

Hungarian (Horthy) Offer

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HUNGARIAN (HORTHY) OFFER

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FDRW

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THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

3 War Refugee Board
(S. W. Wood)

AIR MAIL

AMERICAN EMBASSY

~~RESTRICTED~~
RESTRICTED

London, August 31, 1944.

No. 17785

Subject: Joint Declaration Accepting Hungarian Offer
Regarding Jews.

CONTROL COPY

John Edgar Hoover
Director

1 Mr. (Mr. Bundy)

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

1/2/ I have the honor to transmit herewith copies of letters exchanged between myself and Mr. Eden regarding the recent joint declaration issued by the American and British Governments accepting the offer of the Hungarian Government with respect to the emigration and treatment of Jews.

My letter to Mr. Eden, acknowledging the limitations on British capacity to accommodate refugees and British reliance on the United States to assume its fair share of the burden, was made at the suggestion of the Foreign Office in order to obtain the War Cabinet's approval of the joint declaration as subsequently issued. It was believed that sufficient authority existed to make this acknowledgment since assurance had already been given unilaterally by the United States Government to the International Committee of the Red Cross, and prior to any parallel action on the part of the British, that the United States would take measures for the care of all Jews permitted to migrate from Hungary to United Nations or neutral territory, and that it would find havens of refuge for such persons. (Department's telegram No. 6408 of August 12, midnight, and previous.) In view of this commitment on our part to assume all of the burden, if necessary, it was felt that there would be no objection to assuring the British that we would bear a "fair share" of it.

This obligation to assume a "fair share" was limited to the Hungarian proposal only, and with respect to the refugee problem in general there is no outstanding obligation in relation to this letter.

Respectfully yours,

Enclosures: ✓

- 1/ Copy of letter to Mr. Eden dated August 16, 1944, with enclosure.
- 2/ Copy of letter from Mr. Eden dated August 28, 1944.

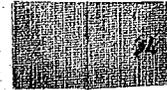
John S. Wood

SHB:dm

NO. 41 REFUGEE/0-7144

63/70

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I was Ref St. Lalle

CONTROL COPY

PARAPHRASE OF TELEGRAM RECEIVED
FROM: American Legation, Bern
TO: Secretary of State, Washington
DATED: August 19, 1944
NUMBER: 5421 x



Reference is made herewith to your cable dated August 7, 1944, No. 2715.

In a letter dated August 16 it is requested by Judge Huber that there be transmitted to the Department the International Committee's deep gratitude for the statement contained in my August 11 letter which will be forwarded to the Government of Hungary at once by the Committee.

HARRISON

ATB
DCR:IDB:FB 8/28/44

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By R. H. Parks Date SEP 26 1972

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000016

August 18, 1944

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mr. Warren
FROM: Mr. Pehle

In order that our missions in London, Ankara and Stockholm may be fully informed regarding the Hungarian situation, I think that we should repeat to all three missions as soon as possible cable No. 5197 of August 11 from McClelland in Bern. The text of our reply to this cable once it has been agreed upon should also be communicated at the same time. You will recall that with my memorandum of August 17th to Mr. Stettinius, I sent a proposed reply to McClelland for State Department clearance.

I assume that these three as well as other missions have received copies of the joint statement of the British and American Governments concerning the acceptance of the so-called Horthy offer.

(Signed) J. W. Pehle

Miss Chauncey (For the Sec'y), Abrahamson, Cohn, DuBois, Friedman, Hodel, Laughlin, Lesser, Mann, Mannon, McCormack, Cable Control Files

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Refer your 6625 - August 17.

Cables 6608 and 6609 received. Congratulations your achievement.
Kindly express appreciation of Department and Board to Ambassador Winant.
Text of joint declaration as transmitted in your 6609 satisfactory and
being released concurrently here. We do not (repeat not) propose to
separately release text of note delivered by U.S. Government to Intercross.

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MEMORANDUM

Aug. 17.

TO: Mr. Stettinius
FROM: Mr. Pehle

Cable No. 5197 of August 11 from Mr. McClelland, the War Refugee Board representative in Bern, discloses a serious development in the Jewish situation in Hungary. A copy of such cable is attached hereto.

The second section of the above cable, which was received by the War Refugee Board on August 16, indicates that while Hungarian exit visas and Rumanian transit visas have been obtained for the first convoy of 2,000 Jews from Hungary, the Gestapo has made it clear that these Jews will not be permitted to emigrate from Hungary unless certain ransom terms are fulfilled. The refusal of the Germans to permit emigration of these people is confirmed in cable 1479 of August 12 from Ankara, a copy of which is attached.

It now appears that despite the so-called Horthy offer and the apparent willingness of Hungarian authorities to permit the emigration of certain categories of Jews and despite the willingness of this Government and the British Government to find havens of refuge for Jews leaving Hungary who reach neutral or United Nations' territory, the Germans do not intend to permit Jews to leave Hungary unless they can extract either war materials or money as ransom for such Jews.

As I have previously indicated to you, I feel strongly that we cannot enter into any ransom transactions with the German authorities in order to obtain the release of the Jews.

