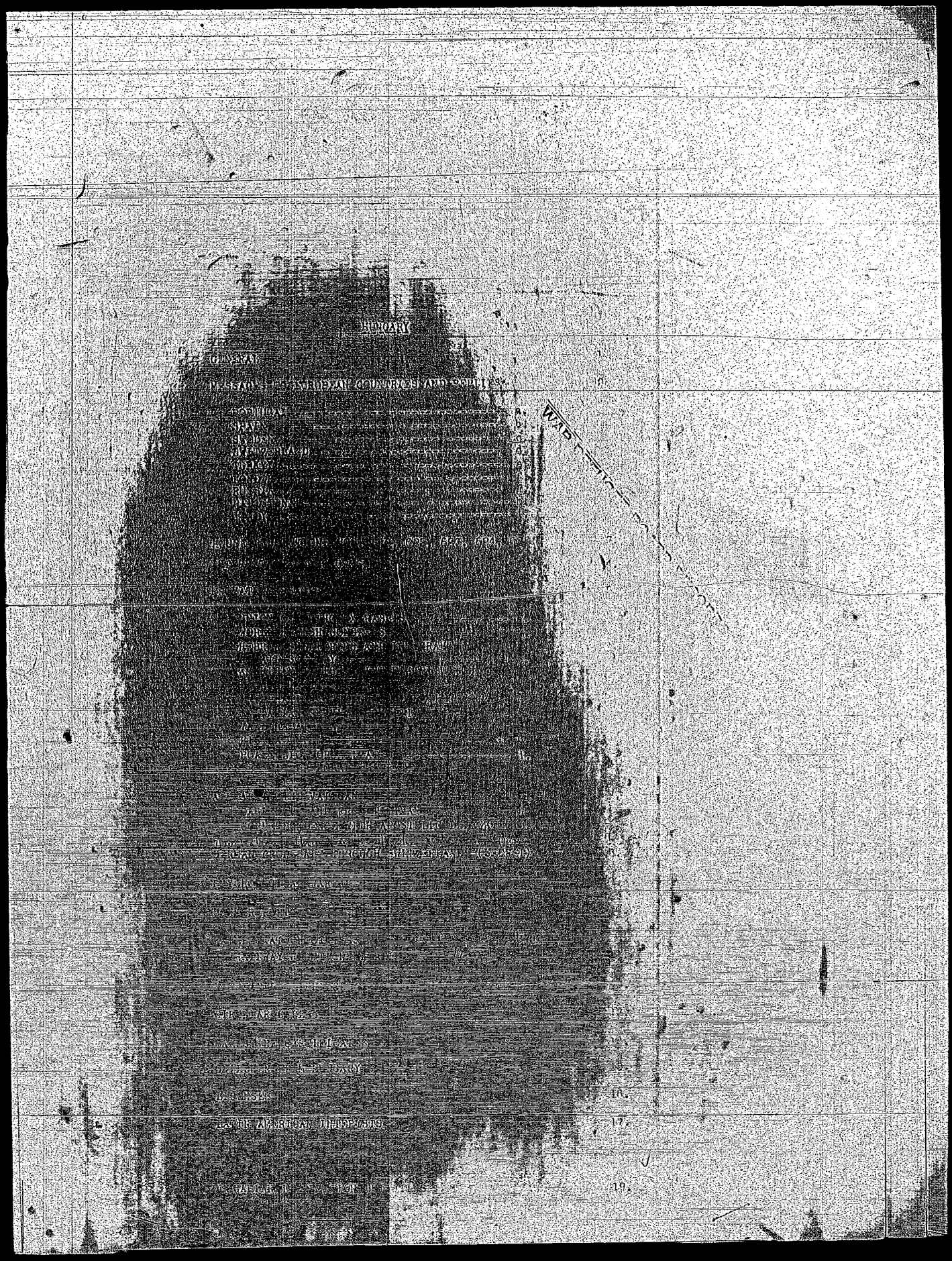
Measures Directed Toward Halting Persecution Hungary Vol. 1, Folder 1



REPORTS TRANSMITTED BY McCLELLAND [illegible]

EMIGRATION OF 9,000 JEWS FROM HUNGARY 21.

REPORT TRANSMITTED TO SECRETARY MORGENTHAU
FROM ARTHUR GOODHART [illegible]

FORCED MARCH OF HUNGARIAN JEWS [illegible]
[illegible] LABOR SERVICE

[illegible]

HUNGARIAN MATERIAL SENT FROM WRB OFFICE IN TURKEY 25.

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HUNGARY

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File Hungary

MEMORANDUM

I

There is general agreement among those who know the situation in Hungary that it is impossible to help out of Hungary its 800,000 Hungarian and 100,000 foreign Jews, who, until March 20, found tolerable and secure refuge there, or any substantial number of them. There will be only a few, certainly not many thousands, who may brave the dangers and risks of flight and reach territories under the control of the Russians beyond the Carpathians or of Tito and Michailovitch.

Therefore action for the rescue of the Hungarian Jews must be directed to their support within Hungary and to the improvement of their chance for survival there.

This chance for survival can be improved, among other ways, by increasing the determination or willingness of non-Jewish Hungarians to expose themselves to the dangers and risks connected with the aiding of the persecuted. In Hungary the proportion of Jews and their absolute number are so high that the Germans will probably be unable to push them out of economic life, to deprive them of their living quarters and livelihood, unless they succeed in getting active support from the Hungarians, especially from the lower

and medium rank bureaucrats. The Nazis might have exchanged the ranking civil servants but the mass of the administrative personnel are holding their positions. These are the people on whom will depend ultimately the survival of the great majority of Jewry in Hungary.

It is therefore the task of propaganda to find its way to these people, to talk their language, to appeal to their sentiments. We ask ourselves, therefore, what was the American propaganda policy until March 20, 1944, and shall it be continued?

II

The OWI broadcasts (Voice of America) rebroadcast from London, the listening to which was not only free and unprohibited in Hungary, but could be technically achieved with the help of the cheapest radio set, proclaimed and preached daily that on account of her claims for the revision of the Trianon Treaty, the Hungarian Government and the Hungarian people alike were responsible for the world war because treaty revision meant attack against the world order. The same broadcasts telling the Hungarian people that they were accomplices of the German Nazis emphasized that Hungary was the only country where there was no underground resistance and sabotage, which made Hungarians more responsible for the acts of Hitler and of their own government than other peoples.

Moreover, when the lack of collaboration could not be left unmentioned, Hungarian listeners of the Voice of America were told that such attempts at resistance were not much to their credit, as they were parts of a well-schemed double game actuated by a desire to have one foot on each side of the fence.

III

This propaganda line was not very apt to strengthen, encourage and maintain Hungarian resistance. There is no Hungarian who would not take the attack on Hungarian claims for the revision of the Trianon Treaty as meant for him, since in Hungary rich and poor, landowner and peasant, employer and workman, bureaucrats, professional men, adults and children - all social classes - had one thing in common, that it would be against reason, morality and justice to acquiesce in the separation of three and a half million Hungarians from their mother country and their oppression by people of mostly inferior civilization. Every Hungarian thinks that it is his moral duty to maintain the desire for plebiscites, reparation and peaceful change.

Also, every Hungarian knew that the recrimination for lack of underground resistance and sabotage was frivolous and unjustified, since the Hungarian "overground" resistance was infinitely stronger, more efficient and more substantial than underground movements in the neighboring countries could

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ever be.

Let us review what these underground movements have been achieving in the Central European countries:

(a) Threatening or "liquidating" the local collaborators. [In Hungary this was not necessary since the Hungarian Government put the Hungarian Nazis in jail.]

(b) Publicizing and disseminating Allied news. [This was done in Hungary not by underground leaflets but by seven Hungarian daily papers with a circulation reaching every house in the country. The two leading pro-Allied papers increased their circulation five-fold, and the Hungarian Government provided the newsprint.]

(c) Publication and dissemination of speeches of President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, Marshal Stalin, and other Allied statesmen, and the publication of American and English books dealing with war and related problems. [All this was done in Hungary publicly. Willkie's "One World" in Hungarian translation was a record-breaking best-seller in 1943, and was distributed in cheap editions.]

(d) Listening to Allied broadcasts. [This was not prohibited in Hungary and was done openly.]

(e) Supporting refugees from other countries. [In Hungary 50,000 to 70,000 Poles, many thousands of Anti-Nazi Austrians, Serbs and Italians, and 100,000 foreign Jews found safe haven in Hungary with the help of the Government. The Polish and Austrian resistance movements had important

centers in Budapest.]

(f) Counteracting Nazi propaganda against democratic ideas. [In Hungary the Social Democratic Party and the Small Farmers Party held public meetings all over the country where democracy and democratic ideas were explained, preached and extolled.]

(g) Preventing or hampering deliveries of goods to Germany. [Hungary, according to The London Economist, was the only country in Europe which succeeded in restricting deliveries to Germany to the amount of return deliveries made by the Germans.]

IV

Returning to the situation of the Jews: 800,000 of them had tolerably secure life in Hungary. This was so in spite of Nazi pressure and without encouragement from American propaganda. Hungarians did not seem to need praise or promises in order to abstain from joining the Germans, Slovaks and Roumanians in the persecution of Jews. The reason for this is the nature of the Hungarian people. To quote from a book by one of the leading anti-Hungarian propagandists explaining why, in the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, it was in Hungary that anti-Semitism was the least prevalent:

"One reason was surely the sober and benevolent character of the Hungarian peasants, devoid of any religious or

racial fanaticism, somewhat analogous to the Confucian type of philosophy which was based on agriculture, order and tradition."

Let us contrast this with a statement by the Secretary of State in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Czechoslovakia, according to whom, "In Slovakia anti-Semitism was native to the soil, and not entirely due to German pressure" (Gedye, "Foreign Bastions", p. 516).

V

After the occupation of Hungary by the Germans, the natural tendency of Hungarians for tolerance and humanitarian behavior will not be sufficient to afford a chance for survival to Jewry in Hungary. The destruction of the Jews need not be carried out by Hungarians. It will be planned and ordered by Veehsemayer, "the trustee of the German Reich in Hungary", by the Gestapo, by the 700,000 Hungarian Germans organized in Nazi units, and by the Hungarian Nazis who were kept under control (and some of them in jail) until March 20.

If the Hungarians remain passive and perform their duties under the law, these bandits will be able to execute their devilish schemes. The Hungarian Jews may, however, be saved with the active cooperation of Hungarian civil servants, soldiers, police staff and peasants. They must be spurred on to active cooperation with the Jews and passive resistance against the Gestapo.

VI

It cannot be hoped or supposed that Hungarians will brave the threats and dangers of the Gestapo and the Hungarian Quislings if the Voice of America continues the propaganda policy outlined above. The Hungarians are very patriotic and are aware of the fatal situation in which they are today. Since March 20, the Nazis have kept the country occupied; they have taken away everything that can be moved; they have made the country pay the "expenses" of the occupation army and feed the Nazis. The Hungarians know that their political leaders are being imprisoned and murdered; that their newspapers have been suppressed. No great encouragement is necessary to spur a proud nation into resistance against such brutal oppression but some ray of hope must reach them that the merits of their policies have been understood and if continued they can count on justice and recognition.

We recommend that the Hungarians not only be promised recognition if they go over now to passive resistance, underground work and sabotage, but that the American propaganda give full credit for the achievements of their resistance prior to March 20, 1944.

SUMMARY REPORT OF THE ACTIVITIES OF THE WAR REFUGEE BOARD WITH RESPECT TO THE JEWS IN HUNGARY

Prior to Germany's military occupation of Hungary on March 19, 1944, and the reconstitution of the Hungarian Government as a Nazi puppet, Hungary was the only refuge for Jews in Axis Europe. Although anti-Jewish laws had been on the Hungarian statute-books since as early as 1938, their enforcement and the condition of the Jews in Hungary were such as to invite the clandestine immigration of tens of thousands of Jews from Poland, Slovakia and Rumania, and the Jewish population of Hungary was swelled to over 800,000. The refugees were cared for by the native Jewish population who tried to see to it that no large numbers of newcomers congregated in any one place. However that may be, the movement was so large that the conclusion is inescapable that it was known to and connived at by the Hungarian authorities. During the first month of the Board's existence, the clandestine movement of Jews from Poland and Slovakia into Hungary still continued and the Board facilitated the efforts of private agencies to increase the traffic. During the same period, Hungary was also envisaged as an important source of food for the International Red Cross and other relief organizations to distribute to persecuted groups in concentration camps in German-controlled areas. On the Board's recommendation, Treasury licenses were issued to permit purchases of Hungarian foodstuffs for such purpose.

There were, however, lapses in the Hungarian Government's passive attitude. Thus, it was reported that during 1941 a substantial number of Jews from Poland and Hungarian-born Jews of Polish origin but of uncertain

nationality were in part deported to Poland and in part detained in concentration camps. It was also reported that in December, 1943, the Germans began to press Hungary to adopt a stricter anti-Jewish policy. Late in February, 1944, reports reached the Board that Hungary was yielding to German pressure to deport foreign Jews and to close its borders to refugees from Poland and elsewhere. Consequently, on March 7, 1944, the American legations at Bern and Lisbon were instructed to communicate to Hungarian authorities, through channels known to be available, a message expressing this Government's disapproval of such persecution and warning them of the consequences thereof. In part, this message read:

> .....the Government of the United States is aware that .....[the Hungarian Government is] pursuing programs of persecuting.....Jewish minorities and refugees of other nationalities who have escaped into.....[its] territories. This persecution consists among other forms in sending such refugees beyond the borders.....into Poland where they undergo various forms of cruelty and even death, dictated by Nazi degeneracy. Still another form of persecution consists in preventing the refugees from escaping to neutral countries where their lives may be saved.
>
> The Government of the United States is determined to do everything it can to rescue such unfortunates who are in danger of losing their lives and to find for them havens of refuge. Any continuation by.....[the Hungarian Government] of the execution of these policies of Hitlerite persecutions is viewed with great seriousness by this Government and will be kept in mind. The President, in establishing the War Refugee Board, recently restated unequivocably the position of the United States Government in this matter.....The Government of the United States takes the view that.....[the Hungarian Government], as well as.....[its] subordinates and functionaries, are fully responsible for the actions of persecution committed on their territories and in the interests of humanity they should desist immediately. Moreover, they should be informed that in their own interest they will be well advised to take advantage in the future of such opportunities as may be available to them to allow refugees to depart across their borders into territories of any neutral countries which may be prepared to receive them."

On March 11, we were advised by our Minister at Lisbon that this message had been delivered to appropriate Hungarian authorities. A similar response was later received from our Minister at Bern.

On March 19, however, the German military occupied Hungary and the following days witnessed the creation of a Nazi puppet government, one of whose avowed purposes was to make Hungary "Judenrein".

On March 24, the President publicly condemned the Nazi policy of exterminating Jews and other civilian populations. He made particular reference to Hungary and warned that all those who took any part in such persecutions would be punished for their crimes. He called upon the decent people in Nazi Europe to assist the victims of persecutions in their efforts to hide and escape. This statement of the President was broadcasted from United Nations and neutral radio stations in whole or in part for many weeks. It was dropped in leaflet form from the air over Hungary and other Axis controlled countries.

On the theory that the presence of foreigners in official or unofficial capacities might have a deterrent effect, the Board, under date of March 25, requested the International Red Cross to "send effective representation to Hungary in order to protect the well-being of groups facing persecution". Under date of April 13, the following reply was received through the American legation at Bern:

> In order to give it more efficacy the International Committee has as a matter of fact concerned itself for some time in enlarging its delegation at Budapest. For the time being it has not considered sending to Hungary a special delegation with instructions to assume the particular protection to which the State Department's message referred since under the present circumstances such mission might be considered as unrelated to the committee's traditional and conventional competence.

The International Committee shall continue to devote its entire attention to all categories of war victims as it has in the past without intruding into the domestic policy of any of those states and the War Refugee Board as well as all the humanitarian and government institutions of several belligerent states can rest assured of this. Within full scope which circumstances demand and according to means placed at its disposal it shall always attempt to broaden and increase its action along its own line of activities in favor of those victims.

The aid of the Holy See was also enlisted. Thus on March 24, the Board wrote the Apostolic Delegate in Washington:

> Recent events have brought new tragedy to millions of people in Hungary and Rumania. The occupation of these countries by German military forces will spell added persecution, if not transportation and death, to nearly two million Jews unless the people and such native regimes as may continue to exist take measures to protect them. Consequently, the War Refugee Board earnestly seeks your good offices in presenting to the Holy See the suggestion that action by the Holy See, through the Nuncios or otherwise, may be effective to foster and facilitate the adoption of such measures of protection. The War Refugee Board is cognizant of the Holy See's deep interest in the welfare of these unfortunate people and ventures to hope that the Holy See will be able to take all appropriate action.

The following day the Delegate replied:

> It is a pleasure to inform you that I have already sent a communication to His Eminence, the Cardinal Secretary of State, invoking every possible assistance by the Holy See, through its diplomatic representatives, the Bishops and clergy, that the lot of these unfortunates may be rendered less difficult.
>
> I am confident that the Holy Father personally, and the agencies of the Holy See will cooperate to the utmost in the humanitarian cause.

On April 1, the Cardinal Secretary of State informed the American representative and the British ambassador at the Vatican that instructions had already been given to the representatives of the Holy See in Hungary to do everything possible for the relief of the Jews.

In the meantime, reports continued to arrive that German pressure on Hungary was being intensified, and on April 12, a second informal warning was addressed to Hungarian authorities through the American Legation at Lisbon. The instruction read, in part, as follows:

> In view of the German military's reported operations in Hungary, we request that you again approach the channels to the Government of Hungary that are available to you and state again the position taken by this Government and make it clearly understood that in spite of the current pressure by the Nazis any action on the part of the Hungarian Government to inflict new and further persecutions or to continue existing persecutions designed against foreign or native Jews or the deportation to Germany itself or any territory controlled by Germany of foreign or native Jews will be considered by this Government with the greatest disfavor and will be taken into account at the end of the war.

On April 18, the Board was advised that this warning has been placed in proper channels for transmission to the government of Hungary.

In view of the rising tide of persecution, avenues for escape were explored. The most promising clandestine route at the time appeared to be through that portion of Yugoslav territory occupied by the partisan forces of Marshal Tito. Consequently, during the first week of April, 1944, one of the Board's representatives discussed at length the feasibility of such an escape route with representatives of Marshal Tito as well as American and British military authorities at Bari, Italy. On April 13, the American Minister to the Yugoslav Government-in-Exile, in Cairo, informed the Board that the British Government was also taking steps to contact Marshal Tito in this connection. On April 22, the Board informed the American Minister to Yugoslavia that it was "prepared to arrange for any assistance, including funds." On April 29, the Board was advised that

> support in rescuing Hungarian Jews has now been promised by Tito. He will aid them to escape and join his army or be evacuated whenever possible.

The possibility of escape through emigration was also explored, and the Turkish government was urged to facilitate the departure of Jews from Hungary by issuing Turkish transit visas in considerable numbers. There was some reason to believe that the holders of Turkish transit visas and Palestine immigration certificates might obtain Rumanian and Bulgarian transit visas.

On May 2, the efforts of the Board in this connection received a severe set-back. On that day, the U. S. Embassy at Ankara reported that

> the Turkish consul at Budapest had sent word that every Jew entering the Turkish consulate in Budapest was arrested as soon as he left and transported to an unknown place.

While pursuing its efforts to influence the Hungarian authorities by official and unofficial pressure, and to aid in the escape of Jews from Hungary, the Board did not neglect the possibility of enlisting the self-interest of individual German and Hungarian officials in a position to alleviate the fate of Jews. Thus on April 20, in cooperation with a private agency, steps were taken to establish contact with a mysterious person known only as "Willy" who was reported to have been successful in arresting the deportation of Jews from Slovakia. An intermediary in Switzerland was asked to explore with him the

> possibility of arranging for evacuations from Hungary to neutral countries or for holding up deportations or permitting sending relief to those detained. If any such arrangements possible, please indicate amounts you consider would be involved and extent to which such amounts could remain in neutral countries.

Another effort along such lines was made three months later with the assistance of a prominent Hungarian in this country.

On May 4, the Board was advised by the American embassy in London that the deportation of Jews from Hungary had begun and that 24,000 Hungarians had already been deported from Carpatho-Russia, in addition to an unknown number of Jewish refugees from Poland.

This report was rapidly followed by reports from other sources that the deportation of Jews from Hungary was being relentlessly pursued and with attendant brutalities.

On May 11, the American consulate in Jerusalem was requested to obtain from the Jewish Agency the names of Hungarian officials responsible for the persecution of Jews.

On May 17, the American embassy at Moscow was informed of the situation in Hungary and given the following instruction:

> Please endeavor to have Russian broadcasts in appropriate languages beamed on Germany and German-satellite countries transmit warnings to German and German-satellite military and civilian personnel carrying out deportation proceedings that they personally will be held responsible by the United Nations for their actions and the deaths that may result from deportation. Please also approach the Foreign Office in an attempt to have it use its influence upon the satellite governments and populations by all possible means to cause their resistance to German demands for the deportation and persecution of minority groups under their control.
>
> For your information, the OWI transmitters are carrying similar warnings and the American Embassy, London, is being requested to make similar approaches to the Ministry of Information and the Foreign Office.

A similar instruction was sent to the American embassy in London.

Under date of May 25, the following information and suggestions were cabled by our Minister at Bern:

According to all reliable information unmistakably steps are being taken preparatory to massive deportation and extermination of the Jewish population especially in Carpatho-Russian and Maramaros regions. The number of people immediately involved is about 200,000 and the action shows every sign of being extended to the Jewish population in Hungary proper.

This action has all the namelessly tragic and brutal earmarks of similar actions carried out in Poland by the Nazis and their henchmen. It is being most savagely taken in northeastern Hungary.....

For all reliable reports - and this is even reflected in the Hungarian press especially in the provinces - the Hungarian population have not sympathized with such brutal anti-Jewish measures. On the contrary they have openly sided with the persecuted Jews and have continually attempted to aid these wretched souls by bringing them food and clothing.

On the other hand the Hungarian authorities have taken severe measures to isolate such concentration camps and to cut off all assistance from outside.....

The lot of these Jews in such improvised "camps" is wretched. Such cattle markets, tile factories and wood yards are almost completely devoid of sanitary facilities and in many instances thousands of men women children old and sick people are forced to live in the open under conditions of frightful crowding and promiscuity. They were permitted to take nothing with them in the way of blankets or covers and it becomes tragically obvious that a great many will die of exposure disease and slow starvation even before they are jammed 80 to 100 to a wagon into cattle cars for deportation.....

It is my urgent suggestion, in close collaboration with the War Refugee Board representative here, that the Government of the USSR be prevailed upon in regard to the purpose of the occupation of Hungary by the Nazis, to associate itself with the declaration of March 24 by President Roosevelt (Eden March 31). Since the Soviet armies are standing on the frontiers of Hungary and the fear of the Russians in the hearts of a large number of "collaborators" in Hungary is mortal, a declaration by the Soviet Union would have all the more weight.

The suggestion was cabled to our ambassador in Moscow on June 10.

Among other steps taken to ensure the safety of Jews in Hungary was the extension to Hungary of this Government's emphatic demand that persons in German-controlled territory holding documents issued in the name of any American republic, or otherwise claiming the nationality of an American republic on other grounds, be accorded all rights and privileges of such nationals, unless and until the government whose nationality is claimed denies the validity of such documents or claims. In the course of a prolonged exchange of communications with other American republics, this Government succeeded, on humanitarian grounds, in securing the consent of most of them to this procedure, and they agreed to postpone examination of such documents and claims until such time as the persons in question should no longer be subject to enemy persecution. Through the protecting powers of the American republics--Spain and Switzerland--Germany and Hungary were informed of these demands. Several thousands Polish and other Jews in Axis-held territory who, in an attempt to escape death, succeeded in obtaining documents of various Latin American countries, were the beneficiaries of this program. Although many of these "Latin American nationals" were made the victims of what the German Foreign Office, in one of its notes to Switzerland, described as "the general treatment accorded to Eastern-European Jews," a considerable number of such Jews have, nevertheless been enabled to survive by reason of this measure.

Further information regarding the situation in Hungary was requested of the European neutrals between May 20 and May 23, and, on

May 25 and 26 American missions in Ankara, Bern, Lisbon, Madrid and Stockholm were instructed as follows:

> Please represent to the ..... government that, according to persistent and seemingly authentic reports, systematic mass extermination of Jews in Hungary has begun. The lives of 800,000 human beings in Hungary may well depend on the restraint that may result from the presence in that country of the largest possible number of foreign observers. To this end, please urge appropriate authorities in the interest of most elementary humanity to take immediate steps to increase to the largest possible extent the number of .....diplomatic and consular personnel in Hungary and to distribute them as widely as possible throughout the country.
>
> It is hoped, of course, that all such diplomatic and consular representatives will use all means available to them to persuade individuals and officials to desist from further barbarisms.

Sweden agreed to comply with our request and appointed as its special attache to its Budapest legation a Swedish businessman who had already expressed his willingness to the Board's Stockholm representative to undertake a similar mission in his private capacity. The Swedish Foreign Office invited the board's suggestions as to the new attache's activities, and on July 7 the Board cabled its Stockholm representative:

> Since money and favorable post-war consideration may motivate action impeding, relaxing or slowing down tempo of persecution and facilitate escapes and concealments, it should be ascertained in what quarters such inducements may be effective.....If circumstances warrant funds will be made available at neutral bank for post-war use or in part in local currency now, procured against blocked counter-value here or in neutral bank.....Whenever a concrete proposal based on financial arrangements of substantial character or on favorable post-war consideration is broached, the matter should be referred to the Board for clearance,

which will require evidence of effectiveness and good faith in the meantime. In order to care for less substantial transactions a fund of $50,000 will be placed at Olsen's disposal which may be used in his discretion in addition to the fund already available to him for discretionary use.

The problem may be dealt with on various levels such as high official, low official and unofficial, central and local. In connection with unofficial channels an informed source suggests that ships and barges going down the Danube are generally empty and may afford a means of escape for a limited number of refugees in the guise of seamen or otherwise. Same source suggests that skippers can be approached on financial basis and crews through so-called communist channels. Board is also advised that railroad line from Budapest to Mohacs, said to be about ten miles from partisan-controlled Yugoslav territory, might afford similar opportunities if contacts made with trainmen through what are termed communist channels. Board further advised that Transylvania Unitarian Church, socialist and partisan groups may be in a position because of geographical situation and absence of real occupation to shelter refugees if they can reach that area. In addition, Board believes that Roman Catholic clergy and Nuncio may be helpful both in action and with advice.

With reference to high official channels exploration may be made of the possibility.....of evacuation of Jews and persons similarly situated belonging to specific groups such as (a) holders of Palestine certificates, (b) holders of visas for entry into neutral countries, (c) persons to whom the issuance of visas for entry into an American republic is authorized provided they appear personally therefor before a consular office in a neutral country, (d) persons holding passports or consular documents issued in the names of American republics, or who are under the protection of a neutral country.....(e) women and children, (f) aged and infirm men, and (g) parents, husbands, wives, children, etc., of American citizens.

