration points out that the 1942 declaration was issued at a time when Germany had high hopes of victory. In contrast a declaration issued when Germany and the satellite governments know that they have lost the war has infinitely greater potentialities. Further, the Board lacked sufficient information for full understanding of the comment of the British Government that

the 1942

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the 1942 declaration seemed to indicate to the Germans a means whereby they could distress and embarrass the Allies. In its view no embarrassment can possibly result to United Nations governments, participating in such a declaration under discussion, determined to do all in their power to prevent the murder of Jews. The Board has confidence that action on the projects currently under discussion between the British and United States Governments will serve to press this determination home effectively to the Germans.

The issuance of such a declaration is under active consideration by the War Refugee Board. When a decision has been reached the British Government will be informed, and will be given an opportunity to participate in the issuance of a joint declaration or to issue, if it so desires, a separate statement.

WRB:GLWarren:HOP

000568

~~Secret~~
Letter Geneva 7
1 August 2/26/44
with this
change
to last
page.

In the event that such a declaration is issued by the Government of the United States, the British Government may wish to reconsider the position stated in the message under discussion in order that they may take parallel action.

000569

Draft Memorandum to British Embassy

February 19, 1944

The War Refugee Board has considered the message recently received from the British Embassy at Washington inquiring as to the views of the United States Government with respect to the issuance of a new declaration by the United Nations concerning the continuing execution of the German policy of exterminating Jews in Europe.

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 prevail upon enemy-governments and particularly their subordinates and satellite governments, to desist from persecution of the Jews and other minority groups in Europe.

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 the view of the Board that the leaders and people in Germany and in the satellite countries must 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

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responsible will be punished. The Board believes that appropriate statements and representations should be pressed home to those to whom they are directed and should be issued under such circumstances as to achieve maximum effectiveness.

The reasoning of the Board is that a program of this character offers the best potentialities for saving thousands of lives. The number of persons who can be rescued despite the exit controls imposed by the enemy will be small in comparison to the number of persons who would be saved from death in the occupied areas if the policy of enemy governments could be changed. Obviously we must leave no stone unturned in our efforts to change it or to weaken the will of their functionaries and subordinates to carry it out.

The Board having considered the comment of the British Government with respect to the ineffectiveness of the 1942 declaration points out that the 1942 declaration was issued at a time when Germany had high hopes of victory. In contrast a declaration issued when Germany and the satellite governments know that they have lost the war has infinitely greater potentialities. Further, the Board lacked sufficient information for full understanding of the comment of the British Government that

the 1942

000571

the 1942 declaration seemed to indicate to the Germans a means whereby they could distress and embarrass the Allies. In its view no embarrassment can possibly result to United Nations governments, participating in such a declaration under discussion, determined to do all in their power to prevent the murder of Jews. The Board has confidence that action on the projects currently under discussion between the British and United States Governments will serve to press this determination home effectively to the Germans.

The issuance of such a declaration is under active consideration by the War Refugee Board, ^{and} when a decision has been reached the British Government will be informed, and will be given an opportunity to participate in the issuance of a joint declaration or to issue, if it so desires, a separate statement.

WNB:OLWarren:HOP

000572

In the event that ^{an affirmative decision is taken} ~~such a declaration is issued~~ by the Government of the United States the British Government may wish to reconsider the position stated in the message under discussion in order that they may take parallel action.

000573

In the event that such a declaration is issued by the Government of the United States the British Government may wish to reconsider the position stated in the message under discussion in order that they may take parallel action.

000574

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

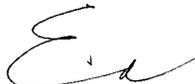
February 23, 1944

Dear John:

I have sent memorandums to Mr. Dunn and Mr. Warren following the lines of our discussion yesterday and the drafts which you left with me. I am also taking up in the Department the draft of the proposed Declaration by the President and will communicate with you on that as soon as possible.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,


Acting Secretary

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



000575

Official File Copy

February 23, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES:

I discussed in some detail with Mr. McCloy and Mr. Bundy today the proposed declaration by the President.