You will note that McClelland suggests the possibility of a meeting between Saly Mayer, a Swiss subject and a leader of the Jewish Community in Switzerland, and the Germans in the hope merely that negotiations can be prolonged and time be gained during which the Jews will remain safe. The War Refugee Board would favor any such time-gaining device. However, in view of any political considerations which may be involved, I am of the opinion that the State Department must pass upon the nature of the reply to be made to McClelland's inquiry concerning such a meeting. A proposed cable to McClelland is attached.

Enclosures

JBFriedman:dg 8/17/44

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RA-262
Distribution of true
reading only by special
arrangement. (██████ W)

Ankara

Dated August 12, 1944

Red'd 1 a.m., 13th

Secretary of State

Washington

1479, August 12, 5 p.m.

For your information (FOR PERHAPS FROM HIRSCHMANN ANKARA'S NO. 132) the Governments of Rumania Bulgaria and Turkey have agreed in principle to grant transit visas to Jewish refugees from Hungary who have obtained Palestine entry certificates. The two thousand Hungarian Jews constituting the first group which had been ready to leave Hungary had been expected to arrive in Rumania some days ago. It is not understood in Istanbul why this emigration does not proceed since the Hungarian authorities in their announcement stated that exit facilities would be granted to Jews in Hungary for whom Palestine visas had been authorized and Turkish transit visas approved in principle.

Information received in Istanbul from reliable private sources indicates that although the Hungarian Government has agreed to provide the necessary exit facilities final authorization must be granted by the German military and political organizations in Budapest for the departure of each individual transport, and we are informed that such authorization has not until now been granted.

It is urgent that we know at the earliest possible moment what actually is causing the delay in the departure of this first group of 2000 Hungarian Jews in order that we may take such steps as may be possible from Istanbul to facilitate their emigration. We are exploring the situation from here but suggest that concurrently you request the Swiss Government and the International Red Cross to investigate the situation in Budapest. Please keep us advised of the results of your inquiry.

HTM

KELLEY

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72

By R. H. Parks Date

SEP 27 1972

000021

CABLE TO MINISTER HARRISON, BIRM., AND McCLELLAND FROM THE DEPARTMENT
AND WAR REFUGEE BOARD.

Please refer to your No. 5197 of August 11 concerning the Hungarian situation.

The matters referred to in your cable have been fully and carefully considered. The following are our views for your information and guidance:

- (1) Although this Government still intends to pursue all practicable means of relieving the desperate plight of the Jews in Hungary, it cannot (repeat not) enter into or authorize ransom transactions of the nature indicated with the German authorities.
- (2) If it is felt that a meeting between Saly Mayer and the German authorities will possibly have the effect of gaining time, we have no (repeat no) objection to such a meeting. If the meeting is held, Saly Mayer should participate as a Swiss citizen and as a leader of the Swiss Jewish Community rather than as a representative of any American organization.

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FOR WAR REFUGEE BOARD FROM DUBOIS - NUMBER 6608

Section 1 - The exact text of a joint declaration which has been agreed upon by the British Government is contained in message No. 6609 immediately following this message. (Refer your 6408 of August 12 relating to the offer concerning emigration and treatment of Jews communicated by Hungarian Government to the U.S. and British Governments.) This joint statement has been agreed upon here and will be released over the DBC at midnight on Thursday August 17. It will appear in the Friday morning British newspapers.

Section 2 - This declaration was agreed upon after consultation between Amb. Winant and Foreign Minister Eden, and after considerable discussion with the Foreign office. It has been approved by the British War Cabinet.

Section 3 - The following change was made in the joint declaration suggested in your 6409. The words "have accepted the offer of the Hungarian Government to the release of Jews and will make arrangements for the care of such Jews" was substituted for the words "will make arrangements for the care of all Jews." The purpose of this substitution was to meet the British objection to stating that the two governments were prepared to receive all Jews as distinguished from the Jews referred to in the Hungarian offer. It is our feeling that the language which we have agreed upon as a substitution, while meeting the British objection, at the same time both to the world and to the Hungarian Government will be substantially as effective as the language suggested in your 6408. This is particularly true with respect to its effect on the Hungarian Government in light of the fact that the message which has already been delivered to Inter-cross by the U.S. Government is worded in terms of receiving all Jews. It is felt that in the light of the fact that the note which the U.S. Government delivered to Inter-cross contained the words all Jews, these words should therefore be included in any public announcement made by the U.S. Government. This point could be taken care of by the U.S. Government at the same time of the release of the joint declaration releasing the text of the note which the U.S. Government delivered to Inter-cross.

Section 4 - Further details concerning the discussions with the British will be furnished to you by DuBois on his return to Washington.

Section 5 - The British Government will convey the text of this joint declaration to Inter-cross and also convey the text to Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and Turkey.

Section 6 - Please acknowledge at once the receipt of this message and the immediately following message.