You should advise..... [the new Swedish attache at Budapest] of the foregoing to the extent that you deem advisable and inform him that the same constitutes a general outline of a program which the Board believes can be pursued. While he cannot, of course, act as the Board's representative, nor purport to act in its name, he can, whenever advisable, indicate that as a Swede he is free to communicate with Stockholm where a representative of the Board is stationed. He may thus express his willingness to lay before the Board's representative specific proposals if in any particular case he should deem so doing to be advisable, or if by reason of the nature of the proposal Olsen's or the Board's approval is necessary.....

> [He] should consult with the representative of the International Red Cross and impress upon him the urgent need of increasing Intercross representation in Hungary and intercession in an effort to secure permission to visit and inspect concentration camps, ghettos and other places of detention. [He] might undertake also to see whether such permission might be granted him and his colleagues.....

The new Swedish attache assumed his duties with vigor and in addition to his efforts generally to alleviate the condition of Jews in Hungary, soon had a substantial number of persons under effective Swedish protection.

On May 26, the following message from the Government of the United States was cabled to Rome for delivery to the Cardinal Secretary of State:

> The wave of hate which has engulfed Europe and the consequent mass persecution, enslavement, deportation and slaughter of helpless men, women and children have, we know, sorely grieved His Holiness. We know also that His Holiness, with great compassion for the sufferings of a large portion of mankind has labored unceasingly to reinculcate a decent regard for the dignity of man. So, too, we know of His Holiness' tireless efforts to alleviate the lot of the persecuted, the hunted and the outcast. His Holiness, we are certain, is aware of the deep feeling of abhorrence which the persecutions, mass-deportations, enslavements and slaughters in France, Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Balkans, Norway and elsewhere have aroused in the American people. His Holiness, we are confident, is also aware of the deep concern of the Government of the United States with respect to these reversions to usages of ancient barbarism, and of its constant efforts to prevent their recurrence.
>
> In view of the common concern of the Holy See and the Government and people of the United States with such matters, we believe it appropriate to call to the Holy See's attention the seemingly authentic reports that the present authorities in Hungary have undertaken to persecute the 800,000 Jews in Hungary merely because they are Jews, and are planning their mass slaughter both in Hungary and after deportation to Poland. The Government of the United States has warned the authorities and people of Hungary of the material consequences that will follow the perpetration of such inhuman acts of barbarism. We believe, however, that it is both timely and fitting that

the Hungarian authorities and people should be reminded of the moral values involved and of the spiritual consequences that must flow from indulgence in the persecution and mass-murder of helpless men, women and children. To that end we earnestly suggest that His Holiness may find it appropriate to express himself on this subject to the authorities and people of Hungary, personally by radio and through the Nuncio and clergy in Hungary as well as through a representative of the Holy See specially despatched to Hungary for that purpose. His Holiness, we deeply hope, may find it possible to remind the authorities and people of Hungary, among whom great numbers profess spiritual adherence to the Holy See, of the spiritual consequences of such acts and of the ecclesiastic sanctions which may be applied to the perpetrators thereof.

On June 25 the Pope addressed a personal appeal to Regent Horthy.

It was learned from the Apostolic Delegate in Washington under date of July 24, that

the personal appeal of the Holy Father to Regent Horthy has led the latter to assume a more determined attitude of opposition to the racial laws. Likewise the members of the Catholic Hierarchy were encouraged to carry on a more intense activity in favor of victims of racial laws.

It seems that the Government of Hungary has now given assurance to His Eminence, Cardinal Seredi, Primate of Hungary, that deportations of Jewish people will cease. The Apostolic Nunciature adds that in fact the whole racial situation is somewhat improved.

In a direct effort to confront the Hungarian authorities with their responsibility for the treatment of Jews, the following instruction was sent on June 6 at the urgent request of the Board, to our legation at Bern:

In view of consistent neutral press reports carrying Berlin and Budapest date lines and other information to the effect that the eight hundred thousand Jews in Hungary are being segregated in ghettos and concentrated in camps, there seems little doubt that the pattern heretofore set in Poland and repeated elsewhere is again being followed. In an effort to develop means to forestall the effectuation of the ultimate ends of such program, that is mass-executions either before or after deportation, consideration has been given to the advisability of requesting the Swiss Government to address an inquiry on behalf of this Government to appropriate authorities

in Hungary asking them to state their intentions with respect to the future treatment to be accorded to Jews in ghettos and concentration camps and specifically whether they contemplate forced deportations to Poland or elsewhere or the imposition of discriminatory reductions in food rations, or the adoption of other measures which like those mentioned will be tantamount to mass-execution. At the same time, the Swiss government would be requested to remind the same authorities of the grave view that this Government takes with respect to the persecution of Jews and other minorities and of the determination of this Government to see to it that all those who share the responsibility for such acts are dealt with in accordance with the President's statement of March 24, 1944.

Please give the foregoing your most careful consideration and unless you are of the opinion that to do so would involve positive disadvantages you should proceed promptly to make the requests outlined above.

A note in the tenor indicated was transmitted to the Swiss Foreign Office on June 13, and was communicated to Hungarian officials two weeks later.

From the very outset of the German military occupation of Hungary, the Board cooperated closely with private agencies in organizing clandestine escapes. Thus, the Board made available to representatives of private rescue agencies in neutral countries the names and addresses of persons in Hungary who were believed, on the basis of available information in the United States, to be inclined and in a position to be of assistance. Every facility was extended for the transmission of private funds to finance such operations and the Board communicated to private agencies information concerning acceptable sources of pengo currency. The Board's representatives abroad were on the constant lookout for underground groups that might be of assistance and through their efforts arrangements were concluded between

such groups and private rescue agencies.

The Board also extended its facilities fully for the transmission of applications for the issuance of Palestine immigration certificates to people in Hungary and, after Rumania was induced to abandon the persecution of Jews as a national policy, the Board exerted pressure upon the Rumanian Government to permit the entry of Hungarian refugees. On June 2, the Prime Minister of Rumania advised the Rumanian Delegate to the International Red Cross that he might give formal assurances that Jewish refugees from Hungary would be allowed to enter Rumania notwithstanding formal declarations to the contrary, and that "their safety would be looked out for by the Rumanians".

In addition to the above steps, wide publicity over a period of many months was secured in Hungary, by radio and otherwise, for a series of warnings and appeals to the people of Hungary. These included the President's statement of March 24, statements by the members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, by the House Foreign Affairs Committee, by Archbishop Spellman of New York, by a group of representative leaders of American opinion headed by Governor Alfred E. Smith, and by Hungarian leaders in this country.

On July 6, our Minister to Stockholm advised us that the King of Sweden addressed a strong personal appeal to Admiral Horthy. Finally, on July 13 the Board was advised that as the result of persistent suggestions by the Board's representative and private organizations that the International Red Cross intervene in the Hungarian situation, Professor Huber, President of the International Red Cross, addressed a personal letter of protest to Admiral Horthy on July 6.

Meanwhile, the reports regarding the situation in Hungary became more alarming. On June 24, the American legation in Bern cabled the following information:

> Now there is no doubt that the majority of the Jewish population east of the Danube especially in eastern, northern, and north eastern Hungary has been deported to Poland. Further reliable information confirming this fact has come in in the course of the past two weeks from the following independent sources: (a) Swiss official employes just returned from Budapest, (b) Railway workers in Czech resistance movement, (c) other reliable secret source. Regard information as to sources as absolutely confidential since any publicity regarding them would endanger lives.
>
> Prior to the deportations, there were two weeks to a month of brutal concentration during which thousands of Jews were crowded together in primitive quarters with insufficient food, clothing and water, regardless of state of health, sex or age. The Hungarian gendarmerie on Laszlo Endre's orders largely carried out this action.....
>
> Some 350,000 Jews have already been concentrated in Budapest and environs. This began around June 16 and on the 21st it was to be finished. In the city proper they have been settled in requisitioned blocks of houses in a chess board pattern so that they will not escape bombardment.
>
> In an effort to check such continued deportations..... we recommend British and Soviet broadcasts and especially leaflets. If it is possible, the Vatican should be prevailed upon to associate itself with such protest.
>
> There is little doubt that many of these Hungarian Jews are being sent to the extermination camps of Auschwitz (Oswiecim) and Birkenau (Rajaka) in western upper Silesia where according to recent reports, since early summer 1942 at least 1,500,000 Jews have been killed. There is evidence that already in January 1944 preparations were being made to receive and exterminate Hungarian Jews in these camps. Soon a detailed report on these camps will be cabled.

On July 14, our Minister in Bern reported that, according to information received by him from the Swiss Foreign Office on July 6, some

250,000 Jews had been deported from Hungary.

Although it was at first reported that the deportations were being conducted by German authorities, on August 18, our legation in Stockholm informed us of reports from several sources that

> in the main the Hungarian police have themselves been the instrument for arresting and deporting Jews from Hungary under conditions which are tragically cruel.

In the same message, the legation related the following incident witnessed by a member of the Swedish legation in Budapest and related by him to a friend in Stockholm, one of the most prominent personalities in Sweden:

> Approximately 20,000 Hungarian Jews, children, men and women, had been concentrated in the open air for 4 or 5 days with nothing even to sit on except the ground. Then they had been herded into boxcars 80 persons per car, the car then nailed up and sent off to foreign destinations. The people are packed in the cars like sardines with no possibility of sitting or even moving. Many must have been dead on arrival. The friend was specifically asked by this source if the Germans were instrumental in this operation and he was assured by his friend that the people handling this affair were not Germans but Hungarian Gerdarmes.

In a message of August 22 concerning that incident the American legation at Stockholm identified the place as Budakalasz. The message added that

> the informant was particularly impressed by the ruthless demeanor of Hungarian gendarmes. They were described by him as bloodthirsty as the Gestapo of Germany. Jews old, young and children, male and female were herded into boxcars by gendarmes who drove them on with rifle butts and a whip was even used by one gendarme.
>
> From Jewish girls of Hungary now in Hamburg and other places soldiers of Germany have brought back messages to Budapest to their friends. After having been deported from Hungary these girls have been turned over to German armed forces and wear armbands inscribed war harlot (kriegshure).
>
> In provincial Hungary, camps of Jews were emptied before a halt was made to deportations by officials of Hungary. As a rule while the camps were still operating

they were managed by Hungarian personnel aided by an SS adviser thought competent in giving instructions in competent managing of Jews to the Hungarians.

In view of persistent Hungarian denials of the complicity of Hungarian officials in the commission of atrocities (see Hungarian note transmitted by American legation in Bern under date of August 5, below), our legation in Bern was instructed on August 25 to request the Swiss Government to bring this incident and other reports of Hungarian participation in atrocities to the attention of appropriate Hungarian authorities.

On July 19, the American legation at Bern cabled as follows:

> A note from the Foreign Office, dated yesterday, states that according to a telegram from the Swiss Legation at Budapest, authorization has been given by the Government of Hungary for the departure of all Jews from Hungary who hold entry permits for another country, including Palestine.
>
> This same message states that transit through occupied territories will be permitted by the German Government. As soon as possible the Swiss Legation, in collaboration with the Palestinian Bureau, Budapest, will take necessary measures for evacuation. It is probable that Hungarian police passports will constitute travel documents.

In order to take the fullest possible advantage of this development, the European neutrals were requested on July 28 to advise Germany and Hungary that they were prepared to receive all Jews permitted to emigrate. This request was accompanied by assurances that this Government would undertake to make arrangements for the support and early evacuation of such refugees. The British government was urged to join us in the request and commitment. Thus, the American legation at Bern was instructed as follows:

> You are requested to consult with your British colleague and either in collaboration with him or alone, as the circumstances may develop, approach appropriate

officials of the Swiss Government with the request that Switzerland advise the Hungarian Government that it is prepared to receive Jews released by Hungary and permitted to go to Switzerland. You may assure appropriate Swiss officials that if Switzerland so advises the Hungarian Government, Jews arriving in Switzerland from Hungary will be evacuated to United Nations territory as promptly as possible and that in the meantime the United States will undertake to make arrangements for their maintenance and support in Switzerland. You should inform the Department and the Board promptly of the results of your consultation with your British colleague and your approach to the Swiss Government."

On the same day, our embassy in London was instructed as follows:

This Government is prepared to advise the Hungarian and neutral governments that all Jews arriving in neutral countries from Hungary will be afforded havens in United Nations territory just as promptly as military considerations permit, neutral governments to be given adequate assurances as to the maintenance of such persons in the meantime and to be requested to advise the Hungarian Government of their willingness to receive such persons. Please endeavor to ascertain from the Foreign Office whether the Government of the United Kingdom will join this Government in this attempt to save lives. American missions in neutral countries are being instructed to take appropriate action along these lines in collaboration with their British colleagues if possible, alone if necessary. Since time is of the essence, British missions should be advised of Foreign Office views promptly.

Please keep Department and Board advised.

Please advise Sir Herbert Emerson of the Intergovernmental Committee of the foregoing and endeavor to ascertain from him some indication as to the extent to which IGC funds may be available for the maintenance of such refugees from Hungary as may arrive in neutral countries following such approaches. The War Refugee Board would appreciate as early a response to this inquiry as possible.

Under all of the circumstances it might prove tragic if the fullest advantage of the present opportunity were not (repeat not) taken. Consequently, you are requested urgently to propose to the Foreign Office the necessity of

immediately making available to Jews in Hungary Palestine certificates in substantial additional numbers. In this connection, the possibility should not be overlooked that once the holders of such additional certificates arrive in Turkey or Spain, they may be routed to havens other than Palestine if circumstances should be deemed to preclude their entry into Palestine. Please advise the Department and Board of such views as the Foreign Office might express.

Realizing that such a broad program might meet with difficulties, European neutral countries were requested, at the same time, on the basis of a commitment similar to that mentioned above, to express to enemy countries their willingness to receive persons for whom American immigration visas had been authorized after July 1, 1941. American consular officers in such countries were simultaneously authorized by the Department of State to

issue new American immigration visas to any such person to whom an American visa was issued or for whom such visa was authorized after July 1, 1941, provided that (a) such person other than a child under 16 years of age is found upon telegraphic reference to the Department for security check not to be the subject of an adverse report dated subsequent to the previous approval, (b) such person is not affirmatively found by the consul to be inadmissible into the United States under the law, or (c) the consul does not consider that the case is one which should be recommended for consideration under the committee procedure.

The Swiss government was asked to advise Germany and Hungary that

American consular officers in neutral countries have been authorized to issue an immigration visa to any person to whom an American immigration visa was issued or for whom a visa was authorized on or after July 1, 1941 and who has been in areas controlled by Germany or any of Germany's allies since December 8, 1941, provided that such person presents himself to an American consular officer in a neutral country and is found not to have become disqualified for the issuance of a visa.

This authorization was in accordance with a program proposed by the Board as early as March 16 pursuant to which American immigration visas authorized after the present security checks had been put into effect, but which had become invalid by lapse of time, would be replaced in the case of persons in enemy controlled territory and subject to enemy persecution. The Department of State agreed to this program on July 20.

Turkey was also requested to admit all persons in enemy territory holding Palestine certificates and to advise enemy governments of its willingness to do so. The assurances given by this Government regarding maintenance and evacuation of refugees were extended to cover such refugees as well.

In pursuance of our request, Sweden and Turkey advised the Hungarian Government of their willingness to receive holders of American immigration visas, and Turkey also agreed to receive holders of Palestine certificates.

In the meantime, the following letter, dated July 25, was received from the Washington delegate of the International Committee of the Red Cross:

> We have received today the following communication from the I.C.R.C. in Geneva:
>
> The Hungarian Government is willing to make possible the emigration of certain categories of Jews and has advised the I.C.R.C. of its readiness in this respect.
>
> Very obviously from the viewpoint of maintaining the principle of neutrality, which in effect is based on reciprocity, the I.C.R.C. feels that the number of emigrant Jews to be admitted to the United States should be substantially increased, and that a corresponding number of Entry permits should be accorded.

It would, furthermore, be desirable if the United States Government would make a public statement on this subject, indicating the number of Entry permits accorded. The I.C.R.C. is of the opinion that such a statement would impress the Hungarian Government as the visible sign of a favourable reaction to their decision to cease the persecution of the Jews also on this side. Moreover, the possibility of an eventual withdrawal of the concession granted would be made difficult by a public declaration, as suggested above, which would at the same time also forestall an attempt on the part of the countries of emigration to throw the blame for an eventual failure on the countries of immigration.

The I.C.R.C. would like to be informed whether the United States Government would be willing to transmit and support this proposal to the Governments of the South American Republics or whether the I.C.R.C. should do so directly.

The I.C.R.C. reserves the right to issue a communique concerning this proposal, which has simultaneously been submitted to the Government of Great Britain.

The letter did not elaborate on what categories of Jews would be permitted to emigrate.

Despite the vague nature of the Hungarian "offer," it seemed imperative to reply to it as soon as possible and to stress that this Government's acceptance thereof was not limited to any special category of Jews, but embraced all who should be permitted to leave Hungary. In the opinion of the Board, engaging in protracted negotiations with Latin American governments as to the number of entry permits they would be willing to grant would have further endangered the lives of Jews in Hungary. As, however, the Red Cross inquiry was addressed to the United Kingdom as well as to the United States, an exchange of views with Great Britain ensued.

On August 11 the following reply was handed by the American Minister at Bern to the Red Cross:

The United States Government has learned through the ICRC of the Hungarian Government's willingness to permit the emigration from Hungary of certain categories of Jews. This Government, despite the substantial difficulties and responsibilities involved, has consistently made clear its determination to take all practicable steps to rescue victims of religious or political oppression. In view of the overwhelming humanitarian considerations involved concerning the Jews in Hungary, this Government now repeats specifically its assurance that it will arrange for the care of all Jews permitted to leave Hungary in the present circumstances who reach neutral or United Nations territory, and will find for such people temporary havens of refuge where they may live in safety. These assurances have been communicated to the governments of neutral countries who have been requested to permit the entry of Jews who reach their borders from Hungary. This Government now awaits information concerning the concrete steps to be taken by the Hungarian Government to carry out its proposal.

On August 16 we were advised that the British had agreed to join the United States in this response. On August 17 the following joint statement was issued by the two governments:

The International Committee of the Red Cross has communicated to the Governments of the United Kingdom and the United States an offer of the Hungarian Government regarding the emigration and treatment of Jews. Because of the desperate plight of the Jews in Hungary and the overwhelmingly humanitarian considerations involved the two governments are informing the Government of Hungary through Intercross that, despite the heavy difficulties and responsibilities involved, they have accepted the offer of the Hungarian Government for the release of Jews and will make arrangements for the care of such Jews leaving Hungary who reach neutral or United Nations territory, and also that they will find temporary havens of refuge where such people may live in safety. Notification of these assurances is being given to the governments of neutral countries who are being requested to permit the entry of Jews who reach their frontiers from Hungary. The Governments of the United Kingdom and the United States emphasize that, in accepting the offer which has been made, they do not in any way condone the action of the Hungarian Government in forcing the emigration of Jews as an alternative to persecution and death.

Following this reply to the Red Cross, further steps were taken to increase the number of Jews in Hungary who would be likely to

obtain Hungarian and German permission to leave the country and the consent of neutral countries to receive them.

Thus, earlier arrangements made by the Board for havens in Latin-American countries and Ireland for refugee children from France, were, with the approval of such countries, extended to cover Jewish children from Hungary. On August 21, American consuls in Switzerland, Spain and Portugal were authorized to issue up to five thousand immigration visas within the limits of existing quotas, to refugee children from Hungary who succeeded in reaching these neutral countries.

On May 24, the Board had proposed to the Department of State that the issuance of visas be authorized for victims of enemy persecution so related to American citizens and alien residents of the United States as to be entitled to non-quota or preference visas. The Board's purpose in this, as in its proposals that lapsed visas be renewed and that visas be authorized for refugee children, was to facilitate the escape of persecuted persons into neutral territory, and not to foster immigration into the United States.

On August 5, the Department of State gave its approval to this. Several weeks passed in clearing various technical details with the Department of Justice. By then, information from abroad made it very doubtful whether German authorities would permit the exit of any Jews from Hungary or other German-controlled areas, whatever permits or visas they might have. Nevertheless, the Board decided to continue its efforts to rescue Axis victims by all possible means. Accordingly, the following instruction was cabled

on August 24 to the American legation at Bern:

> Notwithstanding recent developments.....this Government intends to pursue further the reported offers of Hungarian authorities.....
>
> Accordingly, please request appropriate officials of the Swiss Government to advise enemy governments, particularly neutral countries have been authorized to issue an immigration visa to the alien husband, wife, parent, and unmarried minor child of an American citizen, and the wife and unmarried minor child of an alien resident of the United States who has been in an area controlled by Germany or any of Germany's allies, provided that such person presents himself to an American consular officer and is found not to be disqualified for a visa. At the same time, please attempt to secure the prompt agreement of the Swiss Government to advise enemy governments of Switzerland's willingness to permit the entry into Switzerland of persons falling within the categories described above. You may assure Swiss officials that any such persons so admitted will be adequately maintained and that any who may be found not to be qualified for the issuance of a visa will be evacuated as promptly as possible.....
>
> Consular officers in Switzerland are hereby authorized to issue immigration visas to any alien who is the husband, wife, parent, or unmarried minor child of an American citizen and on whose behalf nonquota or first preference status has been established by the approval of the Department of Justice of a petition filed by such citizen relative, or who is the wife or unmarried minor child of an alien lawfully admitted into the United States for permanent residence and as such is entitled to second preference immigration status. The issuance of visas is subject to the proviso, however, that (a) such person other than a child under 16 years of age is found upon telegraphic reference to the Department for security check not to be the subject of an adverse report or to be open to reasonable suspicion because of the circumstances of the case such as those attending the release of a male applicant of military age, (b) such person is not affirmatively found by the consul to be inadmissible into the United States under the law, or (c) the consul does not consider that the case is one which should be recommended for consideration under the committee procedure.

Similar instructions were cabled to our missions at Ankara, Lisbon, Madrid and Stockholm.

Private agencies in this country were advised by us of the visa procedures above described, and with their help lists of persons who could benefit thereby were compiled. Upon certification by the Department of State (in the case of holders of lapsed visas) and by the Department of Justice (in the case of relatives) of the eligibility of the persons listed, their names were transmitted to our missions abroad for action in accordance with our instructions of July 28 and August 24.

Practically no Jews, however, were evacuated from Hungary as the result of the foregoing. Under various pretexts, the German authorities refused to grant the Jews in Hungary permission to leave the country or to travel through German territory to adjoining neutral countries. Thus, under date of September 12, the International Red Cross reported:

> .....at the present time emigration from Hungary towards Rumania and Bulgaria is absolutely impossible. On the other hand emigration towards the other neutral countries which are accessible, namely, Sweden and Switzerland, meets with very serious obstacles.
>
> The Governments of those two countries are undoubtedly quite ready to receive a large number of Hungarian Jews but the difficulty for those emigrants is to reach those countries.
>
> While the Hungarian Government declared that it was disposed to let the Jews emigrate to countries which are willing to receive them particularly Palestine on the other hand the German Government is little inclined to deal with requests for permission to leave Hungary or to cross Germany in transit.

The Germans similarly denied exit permits and transit visas to substantial groups of Hungarian Jews who had been granted Swedish and Spanish entry visas.

At first, the Germans explained that their friendship for the Arabs made it impossible to permit Jews to emigrate unless it was assured that they would not go to Palestine. Then they demanded assurances that

all Jews permitted to emigrate would go to Britain or America. Finally, however, it became clear that the Germans were willing to let the Jews go only in exchange for such articles as trucks, tractors, machine tools, and similar material to support the German war effort. Gestapo agents were reported by our Minister at Bern on September 16 to have demanded $25,000,000 in neutral countries for the purchase of war materials, as well as Allied permission for the export to Germany of the commodities which they might buy.

The attitude of the Hungarian authorities during the period after their July offer is not too clear. There were several reports from neutral, Vatican and Red Cross sources that deportations had stopped and that the International Red Cross was being afforded an opportunity to supervise the treatment being accorded to the remaining Jews. On the other hand, the Hungarian government attempted to gloss over and, indeed, to justify its persecution of the Jews. An illustration of this attitude is provided by the Hungarian reply to our inquiry transmitted by Switzerland to Hungary on June 26. The reply, cabled to us by the American minister at Bern under date of August 5, is in part as follows:

> Military events on eastern front and approach of Soviet Army to Hungarian frontier made it necessary fully to mobilize all military material and moral forces of country for defense of nation's existence. This also meant elimination of everything that would undermine or diminish the country's resisting power. As defeatist propaganda and agitation of Jews—as in 1918—became more and more perceptible in this decisive phase of the war and in order to prevent repetition of tragic events of 1918-1919 government was obliged to eliminate on increased scale influence of Jews. They were consequently separated from rest of population and put to more useful work—either in country itself or abroad. In so doing Government and its functionaries did not fail to consider laws of humanity and justice. If individual cases of injustice occurred they were always due to sporadic [apparent omission in the cable] of some subordinate organs which in each case responsible.

Numerous Jews were placed at the disposal of German Government as workers as was case for years for tens of thousands of workers of Hungarian nationality and Christian faith.

Our minister at Bern was instructed on August 19 to request the Swiss Foreign Office to convey the following reply:

> With.....reference to Hungarian communication.....the Government of the United States notes the explanation contained in said communication regarding Jews deported from Hungary to the effect that they have been "placed at disposal of German Government as workers as was case for years for tens of thousands of workers of Hungarian nationality and Christian faith."
>
> In view of the policy of the German Government with regard to Jews, which, the U. S. Government assumes is well-known to Hungarian Government, the Government of the United States would appreciate a statement of such measures which have been taken and are being taken by Hungarian authorities to insure humane treatment of Jews placed at Germany's disposal and to safeguard them against starvation and other forms of persecution.
>
> The Hungarian authorities will readily perceive that unless such measures are taken with respect to all Jews "placed at disposal of German Government" the explanation offered would appear to be at utter variance with the facts and any cases of abuse will be imputed to those Hungarian authorities responsible for placing such Jews at Germany's disposal.
>
> Prompt response to the inquiry herein made is being awaited by the Government of the United States with extraordinary interest.

On August 23 the following additional instruction was cabled to Bern:

> Please request the Swiss Foreign Office to inform Hungarian authorities that although this Government has taken note of the communication.....it does not accept the reasoning therein contained and reserves the right to return at a later date to the purported facts therein related. Hungarian authorities should further be informed that the limited assurances contained in such communication serve only to prompt a reiteration of this Government's warning that all those who share in the responsibility for the persecution of Jews and other minorities will be brought to justice. Hungarian authorities should also be informed

> that it is the Government's strong view that the deportation of any category of Jews comes within the foregoing and that permission freely to emigrate and Red Cross supervision of treatment and living conditions must as a minimum be extended to all categories of Jews.

On September 6, both messages were conveyed to the Hungarian Government by the Swiss Minister at Budapest.

At the same time, it came to the knowledge of the Board that in a note to the Swedish Foreign Office, the Hungarian legation in Stockholm stated that

> It was further ordered that future deportees for labor service will have right of supervision by Hungarian Red Cross representatives in order to avoid further charges of brutality.