McCloy said his first impression was that the declaration would be improved if it were made a little "less lurid". I told him that this could be easily remedied. McCloy said that Secretary Stimson was out of town and it would not be easy to clear the matter with him prior to his return on Monday. He said that I was authorized to tell Stettinius that he was in agreement with the declaration provided some of the overtone could be eliminated.

Bundy said he wanted to be sure this Government was already committed to the punishment of war criminals who committed atrocities of the nature referred to. I told him I was sure we were but said I would check the Moscow Atrocity Statement.


J. W. Fehle

000576

Feb. 22, 1944

Lt. Col. A. H. Thompson

J. W. Pehle

Pursuant to the conversation which I had with you yesterday, there is transmitted herewith a ~~proposed declaration~~ draft of a policy directive on the forestalling of the Nazi plans to exterminate all the Jews and other persecuted minorities of Europe.

Also attached is a copy of the United Nations Declaration issued on December 17, 1942.

Your cooperation in pushing forward actively on this matter will be appreciated.

I am sending copies of this memorandum and its enclosures to Mr. Frederickson.

(Signed) J. W. Pehle

correction dictated to
Thompson's office
9:50 a.m. - 2/23/44

right

Attachments

cc: Mr. Frederickson, Room 3540 Social Security Bldg.
Mr. Kuhn

JWP
JWPehle:lh 2/22/44

000577

February 22, 1944

1. On January 22, 1944, President Roosevelt created a War Refugee Board, consisting of the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Secretary of War, to take all possible action immediately to forestall the plan of the Nazis to exterminate the Jews and other persecuted minorities of Europe.

Every possible opportunity should be utilized to bring home to the peoples in German controlled Europe the significance of this concrete step and to keep these peoples constantly informed of the activities of this Government and other members of the United Nations designed to save the Jews and other persecuted minorities from death. Our objective is to convince these peoples that we mean business in this matter and are determined to do all in our power to thwart the Nazi program.

2. Extermination of the Jews. It is essential that we make clear to the leaders and particularly the people in Germany and Germany's satellites that this Government and other members of the United Nations are outraged over the policy being followed by the Nazis with respect to the Jews. The Nazis are singling out these people for murder solely because they are Jews. We must make certain that we also single out our condemnation of this nefarious crime.

We should constantly make known to the people in German-controlled Europe the gory details of this program of extermination of the Jews in Europe. We must make it clear that the guilty will be punished and that persons who stock the human cattle trains of France, Belgium, Holland, etc., are equally guilty with the executioners in Poland. This warning should be constantly repeated, and the people in Germany and in the satellite countries should be called upon to demonstrate by their actions that they have no part in this crime. They should be asked to do what they can to save these people. They should also be asked to keep track of the evidence which can be used to convict those who are guilty and to acquit those who are blameless.

At the same time that we thus make clear our determination to punish the guilty, we must also make clear our determination to do all we can to aid the escape of the Jews and other victims of Nazi persecution. We should make clear that we are prepared to find havens of refuge for these people should they escape. We should call upon the neutral countries of Europe to cooperate in letting these people across their borders.

JED:JWP:lhh 2/22/44

000578

COPY

December 17th, 1942

UNITED NATIONS DECLARATION

The attention of the Belgian, Czechoslovak, Greek, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norwegian, Polish, Soviet, United Kingdom, United States and Yugoslav Governments and also of the French National Committee has been drawn to numerous reports from Europe that the German authorities not content with denying to persons of Jewish race in all the territories over which their barbarous rule has been extended, the most elementary human rights, are now carrying into effect Hitler's oft-repeated intention to exterminate the Jewish people in Europe.

From all the occupied countries Jews are being transported in conditions of appalling horror and brutality to Eastern Europe. In Poland, which has been made the principal Nazi slaughterhouse, the ghettos established by the German invader are being systematically emptied of all Jews except a few highly skilled workers required for war industries. None of those taken away are ever heard of again. The able-bodied are slowly worked to death in labor camps. The infirm are left to die of exposure and starvation or are deliberately massacred in mass executions. The number of victims of these bloody cruelties is reckoned in many hundreds of thousands of entirely innocent men, women and children.