Dicated by G. Warren - 12:55 p.m. 8/17/44

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COPY OF A MEMORANDUM DELIVERED TO MR. EDEN ON AUGUST 15 BY AMBASSADOR
WENANT

1. Reference is made to the offer concerning emigration and treatment of Jews communicated by the Government of Hungary to our two Governments.
2. As your Government has been informed, on August 11 the American Minister in Bern was instructed to deliver to Intercross the following reply (to the offer) by the United States Government:

"The Government of Hungary has now made it known that it will allow certain categories of Jews to leave Hungary. The Government of the United States has, despite the substantial difficulties and responsibilities involved, consistently proclaimed its determination to rescue victims of enemy oppression who may be in immediate danger of death. Because of the desperate plight of the Jews in Hungary and the all-important considerations involved, this Government now wishes specifically to repeat its assurance that it will take measures for the care of all Jews permitted to migrate from Hungary who reach United Nations or neutral territory, and that it will find for such people havens of refuge where they may live in safety. These assurances have been brought to the attention of neutral governments and the latter have been requested to allow the entry of Jews from Hungary who reach their borders. This Government now awaits some concrete evidence of the willingness of the Government of Hungary to carry out its proposal."

3. The following is the background of the discussions which have taken place between your Government and my Government concerning the nature of the reply to be made to the Hungarian Government:
 - a) On July 29 my Government informed your Government of the reply which it proposed to deliver to Intercross on August 7 and your Government was requested to take parallel action. On August 5 your Government requested my Government to delay for several days the delivery of its reply to Intercross in order to enable the British War Cabinet to discuss the matter. On the same day we advised your Government that we would postpone until August 11 the delivery of our reply. The American Minister in Bern was instructed accordingly.
 - b) On August 10 your Embassy in Washington transmitted to my Government a message from your Government in which it was stated substantially that:

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"The offer of the Hungarian Government should be accepted and the British Government agrees to make joint declaration with the United States Government to that effect. It is of course obvious that we must be in agreement as to the declaration's terms.

"As you know, it cannot be sufficiently emphasized that British capacity to accommodate refugees has already become limited, so that while we, in order to meet the wishes of the United States Government, accept an indefinite commitment, we count on the United States to assume its fair share of the burden and not to face us with a practical impossibility."

Certain practical problems of accommodation to be given consideration in implementing acceptance of the Hungarian offer were also raised by your Government.

- c) On August 10, following the receipt of your Government's communication, your Embassy in Washington was advised that my Government's reply would be delivered by the American Minister in Bern on August 11, but that we would defer publication of this action until our two Governments had had an opportunity to agree on a joint communique for the press. It was suggested to your Embassy in Washington that your Minister to Switzerland should be instructed to deliver a reply to Intercross in identical terms. It was also suggested that your Government give consideration to the question of making the text of the American reply delivered on August 11 to Intercross the basis of a joint public declaration after effecting any slight changes which might be necessary. It is understood that these suggestions were telegraphed immediately by your Embassy to London.
- d) The following is the substance of a message sent to my Government by your Government on August 11:

"The United States Government is to be informed of the following suggested text of the joint Anglo-American declaration which the War Cabinet has approved as being the most suitable in view of all the circumstances.

"The Government of the United States has learned through the Intercross of the offer made by the Hungarian Government and has given it consideration. The Government of the United States undertakes to care for all Jews who may be allowed to leave Hungary and who reach United

Nations or neutral territory. This undertaking includes all Jews regardless of whether or not they fall within the categories of persons covered by the Hungarian Government's offer.

"His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom has also been informed of the offer of the Hungarian Government and, in order to relieve the suffering of Jews in Hungary, it will cooperate as far as it can with the Government of the United States in caring for Jews who may be permitted to migrate from Hungary and who reach United Nations or neutral territory."

"If the United States Government cannot agree to a joint declaration in this form and proceeds independently to publicize acceptance of the offer, His Majesty's Government proposes to publish the second part of the foregoing declaration and to make an appropriate communication to the International Committee of the Red Cross through His Majesty's Minister in Bern."

- e) My Government did not regard as acceptable the public statement which your Government suggested. The statement suggested by your Government was not a commitment by your Government to the Hungarian Government but merely a promise of qualified cooperation in carrying out the commitment made by my Government.

Accordingly, my Government has requested your Government (through your Embassy in Washington) to consider concurring promptly in the issuance of the following joint declaration:

"Intercross 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 overwhelming humanitarian considerations involved the two Governments are informing the Government of Hungary through Intercross that, despite the heavy difficulties and responsibilities involved, they will make arrangements for the care of all 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 emphatically assert that in accepting the offer they do not in any way condone the action of the Hungarian Government which is forcing Jews to emigrate as an alternative to persecution and death."

4. It should be made clear that my Government neither approves nor agrees to the action of the Hungarians in forcing Jews to emigrate as an alternative to persecution and death and we obviously hope that the Hungarian authorities will still be induced by circumstances to allow Jews now in Hungary to remain there in safety and that the Hungarian Government will not insist upon a large-scale wartime migration. However, the United States Government is not prepared to give Hungary and Germany any excuse for continuing the deportation or extermination of Jews. It is for this reason that my Government has been insistent on an early notification to the Hungarians of our joint acceptance without awaiting a final determination of all the problems of transportation and accommodation.

After both of our Governments have notified the Hungarians of the acceptance of the offer and after the acceptance has been made public we shall be glad to discuss with your Government the many considerations of accommodation, transportation, etc., as well as such questions as those relating to the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees and the Governments of Latin American countries. With respect to financing, it may be noted that the Intergovernmental Committee has already indicated that it is prepared to furnish £400,000 immediately for use in connection with this matter.