Taking advantage of this opening, the following instruction was cabled on August 19 to the American minister at Bern:

> In view of issue involved, i.e. possible extermination of 400,000 Jews already said to have been deported, please suggest to Intercross the urgency of contacting Hungarian authorities and Hungarian Red Cross with a view to establishing immediate supervision of Red Cross over all camps to which Jews from Hungary have been deported in the past as well.

According to a report from the American legation at Bern dated September 15, as many as 360,000 Jews had been deported from Hungary. These were admitted by the Gestapo to have been exterminated. 160,000 Hungarian Jews had been put at forced labor in German-controlled territory outside Hungary. These are presumably alive. 200,000 Jews remained in Hungary, principally in the new Budapest ghettos.

There are indications that the Jews who have not yet been deported from Hungary have of late found themselves in a somewhat better

position, due, perhaps, to the combined pressure of this Government and its Allies, of neutral governments, of the Vatican, and of the necessity of utilizing all available manpower for the defense of Hungary against the United Nations' advance. On September 25, the Apostolic Delegate in Washington wrote to the Board:

> I have been just informed by the Holy See that according to a report of the Apostolic Nuncio in Budapest the situation among the Jewish people of Hungary is now much less acute. This is attributed to the fact that the officials responsible for the atrocities previously committed have now been eliminated from power.

However, beginning in the middle of September renewed reports of a disquieting nature began to arrive regarding the situation in Hungary. Cables from the legation at Bern, dated September 15 and September 28, advised us that Hungarian authorities were preparing to remove the bulk of the Jews from Budapest to camps in rural areas. It was hinted from Hungarian sources that in such camps the Jews would be more immune to sudden German mass-extermination moves than if they stayed in the capital. Thus on September 15, the legation at Bern reported:

> There follows a summary of the material portion of the Swiss note of September 13 which states that report from the Swiss Legation in Budapest indicates that it has followed the development of the situation of Budapest Jews.
>
> It is currently established that the Hungarian Government, under German pressure, has decided on transfer of Jewish residents of Budapest to Hungarian provinces and that this is to occur in the immediate future.
>
> After assembly Jews of both sexes from 14 to 70 years of age must be incorporated in the Hungarian labor service while persons above and below these age limits must be concentrated in provincial camps.

It seems that the Hungarian Government is to O.K. these measures to protect Jews against whom the German Government for its part, without consulting Hungarian authorities, would otherwise have taken measures.

Later the same day, the legation reported:

.....during the past fornight we have received reports..... that the Government of Hungary is planning to take the dispositions given below with respect to about 200,000 Jewish individuals remaining in Hungary, in Budapest mainly.

Every physically able bodied man and woman will be placed in compulsory work in agriculture and industry in various parts of the nation in the interests of national defense.

As early as August 24, preparations were being made to establish two large camps having a combined capacity of 120,000 individuals for all Jews from Budapest who were not suited for work from a physical standpoint.

On the other hand, there was suspicion that there was no manpower or material to build and equip such camps, and that the move was merely intended to get the Jews away from the eyes of neutral observers in the capital and to isolate them in rural camps where they could easily be killed or left to die. Consequently, under date of October 6 our Minister at Bern was instructed to request the Swiss to deliver the following message to appropriate Hungarian authorities:

The Government of the United States has learned of the plan of Hungarian authorities to remove the Jews still remaining in Budapest to putative work camps in the provinces. In view of the fate of Jews who were removed in previous months from other cities to similar camps, and in view of the approach of winter, the Government of the United States has good reason to regard the present plan as a further measure of mass extermination, for mass extermination may be accomplished either by the methods employed at camps of final destination in Poland, or by subjecting large numbers of people to under-nourishment, hard physical labor and unhygienic

living conditions in improvised camps. Consequently, the United States Government considers it appropriate to remind Hungarian authorities of its determination, as expressed by the President of the United States on March 24, that "none who participate in these acts of savagery shall go unpunished..... All who share the guilt shall share the punishment." This determination was publicly reaffirmed on May 31 and June 28 by members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee, respectively.

The Government of the United States, however, recognizes the possibility that the present plan may in fact have been evolved to achieve genuine humanitarian ends as has been claimed by various Hungarian authorities. To the extent that the plan, if put in operation, may achieve such ends, the Government of the United States will, of course, recognize the validity of such claims. On the other hand, should the removal of the Jews from Budapest to provincial camps be but a prelude to their further removal to extermination centers or otherwise result in their deaths, Hungarian authorities are fully apprised of the attitude of the people and Government of the United States.

Despite the unwillingness of the German authorities to permit emigration from Hungary, the Board continued to the last its efforts in this direction. Thus, upon learning that the Germans ~~have~~ had given some vague indication that they might permit the emigration of about 2000 Jews from Hungary, the Board, on September 30, sent a cable to our legation in Bern, stating:

> With regard to your suggestion that perhaps efforts could be made to facilitate the emigration of children and others who do not have Palestine certificates, your attention is called to the fact that the Legation in Bern already has broad authority to grant visas for entry into the United States.
>
> Particular reference is made to..... [previous communications] which made available approximately 4,000 American visas for children in Hungary;.....which made special provisions in favor of persons to whom American immigration visas

were issued or authorized after July 1, 1941; and..... making special provisions in favor of close relatives of American citizens and alien residents in the United States.....

You were requested to bring the foregoing arrangements to the attention of the Swiss Government and the International Red Cross, and through them, to the attention of the German and Hungarian authorities in an effort to effect the evacuation from Hungary of as many as possible of the refugees for whom arrangements have thus been made. We assume that you have done everything possible to execute these instructions, and if anything further can be done in this regard, we are sure that you will proceed to do so under the already existing authorizations. You will note that the authorizations above referred to are applicable to substantially more than the 2,000 refugees referred to in ...../previous communication/.

Other, less conventional methods of rescue were also followed up to the last. Thus, upon learning the names of some persons in Hungary who might be able to assist in the temporary hiding of Jews in that country, these names were cabled on October 2 to our minister in a neutral capital, who had contacts with a member of a neutral legation in Budapest, with the following instruction:

Please request.....if feasible, to ascertain whether they have any programs which he can facilitate. If they need any funds for any projects which give any reasonable promise of success, you may, in your discretion, make funds available to them. If their requirements for any such projects exceed the amount you have available for such purposes, please advise the Board.

LSLesser: BAkzin:dmc 10/9/44

PARAPHRASE OF TELEGRAM SENT

Mar Ref Bd
O Dwyer

FROM: Secretary of State, Washington

TO: American Representative, Budapest

DATED: May 30, 1945

NUMBER: 60

[redacted]

CONTROL COPY

It is requested that you kindly report on conditions of Jews in Budapest, their need for outside relief and the character and personnel of any agencies established to receive and make relief distribution. This information is for the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and the Department.

Medical supplies including typhus fighting materials and narcotics have been purchased through UNRRA by the Joint Distribution Committee. An import permit is necessary to obtain the latter drug.

GREW
(Acting)

WRB:GLWarren:kg
5/24/45

Paraphrased
DC/L:MAS:VCA
6/1/45

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

JAN 6 1945

Dear Dr. Kubowitzki:

Enclosed herewith is a letter and its enclosures which were received for you from Dr. Riegner through the United States Legation in Bern.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) J. W. Pehle

J. W. Pehle
Executive Director

Dr. A. Leon Kubowitzki,
World Jewish Congress,
1834 Broadway,
New York, New York.

Enclosures.

EBT RBH RBHutchison: 1/5/45 FBI

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Bern, November 14, 1944.

Dear Mr. Pehle:

I am pleased to enclose for the information of the War Refugee Board and for forwarding to Dr. Kubowitzki of the World Jewish Congress a document from Dr. Riegner, Representative of the World Jewish Congress in Switzerland. The report concerns the question of steps which the World Jewish Congress hoped the Swiss authorities would take through their Legation in Budapest in behalf of Jews in Hungary.

Sincerely yours,

Roswell D. McClelland

Roswell D. McClelland,
Special Assistant to
the American Minister.

Enclosure:

Letter from Dr. Riegner,
November 13, 1944.

John W. Pehle, Esquire,
Executive Director,
War Refugee Board,
Washington, D. C.

COPY

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John W. Pehle, Esquire,
Executive Director,
War Refugee Board,
Washington, D. C.

COPY

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

Geneva, November 13, 1944.

IIf/43.157

Dr. Leon Kubowitzki,
World Jewish Congress,
1834 Broadway,
New York.

Dear Dr. Kubowitzki,

Referring to your cable No. 155 of October the 10th I beg to inform you that immediately after the receipt of it we made various interventions at the Swiss Authorities. I had various conversations at the Department for Protection of Foreign Interests at the Political Department of the Swiss Government. Furthermore, Prof. Guggenheim wrote the attached letter to the Political Department on behalf of the World Jewish Congress. Moreover, the Union of Swiss Jewish Communities intervened twice, on our request, at the Swiss Federal Council in this matter.

I am glad to inform you that in reply to Prof. Guggenheim's letter we have just received the attached answer from the Political Department, which speaks for itself. You will see from it that your intervention at the Swiss Legation in Washington and our intervention at the Swiss Authorities here have been taken in consideration very seriously.

I learned meanwhile from Jewish sources in Budapest that the activities of the International Red Cross Delegation in Budapest are of great value and of great help. Thus it appears that the report of Dr. Schirmer I forwarded to you a few days ago is in this respect absolutely accurate.

Very sincerely yours,

/s/ G. M. Riegner

Gerhart M. Riegner

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

Geneva Office

ref. 42.978//II/e

Geneva, October 24, 1944

Dr. K. Th. STUCKI
Counsellor of Legation, Acting Division Chief
of the Foreign Division
Political Department
Berne

Dear Counsellor of Legation,

I take the liberty of addressing you today in regard to a special matter which concerns the terribly tragic position in which Hungarian Jews find themselves at the present moment.

We have now received the following telegram dated October 18, 1944, from the Executive of the World Jewish Congress in New York:

"TERRIBLE MASSACRES REPORTED HUNGARY STOP URGE YOU APPROACH HIGHEST AUTHORITIES AND REQUEST URGENT DISPATCH SPECIAL GOVERNMENTAL OR RED-CROSS MISSION AUTHORIZED ISSUE PROTECTION DOCUMENTS AND CONCENTRATE HOLDERS SPECIAL BUILDING UNDER SWISS PROTECTION ALONG EXAMPLE SPECIAL SWEDISH MISSION NOW BUDAPEST STOP CABLE"

We consider it our duty to bring this telegram to your and the Political Department's attention without delay, and we would be grateful if you would transmit it to the appropriate authorities in the Department. We should like to give expression to the hope that the Political Department would do everything humanly possible in order to take under its protection the Hungarian Jews threatened with so terrible a fate.

It goes without saying that I am at your and the Political Department's disposal to give you any supplementary information as far as that is possible, or to discuss orally the entire question. In that case I would welcome it if Dr. Riegner, Secretary of the World Jewish Congress, could participate at such an oral discussion.

Yours sincerely

(Signed) Prof. Paul Gugenheim

Transl. from German — RG

Political Department of the Confederation

Foreign Division

* * *

B. 34. 9.5. Ho. 10. 1 - VR

ad 42.978/II/e

Bern, November 10, 1944

Prof. Dr. Paul Guggenheim
37 Quai Wilson
Geneva

Dear Professor:

We have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your letter of October 24 concerning the position of Jews in Hungary. Your explanations, of which we have taken notice with the greatest attention, coincide to a large extent with a telegraphic report which the Swiss Legation in Washington has transmitted to us simultaneously from the World Jewish Congress.

If we did not reply earlier, this was because we still lack a precise basis for authentic information. This can be understood up to a certain degree in view of the stormy development of events that took place in Budapest after October 16. Nevertheless, we maintain continuous telegraphic contact with the Swiss Legation in Budapest regarding this matter, of which the tragic import does not escape us, and we have gained the clear conviction that our Minister in Hungary is ceaselessly attempting to do everything that is humanly possible to grant protection to as many Hungarian Jews as he can somehow justify. In doing this, he maintains continuous contact with the Delegation of the International Committee of the Red Cross in Budapest, whose endeavors, as you are aware, parallel his own.

Although the action of our Legation, since the violent coup d'etat of October 15 and 16 is circumscribed, from a legal point of view, much more narrowly than before, we had nevertheless the satisfaction of learning at the end of October that the protective passports given out by it to Hungarian Jews are recognized by the new rulers in Hungary.

For the sake of completeness we should like to add that the Federal Council has, among other things, declared its readiness to accept in Switzerland, in interrupted transit, 12,000 Hungarian Jews concerning whose exit from Hungary negotiations are pending with the authorities on the spot.

You may rest assured that we, in agreement with all other appropriate Federal authorities, are devoting our entire attention to this tragic question; nevertheless we consider that an oral discussion would not contribute much to its solution in the present circumstances. Of course, the undersigned continues to be at your disposal.

Sincerely yours,

For the Chief of the Foreign Division

(Signed) Stucki.

Trans. from German - RS

JAN 5 1945

Dear Dr. Goldman:

Enclosed herewith is a letter and its enclosures which were received for you from Dr. Riegner through the United States Legation in Bern.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) J. W. Pehle

J. W. Pehle
Executive Director

Dr. Nahum Goldmann,
World Jewish Congress,
1834 Broadway,
New York, New York.

Enclosures.

RBHutchison:inp 1/4/45

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Bern, November 11, 1944.

Dear Mr. Pehle:

I am pleased to enclose for the information of the War Refugee Board, and for forwarding to Dr. Goldmann of the World Jewish Congress, a document from Dr. Riegner, Representative of the World Jewish Congress in Switzerland, outlining a particularly interesting conversation with Dr. Schirmer of the International Committee of the Red Cross on November 10th, which sheds considerable light on the situation in Budapest as well as on the steps which the International Committee of the Red Cross took in an effort to assist as many Jews as possible.

In view of the immediate interest of Dr. Riegner's report, I feel it advisable to forward it to you as soon as possible without taking time necessary to have an English translation made.

Sincerely yours,

Roswell D. McClelland

Roswell D. McClelland,
Special Assistant to
the American Minister.

Enclosure:

Letter from Dr. Riegner,
November 10, 1944.

John W. Pehle, Esquire,
Executive Director,
War Refugee Board,
Washington, D. C.

COPY

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Enclosure:

Letter from Dr. Riegner,
November 10, 1944.

John W. Pehle, Esquire,
Executive Director,
War Refugee Board,
Washington, D. C.

COPY

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

IIf/43.151

Geneva, November 10, 1944.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann
World Jewish Congress
1834 Broadway,
New York.

Dear Dr. Goldmann,

I am enclosing herewith a note on the coversation which I had yesterday with Dr. Schirmer who was one of the Representatives of the CICR in Budapest, and who left that city on October the 29th; he has just returned to Switzerland.

In forwarding to you this note I can, of course, refer only to what Dr. Schirmer told me. In any case, Dr. Schirmer has made upon me an excellent impression. He seems to be an energetic man of goodwill. I hope that we might through him get in more regular contact with Dr. Loewenherz who is still in function in Vienna (Seitenstettengasse), where there are still some hundred Vienneese Jews.

I hope that you will enable us very soon to make our contribution to the intended rescue action in favour of the Jews who are working now in Austria.

Very sincerely yours,

/s/ G. M. Riegner

Memorandum for the Files

Concerning conversation with Dr. Schirmer, representative of the International Committee of the Red Cross in Budapest, in the presence of Dr. Bachmann, November 9, 1944, 5:30 p.m.

Dr. Schirmer reported concerning the activities of the Delegation of the International Committee of the Red Cross in Budapest. He pointed out that the Budapest Delegation was very active and did everything in its power to protect the Jews. Before being attached to the Delegation in Budapest, he had been there for three weeks and had discussed in detail the whole question with Mr. Born, Director of the Budapest Delegation. After his return to Budapest, he found that Mr. Born had done good work and had created an ICRC apparatus which proved valuable and useful and functioned well. Among other things, they established a special Jewish office in which there worked 150 employees, mostly Hungarian Jews. They rented five to six houses with room for about 2,000 children. To begin with, the mothers did not want to leave the children so that most of those lodged there were adults. They have established popular kitchens in which 18,000 to 20,000 people were fed twice daily. The food warehouses from which the popular kitchens were supplied have been placed under their protection. Thanks to the connections of Mr. Born, they have received a considerable supply of food at no cost from a friendly Christian source which preferred to remain anonymous; the Christian donor has explained the disappearance of these foodstuffs to the Hungarian authorities by stating that they fell into the hands of the Russians. All these activities were performed in closest cooperation with the Jewish Council, especially with Mr. Komoly. They also dealt frequently with Dr. Wilhelm, Court Counsellor Stern and others. All Jewish collaborators of the ICRC as well as the members of the Jewish Council received special protective passports of the ICRC written in French, German, Hungarian, and subsequently also in Russian. Special letters of protection were also given out. At first there were only a few hundred protective passports and letters, but after the events of October 15 they have become very generous with the distribution of these papers. Anyone who had anything at all to do with them received such a document.

Beside distributing such protective documents, they put up notices not only at the Jewish Division of the ICRC but also at all houses in which they had their Jewish offices, at all children's homes, hospitals, popular kitchens, food warehouses, and residences of all their employees, stating that the buildings were under the protection of ICRC. I asked why the Jewish Council opposed the posting of such notices in all Jewish houses, and Dr. Schirmer explained that the reason ley in the fear that should this measure be generalized, it would lose any significance.

Dr. Schirmer described briefly the situation before October 15, when it was fairly favorable. The old government had promised the representative of the ICRC to ease the position of the Jews in several ways. It was even intended to permit the Jews to return to the exercise of certain occupations,

and, in general, to treat them more decently. The worldwide reaction seems to have created a great impression and Dr. Schirmer himself who had at the time delivered the handwritten letters for Horthy, had the impression that the Government would not tolerate a further deportation of Jews. The situation changed radically after October 15. He had to add, however, that on October 11 there arose a disagreeable situation. On that date, arms and munitions were found in a large number of Jewish houses. I asked whether these arms were not smuggled in by the finders, but Dr. Schirmer stated that, according to his information, the arms appeared to be really there. This made the positionmuch more difficult, and at that moment the ICRC Delegation was very glad that it had not placed protective shields in such houses.

The events of October 15 were very bitter. At first, the coup d'etat had unloosed great movements of joy among the population, especially the Jewish population. This was expressed by spontaneous popular demonstrations, processions, displays of red flags, etc. After three hours, when the Arrow Cross people took over the Government, there come a bitter awakening. A period of terror and persecution began. For three days the mob ruled in the streets. Arrow Cross people and Nazis arrested the Jews arbitrarily. There was much shooting, Jews had to remain in their houses and had no opportunity to obtain food. The popular kitchens could not function. There was terrible misery. Dr. Schirmer estimates that about 600 Jews were murdered during the excesses of those days. Even during that terrible period the Delegation was very active. It was able, more particularly, to save and get into its houses a few hundred children. All its employees lived during those days in the Delegation. The entire Jewish Council did also sleep in their premises, and anyone coming there was being admitted. Their buildings were over-crowded, and he himself slept in those days on the floor in a tiny corner together with all others.

On October 18, after the new Foreign Minister made his famous speech, Dr. Schirmer and Mr. Born immediately obtained an audience with him. They were the first to be received by him. Dr. Schirmer gave me a very vivid description of that reception by the Foreign Minister, clad in green shirted uniform with a pistol in his belt, whom he personally took for the janitor and who addressed them continually as Comrade Schirmer and Comrade Born. In this audience they took an exceedingly firm line. Realizing that in dealing with gangsters one must employ gangster methods, they simply bluffed. They explained to the new Foreign Minister the nature of the Geneva Convention and ICRC, told him of the various things that were in the Convention, and enumerated all their demands--all this being without any basis in law. Since the Foreign Minister had no idea of the Geneva Convention, he fell for this bluff and believed everything that they told him about it. They explained to him that the treatment of Jews is nothing but "swinish", that the provisions of the Convention must be observed, and that they would not tolerate that the persons, buildings, etc., under their protection be interfered with in the least. They threatened with terrible international complications. The Foreign Minister promised to acquiesce and stated that the persecution

of Jews would be stopped. Indeed, instructions were given immediately to respect the buildings under the protection of ICRC, the protective passports and letters of ICRC, and the protective passports of foreign missions in Budapest. On October 19 they intervened with the Minister of the Interior, again taking a very energetic line. On that occasion they also obtained specifically the protection of the Jewish Council, declaring that they needed the Jewish Council in order to continue their own activities and stating that the activities of a Jewish Council are permitted in all other countries as well.

Soon afterwards there came the order that all Jews, men and women, must be put to work in building fortifications. The two delegates of ICRC have immediately thereupon intervened with the Government declaring that it is absolutely impossible that children, invalids, and women--especially pregnant women--be put to work in fortifications, and that they would never permit it. Thereupon the order was again withdrawn. Soon afterwards the ICRC Delegation received a note from the German Government and Dr. Schirmer had a long conversation with a representative of the Fuehrer, Minister Wesemayer, as well as with Dr. Grell, the German Counsellor of Legation. The German note stated that the Jews did not observe instructions, that they left their houses, that they did not wear the Jewish star, that they conducted anti-German propaganda, that they exercised espionage activities in favor of the Allies, finally, that they armed themselves and shot the Germans, etc., and therefore, the Germans must take protective measures. 50,000 Jewish men must be sent to Germany for compulsory labor. Other able-bodied men between 16 and 60 and able-bodied women between 14 and 40 must be put to work in constructing fortifications near Budapest. The remainder would be placed in 4 to 5 ghettos which are to be established around Budapest. The note also mentioned holders of special protective papers, particularly Palestine Certificates, and stated that these would be permitted exit "at a given time". The ICRC delegates demanded again that all those under the protection of ICRC, all those who held protective passports, especially persons included in the Swedish passport action, in the Palestine action, in the Spanish action, and in the Swiss action, be excluded from these measures. They also demanded that the aged, children, invalids, pregnant women, etc., be not affected. They attempted, as far as possible, to protect the other categories as well. There was nothing they could say against the taking of men to compulsory labor service since it was a question of labor service and since the non-Jewish population of Hungary was also mobilized for compulsory labor. All these demands were agreed to by the Germans. The conversation with Dr. Grell took place, in general, in a very outspoken form. The delegates were able thereby to get a picture of all internal instructions received by the German authorities in Budapest. On that occasion Dr. Grell stated: "We will in no case renounce this efficient human material of 50,000 Jewish men whom we need urgently as manpower." Dr. Schirmer then stated that the delegates have intervened a large number of times between the 20th and the 22nd of October with all possible ministries and agencies. I could find the details of those interventions as well as the text of the German note in his reports which are filed at ICRC.

Upon being asked by me regarding the situation at the time of his departure, Dr. Schirmer stated that the 50,000 men have left Budapest and are on their way to Austria marching on foot. Marching on foot is the best form of transportation, since railroad cars and other means of transportation were lacking and since, in view of the horrible methods of loading railroad cars, the men die partly on the train; in the circumstances, marching on foot is the best method available. Up to his departure on October 29, all holders of protective passports and all institutions under the protection of ICRC were respected by the authorities. According to estimate, about 15,000 people possessed such protective papers. The 4 to 5 special ghettos which were to be constructed around Budapest were not established up to the time of his departure, and he did not believe that they would be constructed at all. Women, children, aged, etc., were still in their dwellings. Altogether, according to Dr. Schirmer's estimate, about 160,000 to 170,000 Jews were still in Budapest. In addition, there were about 50,000 people occupied in compulsory labor service in Hungary since an earlier date. To these should be added the 50,000 persons who were sent away to do compulsory labor.

I asked about the supply of food for Jews in Budapest, and Dr. Schirmer said that ICRC still has large quantities of food supplies in the warehouses and that more particularly care is taken of the needs of the popular kitchens.

I asked a few more questions of Dr. Schirmer, concerning details of the position of the holders of protective passports. I pointed out the existence of contradictory information regarding the recognition of Swedish protective passports. He declared that during the critical days of around October 16 Swedish passports were not being recognized, but that later the Swedish passports were once more accorded official recognition. There occurred some abuses in connection with the Swedish action, and therefore he did not maintain close contact with the Swedish Legation. He could give me no details regarding the various categories included in the Swiss distribution of protective passports. He stated that the Legation did not take too many pains, but that the office of Consul Lutz, and especially the Consul himself were very active. With regard to the Palestine Certificates, he stated that about 7,000 persons were comprised in that action. A large part of the certificate holders could not be found, and attempts were being made continually to find them. The group of 2,000 emigrants to Palestine who were brought together some time ago and for whom a collective passport was obtained consisted of such certificate holders who could be found at once. The ICRC Delegation has demanded that the Government place this group in two to three special houses. The Government has promised to do so and has placed a number of houses at their disposal. However, up to his departure, that plan did not materialize. Since a large part of Palestine certificate holders could not be found, there has been according to his information a much more generous policy in allocating certificates. As for the Spanish action, it concerned 700 Jewish children who obtained the right to enter Tangiers. These children are located in a special building which stands under the protection of ICRC and of the Spanish Legation. Dr. Schirmer could not give me any information as to whether transports may be expected in the immediate future from Hungary to Switzerland.

Dr. Schirmer had nothing to report regarding the Jews deported from Hungary at the beginning of the German occupation. He expressed, however, his conviction that the policy of entire annihilation of Jews has now ceased. The Germans need all hands and cannot arbitrarily deprive themselves of manpower. He repeated several times: The "Auschwitz system" is over, and we are back in the first phase which was typical of the treatment of Jews during the war, namely the mobilization of Jews for war economy.

In support of this conviction Dr. Schirmer cited particularly his experiences during his trip back from Budapest. He passed in his car through Austria and saw everywhere columns of laborers engaged in clearing the ground and other work. A few times he stopped his car, making it appear as if his car had broken down, in order to make contact with these people. On such occasions, he spoke with a number of Jews, asking them how they were being treated, housed, and fed. He found that their clothing, their food, and their housing (in barracks) seemed to be satisfactory and that their treatment also appeared to be fairly decent. He added that in the course of his many years of experience in ICRC he learned to distinguish the position of people at a glance. His many visits in prisoner-of-war camps and other camps have particularly sharpened his vision in this respect.

On his way back to Vienna, Dr. Schirmer got in touch with Dr. Lowenherz. Dr. Lowenherz received him in his office in the Saitenstettengasse where Dr. Schirmer was surprised to find a crowd of Viennese Jews. Dr. Lowenherz told him that he could give him no information and that Dr. Schirmer would have to get in touch first with the German authorities. Dr. Schirmer did that and asked the German officials whether he would be permitted to undertake relief action for the 18,000 Jews engaged in compulsory labor near Vienna. The German authorities immediately agreed and told him that Dr. Lowenherz' office is entrusted with the care for these Jews. He thereupon came together with Dr. Lowenherz and negotiated with him an entire night about this matter. He expressed himself with great satisfaction regarding the person of Dr. Lowenherz and added that even the Germans seem to have a great deal of respect for him. Dr. Schirmer declared that he could immediately undertake a relief action for the 18,000 Jews around Vienna and that he merely needed the money for that purpose. He suggested that we discuss it with the War Refugee Board. It is not necessary that we send food from here. He himself could procure on the spot food as well as clothing or clothing material. The 18,000 Jews near Vienna are to a large part Hungarian Jews, partly, however, Czechoslovak and Polish Jews. He does not know whence these two latter categories come. There are 400 to 600 camps near Vienna with the number of inmates varying between 5 and 200 to 300. The most urgent thing is procurement of clothing in view of the nearing winter. Dr. Schirmer is shortly going via Berlin to Vienna and will once more get in touch with Dr. Lowenherz. He is to accept messages from me for Dr. Lowenherz.