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

000579

WU37 17 GOVT COLLECT

TDVY BOCAGRANDE FLO FEB 21 255P 1944

SECRETARY OF TREASURY

ATTENTION JOHN PEHLE, YOUR LETTER OF 19TH AT HAND
APPROVE YOUR SUGGESTION CONTAINED IN SAID LETTER

HENRY MORGENTHAU JR.

420P.

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000580

February 19, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY:

Pursuant to your request I am attaching hereto a brief memorandum on the developments since Sunday, February 13.

I am also attaching a declaration which we propose that the President issue, dealing specifically with the Nazi extermination of the Jews. At this stage of the war, if we can convince the people in Germany and particularly in the satellite countries, of the seriousness with which we view this matter, we have a chance of saving many of these people from death. It would be our recommendation that the President issue this declaration immediately and we would then request the other members of the United Nations to issue similar declarations. It is our considered judgment that the issuance of this declaration by the President, followed by an intensive campaign designed to make the people in German-controlled Europe understand its meaning, may result in the saving of untold lives.

If you are in agreement with this declaration, and with our view that it should be issued by the President at once without prior consultation with other members of the United Nations, I would appreciate it if you would telegraph me immediately to that effect. I will then attempt to get the approval of Stettinius (Hull will be away for about two more weeks) and thereafter the clearance of the War Department. The declaration would then be submitted to the President over the signatures of the three Board members or their alternates.

151 J. W. Pahl

JWP:mgt 2/19/44

JWP

000581

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
WAR REFUGEE BOARD
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

*Not used
since E.S.
preferred
signature
Loraine
J.P.*

There is submitted herewith for your signature a declaration on the Nazi extermination of the Jews.

At this stage of the war, if we can convince the people in Germany, and particularly the satellite countries, of the seriousness with which we view this matter, we have a chance of saving many of these people from death.

This declaration is a natural followup to the general statement on the punishment of atrocities issued at the Moscow Conference. Although the United Nations Declaration of December 17, 1942, dealt specifically with the crime against the Jews, a forceful declaration issued now, 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 Office of War Information, which is cooperating with the War Refugee Board in bringing home to the peoples in German controlled Europe the fact that we mean business in this matter, has stated that the issuance of this declaration would be a tremendous help in making this program a success.

Since time is of the essence, it is recommended that you issue this declaration immediately and we will then request the other members of the United Nations to issue similar declarations.

It is our considered judgment that the issuance of this declaration by you, followed by an intensive campaign designed to make the people in German controlled Europe understand its meaning, may result in the saving of many hundreds of thousands of lives.

000582

- 2 -

This declaration has been cleared with Mr. Hull, Mr. Morgenthau, and Mr. McCloy and it is recommended it be signed and issued at once. The declaration has also been reviewed by Stephen Early who made certain suggestions which have been adopted.

Enclosure

000583

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

There is submitted herewith for your signature a declaration on the Nazi extermination of the Jews.

At this stage of the war, if we can convince the people in Germany, and particularly the satellite countries, of the seriousness with which we view this matter, we have a chance of saving many of these people from death.

This declaration is a natural followup to the general statement on the punishment of atrocities issued at the Moscow Conference. Although the United Nations Declaration of December 17, 1942, dealt specifically with the crime against the Jews, a forceful declaration issued now, 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.

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It is our considered judgment that the issuance of this declaration by you, followed by an intensive campaign designed to make the people in German controlled Europe understand its meaning, may result in the saving of many hundreds of thousands of lives.

000584

This declaration has been cleared with Mr. Hull, Mr. Morgenthau, and Mr. McCloy and it is recommended it be signed and issued at once. The declaration has also been reviewed by Stephen Early who made certain suggestions which have been adopted.

Enclosure

not used

Just

000585