5. My Government regards as most important that your Government consider the desirability of taking the following action at once:

- a) If your Government has not already done so, instruct your Minister in Switzerland to deliver to Intercross a note identical to the one delivered by the American Minister on August 11 (See paragraph 2).
- b) If your Government has not already done so, notify the governments of the neutral countries of the action which you have taken and request these neutrals to permit the entry of Jews from Hungary who reach their borders.
- c) Join in the simultaneous issuance by our two Governments of a statement of the type we have suggested (See paragraph 3 (e)).

000024

Memorandum

*Delivered to Eden
August 15*

1. Reference is made to the offer concerning emigration and treatment of Jews communicated by the Government of Hungary to our two Governments.

2. As your Government has been informed, on August 11 the American Minister in Bern was instructed to deliver to Intercross the following reply (to the offer) by the United States Government:

"The Government of Hungary has now made it known that it will allow certain categories of Jews to leave Hungary. The Government of the United States has, despite the substantial difficulties and responsibilities involved, consistently proclaimed its determination to rescue victims of enemy oppression who may be in immediate danger of death. Because of the desperate plight of the Jews in Hungary and the all-important considerations involved, this Government now wishes specifically to repeat its assurance that it will take measures for the care of all Jews permitted to migrate from Hungary who reach United Nations or neutral territory, and that it will find for such people havens of refuge where they may live in safety. These assurances have been brought to the attention of neutral governments and the latter have been requested to allow the entry of Jews from Hungary who reach their borders. This Government now awaits some concrete evidence of the willingness of the Government of Hungary to carry out its proposal."

3. The following is the background of the discussions which have taken place between your Government and my Government concerning the nature of the reply to be made to the Hungarian Government:

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"The offer of the Hungarian Government should be accepted and the British Government agrees to make joint declaration with the United States Government to that effect. It is of course obvious that we must be in agreement as to the declaration's terms.

"As

"As you know, it cannot be sufficiently emphasized that British capacity to accommodate refugees has already become limited, so that while we, in order to meet the wishes of the United States Government, accept an indefinite commitment, we count on the United States to assume its fair share of the burden and not to face us with a practical impossibility."

Certain practical problems of accommodation to be given consideration in implementing acceptance of the Hungarian offer were also raised by your Government.

- c) On August 10, following the receipt of your Government's communication, your Embassy in Washington was advised that my Government's reply would be delivered by the American Minister in Bern on August 11, but that we would defer publication of this action until our two Governments had had an opportunity to agree on a joint communique for the press. It was suggested to your Embassy in Washington that your Minister to Switzerland should be instructed to deliver a reply to Intercross in identical terms. It was also suggested that your Government give consideration to the question of making the text of the American reply delivered on August 11 to Intercross the basis of a joint public declaration after effecting any slight changes which might be necessary. It is understood that these suggestions were telegraphed immediately by your Embassy to London.
- d) The following is the substance of a message sent to my Government by your Government on August 11:

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"The Government of the United States has learned through the Intercross of the offer made by the Hungarian Government and has given it consideration. The Government of the United States undertakes to care for all Jews who may be allowed to leave Hungary and who reach United Nations or neutral territory. This undertaking includes all Jews regardless of whether or not they fall within the categories of persons covered by the Hungarian Government's offer.

"His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom has also been informed of the offer of the Hungarian Government and, in order to relieve the suffering of Jews in Hungary, it will cooperate as far as it

can

can with the Government of the United States in caring for Jews who may be permitted to migrate from Hungary and who reach United Nations or neutral territory.'

"If the United States Government cannot agree to a joint declaration in this form and proceeds independently to publicize acceptance of the offer, His Majesty's Government proposes to publish the second part of the foregoing declaration and to make an appropriate communication to the International Committee of the Red Cross through His Majesty's Minister in Bern."

- e) My Government did not regard as acceptable the public statement which your Government suggested. The statement suggested by your Government was not a commitment by your Government to the Hungarian Government but merely a promise of qualified cooperation in carrying out the commitment made by my Government.

Accordingly, my Government has requested your Government (through your Embassy in Washington) to consider concurring promptly in the issuance of the following joint declaration:

"Intercross 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 overwhelming humanitarian considerations involved the two Governments are informing the Government of Hungary through Intercross that, despite the heavy difficulties and responsibilities involved, they will make arrangements for the care of all 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 emphatically assert that in accepting the offer they do not in any way condone the action of the Hungarian Government which is forcing Jews to emigrate as an alternative to persecution and death."

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After both of our Governments have notified the Hungarians of the acceptance of the offer and after the acceptance has been made public we shall be glad to discuss with your Government the many considerations of accommodation, transportation, etc., as well as such questions as those relating to the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees and the Governments of Latin American countries. With respect to financing, it may be noted that the Intergovernmental Committee has already indicated that it is prepared to furnish \$400,000 immediately for use in connection with this matter.

5. My Government regards as most important that your Government consider the desirability of taking the following action at once:

- a) If your Government has not already done so, instruct your Minister in Switzerland to deliver to Intercross a note identical to the one delivered by the American Minister on August 11 (See paragraph 2).
- b) If your Government has not already done so, notify the governments of the neutral countries of the action which you have taken and request these neutrals to permit the entry of Jews from Hungary who reach their borders.
- c) Join in the simultaneous issuance by our two Governments of a statement of the type we have suggested (See paragraph 3 (e)).