I asked whether, in view of the general military situation, interventions are meeting with better response on the part of the German authorities than before. Dr. Schirmer declared that in his opinion this is certainly the case.

He also experienced this in Vienna. There are now people who are willing to help us, probably in order to create an alibi for themselves.

Toward the end, Dr. Bachmann stated that the ICRC was very satisfied with Dr. Schirmer's report, which left the impression that considerably more has been done than the ICRC had previously believed to be the case.

The conversation ended at 7:00 p.m.

Geneva, November 10, 1944

(Signed) G. Riegner

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

CONGRES JUIF MONDIAL • CONGRESO JUDIO MUNDIAL

1834 BROADWAY

NEW YORK, 23, N. Y.

LONDON
55 New Cavendish St., W 1

GENEVA
37 Quai Wilson

BUENOS AIRES
Corrientes 1979

JERUSALEM
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MONTREAL
1121 St. Catherine St. W

MEXICO CITY
Sonora 174-4

CABLES: CONGRESS, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: CIRCLE 6-1900

January 15th, 1944

In reply refer to No. 394

Hon. John W. Pehle
War Refugee Board
Treasury Building
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Pehle:

You might be interested in reading the attached report of our Swedish section, which was transmitted to us a few days ago.

Sincerely yours,

Kurt R. Grossman

Kurt R. Grossman
Rescue Department

KRG:tl
enc.

January 10, 1945

MEMO

To: The Members of the Office Committee
The Members of the Executive Committee of the Hungarian J.R.C.

From: Kurt R. Grossman

We received the attached materiel concerning the situation in Hungary from our Swedish Section. It covers the period from April 1944 to the latter part of November 1944.

No. 833 - 1/10/45 - bm - 50

REPORT ON TREATMENT OF JEWS IN HUNGARY.

Completing our telegraphical information on the treatment of Hungarian Jews, we hereby give you a resume, based on what we have learned from responsible side. This report on the development of events does not, however, pretend to be complete.

DEVELOPMENT.

APRIL The Pester Lloyd of April 6th, 1944, contained the prescript of April 5th, concerning declaring and blocking of Jewish property. All kinds of fortune, except chattles, housekeeping-, clothing and other necessary articles were to be declared. Works of art, carpets, silver plates etc. were also to be declared. Non-Jews, too, who had received Jewish property for keeping, were to declare this. Shares and other kinds of bonds belonging to Jews were to be deposited at a bank, their banking account etc, would be blocked. The owner still had the right to draw from one of his accounts an amount of 1.000 pengo a month. The stock of certain Jewish trading and industrial undertakings would be blocked with the exception of such undertakings whose activity was considered to be of public need and value.

During the next weeks, the Jewish population in Hungary was deprived of nearly all civil rights. Telephones were switched off, Jews were not allowed to use public means of traffic or wireless sets. Flats were confiscated, the "aryan" servants of Jewish families were forced to leave. Further restrictions in the conditions of work of Jews: they were forbidden to continue their activity in several branches, to act as leaders of undertakings, were taken to forced labour, whereby they automatically lost the right to their civil work. This exclusion of Jews from trade and industry was supposed to get considerable consequences.

On March 31st, the Pester Lloyd had given the new definition of Jews - no longer a confessional category but according to the marriage law of 1941 nearly identical with the definition of the "Nuernberger law". The number of "Jews" was thus raised. Exceptions were made only for Jews decorated during the Great War and some few others, who had rendered their country special services.

All persons "looked upon as Jews" were from April 5th to wear the David star visible on their clothing. The number of Jews in Hungary amounted to about 1 million persons - out of the 16 million inhabitants of the country.

Jews in public or communal service, Jewish lawyers, journalists and actors were dismissed.

MAY During April and May there were further restrictions as to the liberties and possibilities of subsistence of the Jews. Still more professional groups were deprived of their work. Thus practically there only remained in function Jewish physicians, craftsmen and workmen. Jews had to leave their flats and settle in forced lodgings, pos-

sibly in ghettos, leaving most of their property. Their rations of food were cut down, their liberty of movement out of doors restricted; they were not allowed to take up at hotels, go to theatres etc.

A considerable part of the persons "looked upon as Jews" /according to the new law/, were of Christian confession.

In May the transportation of Jews to Germany started. Internation camps with the most primitive dwelling and hygienic conditions were erected /open barracks, formerly brick depots/. To these the Jews were transported in crowded goods vans with a minimum of food.

It appears that a group of at least some thousand people has been brought to a socalled death-camp in Poland /near Jawisowice/.

During April the German authorities elected members of the Central board of Jews in Hungary, which was later on changed into Union of Jews from Hungarian countries.

In the last days of March the interning started, at the end of April the deportation to barracks and concentration camps. The same brutality characterizes the treatment of these Jews as has been previously and later on reported from other direction: crowding, no regard to pregnant women or children, far too small allowances of food, frightful hygienic conditions, ill-treatment. During the month of May conditions grew still worse. Gradually all places were emptied for Jews who were thronged together, 70 persons in one van, for deportation. Those who threw themselves out of a van on one occasion and died a "natural" death, were looked upon as happy. In the camps food was so bad, that starving to death was to prefer.

J U N E At the beginning of June all place in Hungary except Budapest could be considered "judenrein" all these Jews then were in concentration camps. Thus up to the middle of June about 335.000 Jews were deported from Hungary, most of them according to statements, to Auschwitz in Upper Silesia and its death camps. In the "death factory" in "Birkenau" nearly 2 million Jews from different countries are said to have been slaughtered from April 1942 to April '44.

The remaining Hungarian Jews were still living in Budapest. There they were forced to move together to various flats, spread about in town instead of being taken, as was earlier intended, to ghettoes. These new measures were taken for the reason that after several Hungarian towns had been bombed, one would not risk that Budapest was bombed with the exception of possible ghetto quarters.

In every room 8 - 10 persons were thronged together. Prohibition to leave flats except some few hours in the morning. It was believed that the authorities in order not to make public sensation with greater transportation of Jews

had planned to imprison all Jews in Budapest by night and to take them to internment or deportation.

Helping organizations in Budapest have reported, that intervention and attempts at protecting Jewish individuals had been without any success.

KING'S MESSAGE. At the end of June Chief Rabbi Professor M. Ehrenpreis gave the Swedish Foreign Department notice of the alarming reports and news from Hungary, which he had got via the Jewish Agency in Palestine and from Switzerland, the contents of which corresponded with facts known to the Department from its Swedish legation in Budapest, stressing that the matter was urgent, unless the whole Jewish population in Hungary be deported and liquidated. These facts together with an application for all possible measures were presented to H.M.King Gustaf through the Foreign Department, resulting after a few days just before the King's leaving Stockholm for his holiday in a telegraphical appeal "in the name of humanity" to Admiral Horthy. This wire as well as Horthy's reply etc. are enclosed here.

JULY. At the beginning of July thousands of Jews were transported to the suburbs of Budapest to camps of the same primitive and frightful kind as are mentioned above. The threat of reprisals from the American Congress, brought to the Hungarian Government at the end of June, did not seem to have any effect on matters, no more did the Pope's intervention at the same time. The Christian communities wanted to let their clergymen from their pulpits take measures against the persecution of Jews; thereby measures against baptized Jews could possibly be postponed. Still at the beginning of July no change could be thought of as to the plan of deporting the total Jewish population of Hungary.

After the telegraphical interchange between King Gustaf and Admiral Horthy, the Hungarian Government seeked to mitigate the treatment of Jews, above all deportation of the Jews from Budapest.

In the middle of July the International Red Cross communicated by a press notice that the Hungarian Government had suspended the deportation of Jews and that the Res Cross had been permitted to arrange sending of succour and to assist evacuating Jewish children, who had got visas from foreign countries.

AUGUST. In August rumours went that the Government again had intended to deport the Jews from Hungary, whereupon representatives of neutral powers and the papal nuncio made a joint protest.

SEPTEMBER. In the middle of September the action against the Jews in Hungary were said to have been consigned to oblivion for the present, but there was still

the risk that it could be taken up again.

The situation was still not stabilized during September. The cooperation between German and Hungarian authorities in the Jewish question was unclear. The Germans still exercised pressure, but it seemed as if the Hungarian authorities did not intend to realize these demands. Jews were taken to forced labour; Jews with so-called safeconduct passports had, however, been discharged of this as well as of the constraint to wear the David star. They also seemed to have been suffered to keep their flats, in spite of having no right to have them.

ACTIVITY SWEDISH LEGATION, BUDAPEST. At the Swedish legation in Budapest there was arranged a special department for helping the Jews. Among other tasks, this department issued so-called safeconduct passports finally to 4.500 Jews. See enclosure SWEDISH ACTIVITY FOR HELP.

The situation of Hungarian Jews now changed to and fro many times. An internment of all so-called foreign Jews compromising those with Swedish safeconduct passport set the department for Jewish affairs of the Swedish legation /here called the department/ to highly active work. The order for removal of several thousand Jews within 3 days was finally cancelled; at the department, however, everything was ready organised to help the Jews. Officially, thus, at the time the official degree was still valid, that all Jews lookes upon as foreigners were to be interned.

Up to the middle of September about 250 Jews protected by the Swedish legation had been delibered from internment. This figure was to be increased during the month of September.

The Red Cross had remitted several cases to the department in order to grant them safeconduct passports. A board for solving Jewish questions had been erected, built up by persons with whom the Swedish authorities in Budapest had the best relations. The department bought considerable quantities of provisions for distribution among the suffering. The 250 Jews at the service of the department worked day and night and were exempted from wearing the David star. They got legitimation cards from the Hungarian Home and Foreign Offices.

Thousands of Jews were applying for help and their papers examined. The department had to be prepared to perform huge work within very short time's notice; this is why there was such a big staff, which besides sometimes had to work without intervals. As the situation towards the end of September seemed to improve, it was decided that the department would be slowly wound up. Still issuing of safeconduct passports would be continued.

Towards the end of September the department had got 11.000 demands for safeconduct passports. According to the request of the Hungarian authorities, the number of Jews to be protected by Swedish authorities and safeconduct passports were limited to 4.500.

OCTOBER. According to the Swedish paper Göteborgs Handelstidning of October 18th, the Swedish safeconduct passports were annulled by the new Hungarian Government. The Minister of the Hungarian Home department, Vajna, had uttered in a speech in the wireless, that the Hungarian Jewish question is something with which no foreign state might interfere. The Government, he said, only wants to take heed to purely racial points of view.

According to accounts, given in the Paper Svenska Dagbladet a few days later /Oct. 21st/, given by Swedish citizens who had left Budapest since the Nazi authorities took over the power in the middle of October, King Gustaf's action for the Hungarian Jews got only temporary value and could only reach the Jews in Budapest. Practically all Jews in other parts of Hungary were then already deported and thousands of them disappeared on their way.

Shortly after this, towards the end of October, we heard from well informed source that there had been riots in the streets of Budapest, during which 100 to 200 Jews had been killed in the streets of the capital. /This happened in the first night after Government-change./ The situation was said to have changed to the worse. Jews were put in to defence-work /in the country/ and were to be chased from the country after having rendered this service. Transportation had already begun. For one week the Jews were not allowed to leave their houses. At 6 hours' notice Jews were forced to move into "Jewish" houses, but this order was immediately withdrawn. Jews tried to hide in cellars, with friends and and Christians. Capital punishment threatened also for less faults again the antisemitic laws. The arrow cross people evacuated several "Jewish" houses and took the inhabitants to camps. Most of them were allowed to return, but a few hundred of them got lost. Men the in age of 16 - 60 years were taken to forced labours. They were badly treated; thus a dead Jew, aged of 60, was seen lying on the edge of a road, seemingly maltreated and covered with a piece of paper. Besides women in the ages between 16 and 40 were taken to labour, and so were all men who had not previously been taken. They were used for trenching.

In certain cases the arrow-cross-men have torn the safeconduct passports of Jews into bits. Still no bearer of safeconduct passport was then killed.

Before the new order in Hungary, the SS were said to have killed 2.000 Jews on their way from their labour camp at the coppermines in Bor /Serbia/ to Hungary, and also 200 Jews in the same situation elsewhere.

Of course, the Government change upset the Swedish department, whose staff partly fled, partly hid.

The Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs has declared, that the 4.500 bearers of safeconduct passports may leave the country; of these 500 persons may go via Germany.

Bearers of safeconduct passports have been respected at taking Jews to forced labour, internment etc.

One of the last days in October we were informed that the Swedish Minister in Budapest had had an interview with representatives of the arrow-cross Government in order to remind them of the King(s message from June and Admiral Horthy's answer. The Hungarian Foreign Minister now declared, that these promises will be kept also by his Government. It was also said that the bearers of Swedish safeconduct passports would be respected.

NOVEMBER. According to a Hungarian governmental declaration, published in a notice of Goeteborgs Handelstidning Nov. 4th, all Jewish property will be taken over by the state Exceptionsare only made for household articles and necessary furniture and provisions of food and fuel for a fortnight. The goods confiscated are in first line to be used for reparation of war damages and to the support of war invalids.

A few days later, on Nov. 8th, the paper Svenska Dagbladet brought a report on a radio appeal of the new Szalasi-Government, in which all arrow-cross-men were requested to respect the safeconduct passports issued by foreign legations and by the International Red Cross and not to annoy bearer of such documents. The arrow-cross-members were also exhorted to respect all localities of every kind which are disposed by foreign legations or by the International Red Cross.

On the request of Dr. Kubowitzki, we got into contact with the president of the Swedish Red Cross, Prince Carl first week in November to ask him to make an appeal on the wireless to the duke of Sachsen-Coburg-Gotha concerning the behaviour of the German Red Cross. As appears from the prince's message to Professor Ehrenpreis, which we translated and conveyed to Dr. Kubowitzki, he looked upon as resultless to try to make an appeal. Instead of this, he stated what helping measures the Swedish Red Cross had taken in Hungary; a similar report was given to the Swedish press on November 9th, and we here quote a passage out of an article in Goeteborgs Handelstidning of above-mentioned date:

Up till now several thousands Hungarian men, women and children, essentially Jews, got help and protection in the Swedish helping bureaux and children's homes

which have been erected in Budapest under management of the Swedish Red Cross delegate there, lecturer Valdemar Langlet, and Miss Asta Nilson. The work started already this summer, and there are totally half a dozen helping bureaux. According to what is at hand, the bureaux furnish clothing, food and lodging and this work as well as that of our three children's homes, the General Secretary of the Swedish Red Cross said, was paid of money which had been put at our disposal from private humanitarian source.

TELEGRAM FROM H.M. KING GUSTAF TO ADMIRAL HORTHY
June 30th, 1944.

After having been informed of the extremely hard methods, which your Government has initiated towards the Jewish population of Hungary I venture to appky personally to Your Highness to beg you in the name of humanity to take measures to save those who still remain to be rescued of this unfortunate peopel. This appeal has been dictated by my old feelings of friendship for your country and by my sincere anxiety for the good name and reputation of Hungary in the society of nations.

ADMIRAL HORTHY'S ANSWER

I have received the telegraphical appeal, which Your Majesty has delivered to me. With feelings of the greatest understanding I beg Your Majesty to be convinced that I am doing everything that under the present circumstances is in my power in order that the principles of humanity and rightness may be respected. I highly appreciate the feelings of friendship for my country which inspire Your Majesty, and I beg Your Majesty to maintain them towards the Hungarian people in these days of hard afflictions.

TELEGRAM FROM PROFESSOR EHRENPREIS AND GUNNAR JOSEPHSON
Chairman of the Stockholm Jewish Congregation, to
H.M. THE KING, July 20th, 1944.

The Jews Of Sweden have with deep movement been informed of Your Majesty's appeal to the Hungarian regent. The address has not been in vain, and the unspeakable thankfulness of a world is streaming towards Your Majesty. In the middle of the worl's darkness the King of free Sweden has raised the voice of Humanity to the benefit of unhappy Israel, the defenceless people which for one decade has been the victim of an extermination campaign without parallell in History. The world's conscience, asleep for too long a time, has spoken through Your Majesty's mouth and the stimulating kingly words have arisen a mighty echo throughout the world. They have given to our morally degraded generation feelings of relief and hopefulness.

KING'S ANSWER, July 21st, 1944.

Chief Rabbi Ehrenpreis, Stockholm.
I send you and the Jewish Congregation my hearty thanks for your so kindly expressed thoughts.

Gustaf

SWEDISH ACTIVITY FOR HELP

Shortly after the German occupation of Hungary in March, we made a plan for the help which could be given by our initiative. This plan was based on the following lines:

1) To try to obtain an intervention from the Swedish Government or some other influential body.

2) To find a Swedish person, willing to go to Budapest and work there with support of the Swedish representation there

The plan was based on the good-will and interest which our Government and its legation in different countries have shown towards the Jewish case. When investigating the possibilities for the first part of the plan, we became concinved through discussions with some very influential politicians that an intervention at that moment /April/ could not be obtained, and because of that we did not approach the Government. Instead of that, professor Ehrenpreis approached the Head of the Swedish Church to obtain an application from the Swedish Church to the Hungarian Church and to the public opinion with a protest against the persecutions of the Jews. This proposal was placed before the Council of Bishops and, though met with the greatest sympathy, the Council did not find itself in a position to follow this suggestion.

When deportations began and based on a telegraphic information on the situation and on a direct demand from the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem, Professor Ehrenpreis could address himself to the Swedish Government and supplicate for an intervention of the King. This supplication was granted immediately by His Majesty, with a result that is known to you. We are deeply grateful to the King and the Government for the extraordinary help, which the King's demarche has meant and by which thousands, if not hundreds of thousands of Jewish lives have been saved up til now.

In the meantime also the other part of the plan was carried out. We found a businessman, member of a wellknown family with extremely good connections in Hungary, who was willing to place himself at disposal for this work. By intervention of Mr. Salen, a wellknown shipping-man, it was arranged that this man was taken in the service of the Swedish Foreign Department as a secretary of the legation in Budapest with the special task to help Jews. Surely this form was the best which could be found, and we may say that our Foreign Department in this manner has gone to the limit of what it possibly can do for helping us.

In the beginning of July Mr. Raoul Wallenberg, the new secretary of the legation in Budapest, began his work. It must be stated that already at once after the occupation of Hungary the Swedish legation inBudapest had begun a valuable work. Many Jews with some connections with Sweden, either by relatives or only by business, had addressed themselves with the legation for protection. With the permission of the Swedish Foreign Department the legation gave to many of them entry-visas to Sweden in a form which can be called letters

of protection /safeconduct passports/. The receiver of the visa was not only informed that he had got entry visa to Sweden but also that he was hereby placed under the protection of the Swedish legation. This activity of giving visas was still more widened after Mr. W's arrival, as this whole system of course brings with it an enormous work.

This special office occupied several houses with a staff of about 250 employees, probably almost only Jews, who worked without payment but received special privilegies in treatment by the Hungarian authorities /for instance they were at least during the first months exempted from wearing the David star/. The office had regularly hundreds up to thousands of visitors a day. The number of visas and letters of protection which have been promised up to this day is about 11.000, but hitherto only about 5.000 are issued. The value of these letters of protection was of course somewhat doubtful, as they had no judicial basis. The Germans did not recognize them but the Hungarian authorities tried to respect them. Nevertheless, especially in the beginning, many Jews with these letters of protection were deported from the frontier districts together with all other Jews, and they have disappeared. The efforts of the legation to trace them in Germany or Poland have been in vain. Most of them are certainly no longer in life.

The base of these letters of protection is relationship with someone in Sweden or business relations with Swedish firms. A lot of people, having friends in or connections with Sweden, have also been included, and Mr. G. Storch has, in the name of your section, succeeded in getting about 600 persons included in the list, the ames of whom were forwarded to us by your section in Argentine. Now it has become more difficult to get further persons, who have no business connections or relatives in Sweden on the list of protection, because the value of this protection would diminish of the number of those who are protected becomes too large. The Swedish authorities have also declared that they did not intend to stop issuing these letters of protection, still they wanted to do it with utmost care. We finally want to stress, that until now only about 5.000 letters of protection have been handed out; as above stated, a total number of about 11.000 /including those conveyed from Argentine/ have been promised and granted here; we don't think, however, that these last 6.000 persons have really got their papers: they are still included in the waiting list.

For the activity of the Jews, the legation in Budapest has got at its disposal considerable sums of money, part of which from the War Refugee Board through the Board's representative in Sweden, Mr. Iver Olsen. The official Jewish Council in Budapest still had confiscated Jewish money at its disposal for the help work at the beginning of events. Certain amounts were used for sending food to Jews outside Budapest. Mr. Olsen informed us that further amounts would be at our disposal for the help work in Hungary as soon as they would be needed.

DEC 28 1944

Dear Rabbi Kalmanowitz:

I have received your telegram of December 26, 1944, concerning the tragic plight of the Hungarian Jews.

I wish to assure you that this Government is taking every possible and practicable step, consistent with the successful prosecution of the war, to save the lives of all Jews still in enemy-occupied territory.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) J. W. Pehle

J. W. Pehle
Executive Director

Rabbi A. Kalmanowitz,
Vaad Hahatzala Emergency Committee,
132 Nassau Street,
New York 7, N. Y.

Original signed by Mr. Pehle

FH:hd 12/27/44

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

(331)

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LC=Deferred Cable
NLT=Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

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ND233 37=WUX NEWYORK NY 26 522P 1944 DEC 26 PM 5 39

HON JOHN W PEHLE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR WAR REFUGEE BOARD
TREASURY BLDG WASHDC=

RESPECTFULLY CALL YOUR ATTENTION TO REPORTED TRAGIC NEWS PITIFUL PLIGHT REMNANT OF HUNGARIAN JEWRY STOP WE PLEAD FOR THE INTERCESSION OF WAR REFUGEE BOARD TO EXHAUST EVERY POSSIBILITY TO ARREST THE TORTURES AND EXTERMINATIONS WITH GRATEFUL APPRECIATION=

VAAD HAHATZALA EMERGENCY COMMITTEE RABBI ABRAHAM KALMANOWITZ.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

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MEXICO CITY
Sonora 174-4

CABLES: CONGRESS, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: CIRCLE 6-1900

In reply refer to: No. 291

December 14, 1944

Hon. John W. Pehle
War Refugee Board
Treasury Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Pehle:

You will probably be interested in the following news item which appeared in the November 12, 1944 issue of the Uj Magyarsag:

"According to an agreement concluded by the Government with neutral States, those Jews who are protected by some neutral Legation and who can prove their protection by showing a temporary passport, a protective letter or a protective passport which is complete with photograph, the Legation's stamp and the original signature, may move into a reserved Yellow-starred house before November 15th. Jews protected by Foreign Legations may apply to the temporary committee of the Association of Hungarian Jews for information about the dwellings reserved for them. The authorities are not forcing these Jews to move into new dwellings. All Jews who are interested in the question may freely decide whether they wish to move or not. However, those Jews who do not voluntarily move into a Jewish dwelling before November 15th will definitely forfeit the protection of their neutral Legation, whereupon the valid Government measures will be applied against them."

The above-quoted report proves that, at least until its appearance, the protective documents issued by neutral governments were and may still be of value to the Hungarian Jews. I am passing this notice on to you in the hope that you may induce the neutral governments to continue this laudable action whenever possible.

Very sincerely yours,

Kurt R. Grossman

KURT R. GROSSMAN, Assistant
Rescue Department

KRG:tm

34

DEC 6 1944

My dear Mr. Minister:

In connection with the outstanding service performed by Mr. Raoul Wallenberg of the Swedish Foreign Office in the program to save and protect the persecuted peoples in Hungary, the Board wishes to send him the enclosed letter of appreciation which is transmitted to you herewith for delivery to Mr. Wallenberg.

I should like to take this opportunity to thank you personally for the cooperation and deep interest which have been given to the operations of the War Refugee Board in Sweden by you and the Legation staff.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) J. W. Pehle

J. W. Pehle
Executive Director

Honorable Herschel V. Johnson,
American Minister,
Stockholm, Sweden.

Enclosure.

FH:hd 12/4/44

DEC 6 1944

My dear Mr. Wallenberg:

Through the American Minister in Stockholm and Mr. Iver Olsen, the War Refugee Board has kept closely informed of the difficult and important work you have been doing to alleviate the situation of the Jewish people in Hungary. We have followed with keen interest the reports of the steps which you have taken to accomplish your mission and the personal devotion which you have given to saving and protecting the innocent victims of Nazi persecution.

I think that no one who has participated in this great task can escape some feeling of frustration in that, because of circumstances beyond our control, our efforts have not met with complete success. On the other hand, there have been measurable achievements in the face of the obstacles which had to be encountered, and it is our conviction that you have made a very great personal contribution to the success which has been realized in these endeavors.

On behalf of the War Refugee Board I wish to express to you our very deep appreciation for your splendid cooperation and for the vigor and ingenuity which you brought to our common humanitarian undertaking.

Very truly yours,

[signature]

J. W. Pehle
Executive Director

Mr. Raoul Wallenberg,
Swedish Foreign Office,
Stockholm, Sweden.

EBT:FH:hd 12/1/44

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
WAR REFUGEE BOARD

To:
(1) ~~Mr. Pehle~~ ..... ~~[illegible]~~ (Room) (Bldg.)
(2) ~~[illegible]~~ ..... 2030 (Room) (Bldg.)
(3) ~~Mr. [illegible]~~ ..... ~~2410~~ (Room) (Bldg.)
(4) ~~Mr. [illegible]~~ 2418
(5) ~~Mr. [illegible]~~ 2311
(6) Hodel 2410

We ought to write to Warburg at some point

From: [illegible] ..... 11/28 (Date)
(Room) (Bldg.)

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

848/ICO/MET

Stockholm, Sweden
November 14, 1944

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

Dear Mr. Pehle:

I am enclosing a copy of a letter which I received recently from Mr. Wallenberg regarding the assistance which we have given to the Hungarian Jews. I believe this letter will be of much interest to the Board.

Sincerely yours,

Iver C. Olsen
Special Attaché for
War Refugee Board

Enclosure - 1

C O P Y

Königlich
Schwedische Gesandtschaft

Budapest, 12th Okt. 1944.

W./F.

Mr. O l s s e n,
Strandvägen 7
Stockholm.

Dear Mr. Olssen,

When I now look back on the 3 months I have spent here I can only say, that it has been a most interesting experience and I believe, not quite without results.

When I arrived, the situation of the Jews was very bad indeed. The development of military events and a natural psychological reaction among the Hungarian people have changed many things. We at the Swedish Legation have perhaps only been an instrument to convert this outside influence into action in the various Government offices. I have taken quite a strong line in this respect although, of course I have had to keep within the limits assigned to me as a neutral.

It has been my object all the time, to try to help all Jews. This, however, could only be achieved by helping a whole group of Jews to get rid of their stars. I have worked on the hypothesis that those, who were no longer under the obligation to carry the star, would help their fellow suffers. Also I have carried out a great deal of general enlightenment work among the keymen in charge of Jewish questions here.

I am quite sure, that our activity - and that means in the last instance yours - is responsible for the freeing at this time of the interned Jews. These numbered many hundreds. At first only those were freed who possessed Swedish protective passports, but later all who had not committed a criminal offence, were freed.

I have also received a promise that all "Swedish" Jews in civilian service (Arbeitsdienst) will be ordered back. The number of these Jews is about 500 but I doubt that more than half of them may be brought back from their present assignments, which are situated partly in front-districts.

Mr. Olssen, believe me, your donation in behalf of the Hungarian Jews has made an enormous amount of good. I think that they will have every reason to thank you for having initiated and supported the Swedish Jewish action the way you have in such a splendid manner.

Yours faithfully

(signed) R. Wallenberg

Files

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MEXICO CITY
Sonora 174-4

November 17, 1944

In reply refer
to No. 281

Hon. John W. Pehle
War Refugee Board
Treasury Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Pehle:

I beg to inform you that Chief Rabbi Marcus Ehrenpreis cables under date of November 10 that the situation in Hungary has gravely deteriorated, that the Jews are subjected to ill treatment, and that their ration cards have been confiscated.

I wonder whether in spite of the apparent exhaustion of such intervention methods, you would not consider it advisable that this Government protest once more, and most urgently and energetically, to the Hungarian Government through the protecting power against such barbarities.

Sincerely yours,

A. Leon Kubowitzki
Head, Rescue Department

ALK:bg

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MEXICO CITY
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October 23, 1944

In reply refer to: No. 265

Hon. John W. Pehle, Executive Director
War Refugee Board
Treasury Building
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Pehle:

I beg to inform you that we received from our British Section a cable dated October 13th, the text of which follows:

> "Number 378 Riegner and other sources inform us Germans preparing new mass deportation Jews Hungary stop Have cabled Eden Moscow urging he and Soviet Government take warnings stop Similar action your side essential."

Sincerely yours

A. Leon Kubowitzki, Head
Rescue Department

ALK:ef

34

Hungary

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CABLES: CONGRESS, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: CIRCLE 6-1900

October 12th, 1944

Mr. Benjamin J. Akzin
War Refugee Board
Washington, D.C.

In reply refer to #253

Dear Mr. Akzin:

We are very glad to be able to send you the attached list of 321 Hungarian Jews who have recently arrived in Switzerland. According to information we have, they came from the concentration camp Bergen-Belsen near Celle (Hanover). I feel that you will be greatly interested in this list, especially in view of the fact that these are cases in which the Germans made releases of Jews.

Very truly yours,

Kurt R. Grossman, Assistant
Rescue Department

KRG:t
Enc.

LIST OF 320 HUNGARIAN JEWS WHO ESCAPED
FROM HUNGARY TO SWITZERLAND

submitted by the World Jewish Congress

Augenstein Rachel 25/6/30 Bamberger Georg 20/4/90 Erdoekuert Functionary Bamberger Livia 7/2/24 Budapest Cosmetics Bamberger Stern Rosalie Bersgreit Suzanne 18/11/31 Budapest Bergner Desiderius 2/7/94 Kolozsvaer Student Bergner Rosenthal Julianne 14/8/97 Kolozsvaer Household Bergner Roth Malvin 21/5/74 Ungvaer Household Bergner Stephan 4/12/36 Kolozsvaer Scholar Bergstreit Judith Bergstreit Markus 24/8/99 Bpest Merchant Bergstreit Baron Rosa 8/12/99 Bpest Household Bihari Anna 27/1/22 Kolozsvaer Violinist Bihari Arpad 22/2/96 Berettyoufalu Schooldir Bihari Czitrom Margarethe 6/1/93 Belenyes Household Bischnitz Ernst 6/6/97 Ersekujvar Functionary Bischnitz Broeter Elisabeth 26/2/06 Vizsoly Household Bischnitz Eva 28/8/21 Balassagyarmat Gardener Bischnitz Georg 27/3/27 Kolozsvar Scholar Bischnitz Vera 27/6/30 Kolozsvar Scholar Blass Einhorn Rosa 8/6/24 Alsonereznice Household Blassberger Alex 10/8/33 Bruenn Scholar Blassberger Fischer Cecilie 5/4/01 Bruenn Household Blassberger Salomon 27/12/97 Bilke Household Blatt Weil Gizella 7/12/92 Kiskoszmaely Household Dr. Blau Balint Emma 2/3/98 Bpest Prof Math Phys Blau Gabriel 25/2/34 Bpest Household Dr. Blau Georg 16/4/94 Bpest Lawyer Bleier Steif Elisabeth 28/5/19 Ungvar Household Bleier Erwin 16/4/39 Bpest Child Bleier Robert 29/1/41 Bpest Child Blitzer Elisabeth 30/4/14 Debrecen Desmaker Blitzer Ignatz 30/4/77 Goerlice Blitzer Rosa 14/10/10 Kassa Household Blum Andreas 16/8/42 Bpest Household Blum Gruenn Magdolna 12/8/12 Bpest Household

Blum Marianne 27/6/34 Bpest Scholar Bors Muenster Julia
3/10/70 Mariakemend Household Borski Bella 5/6/32 Zagreb
Jugosl Scholar Borski Mirjam 7/2/28 Zagreb Jugosl Scholar
Boschan Geza 7/8/83 Koertvelyes Manufacturer Boschan Buchsbaum
Selma 17/2/83 Varasdin Household Braf Dr. Alexander 4/9/95
Goencruszek Doctor Braf George 16/6/29 Kassa Student Braf
Deutelbaum Helen 8/10/98 Nagyszombat Student Braf Stephan
16/3/32 Kassa Student Brant Mayer 8/5/39 Bpest Braun Eusenberger
Hanna 10/8/00 Havasmezoe Household Breslauer Arthur 8/2/92
Chuerog Ung Merchant Breslauer Braun Helene Dr. 14/6/96
Goedoelloe Professor Breslauer Katharina 7/2/32 Bpest Scholar
Brett Farkas Anna 6/5/22 Koeroesszegapati Bretter Klein Helene
1/5/81 Munkacs Household Fazekas Miklos 23/4/87 Miskolc
Worker Brettler Helene 24/10/00 Nyiréghaza Bresnitz Edit
24/5/20 Szenc Nurse Brick Engelmann Bella 10/6/02 Bonyhad
Merchant Brick Max 10/3/95 Beszterce Teacher Brief David
8/10/97 Kolozsvar Brief Simon Margarethe 28/11/08 Marosludas
Functionary Brunner Peter 30/4/37 Budapest Bruenn Geringer
Minka 2/9/72 Memetpereg Burg Edith 35 Debrecen Burg Blitzer
Sarah 07 Kassa Photographer Burger Alice 28 Munkacs Scholar
Dallos Elisabeth 29 Kassa Scholar Dankner Adolf 97 Sniatin
Merchant Dankner Eva 29 Budapest Scholar Dankner Georg 29
Budapest Scholar Dankner Heinrich 97 Horodeka Kunstgewerber
Dankner Sipos Irene 95 Nagyvarad Dankner Braun Katharine 97
Budapest Dankner Livia 26 Budapest Scholar Dankner Robert 28
Budapest Scholar Danzig Fischer Elisabeth 14 Budapest Journalist
Danzig Emmerich 09 Maramarossziget Davidovitsch Eva 26

Satoraljaujhely Scholar Davidovitsch Rosa Berta 26 Szolyva Worker Davidovits Rosa 15 Budapest Functionary Deak Gross Julianna 03 Ozora Dressmaker Der Frank Margarethe 95 Szabadka Deri Desiderius 93 Szarvas Furrier Dro Deutsch Adolf 88 Magyargenos Schooldirector Deutsch Judit 26 Budapest Deutsch Freund Lea 96 Paks Deutsch Marietta 20 Budapest Student Deutsch Martha 21 Wien Teacher Deutsch Michael 24 Kassa Worker Deutsch Mira 22 Teacher Deutsch Vogel Aranka 75 Kolozsvar Deutsch Bela 92 Kaloz Ingeneer Deutsch Pappenheim Elli 96 Wien Dr. Deutsch Emil 84 Lawyer Deutsch Frienda 25 Kassa Gardener Deutsch Satiin Helene 88 Sarospatak Deutsch Ilona 24 PB Nurse Deutsch Pollitzer Ilona Deutsch Janos 28 Szekesfehoervar Deutsch Jenoe 86 Magyargenos Rabbin Devecseri Steiner Borbala 12 Kolozsvar Devesseri Laszlo 07 Des Ingeneer Devecseri Peter 37 Kolozsvar Devecseri Tamas 43 Budapest Diamant Tova 21 BP Dressmaker Diamantstein Samuel 93 Zagreb Merchant Dallos Duschinszky Rebekka 93 Budapest Ehrenkreuz Ziporah 54 Krakau Ecstein Chaim 28 Dunafoldvar Scholar Eckstein Eva 29 Krakau Scholar Elefant Marine 26 Debrecen Dressmaker Elek Rochlitz Elisabeth 11 Nagszoellloe Dressmaker Elek Kaba Eva 08 Budapest Elek Imre 32 BP Scholar Elek Julius 85 Uzbeg Ironmerchant Elek Pollak Margit 96 Wien Functionary Elek Vigodni Martha 21 Ujpest Functionary Elek Ganz Serena 88 BP Elek Sigfried 83 Csejthe Manufacturer Ellenbogen Judit 23 Trsekujvar Dressmaker Eloedi Foeldes Szuasanna 25 Vasvar Nurse Engleberg Dr. Desider 94 Szarvas Functionary Engelmann Sonnenfeld Regin Szilas 19/3/72 Epstein Eppinger Leopoldin Koermend Household Epstein Lajos

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Eva BP Dressmaker Dr. Fodor Matyas Nora 11 Hermannstadt
Teacher Frank Kaufmann Amalie 65 Kolozsvar Frank Bernhard 99
Beszterce Manufacturer Frank Eva 44 BP Frank Gabor 38 BP
Frank Judit 33 BP Frank Martha 35 BP Frank Waller Olga 09
Satoraljauhely Frankovits Judith 26 BP Nurse Froenkel Elsa
01 Nyiregyhaza Household Fraenkel Ernoe 32 BP Fraenkel Erwin
41 BP Fraenkel Eva 35 BP Fraenkel Stern Lilly 16 Brasso Fraenkel
Robert 39 BP Fraenkel Schreiber Gizella 73 Kisvarda Fraenkel
Schaffer Jolan 88 Feketehegy Fraulich Abraham 3 BP Pole Freud
Gross Margarethe 99 Ozors Household Dr Freud Zoltan Bicske 82
Lawyer Freud Susanne 28 Szekesfehervar Scholar Freund Agnes 34
BP Freund Gerson 91 BP Manufacturer Freund Janos 32 BP Scholar
Freund Schwartz Maria 03 Batona Household Fried Klein Irene
Boekoeny 01 FriedDr. Emanuel 93 Kisoroszi Doctor Fried Noemi
Nairegy Haza Student Friedlaender Maria 24 Szered Teacher
Friedlaender Martha 17 Balmazujvaros Teacher Friedlaender
Moritz 83 Balmazujvaros Teacher Friedmann Salamon Irene 13
Beregszasz Functionary Friedmann Margarethe 23 Fueloepszallas
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Georg 36 Kolozsvar Fuerst Rosa 21 Nagyszombat Dressmaker
Gaertner Eugenia 14 Kolozsvar Functionary Gaertner Vogel Rosa
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Gedailovitsch Riwka 29 Fogaras Dr Gerendi Albert 94 Fogaras
Functionary Gerendi Sonderling Alice 97 Maehrisch Ostrau
Gerson Joseph Dr. 91 Losonc Gerson Fischl Olga 96 Apatin

Glasner Blum Hermina 95 Sarospatak Glasner Akiba 85 Kolozsvar Rabbin Glasner Sulamith 28 Kolozsvar Gluecksmann Neumann Regina 80 Zsitvagyarmat Gruen Alexander 27 Kolozsvar Gruen Leb Margareta 02 Marosbogard Gruenfeld Judith Elek Susanne 33 BP Israel Tibor 32 Kolozsvar Israel Desider Florenthal Hermine 09 Oradna Kahan Munk Gisella 94 Nagyvarad Dr Kahan Nison 83 Iwov Lawyer Kaldor Fischl Hilda 93 Bachsszentivan Kaldor Ivan 32 Szabadka Kemeny Schweiger Iren 97 Sarospatak Kemeny der Gyoergyi 23 Szabadka Kemeny Tamara 43 Szabadka Kemeny Zsuzsa 25 Szabadka Cosmetics Komoly Lea 21 Virovitica Student Krammer Judit 35 BP Lampel Ferdinand 96 Manya Merchant Leb Osilla Cecilia 29 Kolozsvar Scholar Leb Mandelbaum Flora 05 Krakau Leb Gruenfeld Josephine 66 Adamos Leb Sigmund 95 Marosbogat Merchant Lederer Eva 31 BP Lederer Ludwig 96 BP Operator Lederer Scheitel Marie BP Loebl Georg 31 Szabadka Scholar Loebl Fraenkl Klara 11 Obecse Loewy Agnes 29 Kolozsvar Dr Marton Deutsch Gizella 07 Kolozsvar Professor Marton Maximilian 37 Kolozsvar Munk Garbile 65 Nagyvarad Merchant Munk Gruber Irma 81 BP Munk Wolf Olga 11 Temesvar Munk Ludwig 98 Nagyvarad Merchant Munk Peter 27 BP Scholar Pappenheim Berta 23 BP Nurse Rochlitz Weiss Charlotte 81 Beregszasz Rochlitz Paula 15 Beregszasz Functionary Rosenfeld Augusta 31 BP Scholar Saeter Nikolaus 6 Nagybecskerek Merchant Saeter Kahan Eva 15 Spaeter Paul 38 Bucarest Speigel Julia Vera 37 Kolozsvar Spiegel Boschan Elisabeth 12 Kolozsvar Spiegel Akos 03 Oronovica Functionary Spitzer Frank Blanka 96 Beszterce Spitzer Paul 91 Ungvar Merchant Spitzer Alexander 30

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Hungary

OCT 4 1944

Dear Rabbi Rosenberg:

I have your telegram of October 3, 1944.

The War Refugee Board is keenly aware of the serious plight of the Jews in Hungary. Please be assured that the Board has taken and will continue to take every measure for their protection that offers a reasonable promise of effectiveness and is consistent with the successful prosecution of the war.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) H. Morgenthau, Jr.

Secretary of the Treasury.

Rabbi Israel Rosenberg, President,
Union of Orthodox Rabbis of the United
States and Canada,
132 Nassau Street,
New York, New York.

JWS:SLesser:tmh 10-4-44

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NEWYORK NY 3 232P

HON HENRY MORGENTHAU JR

SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY WASHDC

1944 OCT 3 PM 3 53

THE FOLLOWING CABLE WAS RECEIVED FROM BEYOGLU TURKEY DATED SEPTEMBER 30 1944 QUOTE THE JEWS IN EUROPE NOW ASK WHILE THE WORLD ANTICIPATES THE JOY OF PEACE, IS IT POSSIBLE THAT FOR THEM ONLY AWAITS THE PEACE OF THE CEMETERY? ARE THEY BEYOND THE POSSIBILITY OF RESCUE? A MEMORANDUM FROM BUDAPEST DATED SEPTEMBER FOURTH REVEALS THE CASTROPHIC SITUATION IN WHICH THE HUNGARIAN JEWS NOW FIND THEMSELVES. OUT OF 800000 JEWS BUT 200000 SURVIVED. THESE ARE NOW LVINXXXLIVING IN SLAVERY AND REFUGEE CAMPS, OR ARE INTERNED IN CONCENTRATION CAMPS WHERE THEY ARE FORCED INTO ABJECT SERVIDUTE. IN BOTH CAMPS FAMINE FEAR AND IMPENDING EXTERMINATION HANG OVER THEM, THEY ARE LIVING UNDER THE HORROR AND SUSPENSE, EVERY DAY, EVERY HOUR, EVERY MINUTE OF IMMINENT DEPORTATON, TO SUFFER THE FATE OF THE HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF UNFORTUNATE PREDECESSORS WHO WERE DEPORTED TO THE DEATH CHAMBERS OF POLAND. AT PRESENT THE PROMISE OF THE HUGXXXHUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT WHICH IS ON RECORD THAT THE SURVIVING REMNANT OF THE HUNGARIAN JEWS WOULD BE SAVED SEEMS TO BE BUT A DREAM. BETWEEN HITLER AND THE HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT THERE IS AN UNDERSTANDING THAT THE JEWS WHO HAVE SURVIVED THUS FAR BE INTERNED JUST AS WERE THEIR UNFORTUNATE BRETHERN TO SERVE THE CONVENIENCE OF THE HANGMAN OUT OF THE LIVING HELL OF BUDAPEST COMES THE CRY AND THE PRAYER TO THE CHRISTIAN WORLD QUOTE SAVE. US. SAVE US FROM THE FATE OF OUR BRETHERN WHO WERE BURNED ALIVE. AROUSE THE CIVILIZED WORLD TO RESPOND AT ONCE, TO SAVE US FROM TOTAL EXTERMINATON UNQUOTE. IN THIS HOUR OF TRIAL, ON BEHALF OF OUR BRETHERN WE EXHORT YOU TO USE YOUR GOOD OFFICES AND MOST EARNEST ENDEAVORS TO SECURE PROMPT ACTION TO SAVE THIS REMNANT OF OUR PEOPLE MAY GOD EXHORT YOU WITH STRENGTH AND FORTITUDE IN YOUR ENDEAVOR

UNION OF ORTHODOX RABBIS OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA RABBI LEONARD FINKELSTEIN PRESIDENT 152 NASSAU ST MANHATTAN NYC.

330P

TELEGRAPH TREASURY TELEGRAPH TREASURY TELEGRAPH TREASURY TELEGRAPH TREASURY TELEGRAPH TREASU

The Following Pages Are the Best Available

SUMMARY OF STEPS TAKEN BY WAR REFUGEE BOARD WITH RESPECT TO THE JEWS OF HUNGARY

Prior to Germany's military occupation of Hungary on March 19, 1944, and the simultaneous reconstitution of the Hungarian Government as a Nazi puppet, Hungary was the last remaining refuge for Jews in Axis Europe. Although anti-Jewish laws had been on the Hungarian statute-books since as early as 1938, their enforcement was haphazard and the condition of the Jews in Hungary was such as to invite the clandestine immigration of tens of thousands of Jews from Poland, Slovakia and Rumania. These were cared for by the native Jewish population who tried to see to it that no large numbers of newcomers congregated in any one place. However that may be the movement was so large that the conclusion is inescapable that it was known to and connived at by the Hungarian authorities. There were, however, lapses in the Hungarian Government's passive attitude. Thus, during 1941 it is reported that a substantial number of Jews from Poland and Hungarian-born Jews of Polish origin but of uncertain nationality were in part deported to Poland and in part detained in concentration camps. In December, 1943, the Germans indicated their desire that Hungary adopt a stricter anti-Jewish policy and by February unconfirmed rumours were abroad that Hungary was deporting foreign Jews and closing its borders to refugees from Poland and elsewhere. At this juncture the Board stepped in.

On March 7 the Legations at Bern and Lisbon were instructed to communicate, through channels known to be available to them, this Government's disapproval of such conduct and to remind them of the position of this Government as indicated by the President in the Executive Order setting up the War Refugee Board. We also urged them to permit the free exit of refugees to neutral territories.

On March 13 we were advised by our Minister at Lisbon that this message had been delivered to the appropriate Hungarian authorities. A similar reply was received from Minister Harrison at Bern.

Immediately upon the German occupation of Hungary with its indication of increased brutality to Jews and other minorities in that country, the programs of the War Refugee Board were geared to the urgency of the situation and our efforts have been unstinting to forestall deportations and executions and to rescue as many as possible of these victims. Every suggestion, from private as well as public sources, has been carefully analysed and studied by the Board

and every possible project to save these people has been vigorously pursued. The full power of the Board has been utilized with respect to the Hungarian situation in the effort to carry out this Government's determined policy to save these Nazi-oppressed peoples.

In an attempt to get the facts of the Hungarian situation, urgent cables were despatched to our missions in the neutral countries as well as to the Vatican requesting detailed information on the treatment of Jews in Hungary. We also urged the Pope to instruct the Catholic hierarchy in Hungary to lend every assistance. A favorable response was received on April 12th.

Efforts to Increase Protection to Jews of Hungary

With the receipt of reports that the Germans with the eager assistance of the puppet Hungarian Government were pursuing a program similar to those already undertaken in Poland and elsewhere, we commenced a series of measures designed to obtain some measure of protection for these people in Hungary. We instructed our representatives in the neutral countries to request the Governments to which they are accredited to increase to the largest possible extent the number of their diplomatic and consular personnel in Hungary in the hope that such representatives would use all means available to persuade individuals and officials in Hungary to desist in the persecution of Jews. Turkey, Portugal, Spain and Switzerland did not respond favorably to this appeal. This was undoubtedly due to the fact that this Government unbeknownst to the Board had previously requested such governments to refuse to recognize the new Hungarian puppet government which gave such governments a basis for not complying with this request.

Sweden, in view of the humanitarian considerations, agreed to arrange for extra diplomatic personnel in Hungary. At about the same time the American Legation in Stockholm advised us that a prominent Swedish businessman had agreed to take a trip to Hungary and to investigate conditions and take such action as might be possible. The Legation asked for such suggestions as we might be able to give the businessman. Shortly thereafter our Stockholm Legation advised us that arrangements had been made with the Swedish Government for it to designate this businessman (Mr. Raoul Wallenberg) as its special attache in Budapest. In this connection, the Swedish Government stated that they did not contemplate any difficulty in getting Hungary to accept Wallenberg as special attache because the Swedes were prepared to refuse to receive

the new Hungarian chargé d'affaires if Wallenberg was not permitted to go to Hungary.

On March 27th we urged the International Red Cross to send effective representation into Hungary in order to protect the well-being of the groups in that country facing persecution. While the reaction to this request was unfavorable at first, upon our repeated urging the International Red Cross now appears to be attempting to arrange for additional personnel in Hungary and they are cooperating with our representative in Switzerland in his efforts to help the Jews of Hungary.

At the urgent request of the Board, a cable was sent to the Vatican on May 26th in the name of the Government of the United States calling the attention of the Holy See to the reports of persecution in Hungary and calling upon the Pope to express himself on the subject to the authorities and people of Hungary personally by radio and through the clergy in Hungary. The cable also urged that His Holiness might find it possible to remind the people of Hungary of the spiritual consequences of the acts being perpetrated in Hungary and that the Vatican send extra representation into Hungary. The Apostolic Delegate has just advised us that on June 25th the Pope addressed a personal appeal to Regent Horthy to do everything possible in favor of these unfortunate persons suffering because of their race or nationality. Horthy responded that he would do everything in his power to cause the demands of humanitarian and Christian principles to prevail. In addition, the Apostolic Delegate advised that the Apostolic Nunciature in Budapest has been carrying on intense activity in behalf of the non-Aryan Hungarians and in every way is seeking to aid and protect them.

At the urgent request of the Board, Minister Harrison was asked to request the Swiss Government to address an inquiry in the name of the United States Government to the appropriate Hungarian authorities asking them to state their intentions with respect to the future treatment to be accorded Jews and to remind such authorities of the grave view this Government takes concerning the persecution of Jews and other minorities. The note containing this message was delivered to the Hungarian Foreign Office by the Swiss on June 27th. -- Under date of July 18th, our Legation in Bern was advised by the Swiss Foreign Office that, in answer to the foregoing note, the Hungarian Government informed the Swiss that authorization had been given by the Hungarians for the departure of all Jews from Hungary who hold entry permits for another country, including Palestine. (Our response to this message is related below.)

Intensification of Psychological Warfare Program

In cooperation with OWI, arrangements have been made to beam messages continually to Hungary warning her people and officials to desist in persecuting the Jews and informing them of our determination to punish the perpetrators of such cruelties. OWI coverage has been very widespread from overseas as well as from the United States. The British and Russian governments were immediately urged to cooperate in this psychological program by increased broadcasts to the Satellites.

The President's statement of March 24th on Nazi atrocities was repeatedly used in broadcasts from this country. Through our efforts the members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee signed a strong statement condemning the brutal treatment of Jews in Hungary and the House Foreign Affairs Committee followed suit by unanimously approving a resolution condemning the German persecution of minorities and, in particular, the barbarous acts being pursued in Hungary. Those two statements have been used over and over again in OWI programs to occupied Europe. Through War Refugee Board representatives abroad the texts of these statements were made available to the press and radio of neutral countries. A statement deploring the Nazi atrocities signed by Governor Alfred E. Smith and 70 other prominent American Christians has been given similar coverage throughout the world.

Recently, at our request, Archbishop Spellman of New York, in an unprecedented move, issued a stirring spiritual appeal to the people of Hungary to desist in submitting to the lust and tyranny of the Nazi extermination program. This statement has been hailed by people all over the world and has been radioed repeatedly to Hungary and the other satellite countries from the United States and the neutral countries. Pamphlets containing the Archbishop's statement and the other statements mentioned above have been dropped by planes over Hungary in an attempt to reach as many people as possible.

Operations from Sweden

The Swedish Foreign Office has cooperated closely with our Stockholm representative, Iver C. Olsen, and has made available to him various detailed official reports received from Swedish diplomatic personnel in Hungary. In its efforts to help the Hungarian Jews, the Swedish Government has granted passport visas or letters of protection to Jews in Hungary who have family or business ties with Sweden.

The Swedish Foreign Office has gone so far as to state that Wallenberg, their special attaché in Budapest, was available for any work the War Refugee Board might wish to assign

to him. We, of course, cabled that, while Wallenberg could not act as the Board's representative nor in its name, he was free to communicate with our representative in Stockholm and to lay before him any specific proposals to aid the Jews of Hungary. Olsen has been instructed to lend every assistance to the Wallenberg mission. In order to assist Wallenberg to get relief and rescue operations under way in Hungary, we have sent to Olsen for Wallenberg a detailed program suggesting names of persons in Hungary who might be helpful in arranging rescues and we have indicated various escape routes which might be available. To the best of our ability, we have taken full advantage of Wallenberg's presence in Budapest. It has just been reported through Olsen that the first thing Wallenberg did was to engage a 16 room office of whose extraterritoriality he took advantage by granting refuge there to a number of Hungarian rabbis and intellectual leaders.

We have arranged for funds to be sent to Olsen to be used expressly for rescue operations from Hungary and we informed him of our willingness and eagerness to discuss any suggestion or program designed to help the persecuted people of Hungary.