000033

COPY

London, August 16, 1944

In entering into the Joint Declaration attached, it is understood between the United States and British Governments that the British capacity to accomodate refugees is limited, so that while the British Government has accepted in principle an indefinite commitment, the British Government rely on the United States Government to assume its fair share of the burden and not to face the British Government with a practical impossibility.

Sincerely,

J. C. Winant

The Right Honorable

Anthony Eden, M.C., M.P.,

etc. etc. etc.,

Foreign Office, S.W.1.

000034

Joint Declaration

Intercross 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 overwhelming 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.

000035

CROSS-REFERENCE

.....
(Name of Applicant)

.....
(Application Number)

For secret material concerning this file and despatch
#17785 from London

SEE: Mrs. Tunney

*This material placed in file, 9/5/45
per instructions of Miss Hodel.
BH*

000036



000037

August 14, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES:

On August 12 about 5 p.m., Mr. Vance in Warren's office called and said that he had just heard from Russell of the British Embassy concerning the proposed joint declaration we had submitted to the British on Friday. According to Vance the British requested that the second sentence of the proposed declaration be changed in the manner indicated on the attached page. Vance stated that according to Russell this is the farthest the British Government is prepared to go. Vance indicated that Russell wanted a reply at once in order that he could cable London.

After studying the British suggestion and discussing it here we concluded that it is unacceptable for exactly the same reason that the original British statement is unacceptable, namely, that it involved no British commitment to the Hungarians.

I prepared the attached statement to be read to Russell. I then discussed the matter with Hathaway Watson of Stettinius's office. I indicated to him that we should read the statement to Russell. I also mentioned to Watson that if he wanted to tell Russell that our proposed action in the matter would be discussed Monday there would be no objection to doing so. Watson agreed and instructed Vance to communicate with Russell. Vance did so about 5:30 p.m. and Russell stated that he would cable our answer to London at once. Vance apparently also indicated to Russell that the whole matter would probably be discussed here on Monday.

At 6:30 p.m. on Saturday afternoon I also was able to verify that our cable to DuBois was in the code room and would be sent out Saturday night.

J. B. Freeman

The amendment suggested by the British Government to the proposed joint declaration submitted by the United States Government on August 11 has been carefully examined. This amendment is unacceptable for the same reason that the original press statement proposed by the British was unacceptable, namely that it does not constitute an indefinite commitment to the Hungarian Government by the two governments but rather a commitment of the United States Government alone plus a promise of qualified cooperation by the British Government with the United States Government in carrying out the commitment made by the latter government.

The foregoing may be communicated to London by the British Embassy here.

*Cleared with Hathway
Watson who agreed to
have it read to Russell of
British Embassy tonight.*

JB 7.

8/12/44

5:15 P.M.

*At 6:20 I was advised by
Mr. Warren's Secretary that
Mr. Vance reached Mr. Russell
at his home & read him the
above. That Russell said he
would send it on to London.*

JB 7

000037

Dictated by Vance State Dept. 8/12/44

(Received from British Embassy)

In view of the desperate plight of the Jews in Hungary and the overwhelming humanitarian considerations involved the Hungarian Government are being advised through the International Committee of the Red Cross on behalf of both governments that, despite these substantial difficulties and responsibilities involved the United States Government, with whom His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom will cooperate to the extent of their resources, will arrange

000040

Dictated by Vance, State Dept. 8/12/44 - 5 P.M.

(Received from British Embassy) —

In view of the desperate plight of the Jews in Hungary and the overwhelming humanitarian considerations involved the Hungarian Government are being advised through the International Committee of the Red Cross on behalf of both governments that, despite the substantial difficulties and responsibilities involved the United States Government, with whom His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom will cooperate to the extent of their resources, will arrange

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"The International Red Cross has communicated to the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom an offer made by the Hungarian Government with respect to the emigration and treatment of Jews. In view of the desperate plight of the Jews in Hungary and the overwhelming humanitarian considerations involved the Hungarian Government are being advised through the International Committee of the Red Cross on behalf of both governments that, despite the substantial difficulties and responsibilities involved the United States Government, with whom His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom will cooperate to the extent of their resources, will arrange for the care of all Jews leaving Hungary 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 are also being communicated to the governments of neutral countries who are being requested to permit the entry of Jews who reach their borders from Hungary. The Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom 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."

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I was Ref. Grant
ORIGINAL TEXT OF TELEGRAM SENT *Mr. Pehle*

TO: American Embassy, London
FROM: Secretary of State, Washington
DATED: August 12, 1944
NO: 6408

CONTROL COPY

TO AMBASSADOR WINANT, LONDON, FOR JOSIAH DuBOIS, GENERAL COUNSEL, WAR REFUGEE BOARD.

Please deliver the following message to Mr. Josiah DuBois who is with Secretary Morgenthau:

You will recall that the Hungarian Government has communicated to the governments of the United States and the United Kingdom an offer with respect to the emigration and treatment of Jews. The American Minister in Bern was instructed to deliver to the International Red Cross on August 11 the following reply to the offer in question:

"It has now been indicated ^{by} the Hungarian Government that certain categories of Jews will be permitted to emigrate from Hungary. This Government, despite the substantial difficulties and responsibilities involved, has consistently made clear its determination to take all practicable steps to rescue victims of enemy oppression in imminent danger of death. In view of the desperate plight of the Jews in Hungary and the overwhelming humanitarian considerations involved, this Government now wishes to repeat specifically its assurance that it will arrange for the care of all Jews permitted to leave Hungary who reach neutral or United Nations territory, and will find for such people 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 some concrete evidence of the willingness of the Hungarian Government to carry out its proposal."