Operations from Switzerland

Board representative McClelland has received instructions similar to those sent to Olsen and he has been requested to coordinate the activities of American organizations in Switzerland in an effort to ensure the most effective rescue operations for Hungarian Jews. Names of individuals in Hungary and Switzerland who may be of assistance have been sent to him. One of such persons in Switzerland has actually gone to Hungary on a mission for McClelland.

In response to McClelland's urgent request for funds to finance the rescue of Nazi victims from Hungary, the Board arranged for extra remittances of $1,125,000 of private funds, to Switzerland for such operations. Through a special appeal to the Swiss Minister, arrangements were made for the Swiss authorities to make the necessary Swiss francs available for these activities.

McClelland has recently reported that the Czechoslovak resistance movement is willing to assist in the rescue of Jews from Hungary by bringing them to Slovakia to be enrolled in the Slovak Maquis or to be hidden in Slovakia, but that funds were needed for such a program. After discussing the matter with the Czechoslovak Minister in Geneva, McClelland, from a special War Refugee Board fund, paid the Swiss franc equivalent

of $10,000 to the account of the Czech resistance movement in Switzerland to be used for this program.

McClelland has reported that numerous other operations are now under way and that all reports and appeals from the Jews of Hungary are given careful consideration in an attempt to leave no stone unturned.

Attempts to Increase Flow of Refugees from the Balkans Through Yugoslavia and Turkey

With the tragic turn of events in Hungary, the Board intensified its efforts to develop a flow of refugees in two general directions. It has, in the first place, been devoting itself to opening channels through Yugoslavia and Italy since, on April 29th, Tito agreed to lend assistance in rescuing Hungarian Jews and to aid their escape to join his army or to be evacuated whenever possible. Funds have been sent in order to facilitate the rescue operations across the Adriatic and it is hoped that some refugees in Hungary will seep through this avenue of escape. In the second place, the Board has been involved in developing plans for substantial rescue operations through Rumania and thence by sea to Turkey and Palestine. The latter plan has been the more productive. The Rumanian authorities have set up a new bureau to facilitate emigration and five small ships have been made available for rescue work from Constanza to Turkey. One of these ships has already landed in Turkey with 761 refugees including several hundred orphan children. As a result of Ambassador Steinhardt's efforts, transportation across Turkey has been facilitated. The Board is making every effort to coordinate the activities of private agencies, to send increased remittances to Turkey, and to take every other possible step to maintain and increase this flow.

Military Operations

As the situation in Hungary has become increasingly desperate, the Board has received several proposals that certain military operations might take place with the possible purpose of forestalling or hindering German extermination operations. One of these was a suggestion that the railways leading from the points of deportation to the camps be bombed. This particular suggestion was discussed with Assistant Secretary of War McCloy. After careful consideration of the matter, the War Department ruled that the suggested air operation was impracticable.

The Board has also received a variety of other suggestions in this category. It has been suggested that the concentration and extermination centers be bombed in order that in the resultant confusion some of the unfortunate people might be able to escape and hide. It has also been suggested that weapons be dropped by parachute simultaneously with such bombings. Finally, it has been proposed that some parachute troops be dropped to bring about disorganization and escape of the unfortunate people.

Arrangements are under way for the examination of these proposals by the competent military authorities.

Consideration of German-Inspired Proposals to Save the Jews of Hungary

Various large-scale and somewhat fantastic proposals are now being received through neutral countries suggesting certain concessions by the Allied Governments in return for the Germans' ceasing to kill and deport the Jews of Hungary. Most, if not all, of these propositions are of dubious reliability. Nevertheless, the policy which we are following is to avoid the outright rejection of any one of these in the hope that some valid and acceptable proposal might be received.

Hungarian Responsiveness to Our Inquiries and the Resulting Offers

As stated above, we were informed by our Legation in Switzerland that on July 15th the Hungarian Government, in answer to the American note delivered on June 27th, had authorized the departure of all Jews from Hungary who held entry permits for other countries, including Palestine. Through the International Red Cross and our Embassy in Lisbon we were advised that deportations from Hungary had ceased, that the International Red Cross would be permitted to furnish relief to Jews in Hungary and that all Jewish children under 10 holding visas to other countries would be permitted to leave Hungary.

We immediately cabled our representatives in the neutral countries to request such governments, either in collaboration with their British colleagues or alone, to advise the Hungarian Government that such neutral governments would receive all Jews released from Hungary. We assured such countries that refugees received by them would be afforded havens in United Nations territory as promptly as military considerations permit, and that in the meantime the United States would undertake to make arrangements for their support and maintenance in the neutral countries. We also asked our representative in Bern to consider the advisability of requesting Hungarian (through special channels available to him) to admit Jews from Hungary

and to afford them refuge in southeastern Rumania until evacuation can be effected. We asked our representative in Ankara to request the Turkish government to admit all persons in enemy territory holding Palestine certificates and to advise enemy governments of its willingness to do so.

At the same time, in order to afford protection to persons in enemy controlled areas to whom American visas were issued on or after July 1, 1941, and who, by reason of transportation difficulties had been unable to make effective use of such visas, instructions were issued to American consular officers in the neutral countries to issue under certain necessary conditions new American immigration visas to any such persons who arrived from enemy territory. It was also requested that such action on our part be immediately conveyed by the Swiss Government to the enemy governments.

With respect to children, we immediately undertook to make arrangements for the utilization for children from Hungary of some 5,000 United States visas which had been authorized previously for refugee children arriving in Switzerland, Spain and Portugal from France.

Through the International Red Cross, the Horthy government has recently indicated to the governments of the United States and Great Britain that it will permit the emigration of certain categories of Jews. The proposal apparently is the result of the various warnings and appeals that have been addressed to the Hungarian authorities. Since it is couched in terms which in effect say "we will permit Jews to leave Hungary if the United States and Great Britain will take care of them," it is regarded as a direct challenge to the two governments.

We propose to accept the challenge and have submitted our views to the British who we hope will agree to join us in a reply to the International Red Cross on August 7th, in which we will ask the International Red Cross to advise the Hungarian Government that we will undertake to care for all Jews who are permitted to leave Hungary and who reach neutral or United Nations territory, and to find havens of refuge for them.

We believe that our acceptance of the proposal should be so clean and unequivocal that in the eyes of the Hungarians and of the world our action will be regarded as a genuine expression of our willingness to save the Jews of Hungary.

FHodellab 8/2/44

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In an attempt to get the facts of the Hungarian situation, urgent cables were despatched to our missions in the neutral countries as well as to the Vatican requesting detailed information on the treatment of Jews in Hungary. We also urged the Pope to instruct the Catholic hierarchy in Hungary to lend every assistance. A favorable response was received on April 12th.

Efforts to Increase Protection to Jews of Hungary

With the receipt of reports that the Germans with the eager assistance of the puppet Hungarian Government were pursuing a program similar to those already undertaken in Poland and elsewhere, we commenced a series of measures designed to obtain some measure of protection for these people in Hungary. We instructed our representatives in the neutral countries to request the Governments to which they are accredited to increase to the largest possible extent the number of their diplomatic and consular personnel in Hungary in the hope that such representatives would use all means available to persuade individuals and officials in Hungary to desist in the persecution of Jews. Turkey, Portugal, Spain and Switzerland did not respond favorably to this appeal. This was undoubtedly due to the fact that this Government unbeknownst to the Board had previously requested such governments to refuse to recognize the new Hungarian puppet government which gave such governments a basis for not complying with this request.

Sweden, in view of the humanitarian considerations, agreed to arrange for extra diplomatic personnel in Hungary. At about the same time the American Legation in Stockholm advised us that a prominent Swedish businessman had agreed to take a trip to Hungary and to investigate conditions and take such action as might be possible. The Legation asked for such suggestions as we might be able to give the businessman. Shortly thereafter our Stockholm Legation advised us that arrangements had been made with the Swedish Government for it to designate this businessman (Mr. Raoul Wallenberg) as its special attache in Budapest. In this connection, the Swedish Government stated that they did not contemplate any difficulty in getting Hungary to accept Wallenberg as special attache because the Swedes were prepared to refuse to receive

the new Hungarian charge d'affaires if Wallenberg was not permitted to go to Hungary.

On March 27th we urged the International Red Cross to send effective representation into Hungary in order to protect the well-being of the groups in that country facing persecution. While the reaction to this request was unfavorable at first, upon our repeated urging the International Red Cross now appears to be attempting to arrange for additional personnel in Hungary and they are cooperating with our representative in Switzerland in his efforts to help the Jews of Hungary.

At the urgent request of the Board, a cable was sent to the Vatican on May 26th in the name of the Government of the United States calling the attention of the Holy See to the reports of persecution in Hungary and calling upon the Pope to express himself on the subject to the authorities and people of Hungary personally by radio and through the clergy in Hungary. The cable also urged that His Holiness might find it possible to remind the people of Hungary of the spiritual consequences of the acts being perpetrated in Hungary and that the Vatican send extra representation into Hungary. The Apostolic Delegate has just advised us that on June 25th the Pope addressed a personal appeal to Regent Horthy to do everything possible in favor of these unfortunate persons suffering because of their race or nationality. Horthy responded that he would do everything in his power to cause the demands of humanitarian and Christian principles to prevail. In addition, the Apostolic Delegate advised that the Apostolic Nunciature in Budapest has been carrying on intense activity in behalf of the non-Aryan Hungarians and in every way is seeking to aid and protect them.

At the urgent request of the Board, Minister Harrison was asked to request the Swiss Government to address an inquiry in the name of the United States Government to the appropriate Hungarian authorities asking them to state their intentions with respect to the future treatment to be accorded Jews and to remind such authorities of the grave view this Government takes concerning the persecution of Jews and other minorities. The note containing this message was delivered to the Hungarian Foreign Office by the Swiss on June 27th. -- Under date of July 18th, our Legation in Bern was advised by the Swiss Foreign Office that, in answer to the foregoing note, the Hungarian Government informed the Swiss that authorization had been given by the Hungarians for the departure of all Jews from Hungary who hold entry permits for another country, including Palestine. (Our response to this message is related below.)

Intensification of Psychological Warfare Program

In cooperation with OWI, arrangements have been made to beam messages continually to Hungary warning her people and officials to desist in persecuting the Jews and informing them of our determination to punish the perpetrators of such cruelties. OWI coverage has been very widespread from overseas as well as from the United States. The British and Russian Governments were immediately urged to cooperate in this psychological program by increased broadcasts to the Satellites.

The President's statement of March 24th on Nazi atrocities was repeatedly used in broadcasts from this country. Through our efforts the members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee signed a strong statement condemning the brutal treatment of Jews in Hungary and the House Foreign Affairs Committee followed suit by unanimously approving a resolution condemning the German persecution of minorities and, in particular, the barbarous acts being pursued in Hungary. These two statements have been used over and over again in OWI programs to occupied Europe. Through War Refugee Board representatives abroad the texts of these statements were made available to the press and radio of neutral countries. A statement decrying the Nazi atrocities signed by Governor Alfred E. Smith and 70 other prominent American Christians has been given similar coverage throughout the world.

Recently, at our request, Archbishop Spellman of New York, in an unprecedented move, issued a stirring spiritual appeal to the people of Hungary to desist in submitting to the lust and tyranny of the Nazi extermination program. This statement has been hailed by people all over the world and has been radioed repeatedly to Hungary and the other satellite countries from the United States and the neutral countries. Pamphlets containing the Archbishop's statement and the other statements mentioned above have been dropped by planes over Hungary in an attempt to reach as many people as possible.

Operations from Sweden

The Swedish Foreign Office has cooperated closely with our Stockholm representative, Iver C. Olsen, and has made available to him various detailed official reports received from Swedish diplomatic personnel in Hungary. In its efforts to help the Hungarian Jews, the Swedish Government has granted passport visas or letters of protection to Jews in Hungary who have family or business ties with Sweden.

The Swedish Foreign Office has gone so far as to state that Wallenberg, their special attache in Budapest, was available for any work the War Refugee Board might wish to assign

to him. We, of course, cabled that, while Wallenberg could not act as the Board's representative nor in its name, he was free to communicate with our representative in Stockholm and to lay before him any specific proposals to aid the Jews of Hungary. Olsen has been instructed to lend every assistance to the Wallenberg mission. In order to assist Wallenberg to get relief and rescue operations under way in Hungary, we have sent to Olsen for Wallenberg a detailed program suggesting names of persons in Hungary who might be helpful in arranging rescues and we have indicated various escape routes which might be available. To the best of our ability, we have taken full advantage of Wallenberg's presence in Budapest. It has just been reported through Olsen that the first thing Wallenberg did was to engage a 16 room office of whose extraterritoriality he took advantage by granting refuge there to a number of Hungarian rabbis and intellectual leaders.

We have arranged for funds to be sent to Olsen to be used expressly for rescue operations from Hungary and we informed him of our willingness and eagerness to discuss any suggestion or program designed to help the persecuted people of Hungary.

Operations from Switzerland

Board representative McClelland has received instructions similar to those sent to Olsen and he has been requested to coordinate the activities of American organizations in Switzerland in an effort to ensure the most effective rescue operations for Hungarian Jews. Names of individuals in Hungary and Switzerland who may be of assistance have been sent to him. One of such persons in Switzerland has actually gone to Hungary on a mission for McClelland.

In response to McClelland's urgent request for funds to finance the rescue of Nazi victims from Hungary, the Board arranged for extra remittances of $1,125,000 of private funds, to Switzerland for such operations. Through a special appeal to the Swiss Minister, arrangements were made for the Swiss authorities to make the necessary Swiss francs available for these activities.

McClelland has recently reported that the Czechoslovak resistance movement is willing to assist in the rescue of Jews from Hungary by bringing them to Slovakia to be enrolled in the Slovak Maquis or to be hidden in Slovakia, but that funds were needed for such a program. After discussing the matter with the Czechoslovak Minister in Geneva, McClelland, from a special War Refugee Board fund, paid the Swiss franc equivalent

of $10,000 to the account of the Czech resistance movement in Switzerland to be used for this program.

McClelland has reported that numerous other operations are now under way and that all reports and appeals from the Jews of Hungary are given careful consideration in an attempt to leave no stone unturned.

Attempts to Increase Flow of Refugees from the Balkans Through Yugoslavia and Turkey

With the tragic turn of events in Hungary, the Board intensified its efforts to develop a flow of refugees in two general directions. It has, in the first place, been devoting itself to opening channels through Yugoslavia and Italy since, on April 29th, Tito agreed to lend assistance in rescuing Hungarian Jews and to aid their escape to join his army or to be evacuated whenever possible. Funds have been sent in order to facilitate the rescue operations across the Adriatic and it is hoped that some refugees in Hungary will seep through this avenue of escape. In the second place, the Board has been involved in developing plans for substantial rescue operations through Rumania and thence by sea to Turkey and Palestine. The latter plan has been the more productive. The Rumanian authorities have set up a new bureau to facilitate emigration and five small ships have been made available for rescue work from Constanza to Turkey. One of these ships has already landed in Turkey with 761 refugees including several hundred orphan children. As a result of Ambassador Steinhardt's efforts, transportation across Turkey has been facilitated. The Board is making every effort to coordinate the activities of private agencies, to send increased remittances to Turkey, and to take every other possible step to maintain and increase this flow.

Military Operations

As the situation in Hungary has become increasingly desperate, the Board has received several proposals that certain military operations might take place with the possible purpose of forestalling or hindering German extermination operations. One of these was a suggestion that the railways leading from the points of deportation to the camps be bombed. This particular suggestion was discussed with Assistant Secretary of War McCloy. After careful consideration of the matter, the War Department ruled that the suggested air operation was impracticable.

The Board has also received a variety of other suggestions in this category. It has been suggested that the concentration and extermination centers be bombed in order that in the resultant confusion some of the unfortunate people might be able to escape and hide. It has also been suggested that weapons be dropped by parachute simultaneously with such bombing. Finally, it has been proposed that some parachute troops be dropped to bring about disorganization and escape of the unfortunate people.

Arrangements are under way for the examination of these proposals by the competent military authorities.

Consideration of German-Inspired Proposals to Save the Jews of Hungary

Various large-scale and somewhat fantastic proposals are now being received through neutral countries suggesting certain concessions by the Allied Governments in return for the Germans' ceasing to kill and deport the Jews of Hungary. Most, if not all, of these propositions are of dubious reliability. Nevertheless, the policy which we are following is to avoid the outright rejection of any one of these in the hope that some valid and acceptable proposal might be received.

Hungarian Responsiveness to Our Inquiries and the Resulting Offers

As stated above, we were informed by our Legation in Switzerland that on July 18th the Hungarian Government, in answer to the American note delivered on June 27th, had authorized the departure of all Jews from Hungary who hold entry permits for other countries, including Palestine. Through the International Red Cross and our Embassy in Lisbon we were advised that deportations from Hungary had ceased, that the International Red Cross would be permitted to furnish relief to Jews in Hungary and that all Jewish children under 10 holding visas to other countries would be permitted to leave Hungary.

We immediately cabled our representatives in the neutral countries to request such governments, either in collaboration with their British colleagues or alone, to advise the Hungarian Government that such neutral governments would receive all Jews released from Hungary. We assured such countries that refugees received by them would be afforded havens in United Nations territory as promptly as military considerations permit, and that in the meantime the United States would undertake to make arrangements for their support and maintenance in the neutral countries. We also asked our representative in Bern to consider the advisability of requesting Rumania (through special channels available to him) to admit Jews from Hungary

and to afford them refuge in southeastern Rumania until evacuation can be effected. We asked our representative in Ankara to request the Turkish Government to admit all persons in enemy territory holding Palestine certificates and to advise enemy governments of its willingness to do so.

At the same time, in order to afford protection to persons in enemy controlled areas to whom American visas were issued on or after July 1, 1941, and who, by reason of transportation difficulties had been unable to make effective use of such visas, instructions were issued to American consular officers in the neutral countries to issue under certain necessary conditions new American immigration visas to any such persons who arrived from enemy territory. It was also requested that such action on our part be immediately conveyed by the Swiss Government to the enemy governments.

With respect to children, we immediately undertook to make arrangements for the utilization for children from Hungary of some 5,000 United States visas which had been authorized previously for refugee children arriving in Switzerland, Spain and Portugal from France.

Through the International Red Cross, the Horthy government has recently indicated to the governments of the United States and Great Britain that it will permit the emigration of certain categories of Jews. The proposal apparently is the result of the various warnings and appeals that have been addressed to the Hungarian authorities. Since it is couched in terms which in effect say "we will permit Jews to leave Hungary if the United States and Great Britain will take care of them," it is regarded as a direct challenge to the two governments.

We propose to accept the challenge and have submitted our views to the British who we hope will agree to join us in a reply to the International Red Cross on August 7th, in which we will ask the International Red Cross to advise the Hungarian Government that we will undertake to care for all Jews who are permitted to leave Hungary and who reach neutral or United Nations territory, and to find havens of refuge for them.

We believe that our acceptance of the proposal should be so clear and unequivocal that in the eyes of the Hungarians and of the world our action will be regarded as a genuine expression of our willingness to save the Jews of Hungary.

Cleveland Hungarian Newspaper,

Alleged English Language Broadcast by Admiral Horthy to the U.S.

(Ajo Pasztor, 11 August 1944, p.1)

For the past four years hundreds of thousands of Jews have been infiltrating into Hungary from Germany, Poland, Rumania, and Czechoslovakia. Hungary has received these refugees with open arms and given them all possible protection, if only for this reason that giving protection to the persecuted is one of the most ancient and sacred traditions of Hungary. Unfortunately, however, as a result of this terrible war economic conditions in Hungary have deteriorated so greatly that not only delicacies but even bread has become extremely scarce. As a result of this we were forced to ask those who cannot be reckoned as parts of the nation's body, who were sojourning here only under the right of asylum, to leave. All such people received their passports through the regular channels without having suffered the slightest harm. All that has happened was that they received a request that they go back to where they came from. These measures did not concern Hungarian Jews. The Hungarian Jews enjoy the same rights and receive the same treatment as any other Hungarian. We consider the Hungarian Jews, Hungarians. There are Jewish families here who can trace their family trees in Hungary several hundred years back, these have never had any trouble with anybody. (Horthy referred to the fact that the so-called Jewish law does exist in accordance with which Jewish business and estates have been expropriated.) But this expropriation did not signify violence, because in every such case the owner has been compensated with government bonds and cash. There is absolutely nonecessity to start movements for the 'rescue' of Jews who have received such treatment, there is no need to expedite their "escape" from the country. If there are among then such as wish to leave the national territory, they can do so at any time. They may receive a regular passport entitling them to travel wherever they wish to go. They caneven take everything that constitutes their legal possession with them. But, I am very much in doubt that there would be many such persons. The Hungarian Jews, who have been through thick and thin with us, who are subject to the terrible discomforts of the war exactly to the same extent as any other Hungarian, who do not only call themselves Hungarians but also think and live as such, who know that no advantage has been taken of them, do not wish to leave here.

Copies Sent to: Pehle Laughlin
Mannon Fitz
Friedman Hodel
Abraham
Lurie
Dubois
9/12/44

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(Aio Passter, Cleveland Hungarian Newspaper,
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cc: Pehle, Mannon, Friedman, Abrahamson, Lesser, Dubois, Laughlin, Files, Hodel

471

Pehle

WU 44 73/72 2 EXTRA

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SECRETARY HENRY MORGENTHAU

TREASY DEPT

WE LEARN FROM RELIABLE SOURCES THAT GERMANS INTEND ARREST THE 300,000 JEWS SURVIVING IN HUNGARY AND DEPORT THEM TO EXTERMINATION CAMPS STOP IN VIEW OF GRAVITY SITUATION AND SCOPE OF JEWISH TRAGEDY WE EARNESTLY URGE THAT CONSISTENT WITH SUCCESSFUL PROSECUTION OF THE WAR AND ALL OUT EFFORT BE MADE TO ARRIVE AT SOME ARRANGEMENT WHICH WOULD PERMIT THE RESCUE OF THE REMANENTS OF THE JEWISH POPULATION OF GERMAN HELD W EUROPE

STEPHEN WISE NAHUM GOLDMAN.

536P

SURY TELEGRAPH TREASURY TELEGRAPH TR

SEP 19 [redacted]

Dear Dr. Wise and Dr. Goldmann:

Secretary Morgenthau has referred to me for reply your telegram of September 16, 1944, similar in text to the telegram you sent to me on the same date.

I wish to assure you that the War Refugee Board is taking every action known to be possible and practicable to save the lives of all Jews still in enemy-occupied territory.

While we have not received confirmation of the report referred to in your telegram, you may be certain that this government will energetically continue to make unremitting efforts to save the lives of the Jews remaining in Europe.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J.W. Pehle
J. W. Pehle
Executive Director

Dr. Stephen Wise & Dr. Nahum Goldmann,
World Jewish Congress,
1834 Broadway,
New York 23, N. Y.

Original signed by Mr. Pehle

FH:hd 9/19/44

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NI NEWYORK NY SEPT 16 1944 427P

JOHN PEHLE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR WAR REFUGEE BOARD

TREASY BLDG

1944 SEP 16 PM 5 34

WE WISH TO INFORM YOU OF FOLLOWING TELEGRAM WE SEND TO THE SECRETARIES MEMBERS OF THE WAR REFUGEE BOARD QUOTE WE LEARN FROM RELIABLE SOURCES THAT GERMANS INTEND ARREST 300,000 THE JEWS SURVIVING IN HUNGARY AND DEPOT THEM TO EXTERMINATION CAMPS STOP IN VIEW OF GRAVITY SITUATION AND SCOPE OF JEWISH TRAGEDY WE EARNESTLY URGE THAT CONSISTENT WITH SUCCESSFUL PROSECUTION OF THE WAR AN ALL OUT EFFORT BE MADE TO ARRIVE AT SOME ARRANGEMENT WHICH WOULD PERMIT THE RESCUE OF THE REMANENTS OF THE JEWISH POPULATION OF GERMAN HELD EUROPE UNQUOTE

STEPHENWISE NAHUM GOLDMANN.

538P

9/18/44 Mrs. Pehle feels that no reply is necessary

TO: Secretary Morgenthau

9-6-44

FROM: J. W. Pehle

(1) What we have done with respect to Hungary

Our efforts to aid the Jews in Hungary have included the following measures:

(a) We appealed to the Pope to intervene with the Hungarian authorities, to warn the Hungarian people and to enlist for the Jews the assistance of the Catholic hierarchy and people. The Pope appealed to Admiral Horthy and gave appropriate instructions to the Catholic clergy in Hungary.

(b) We requested neutral powers and the International Red Cross to increase the size of their missions in Hungary. Sweden complied with our request and appointed a special attache at Budapest who is in direct communication with our representative at Stockholm and has, in many ways, been extremely helpful to the Board. The Red Cross increased its delegation and, at our request, undertook in some measure to supervise such concentration centers as the Hungarians permitted.

(c) We requested the Swiss Government to deliver a note from this Government to the Hungarian Government referring to the President's statement of March 24 and inquiring as to the intentions of Hungary with respect to its Jewish population. The Swiss delivered the note as requested.

(d) With the assistance of the O.W.I., Hungary has been flooded with broadcasts dealing with the persecution of the Jews. These broadcasts have included statements by Archbishop Spellman, members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Alfred E. Smith and a group of his associates, including the Governors of several states, a resolution of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, and numerous appeals and warnings by persons of Hungarian ancestry well known in Hungary. The President's statement of March 24, in addition to being broadcasted, was dropped in leaflet form from the air over Hungary.

(e) Through our representatives in neutral capitals contact was made with various dissident Hungarians whose aid was enlisted, and we fostered several projects for the clandestine escape of Jews from Hungary.

(f) Upon being informed by the Hungarian Government, through the Swiss Government, that the deportation of Jews had ceased and that Hungary was willing to permit the emigration of Jews to such countries as would permit their entry, and through the International Red Cross, that Hungary was prepared to release certain unspecified categories of Jews, we took the following action: We asked neutral countries to advise

enemy governments that they were prepared to receive such Jews as those governments would permit to emigrate. We assured neutral governments that we would arrange for the maintenance and support of such Jews as they received, and would evacuate them to havens of refuge as soon as practicable. We asked the Swiss Government to advise enemy governments that American consuls in neutral countries had been authorized to issue American immigration visas to all Jews in enemy occupied areas for whom American immigration visas had been authorized on or after July 1, 1941 or who were the spouses, unmarried minor children or parents of American citizens or the wives or unmarried minor children of aliens resident in the United States. We asked the Swiss Government to request enemy governments to release all persons in such categories and requested all neutral countries to express to enemy governments their willingness to receive such persons. Appropriate instructions and authorizations were issued to American consuls in the neutral countries and we assured such countries with regard to the maintenance and evacuation of all persons within these categories to whom they might give asylum. Similar action was taken with respect to Jews holding Palestine certificates, and the Jewish Agency and British Government were requested to augment the number of available certificates. We also made available for children from Hungary approximately 5,000 American immigration visas which had theretofore been authorized for children from France. Sweden, Turkey, Switzerland, Spain, and Portugal, in one form or another, but in large measure, compiled with our requests or adopted comparable programs of their own. This Government and the British Government jointly advised the Red Cross that havens of refuge would be supplied to all Jews reaching neutral or Allied Nations territory, and a joint public declaration to that effect was issued.

(2) The Hungarian situation at the present time

No sooner had we taken the foregoing action to implement the proposals made by Hungary through the Swiss Government and the International Red Cross, than rumors began to spread that the Gestapo would not allow the Hungarians to go through with such program. Indeed, very few Jews have reached neutral territory and our representatives at Bern and Ankara report that deportations from Hungary to extermination centers are likely to be resumed under German pressure unless we take adequate counter-measures. As a consequence, the following action is being taken:

(a) We are stressing with the O.W.I. the importance of continuing its broadcasts to Hungary on the persecution of Jews at the same tempo as heretofore prevailed. We are

continuing to assist the O.W.I. in securing statements, speakers, and other material.

(b) Although we have not considered it advisable to keep representatives of Jewish organizations informed, negotiations between neutral Jews and the Gestapo have been continuing in neutral territory for some weeks. The Gestapo agents have demanded credits totaling $50,000,000 in neutral countries available for the purchase there of such commodities as tractors, and Allied permission to neutral countries to export them. The Gestapo agents have been told that any sum such as $50,000,000 is out of the question and that there was no hope of securing Allied permission for neutral countries to export to the Axis additional quantities of war materials. The Gestapo agents are being advised that a fund upwards of $2,000,000 is available, and that if they want commodities rather than money, it will be necessary for them to submit a detailed statement of exactly what they want before the Allied governments can be approached for permission to neutral countries to export such goods. The neutral who is conducting these negotiations has been requested to make it clear to the Gestapo agents that he is acting solely as a representative of his local Jewish community and not as the representative of Allied Jews or any organization of them. The latest conference was scheduled to take place on August 31. We have not as yet had any word as to what transpired at that meeting, although it is known that every effort is being made to prolong the negotiations and to avoid giving the Germans any pretext to break them off. It is understood by the neutral conducting the negotiations that under present circumstances no bargain involving the payment of ransom to the German Government will be countenanced.

(3) Additional measures that have been suggested

Several Jewish organizations have suggested that in order to prevent further deportations from Hungary

(a) The railway lines leading from Hungary to known death camps be bombed and that the death camps themselves be attacked by paratroops and bombed.

Some time ago we referred to the War Department the proposal to bomb the railway lines leading to known extermination centers. The War Department rejected this proposal as impracticable. Railway lines are quickly and easily repaired unless subjected to constant bombing. Furthermore, if the Germans are bent on exterminating Jews, it is not necessary first to concentrate them in existing extermination centers.

We have not referred to the War Department the proposal to raid the death camps by paratroops. At this stage of the war, it did not seem proper to suggest to the War Department the diversion of military equipment or military personnel to non-military purposes. Furthermore, aerial and paratroop raids of

this kind must entail casualties on the part of the raiders and we did not feel justified in asking the War Department to undertake a measure which involved the sacrifice of American troops. It also seemed probable that an aerial attack on the extermination centers might accomplish more speedly and more effectively the objectives of the Germans than the Germans themselves could accomplish in view of the rapidity of the approach of the Russian Armies.

(b) The Polish Government in Exile in London be requested to direct its underground forces to destroy the death camps and free the prisoners detained there.

We have made no such request to the Polish Government in Exile in London. Such action was urged upon Prime Minister Mikolajczyk under date of June 27, 1944 by Dr. I. Schwarzbart, a Jewish member of the Polish National Council. No action so far as we know was taken by the Prime Minister with respect to Dr. Schwarzbart's proposal. In view of the apparently deep-rooted anti-Semitism on the part of a large segment of the Polish Government and underground movement, it seemed most unlikely that the Poles would, in good faith, undertake to attack the death centers effectively unless strong political pressure involving political support were asserted. As a matter of fact, it is very doubtful whether the Poles had the necessary forces to carry out any such operation.

(c) Request the War Department to make transport planes available to a neutral power to be used to facilitate the evacuation of Hungarian Jews.

We have not referred this request to the War Department because it seemed clear that the Germans would not even consider granting safe conduct to such planes since they had refused to grant safe conduct to ships carrying Jewish refugees from Romania to Turkey. Moreover, we felt that it was not proper to ask the War Department at this time to divert military equipment to non-military purposes.

(d) Neutral Jews should be permitted and encouraged to engage in negotiations with the Gestapo to work out some "deal" on behalf of the remaining Jews in Hungary.

As pointed out above, such negotiations are in progress, but we have not felt free to so advise representatives of Jewish organizations.

J. W. Pehle

TO: Secretary Morgenthau

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(a) We are stressing with the O.W.I. the importance of continuing its broadcasts to Hungary on the persecution of Jews at the same tempo as heretofore prevailed. We are

continuing to assist the O.W.I. in securing statements, speakers, and other material.

(b) Although we have not considered it advisable to keep representatives of Jewish organizations informed, negotiations between neutral Jews and the Gestapo have been continuing in neutral territory for some weeks. The Gestapo agents have demanded credits totaling $50,000,000 in neutral countries available for the purchase there of such commodities as tractors, and Allied permission to neutral countries to export them. The Gestapo agents have been told that any sum such as $50,000,000 is out of the question and that there was no hope of securing Allied permission for neutral countries to export to the Axis additional quantities of war materials. The Gestapo agents are being advised that a fund upwards of $2,000,000 is available, and that if they want commodities rather than money, it will be necessary for them to submit a detailed statement of exactly what they want before the Allied governments can be approached for permission to neutral countries to export such goods. The neutral who is conducting these negotiations has been requested to make it clear to the Gestapo agents that he is acting solely as a representative of his local Jewish community and not as the representative of Allied Jews or any organization of them. The latest conference was scheduled to take place on August 31. We have not as yet had any word as to what transpired at that meeting, although it is known that every effort is being made to prolong the negotiations and to avoid giving the Germans any pretext to break them off. It is understood by the neutral conducting the negotiations that under present circumstances no bargain involving the payment of ransom to the German Government will be countenanced.

(3) Additional measures that have been suggested

Several Jewish organizations have suggested that in order to prevent further deportations from Hungary

(a) The railway lines leading from Hungary to known death camps be bombed and that the death camps themselves be attacked by paratroops and bombed.

Some time ago we referred to the War Department the proposal to bomb the railway lines leading to known extermination centers. The War Department rejected this proposal as impracticable. Railway lines are quickly and easily repaired unless subjected to constant bombing. Furthermore, if the Germans are bent on exterminating Jews, it is not necessary first to concentrate them in existing extermination centers.

We have not referred to the War Department the proposal to raid the death camps by paratroops. At this stage of the war, it did not seem proper to suggest to the War Department the diversion of military equipment or military personnel to non-military purposes. Furthermore, aerial and [illegible] raids of

this kind must entail casualties on the part of the raiders and we did not feel justified in asking the War Department to undertake a measure which involved the sacrifice of American troops. It also seemed probable that an aerial attack on the extermination centers might accomplish more speedly and more effectively the objectives of the Germans than the Germans themselves could accomplish in view of the rapidity of the approach of the Russian Armies.

(b) The Polish Government in Exile in London be requested to direct its underground forces to destroy the death camps and free the prisoners detained there.

We have made no such request to the Polish Government in Exile in London. Such action was urged upon Prime Minister Mikolajczyk under date of June 27, 1944 by Dr. I. Schwarzbart, a Jewish member of the Polish National Council. No action so far as we know was taken by the Prime Minister with respect to Dr. Schwarzbart's proposal. In view of the apparently deep-rooted anti-Semitism on the part of a large segment of the Polish Government and underground movement, it seemed most unlikely that the Poles would, in good faith, undertake to attack the death centers effectively unless strong political pressure involving political support were asserted. As a matter of fact, it is very doubtful whether the Poles had the necessary forces to carry out any such operation.

(c) Request the War Department to make transport planes available to a neutral power to be used to facilitate the evacuation of Hungarian Jews.

We have not referred this request to the War Department because it seemed clear that the Germans would not even consider granting safe conduct to such planes since they had refused to grant safe conduct to ships carrying Jewish refugees from Romania to Turkey. Moreover, we felt that it was not proper to ask the War Department at this time to divert military equipment to non-military purposes.

(d) Neutral Jews should be permitted and encouraged to engage in negotiations with the Gestapo to work out some "deal" on behalf of the remaining Jews in Hungary.

As pointed out above, such negotiations are in progress, but we have not felt free to so advise representatives of Jewish organizations.

LSLesser:JWPehle:tmh:lh 9-5-44 Y.S.L.

SEP 4 1944

Jewish Labor Committee
175 East Broadway
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

This will acknowledge your letter of August 25. The Board appreciates the suggestions made therein for dealing with the plight of Jews in Hungary and has given them its careful consideration.

Please be advised that, as far as practicable, the Board has been active for some time along lines similar to those you suggest. It will, of course, continue to do everything in its power to bring relief and rescue to the Jews of Hungary.

Very truly yours,

[illegible]

J. W. Pehle
Executive Director

Original signed by
Mr. Pehle
Conformed copy to Azkin

BA.
BAkzin:ar 8/31/44
L.G.L. FH

Telephone: GRamercy 7-3987

Jewish Labor Committee

175 EAST BROADWAY
NEW YORK, N. Y.

ADOLPH HELD, *Chairman*
JOSEPH BASKIN, *Secretary*
DAVID DUBINSKY, *Treasurer*
JACOB PAT, *Executive Secretary*
N. CHANIN, *Chairman, Office Committee*

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M. KUDISH
A. MILLER
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H. BERGER, Philadelphia
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M. BIALIS, Chicago
J. BLUMB, Boston
S. CAPLAN, Baltimore
A. W. KATOVSKY, Cleveland
A. KIRZNER, Toronto
J. LEVITT, Los Angeles
L. LEVY, Los Angeles
T. MEISEL, Mexico
S. OSHRY, Pittsburgh
M. RUBINSTEIN, Montreal
B. SHANE, Montreal
J. SIEGEL, Chicago
H. TURK, Baltimore
J. WEISBERG, Cleveland

August 25, 1944

Mr. John W. Pehle, Exec. Dir.
War Refugee Board
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Pehle:

We welcome with gratitude the announcement by the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdon that "they have accepted the offer of the Hungarian Government for the release of Jews and will make arrangements for the care of such Jews leaving Hungary who reach neutral or United Nations' territory, and also that they will find temporary havens of refuge where such people may live in safety."

We express our appreciation for the untiring efforts of the War Refugee Board, which led to the offer made by the Hungarian Government, and its acceptance.

It is our conviction that steps must be taken without delay, to implement this announced policy for the following reasons:

1) The offer of the Hungarian Government may be countermanded at any time by the Nazis and the deportation of Jews from Hungary, which we understand is still continuing, may be resumed on a large scale. Such a course is likely in the light of past experience and because of the danger that the Nazis may launch reprisals against the Jews as Allied successes mount.

2) Evacuation of a number of Jews from Hungary will not only mean salvation for those who are removed, but will make it clear to the people of Hungary and other countries in Axis dominated Europe, that the Allied powers are determined to protect the Jewish people from further Nazi excesses, and thus ameliorate the conditions of the Jews who cannot be brought out.

3) Any indication on the part of the United Nations that they are not prepared to take full and immediate advantage of the Hungarian offer would have a disastrous effect, for it would negate the warnings and the appeals which have been directed to the people of Hungary since the beginning of the Nazi occupation, and it would discourage neutral

nations...

Telephone: GRamercy 7-3987

Jewish Labor Committee

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A. KIRZNER, Toronto
J. LEVITT, Los Angeles
L. LEVY, Los Angeles
T. MEISEL, Mexico
S. OSHRY, Pittsburgh
M. RUBINSTEIN, Montreal
B. SHANE, Montreal
J. SIEGEL, Chicago
H. TURK, Baltimore
J. WEISBERG, Cleveland

August 25, 1944

Mr. John W. Pehle, Exec. Dir.
War Refugee Board
Washington, D. C.

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It is our conviction that steps must be taken without delay, to implement this announced policy for the following reasons:

1) The offer of the Hungarian Government may be countermanded at any time by the Nazis and the deportation of Jews from Hungary, which we understand is still continuing, may be resumed on a large scale. Such a course is likely in the light of past experience and because of the danger that the Nazis may launch reprisals against the Jews as Allied successes mount.

2) Evacuation of a number of Jews from Hungary will not only mean salvation for those who are removed, but will make it clear to the people of Hungary and other countries in Axis dominated Europe, that the Allied powers are determined to protect the Jewish people from further Nazi excesses, and thus ameliorate the conditions of the Jews who cannot be brought out.

3) Any indication on the part of the United Nations that they are not prepared to take full and immediate advantage of the Hungarian offer would have a disastrous effect, for it would negate the warnings and the appeals which have been directed to the people of Hungary since the beginning of the Nazi occupation, and it would discourage neutral

nations...

nations who have repeatedly demonstrated their willingness to come to the assistance of the victims of Nazi persecution. We therefore urge the immediate of the following measures of rescue:

RESCUE OF CHILDREN - At the outset, we stress the urgency of transferring children from Hungary, inasmuch as a number of neutral and Allied governments have expressed a willingness to grant havens to them.

Since the Swedish Government has offered to receive 10,000 children from Hungary, we urge that a number of airplanes be placed at the disposal of the Swedish authorities and that the children be flown from Hungary to Sweden. Planes might also be placed at the disposal of Switzerland, Spain and Turkey should they be willing to undertake similar action.

The fullest cooperation of the International Red Cross should be enlisted to guarantee these planes safe transit.

It is our conviction that public opinion would hail these flights of mercy with gratitude. Moreover, the psychological effect on the people of occupied Europe would be overwhelming, for this would impressively signify the intention of the United Nations to liberate the victims of Nazi tyranny and persecution.

RESCUE OF ADULTS - The possibilities offered by the available Palestine certificates should be utilized to their fullest extend. Roumanian and Bulgarian efforts to win the favor of the United Nations, Turkey's non-belligerency, the reported withdrawal of the German armies from the Turkish-Bulgarian border, call for the utilization of land routes as lifelines of escape. However, transportation should not be limited to railroads. All available vehicles should be employed.

Steps should also be taken at once to provde sea transportation facilities for escaping refugees by placing suitable boats at the disposal of rescue organizations.

THOSE WHO REMAIN IN HUNGARY - As for the Jews who remain in Hungary and who are deprived of their freedom of movement, we urge that the United States and the United Kingdom join in making available to the International Red Cross the necessary means for providing them with food and clothing. In a cable dated August 4, 1944, which has been communicated to us, the International Committee of the Red Cross complains that "for months past" it "has submitted to Allied governments, especially with view to relief measures, concrete proposals which for economic reasons could in part not yet meet with approval." May we recall that on November 26, 1943, Mr. Breckenridge Long, Assistant Secretary of State, informed the House Committee of Foreign Affairs

that the United States and Great Britain would each contribute four million dollars to finance the rescue program of the International Committee of the Red Cross? We request that this proposal soon be carried into effect.

THOSE DEPORTED FROM HUNGARY - The Jews already deported from Hungary must not be written off. According to the Agence Telegraphique Suisse, of July 13, 1944, the Budapest government has contended that no Jews have been deported from Hungary to Germany and Poland, but that actually Jewish manpower has been placed at the disposal of the Reich in accordance with a recently concluded German-Hungarian agreement. May we urge that the Hungarian government be requested by an official note, presented through the protecting power, to state what action it has taken and intends to take to insure that this Jewish manpower will be entitled to the same care and protection as the Hungarian workers of Christian faith who have been sent to Germany. At the same time, suggestions should be made that in the light of the physical danger of Jews in Germany, Jewish manpower be returned from Germany and be utilized for public work in Hungary proper.

Very truly yours,
JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE

Adolph Held,
CHAIRMAN

Jacob Pat,
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

afoe/23076
obb

SEP 4 [redacted]

In reply please
refer to: 3298

My dear General Hilldring:

Thank you for your letter of August 22, 1944, enclosing a copy of a telegram received by the Secretary of War from the Union of Orthodox Rabbis of the United States and the Vaad Hahatzala Emergency Committee, on the subject of the deportation of Hungarian Jews.

In response to similar messages from these organizations to the Secretary of the Treasury and the War Refugee Board, they were advised that this Government has not yet received confirmation of the report referred to in their telegram and that further information is being sought by the Board. In the meantime, all practicable measures are being continued to protect the lives of the Jews in Hungary.

They were also advised that despite continuous efforts by this and other Governments to impress upon the German and Hungarian authorities our willingness to receive and care for all Jews permitted to leave Hungary, it now appears probable that the Germans will actively prevent such emigration except as a part of a ransom arrangement involving the delivery of materials and supplies which would directly aid the German war effort. Recent reports indicating this to be the German attitude are being checked by representatives of the Board in Switzerland, Sweden and Turkey. They were assured that regardless of the attitude of the Germans, this Government will continue, consistently with the successful prosecution of the war, its unremitting efforts to save the Jews of Hungary.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) J. W. Pehle

J. W. Pehle
Executive Director

Maj. Gen. J. H. Hilldring,
Director, Civil Affairs Division,
War Department,
Washington 25, D. C.

Original signed by Mr. Pehle

Hutchison:agr 8-30-44

Mr. Friedman
answered this
with a letter
the other day.
He had the
original telegram.

J. Harrison

3298

WAR DEPARTMENT
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF
CIVIL AFFAIRS DIVISION
WASHINGTON 25

W. R. B.
Filing Authority
To: Files
No. Ans. Req.
Initial
Date

22 August 1944

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

Dear Mr. Pehle:

Inclosed is copy of a telegram received by the Secretary of War from the Union of Orthodox Rabbis of the United States and the Vaad Hotzala Emergency Committee, 132 Nassau Street, New York City, on the subject of deportation of Hungarian Jews.

A letter substantially as follows is being sent in reply to the above mentioned telegram:

> Receipt is acknowledged of your telegram of 20 August 1944 addressed to the Secretary of War concerning the continued deportation of Jews from Hungary, which has been transmitted to the Civil Affairs Division for necessary action.
>
> As a member of the President's War Refugee Board, the Secretary of War is acutely aware of the plight of these unfortunate people and is desirous of taking all possible measures to improve their condition. Consequently, the Executive Director has been furnished with a copy of your telegram and has been requested to take steps to impress upon the Hungarian Government and the Hungarian people the consequences of a continuation of their program of deportation.

Sincerely yours,

J. H. HILLDRING,
Major General,
Director, Civil Affairs Division.

Incl.
Cy telegram as above.

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WAR V WUA 177 96 WW EXTRA

NEW YORK NY AUG 20 YPYP 1944

HON HENRY STIMSON

SEC OF WAR WASH DC

WE HAVE JUST RECEIVED ALARMING REPORT AHT REGARDLESS OF STATEMENT OF HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT DEPORTATION OF SMALL GROUPS OF JEWS STILL CONTINUING UNDER FALSE PRETENSE OF EXCHANGE STOP IT IS VITAL THAT WARNINGS THRU RADIO. PRESS LEAFLETS AND EVERY OTHER MEANS BE CONTINUED ESPECIALLY THRU THE EMBASSIES OF SWITZERLAND SWEDEN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL IN BUDAPEST STOP WE PLEASE THAT ON THIS FINAL HOUR IT IS ESSENTIAL TO CARRY OUT EXTRAORDINARY AND ENERGETIC METHODS OF RESCUE.

UNION OF ORTHODOX RABBIS OF U.S. RABBI ISRAEL ROSENBERG RABBI EL SILVER VAAD HOTZALA EMERGENCY COMMITTEE RABBI ARON KOTLER RABBI ABRAHAM KALMANOWITZ 132 NASSAU ST NEW YORK CITY.

SEP 2 1944

American Jewish Conference
521 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, New York

Gentlemen:

This will acknowledge your letter of August 22. The Board appreciates the suggestions made therein for dealing with the plight of Jews in Hungary and has given them its careful consideration.

Please be advised that, as far as practicable, the Board has been active for some time along lines similar to those you suggest. It will, of course, continue to do everything in its power to bring relief and rescue to the Jews of Hungary.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. W. Pehle

J. W. Pehle
Executive Director

L.S.R.

Bakzinar 8/31/44

American JEWISH CONFERENCE

521 Fifth Avenue Telephone MUrray Hill 2-7197 New York 17, N. Y.

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HENRY MONSKY
DR. STEPHEN S. WISE
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HERMAN SHULMAN
MEYER W. WEISGAL
DAVID WERTHEIM

August 22, 1944

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

Dear Mr. Pehle:

At our meeting with you on August 16th, it was suggested that we embody our proposals for action on the implementation of the offer of the Hungarian Government in a memorandum.

The enclosed statement incorporates some of the suggestions which were made at that meeting and has the indorsement of a great many Jewish organizations which have united for the purpose of its submission.

We are confident that it will receive sympathetic consideration at your hands.

Sincerely yours,

RABBI IRVING MILLER
HERMAN SHULMAN
EUGENE HEVESI
RABBI ABRAHAM KALMANOVITZ
A. L. KUBOWITZKI
MRS. DAVID DE SOLA POOL

By I. L. Kenen, Secretary

ILK:FSK
Enc.

THE INTERIM COMMITTEE WAS ESTABLISHED BY THE DELEGATES OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE IN NEW YORK, SEPT. 2, 1943, TO IMPLEMENT ITS RESOLUTIONS ON: THE RESCUE OF EUROPEAN JEWRY; THE RIGHTS AND STATUS OF JEWS IN THE POST-WAR WORLD; THE RIGHTS OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE WITH RESPECT TO PALESTINE.

10

MEMORANDUM ON MEASURES OF RELIEF AND RESCUE
OF JEWS SURVIVING IN AND DEPORTED FROM HUNGARY

We welcome with gratitude the announcement by the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom that "they have accepted the offer of the Hungarian Government for the release of Jews and will make arrangements for the care of such Jews leaving Hungary who reach neutral or United Nations' territory, and also that they will find temporary havens of refuge where such people may live in safety."

We express our appreciation for the untiring efforts of the War Refugee Board, which led to the offer made by the Hungarian Government and its acceptance.

It is our conviction that steps must be taken without delay to implement this announced policy for the following reasons:

1. The offer of the Hungarian Government may be countermanded at any time by the Nazis and the deportation of Jews from Hungary, which we understand is still continuing, may be resumed on a large scale. Such a course is likely in the light of past experience and because of the danger that the Nazis may launch reprisals against the Jews as Allied successes mount.

2. Evacuation of a number of Jews from Hungary will not only mean salvation for those who are removed, but will make it clear to the people of Hungary and

other countries in Axis dominated Europe that the Allied powers are determined to protect the Jewish people from further Nazi excesses, and thus ameliorate the conditions of the Jews who cannot be brought out.

3. Any indication on the part of the United Nations that they are not prepared to take full and immediate advantage of the Hungarian offer would have a disastrous effect, for it would negate the warnings and the appeals which have been directed to the people of Hungary since the beginning of the Nazi occupation, and it would discourage neutral nations who have repeatedly demonstrated their willingness to come to the assistance of the victims of Nazi persecution. We therefore urge the immediate adoption of the following measures of rescue:

I. RESCUE OF CHILDREN

At the outset, we stress the urgency of transferring children from Hungary inasmuch as a number of neutral and Allied governments have expressed a willingness to grant havens to them.

Since the Swedish Government has offered to receive 10,000 children from Hungary, we urge that a number of airplanes be placed at the disposal of the Swedish authorities and that the children be flown from Hungary to Sweden. Planes might also be placed at the disposal of Switzerland, Spain and Turkey should they be willing to undertake similar action.

The fullest cooperation of the International Red Cross should be enlisted to guarantee these planes safe transit.

It is our conviction that public opinion would hail these flights of mercy with gratitude. Moreover, the psychological effect on the people of occupied Europe would be overwhelming, for this would impressively signify the intention of the United Nations to liberate the victims of Nazi tyranny and persecution.

II. RESCUE OF ADULTS

The possibilities offered by the available Palestine certificates should be utilized to their fullest extent. Roumanian and Bulgarian efforts to win the favor of the United Nations, Turkey's non-belligerency, the reported withdrawal of the German armies from the Turkish-Bulgarian border, call for the utilization of land routes as lifelines of escape. However, transportation should not be limited to railroads. All available vehicles should be employed.

Steps should also be taken at once to provide sea transportation facilities for escaping refugees by placing suitable boats at the disposal of rescue organizations.

III. THOSE WHO REMAIN IN HUNGARY

As for the Jews who remain in Hungary and who are deprived of their freedom of movement, we urge that the United States and the United Kingdom join in making

available to the International Red Cross the necessary means for providing them with food and clothing. In a cable dated August 4, 1944, which has been communicated to us, the International Committee of the Red Cross complains that "for months past" it "has submitted to Allied governments, especially with view to relief measures, concrete proposals which for economic reasons could in part not yet meet with approval." May we recall that on November 26, 1943, Mr. Breckinridge Long, Assistant Secretary of State, informed the House Committee of Foreign Affairs that the United States and Great Britain would each contribute four million dollars to finance the rescue program of the International Committee of the Red Cross? We request that this proposal soon be carried into effect.

IV. THOSE DEPORTED FROM HUNGARY

The Jews already deported from Hungary must not be written off. According to the Agence Telegraphique Suisse, of July 13, 1944, the Budapest government has contended that no Jews have been deported from Hungary to Germany and Poland, but that actually Jewish manpower has been placed at the disposal of the Reich in accordance with a recently concluded German-Hungarian agreement. May we urge that the Hungarian government be requested by an official note, presented through the protecting power, to state what action it has taken and intends to take to insure that this Jewish manpower will be entitled to the same care and protection as the Hungarian workers of Christian faith who have been sent

to Germany. At the same time, suggestions should be made that in the light of the physical danger of Jews in Germany, Jewish manpower be returned from Germany and be utilized for public work in Hungary proper.

This memorandum is submitted by the American Jewish Conference, in behalf of the national membership affiliates listed below, and by the following non-affiliated organizations:

Agudas Israel of America, American Jewish Committee, Jewish Peoples Committee, Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order, New Zionist Organization, Union of Orthodox Rabbis, Vaad Hahatzala.

The World Jewish Congress joins these American Jewish organizations in the presentation of these proposals.

The organizations affiliated with the American Jewish Conference in whose behalf this memorandum is submitted include:

American Association for Jewish Education
American Federation for Polish Jews, Inc.
American Federation of Jews from Central Europe
American Jewish Congress
American Jewish Congress - Women's Division
B'nai B'rith
B'nai B'rith - Women's Supreme Council
Bnai Zion
Central Conference of American Rabbis
Council of Jewish Fraternal Federations
Free Sons of Israel
Hadassah - Women's Zionist Organization of America
Hapoel Hamizrachi of America
Hashomer Hatzair
Histadruth Ivrith, Inc.