On July 29 the British Government was advised of the reply which this Government proposed to deliver to the International Red Cross on August 7 and the British Government was requested to take parallel action. On August 5 the British Foreign Office requested this Government to delay the delivery of its reply to the International Red Cross for several days until the matter could be discussed by the British War Cabinet. On the same day, this Government advised the British that we would postpone the delivery of our reply until August 11. The American Minister in Bern was instructed accordingly.

DECLASSIFIED

State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72

By R. H. Parks Date SEP 27 1972 On

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On August 10 the British Embassy here transmitted to this Government a message from the British Government which stated in part:

"His Majesty's Government agree that Hungary's offer should be accepted and are ready to make joint declaration with United States Government to that effect. Terms of declaration will, of course, have to be agreed between us.

"It cannot however be sufficiently emphasized that British capacity to accommodate refugees, as United States Government knows, has now become limited and thus while we accept an indefinite commitment in order to meet the wishes of United States Government we count on them not to face us with the impossible in practice, but to take their fair share of the burden."

In addition, the British Government raised certain practical problems of accommodation which will have to be considered in implementing the acceptance of the Hungarian offer.

On August 10 following the receipt of the British Government's communication, the British Embassy here was advised that the American Minister in Bern would proceed to deliver this Government's reply on August 11, but that publication of such action would be postponed until the two Governments had an opportunity to agree on a joint statement to be given to the press. It was suggested to the British Embassy here that the British Government should instruct its Minister in Bern to deliver an identical reply to the International Red Cross. It was also suggested for the consideration of the British Government that the text of the American reply delivered to the International Red Cross on August 11 be made the basis of the joint public declaration, making such slight changes as might be necessary. It is understood that the British Embassy here immediately cabled the foregoing suggestions to London.

On August 11 the following communication was transmitted by the British Embassy to this Government:

"Please communicate to the United States Government the following suggested text of Joint Anglo-American declaration approved by the War Cabinet as being the most suitable in all the circumstances:

' "United States Government has considered offer made by Hungarian Government of which they have learned through the International Red Cross and they undertake to care for all Jews who are permitted to leave Hungary and to reach neutral or United Nations territory (notwithstanding that they do not all come within the classes of persons to whom the Hungarian Government's offer relates).

"His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have also been made aware of the offer of the Hungarian

Government

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Government and with a view to relieving suffering of the Jews in Hungary will, to the extent of their resources, cooperate with the United States Government in caring for Jews who are permitted to leave Hungary and to reach neutral and United Nations territory."

"Should United States Government be unable to agree to joint declaration in this form and proceed to publicize acceptance of offer independently His Majesty's Government proposes for their part to publish the second portion of the foregoing declaration and to make an appropriate communication to the ICRC through His Majesty's Minister in Bern."

The joint public statement suggested by the British Government is regarded as unacceptable and through the British Embassy here the British Government has been requested to consider prompt concurrence in the issuance of a joint declaration as follows.

"The International Red Cross has communicated to the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom an offer made by the Hungarian Government with respect to the emigration and treatment of Jews. In view of the desperate plight of the Jews in Hungary and the overwhelming humanitarian considerations involved the two governments are advising the Hungarian Government through the International Red Cross that despite the substantial difficulties and responsibilities involved the two governments will arrange for the care of all Jews leaving Hungary 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 are also being communicated to the governments of neutral countries who are being requested to permit the entry of Jews who reach their borders from Hungary. The Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom 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."

We feel that the joint declaration suggested by the British is not (repeat not) a commitment by that government to the Hungarians, but merely a promise of qualified cooperation with the Government of the United States in carrying out the commitment made by the latter government. You will also note that the joint declaration suggested by the British omits any assurance by either government to find havens of refuge for Jews who reach neutral or United Nations territory.

We consider it very important that:

(1) If such action has not already been taken, the British Government immediately instruct its Minister in Bern to deliver to International Red Cross a note identical with that delivered by the American Minister on August 11.

(2) The

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(2) The British Government notify the neutral governments of the action taken by it, and request such countries to permit the entry of Jews who reach their borders from Hungary.

(3) The British Government agree to the simultaneous issuance of a joint statement in the form suggested by us.

In our discussions with the British on this matter, we have tried to make clear the following point of view. We do not approve or agree with the action of the Hungarians in forcing the emigration of the Jews as an alternative to persecution and death, and we obviously hope that circumstances will still induce Hungarian authorities to permit Jews now in Hungary to remain there in safety and that the Hungarian government will not (repeat not) insist on a large scale war-time emigration. At the same time, this Government is not (repeat not) prepared to give Germany and Hungary any excuses to continue extermination or deportation of the Jews. This is the reason for this government's insistence on an early notification to the Hungarians of our joint acceptance without awaiting a final determination of all considerations of accommodation and transport. We have also tried to make clear to the British that subsequent to the notification of acceptance of the Hungarians' offer by both governments and to the publication of such acceptance, we shall be glad to discuss with the British Government the various considerations of transportation, accommodation, etc., including the question of cooperation of Latin American Governments, the Inter-Governmental Committee, etc.