Independent Order Brith Abraham
Independent Order Brith Sholom
Independent Order Brith Sholom of Baltimore
Jewish National Workers' Alliance
Jewish War Veterans
League for Labor Palestine
Mizrachi Organization of America
Mizrachi Women's Organization of America
National Council of Jewish Education
National Council of Jewish Women
National Council of Young Israel
National Federation of Hebrew Teachers
National Federation of Jewish Men's Clubs of the United Synagogue of America
National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods
National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods
National Ladies' Auxiliary - Jewish War Veterans
National Women's League of the United Synagogue
Pioneer Women's Organization of America
Poale Zion - Zeire Zion
Progressive Order of the West
Rabbinical Assembly of America
Rabbinical Council of America
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations
Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations - Women's Branch
Union of Sephardic Congregations, Inc.
United Galician Jews of America
United Roumanian Jews of America
United Synagogue of America
Yiddish P.E.N. Club
Yiddish Writers Union
Zionist Organization of America

YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS:

Avukah
A.Z.A. of B'nai B'rith
Hashomer Hadati
Hillel Foundation
Junior Hadassah
Junior Mizrachi
Masada
National Council of Jewish Juniors
National Federation of Temple Youth
Young People's League of the United Synagogue of America

AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE
521 FIFTH AVENUE
New York 17, N. Y.

1944 AUG 24 AM 6 57

Miss Hall 2410

AIR MAIL - SPECIAL DELIVERY

Mr. John W. ~~Pehle~~
~~Executive Director~~
~~War~~ Refugee Board
Treasury Building
Washington, D.C.

NEW YORK N.Y.
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1944
GRAND CENTRAL ANNEX

G.C.

WDOPR
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25

31 August 1944.

Miss Lillie Shultz, Editor,
The NationlAssociates,
20 Vesey Street,
New York 7, New York.

Dear Miss Shultz:

Your letter of 22 August to the Secretary of War with which you inclosed a copy of The Nation for 26 August calling attention to an article by Miss Freda Kirchwey entitled, "Rescue Hungary's Jews!" was referred to me for acknowledgment.

This communication has been referred to Mr. John Paley, Executive Director, War Refugee Board, for consideration.

Sincerely yours,

FALKNER HEARD,
Colonel, G.S.C.,
Deputy Director.

Copy for Mr. ~~Paley~~ Pehle.

THE *Nation* ASSOCIATES

SECRETARY'S OFFICE

1944 AUG 23 PM 4:05

823
5086

August 22, 1944

Hon. Henry L. Stimson
Secretary of War
Washington, D.C.

My dear Secretary Stimson:

I send you an advance copy of the August 26th issue of The Nation. I should like to call your attention to the article by Miss Kirchwey, entitled: "Rescue Hungary's Jews!"

We will be most interested to know what action is being taken and contemplated by the War Refugee Board to give effectiveness to the declaration of the United States and British Governments respecting the rescue of Jews in Hungary.

Sincerely yours,

Lillie Shultz

Lillie Shultz
Editor

COORDINATION
AND RECORD DIV.
OFF. SEC. WAR

EXECUTIVE DIV.
AUG 22 1944
171

AUG 31 1944

Dear Miss Shultz:

Thank you for your letter of August 22 and the advance copy of the August 26 issue of The Nation, which was enclosed therewith. I have read with great interest Miss Kirchwey's article entitled "Rescue Hungary's Jews."

I wish to assure you that all practicable measures to protect the Jews in Hungary have been and are being taken by this Government in cooperation with other governments and with private refugee organizations. I may add that every suggestion received from whatever source concerning the rescue and relief of the Jews in Hungary, and there have been many such suggestions, has received our careful and sympathetic consideration. In every instance in which it was practicable to do so without interfering with the war effort, these suggestions have been put into practice. In the very nature of the case, many of the plans in process and under consideration cannot be made public at this time, for to do so would jeopardize the chances of success.

Despite all of the efforts which have been and are still being made, I regret to inform you that there is no evidence yet available that the offer of the Hungarian Government has the support of the German authorities which are unfortunately in effective control of the situation in Hungary. At the moment, therefore, the obstacle to the emigration of Jews from Hungary is not a lack of transportation or a lack of places where such refugees can go but rather the attitude of the German Government. I need not emphasize that this Government will continue to take all practicable measures for saving as many as possible of these innocent people.

Thanking you for your interest in this very important matter, I am

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) J. W. Pehle

J. W. Pehle
Executive Director

Original signed by Mr. Pehle

Miss Lillie Shultz
Director, The Nation
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

JWFriedman:JWPehle:rc
8/30/44.

JBF — Cleared with George Warren Aug 31.

Dear Miss Shultz:

Thank you for your letter of August 22 and the advance copy of the August 26 issue of The Nation, which was enclosed therewith. I have read with great interest Miss Kirchwey's article entitled "Rescue Hungary's Jews."

In view of the importance of doing nothing which would prejudice the efforts which are still being made to protect the Jews in Hungary, it is not possible at this time to discuss the steps which have been taken. I can assure you, however, that all practicable measures to accomplish this purpose have been and are being taken by this Government in cooperation with other governments and with private refugee organizations. I may add that every suggestion received from whatever source concerning the rescue and relief of the Jews in Hungary, and there have been many such suggestions, has received our careful and sympathetic consideration. In every instance in which it was practicable to do so without interfering with the war effort, these suggestions have been put into practice.

Despite all of the efforts which have been and are still being made, I regret to say that according to the latest information we have received, the German authorities in Hungary will probably refuse to permit the emigration of Jews from the country except as a part of an obviously unacceptable ransom scheme involving the delivery of supplies, etc., which would directly aid the German war effort. At the moment, therefore, the obstacle to the emigration of Jews from Hungary is not a lack of transportation or a lack of places where such refugees can go but rather the inhuman determination of the German Government to keep the Jews in their clutches for forced labor and execution. I need not emphasize that despite the apparent German attitude, this Government will continue to take all practicable measures for saving as many as possible of these innocent people.

In the interest of the rescue efforts which are being made, I must ask you to regard the foregoing information concerning the apparent attitude of the Germans as strictly confidential.

Thanking you for your interest in this very important matter, I am

Sincerely yours,

J. W. Pehle
Executive Director

Miss Lillie Shultz
Director, The Nation
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

JBF:JWP:dg 8/25/44

TO:

Mr. Warren

August 25, 1944

This is the letter I talked to you about on the telephone. Will you please give me your views.

JBF

August 28/44

Mr. Friedman

Enclosed is draft of letter concerning which I spoke to you on the telephone this afternoon. Your file is returned.

GLW

(Draft 8/28/44)
(GLWarren:hj)

Dear Miss Shultz:

Thank you for your letter of August 22 and the advance copy of the August 26 issue of The Nation, which was enclosed therewith. I have read with great interest Miss Kirchwey's article entitled "Rescue Hungary's Jews".

There was not sufficient time before the issuance of the recent joint declaration of the British and United States Governments accepting the offer of the Government of Hungary, to permit the emigration of certain categories of Jews, to work out in detail the particular manner in which the acceptance was to be implemented. Obviously, it is impossible, particularly in the present situation of the development of the war, to find places for and to transport unknown numbers of persons. Clearly possibilities for temporary refuge for certain numbers already exist in Palestine, Tripolitania, Algiers and Casablanca, and hopefully as a result of assurances already given by the British and United States Governments, neutral countries will receive certain numbers of refugees temporarily until other places of refuge can be found for them. Sweden and Spain, among the neutral countries, have already offered to receive certain numbers of children temporarily and Switzerland's hospitality toward refugees is well known. In fact, a few hundred refugees from Hungary have already arrived in Switzerland. Turkey has offered transit facilities for refugees escaping from Hungary.

The following excerpt from Miss Kirchwey's article has been of particular interest to the Board:

> "At most stages Hitler was willing to permit his Jewish victims to substitute migration for deportation and death."

While this may have been true to an ~~extant~~ extent up to, say July 1941, it has not been true since that date and unfortunately there is no evidence yet available ~~in the present instance~~ that the offer of the Hungarian Government has the support of the German authorities which are unfortunately in effective control of the situation in Hungary.

The War Refugee Board has representatives at Bern, Ankara, Stockholm, London, and in Italy. These representatives are in close contact with all private refugee organizations, Jewish and other, immediately concerned with the rescue of victims of Nazi oppression. The Board has vigorously supported the efforts of these organizations and has been prepared to supplement them whenever opportunity for effective action has been presented requiring resources beyond the capacities of private organizations to supply.

The widespread interest in this country and abroad in the rescue of refugees has resulted in the receipt by the Board of many suggestions of ways and means of accomplishing rescue. All of these suggestions have been examined objectively and those found feasible have been exploited vigorously. You may rest assured that no stone has been left unturned in the effort to accomplish the purpose for which the Board was established by the President. In the very nature of the case many of the plans in process and under consideration can not be made public at this time, for to do so would jeopardize the chances of success.

With respect to Palestine, there are a substantial number of immigration certificates outstanding in Hungary and it now remains to be seen whether the offer of the Government of Hungary can in fact be implemented by that Government. Fortunately the increasing pressure of military events is helping enormously.

Sincerely yours,

J. W. Pehle
Executive Director.

Miss Lillie Shultz
Director, The Nation
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York.

File 97

Dear Miss Shultz:

Thank you for your letter of August 22 and the advance copy of the August 26 issue of The Nation, which was enclosed therewith. I have read with great interest Miss Kirchway's article entitled "Rescue Hungary's Jews."

In view of the importance of doing nothing which would prejudice the efforts which are still being made to protect the Jews in Hungary, it is not possible at this time to discuss the steps which have been taken. I can assure you, however, that all practicable measures to accomplish this purpose have been and are being taken by this Government in cooperation with other governments and with private refugee organizations. I may add that every suggestion received from whatever source concerning the rescue and relief of the Jews in Hungary, and there have been many such suggestions, has received our careful and sympathetic consideration. In every instance in which it was practicable to do so without interfering with the war effort, those suggestions have been put into practice.

Despite all of the efforts which have been and are still being made, I regret to say that according to the latest information we have received, the German authorities in Hungary will probably refuse to permit the emigration of Jews from the country except as a part of an obviously unacceptable ransom scheme involving the delivery of supplies, etc., which would directly aid the German war effort. At the moment, therefore, the obstacle to the emigration of Jews from Hungary is not a lack of transportation or a lack of places where such refugees can go but rather the inhuman determination of the German Government to keep the Jews in their clutches for forced labor and execution. I need not emphasize that despite the apparent German attitude, this Government will continue to take all practicable measures for saving as many as possible of these innocent people.

In the interest of the rescue efforts which are being made, I must ask you to regard the foregoing information concerning the apparent attitude of the Germans as strictly confidential.

Thanking you for your interest in this very important matter, I am

Sincerely yours,

J. W. Pehle
Executive Director

Miss Lillie Shultz
Director, The Nation
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

JBP:JWP:dg 8/25/44

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

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Dear Miss Shultz:

Thank you for your letter of August 22nd and the advance copy of the August 26th issue of The Nation, which was enclosed therewith.

I have read with great interest Miss Kirchwey's article entitled "Rescue Hungary's Jews". ~~It is a source of satisfaction to me that a publication of the standing of The Nation continues to manifest an active and effective interest in refugee problems.~~

In view of the importance of doing nothing which would prejudice the efforts which are still being made to protect the Jews in Hungary, it is not possible at this time to discuss the steps which have been taken. I can assure you, however, that all practicable measures to accomplish this purpose have been and are being taken by this Government in cooperation with other governments and with private refugee organizations. I may add that every suggestion received from whatever source concerning the rescue and relief of the Jews in Hungary, and there have been many such suggestions, has received our careful and sympathetic consideration. In every instance in which it was practicable to do so without interfering with the war effort, these suggestions have been put into practice.

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Thanking you for your interest in this very important matter, I am

Sincerely yours,

J. W. Pehle
Executive Director

Miss Lillie Shultz
Director, The Nation
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

WAR REFUGEE BOARD

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Dear Miss Shultz:

Thank you for your letter of August 22 and the advance copy of the August 26 issue of The Nation, which was enclosed therewith. I have read with great interest Miss Kirchwey's article entitled "Rescue Hungary's Jews."

In view of the importance of ~~doing nothing~~ avoiding any which would prejudice the efforts which are still being made to protect the Jews in Hungary, it is not possible at this time to discuss the steps which have been taken. I can assure you, however, that all practicable measures to accomplish this purpose have been and are being taken by this Government in cooperation with other governments and with private refugee organizations. I may add that every suggestion received from whatever source concerning the rescue and relief of the Jews in Hungary, and there have been many such suggestions, has received our careful and sympathetic consideration. In every instance in which it was practicable to do so without interfering with the war effort, these suggestions have been put into practice.

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Shown no disposition to deal

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Thanking you for your interest in this very important matter, I am

Sincerely yours,

J. W. Pehle
Executive Director

Miss Lillie Shultz
Director, The Nation
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

THE *Nation* ASSOCIATES

August 22, 1944

Mr. J. W. Pehle
War Refugee Board
Treasury Building
Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. Pehle:

I send you an advance copy of the August 26th issue of The Nation. I should like to call your attention to the article by Miss Kirchwey, entitled "Rescue Hungary's Jews!"

We will be most interested to know what action is being taken and contemplated by the Board to give effectiveness to the declaration of the United States and British Governments respecting the rescue of Jews in Hungary.

Sincerely yours,

Lillie Shultz

Lillie Shultz
Director

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

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

August 31, 1944

In reply refer to
WRB

The Secretary of State presents his compliments to the Executive Director of the War Refugee Board and refers for appropriate attention and action the attached telegrams addressed on August 20, 1944 to the Honorable Cordell Hull and the Honorable Adolf A. Berle, Jr. by the Union of Orthodox Rabbis of United States.

Enclosures:
Two telegrams from
Union of Orthodox Rabbis.

GHW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

INCOMING TELEGRAM

DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
AUG 21 1944
BERLE

WRB

7 WU X 96, 22 Ex.

New York, N. Y., 6:03 P.M., August 20, 1944.

Hon. Adolf A. Berle, Jr.,

Assistant Secretary of State,

Washington, D. C.

WAR REFUGEE BOARD
AUG 21 1944
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

We have just received alarming report that regardless of statement of Hungarian Government deportation of small groups of Jews still continuing under false pretense of exchange stop It is vital that warnings through radio, press, leaflets, and every other means be continued, especially through the Embassies of Switzerland, Sweden, Spain and Portugal, in Budapest stop We plead that on this final hour it is essential to carry out extraordinary and energetic methods of rescue.

Union of Orthodox Rabbis of U. S.,
Rabbi Israel Rosenberg,
Rabbi El Silver Vaad Hotzala
Emergency Committee,
Rabbi Aron Kotler,
Rabbi Abraham Kalmanowitz,
132 Nassau St., New York City.

8:20 p.m.

TELEGRAM
INCOMING

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

INCOMING TELEGRAM

DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS

6WU X 96, 22 Ex.

A-B

New York, N. Y., 6:06 P.M., Aug. 20, 1944.

Hon. Cordell Hull,

Secretary of State,

Washington, D. C.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE
AUG 27 1944
MR. BERLE

We have just received alarming report that regardless of statement of Hungarian Government deportation of small groups of Jews still continuing under false pretense of exchange stop It is vital that warnings through radio, press, leaflets, and every other means be continued, especially through the Embassies of Switzerland, Sweden, Spain and Portugal, in Budapest stop We plead that on this final hour it is essential to carry out extraordinary and energetic methods of rescue.

Union of Orthodox Rabbis of U. S.,
Rabbi Israel Rosenberg,
Rabbi El Silver Vaad Hotzala
Emergency Committee,
Rabbi Aron Kotler,
Rabbi Abraham Kalmanowitz,
132 Nassau St., New York City.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
RECEIVED
1944
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

8:20 p.m.

August 31, 1944

In reply refer to
WRB

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Enclosures:
Two telegrams from
Union of Orthodox Rabbis.

Telephone MUrray Hill 5-0181

CABLE ADDRESS "WISHCOM, NEW YORK"

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

President
JOSEPH M. PROSKAUER
Chairman Executive Committee
JACOB BLAUSTEIN
Vice-Chairman Executive Committee
MORRIS D. WALDMAN
Chairman Administrative Committee
ALAN M. STROOCK
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San Francisco, Calif.
HORACE STERN
Philadelphia, Pa.
HENRY WINEMAN
Detroit, Mich.

August 28, 1944

Dear Mr. Pehle:

This is to confirm the following telegram which I sent to you today:

> RECEIVED CABLE ANGLOJEWISH ASSOCIATION LONDON INFORMING US NEWS RECEIVED BY THEM THAT GERMANS PRESSING HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT NOT TO CARRY OUT HORTHY OFFER STOP ASSUME YOU WILL TAKE ALL POSSIBLE STEPS COUNTERACT THIS MOVE

I do not have to tell you how shocked we were by this information. I wonder if among other moves it would not be feasible for the United States Government to issue a new warning to strengthen Horthy's position who himself may be struggling against the extreme pro-Nazi elements in Hungary.

With the sincere hope that your action may have successful results, I am

Very truly yours,

M. Gottschalk

Max Gottschalk, Director
Overseas Department

Mr. John W. Pehle
Director, War Refugee Board
Washington, D.C.

mg:lh

56

WU 34

NEWYORK NY AUG 28 1944 441P

2881/2

JOHN W PEHLE

DIRECTOR WAR REFUGEE BOARD WASHDC

RECEIVED CABLE ANGLO JEWISH ASSOCIATION LONDON INFORMING US NEWS RECEIVED BY THEM THAT GERMANS PRESSING HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT NOT TO CARRY OUR HORTHY OFFER STOP ASSUME YOU WILL TAKE ALL POSSIBLE STEPS COUNTERACT THIS MOVE

MAX GOTTSCHALK AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE.

558P

"APH TREASURY TELEGRAPH TRE

AUG 26 1944

[redacted]

My dear Rabbi Kalmanowitz:

I am sure you will be happy to know that the War Refugee Board representative in Bern has just advised the Board that 320 Hungarian Jews, transferred to Camp Bergen-Belsen, arrived in Switzerland on August 21 and that 200 more are due to arrive in Switzerland in the next few days. These people are principally from Budapest and Kolesvar and are a mixed group of both sexes ranging from two to eighty-two in age. Mr. McClelland further advises us that among the 320 who have reached Switzerland are certain Rabbis and other members of the original convoy of 1200 whose fate has been of great concern to you.

I shall be pleased to advise you of any further details concerning the foregoing which are received from Mr. McClelland.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. W. Pehle

J. W. Pehle
Executive Director

Rabbi Abraham Kalmanowitz,
Vaad Hahatzala Emergency Committee,
132 Nassau Street,
New York 7, New York.

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

FH:rbh 8/26/44

AUG 25 1944

Gentlemen:

I have received your telegram of August 20th concerning the continuation by the Hungarian Government of the deportation of small groups of Jews.

I have discussed your telegram with Mr. John W. Pehle, Executive Director of the War Refugee Board, who advises me that this Government has not yet received confirmation of the report referred to in your telegram. Further information concerning the matter, however, is being sought by the Board and, in the meantime, all practicable measures to protect the lives of the Jews in Hungary are being continued.

Unfortunately, despite the efforts which have been made and are being made by this and other governments to impress upon the German and Hungarian authorities our willingness to receive and care for all Jews permitted to leave Hungary, it now appears probable that the Germans will actively prevent such emigration except as part of a ransom arrangement involving the delivery of materials and supplies which would directly aid the German war effort. Recent reports indicating that this is the German attitude are being checked by the representatives of the War Refugee Board in Switzerland, Sweden and Turkey. Whatever may be the attitude of the Germans, I assure you that this Government will continue, consistently with the successful prosecution of the war, its unremitting efforts to save the Jews of Hungary.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Henry Morgenthau, Jr.

Union of Orthodox Rabbis of U. S.
and Vaad Hahatzala Emergency Committee,
132 Nassau Street,
New York, New York.

JWP:dg 8/24/44

Gentlemen:

I have received your telegram of August 20th concerning the continuation by the Hungarian Government of the deportation of small groups of Jews.

I have discussed your telegram with Mr. John W. Pehle, Executive Director of the War Refugee Board, who advises me that this Government has not yet received confirmation of the report referred to in your telegram. Further information concerning the matter, however, is being sought by the Board and, in the meantime, all practicable measures to protect the lives of the Jews in Hungary are being continued.

Unfortunately, despite the efforts which have been made and are being made by this and other governments to impress upon the German and Hungarian authorities our willingness to receive and care for all Jews permitted to leave Hungary, it now appears probable that the Germans will actively prevent such emigration except as part of a ransom arrangement involving the delivery of materials and supplies which would directly aid the German war effort. Recent reports indicating that this is the German attitude are being checked by the representatives of the War Refugee Board in Switzerland, Sweden and Turkey. Whatever may be the attitude of the Germans, I assure you that this Government will continue, consistently with the successful prosecution of the war, its unremitting efforts to save the Jews of Hungary.

Sincerely yours,

Union of Orthodox Rabbis of U. S.
and Vaad Hahatzala Emergency Committee,
132 Nassau Street,
New York, New York.

FH. JWP-

Sent to Sec. for Signature 8/24/44

FH:[redacted]:dg 8/24/44

016

470

Mr. Pehle

WU5 96 22 EXTRA

NEWYORK NY AUG 20 1944 606P

1944 AUG 21 AM 8 18

HON HENRY MORGENTHAU JR

SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

WE HAVE JUST RECEIVED ALARMING REPORT THAT REGARDLESS OF STATEMENT OF HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT DEPORTATION OF SMALL GROUPS OF JEWS STILL CONTINUING UNDER FALSE PRETENSE OF EXCHANGE STOP IT IS VITAL THAT WARNINGS THRU RADIO, PRESS LEAFLETS AND EVERY OTHER MEANS BE CONTINUED ESPECIALLY THRU THE EMBASSIES OF SWITZERLAND SWEDEN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL IN BUDAPEST STOP WE PLEASE THAT ON THIS FINAL HOUR IT IS ESSENTIAL TO CARRY OUT EXTRAORDINARY AND ENERGETIC METHODS OF RESCUE

UNION OF ORTHODOX RABBI'S OF U.S. RABBI ISRAEL ROSENBERG RABBI EL SILVER VAAD HOTZALA EMERGENCY COMMITTEE RABBI ARON KOTLER RABBI ABRAHAM KALMANOWITZ 132 NASSAU ST NEW YORK CITY

817A AUG 21

TELEGRAPH TREASURY

TELEGRAPH TREASUR

Hungary

In reply please
refer to: 3221

AUG 23 1944

Dear Mrs. Epstein:

I wish to acknowledge with thanks your telegram of August 10, 1944, concerning funds sent to the Youth Aliyah movement in Palestine, to be used for children arriving in Palestine from Hungary.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) J. W. Pehle

J. W. Pehle
Executive Director

Mrs. Judith G. Epstein,
National President,
Hadassah,
1819 Broadway,
New York 23, New York.

Measures directed towards halting Persecution!
EBT

BHutchison:agr 8-18-44

1944 AUG 10 PM 12 42

3221

W. R. B.
Filing Authority
To: Files
Ans. 8/23/44
No. Ans. Req.
Initial
Date

GRAPH TREASURY TELEGRAPH TREASURY TELEGRAP

WU14 DL

PXXSIH NEWYORK NY 10 1200P

JOHN W PEHLE

WAR REFUGEE BOARD [redacted] UNITED STATES TREASURY DEPT

THE NATIONAL BOARD OF HADASSAH ASSEMBLED IN MEETING WELCOMES THE STATEMENT AS REPORTED IN THE PRESS THAT WAR REFUGEE BOARD IS FORMULATING PLANS FOR IMPLEMENTING REGENT HORTY'S OFFER TO THE INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS TO RELEASE ALL JEWISH CHILDREN UNDER TEN WHO CAN OBTAIN [redacted] FOREIGN VISAS. SINCE MANY OF THESE CHILDREN WILL UNDOUBTEDLY FIND REFUGE IN PALESTINE, HADASSAH HAS CABLED $100,000 TO MISS HENRIETTA SZOLD. CHAIRMAN OF THE YOUTH ALIYAH (IMMIGRATION) MOVEMENT IN [redacted] JERUSALEM. ASKING THAT THE MONEY BE HELD IN ESCROW UNTIL THE ARRIVAL OF THE FIRST GROUP OF HUNGARIAN CHILDREN. WE ARE GRATEFUL FOR THE EFFORTS OF THE WAR REFUGEE BOARD AND WISH TO BE AS HELPFUL AS WE CAN UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES

JUDITH G EPSTEIN NATIONAL PRESIDENT HADASSAH GISELA WARBURG WYZANSKI NATIONAL CHMN [redacted] YOUTH ALIYAH COMMITTEE OF HADASSAH.

189 Broadway N.Y. 23 N.Y.

[redacted]

AUG 21 1944

Gentlemen:

Receipt is acknowledged of your telegram of August 20th concerning the further deportation of Jews from Hungary. We have not received confirmation of the report referred to in your telegram but would be pleased to receive such additional details as you may care to furnish us.

In the meantime, you may be assured that the War Refugee Board is energetically continuing to take all practicable measures to protect the lives of Jews in Hungary.

I should like to inform you that despite the efforts which have been and are being made by this and other governments to impress upon the German and Hungarian authorities our willingness to receive and care for all Jews permitted to leave Hungary, it is unfortunately not improbable that the Germans will actively prevent such emigration except as part of a ransom arrangement involving the delivery of materials and supplies which would directly aid the German war effort. The War Refugee Board has recently received a report from its representative in Switzerland indicating that this is the German attitude, and we are seeking further information concerning the matter. Whatever may be the attitude of the German authorities, the War Refugee Board, consistently with the successful prosecution of the war, will, of course, continue to make unremitting efforts to save the lives of the Jews in Hungary.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J.W. Pehle

J. W. Pehle
Executive Director

Union of Orthodox Rabbis of U.S.
and Vaad Hahatzala Emergency Committee
132 Nassau Street
New York, New York

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

JKFriedman:ro 8/21/44.

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

(50)

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter
NL=Overnight Telegram
LC=Deferred Cable
NLT=Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

S. N. WILLIAMS, PRESIDENT — NEWCOMB CARLTON, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD — J. C. WILLEVER, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

NAS79 96 22 EXTRA=NEWYORK NY 20 606P 1944 AUG 20 PM 6 51

HON JOHN W PEHLE=

EXECUTIVE DIR OF WAR REFUGEE BOARD WASHDC=

WE HAVE JUST RECEIVED ALARMING REPORT THAT REGARDLESS OF STATEMENT OF HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT DEPORTATION OF SMALL GROUPS OF JEWS STILL CONTINUING UNDER FALSE PRETENSE OF EXCHANGE STOP IT IS VITAL THAT WARNINGS THRU RADIO, PRESS LEAFLETS AND EVERY OTHER MEANS BE CONTINUED ESPECIALLY THRU THE EMBASSIES OF SWITZERLAND SWEDEN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL IN BUDAPEST STOP WE PLEAD THAT ON THIS FINAL HOUR IT IS ESSENTIAL TO CARRY OUT EXTRAORDINARY AND ENERGETIC METHODS OF RESCUE=

UNION OF ORTHODOX RABBI'S OF U.S. RABBI ISRAEL ROSENBERG RABBI EL SILVER VAAD HOTZALA EMERGENCY COMMITTEE RABBI ARON KOTLER RABBI ABRAHAM KALMANOWITZ 132 NASSAU ST NEW YORK CITY.

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THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS ON ITS SERVICE