The foregoing is sent to you for your information and for any appropriate action which you may be able to take. Please consult Ambassador Winant and Secretary Morgenthau.

STETTINIUS
ACTING

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES

August 12, 1944

On August 11 at 1 p.m. George Warren dictated over the telephone the attached communication which he had just received from Mr. Russell of the British Embassy.

After discussing this communication with Mr. Pehle and with George Warren, who came over to this office, it was agreed that the joint declaration suggested by the British was unacceptable, and that we should advise the British accordingly, proposing to them a substitute joint declaration. Warren agreed to read to Russell immediately the attached memorandum on this subject.

It was also agreed with Pehle and Warren that we would despatch a cable to DuBois in London, bringing him up to date on the subject and suggesting that he take any action which he could to get the British to adopt the position suggested by us. Pehle suggested that this cable be dispatched through the Army and indicated that Mrs. McHugh in the Secretary's office would handle the matter with the Army. On Saturday I prepared the attached cable to DuBois. Mrs. McHugh, when she saw the length and content of the cable, was doubtful about having the Army send it. I then called Mr. Watson in Mr. Stettinius' office and asked him if he could have the cable despatched promptly. He told me that he could and I sent the cable to him.

J. B. Friedman

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Dictated by G. Warren - State Dept.
August 11, 1944

(Received from Russell)

Please communicate to United States Government the following suggested text of joint Anglo-American declaration approved by the War Cabinet as being the most suitable in all the circumstances:

"United States Government has considered offer made by Hungarian Government of which they have learned through the International Red Cross and they undertake to care for all Jews who are permitted to leave Hungary and to reach neutral or United Nations territory /notwithstanding that they do not all come within the classes of persons to whom the Hungarian Government's offer relates/.

"His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have also been made aware of the offer of the Hungarian Government and with a view to relieving suffering of the Jews in Hungary will, to the extent of their resources, cooperate with the United States Government in caring for Jews who are permitted to leave Hungary and to reach neutral and United Nations territory."

Should United States Government be unable to agree to joint declaration in this form and proceed to publicize acceptance of offer independently His Majesty's Government proposes for their part to publish the second portion of the foregoing declaration and to make an appropriate communication to the ICRC through His Majesty's Minister in Bern.

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The joint declaration concerning the acceptance of the Horthy offer suggested by the British Government in its cable of August 11 has been carefully examined and found unacceptable. Although in the Foreign Office communication of August 10 the British Government indicates its willingness to enter into an indefinite commitment to the Hungarian Government, the proposed joint declaration is not such a commitment by the British Government to the Hungarians but a promise of qualified cooperation with the Government of the United States in carrying out the commitment made by the latter government. The British Government should be advised of the foregoing and be requested seriously to consider prompt concurrence in the issuance of a joint declaration in the following text:

"The International Red Cross has communicated to the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom an offer made by the Hungarian Government with respect to the emigration and treatment of Jews. In view of the desperate plight of the Jews in Hungary and the overwhelming humanitarian considerations involved the two governments are advising the Hungarian Government through the International Red Cross that despite the substantial difficulties and responsibilities involved the two governments will arrange for the care of all Jews leaving Hungary 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 are also being communicated to the governments of neutral countries who are being requested to permit the entry of Jews who reach their borders from Hungary. The Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom 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."

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CABLE TO AMBASSADOR WINANT, LONDON, FOR JOSIAH DuBOIS, GENERAL COUNSEL, WAR REFUGEE BOARD.

~~TO MR. JOSIAH DuBOIS, GENERAL COUNSEL, WAR REFUGEE BOARD.~~

Please deliver the following message to Mr. Josiah DuBois who is with Secretary Morgenthau:

You will recall that the Hungarian Government has communicated to the governments of the United States and the United Kingdom an offer with respect to the emigration and treatment of Jews. The American Minister in Bern was instructed to deliver to the International Red Cross on August 11 the following reply to the offer in question:

"It has now been indicated by the Hungarian Government that certain categories of Jews will be permitted to emigrate from Hungary. This Government, despite the substantial difficulties and responsibilities involved, has consistently made clear its determination to take all practicable steps to rescue victims of enemy oppression in imminent danger of death. In view of the desperate plight of the Jews in Hungary and the overwhelming humanitarian considerations involved, this Government now wishes to repeat specifically its assurance that it will arrange for the care of all Jews permitted to leave Hungary who reach neutral or United Nations territory, and will find for such people 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 some concrete evidence of the willingness of the Hungarian Government to carry out its proposal."

On July 29 the British Government was advised of the reply which this Government proposed to deliver to the International Red Cross on August 7 and the British Government was requested to take parallel action. On August 5 the British Foreign Office requested this Government to delay the delivery of its reply to the International Red Cross for several days until the matter could be discussed by the British War Cabinet. On the same day, this Government advised the British that we would postpone the delivery of our reply until August 11. The American Minister in Bern was instructed accordingly.

On August 10 the British Embassy here transmitted to this Government a message from the British Government which stated in part:

"His Majesty's Government agree that Hungary's offer should be accepted and are ready to make joint declaration with United States Government to that effect. Terms of declaration will, of course, have to be agreed between us.

"It cannot however be sufficiently emphasized that British capacity to accommodate refugees, as United States Government knows, has now become limited and thus while we accept an indefinite commitment in order to meet the wishes of United States Government we count on them not to face us with the impossible in practice, but to take their fair share of the burden."

In addition, the British Government raised certain practical problems of accommodation which will have to be considered in implementing the acceptance of the Hungarian offer.

On August 10 following the receipt of the British Government's communication, the British Embassy here was advised that the American Minister in Bern would proceed to deliver this Government's reply on August 11, but that publication of such action would be postponed until the two Governments had an opportunity to agree on a joint statement to be given to the press. It was suggested to the British Embassy here that the British Government should instruct its Minister in Bern to deliver an identical reply to the International Red Cross. It was also suggested for the consideration of the British Government that the text of the American reply delivered to the International Red Cross on August 11 be made the basis of the joint public declaration, making such slight changes as might be necessary. It is understood that the British Embassy here immediately cabled the foregoing suggestions to London.

On August 11 the following communication was transmitted by the British Embassy to this Government:

"Please communicate to the United States Government the following suggested text of joint-Anglo-American declaration approved by the War Cabinet as being the most suitable in all the circumstances:

"United States Government has considered offer made by Hungarian Government of which they have learned through the International Red Cross and they undertake to care for all Jews who are permitted to leave Hungary and to reach neutral or United Nations territory (notwithstanding that they do not all come within the classes of persons to whom the Hungarian Government's offer relates).

"His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have also been made aware of the offer of the Hungarian Government and with a view to relieving suffering of the Jews in Hungary will, to the extent of their resources, cooperate with the United States Government in caring for Jews who are permitted to leave Hungary and to reach neutral and United Nations territory."

"Should United States Government be unable to agree to joint declaration in this form and proceed to publicize acceptance of offer independently His Majesty's Government proposes for their part to publish the second portion of the foregoing declaration and to make an appropriate communication to the ICRC through His Majesty's Minister in Bern."

The joint public statement suggested by the British Government is regarded as unacceptable and through the British Embassy here the British Government has been requested to consider prompt concurrence in the issuance of a joint declaration as follows:

"The International Red Cross has communicated to the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom an offer made by the Hungarian Government with respect to the emigration and treatment of Jews. In view of the desperate plight of the Jews in Hungary and the overwhelming humanitarian considerations involved the two governments are advising the Hungarian Government through the International Red Cross that despite the substantial difficulties and responsibilities involved the two governments will arrange for the care of all Jews leaving Hungary 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 are also being communicated to the governments of neutral countries who are being requested to permit the entry of Jews who reach their borders from Hungary. The Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom 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."

We feel that the joint declaration suggested by the British is not (repeat not) a commitment by that government to the Hungarians, but merely a promise of qualified cooperation with the Government of the United States in carrying out the commitment made by the latter government. You will also note that the joint declaration suggested by the British omits any assurance by either government to find havens of refuge for Jews who reach neutral or United Nations territory.

We consider it very important that:

- (1) If such action has not already been taken, the British Government immediately instruct its Minister in Bern to deliver to International Red Cross a note identical with that delivered by the American Minister on August 11.
- (2) The British Government notify the neutral governments of the action taken by it, and request such countries to permit the entry of Jews who reach their borders from Hungary.
- (3) The British Government agree to the simultaneous issuance of a joint statement in the form suggested by us.

In our discussions with the British on this matter, we have tried to make clear the following point of view. We do not approve or agree with the action of the Hungarians in forcing the emigration of the Jews as an alternative to persecution and death, and we obviously hope that circumstances will still induce Hungarian authorities to permit Jews now in Hungary to remain there in safety and that the Hungarian Government will not (repeat not) insist on a large scale war-time migration. At the same time, this Government is not (repeat not) prepared to give Germany and Hungary any excuses to continue extermination or deportation of the Jews. This is the reason for this government's insistence on an early notification to the Hungarians of our joint acceptance without awaiting a final determination of all considerations of accommodation and transport. We have also tried to make clear to the British that subsequent to the notification of acceptance of the Hungarians' offer by both governments and to the publication of such acceptance, we shall be glad to discuss with the British Government the various considerations of transportation, accommodation, etc., including the question of cooperation of Latin American Governments, the Inter-Governmental Committee, etc.

The foregoing is sent to you for your information and for any appropriate action which you may be able to take. Please consult Ambassador Winant and

Secretary Morgenthau.

JBFriedman:dg 8/12/44

CONFIDENTIAL FOR THE WAR REFUGEE BOARD FROM HUNGARY.

The following is the exact declaration agreed upon by the British Government:

Intercess 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 overwhelming humanitarian considerations involved the two governments are informing the Government of Hungary through Intercess 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 homes 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.

(Dictated by Mr. Warren over the phone to Miss Rhodes, 1:00 p.m., 8/17/44)

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DEPARTMENT
OF
STATE

INCOMING
TELEGRAM

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

RA-262
Distribution of true
reading only by special
arrangement. [REDACTED] W)

Ankara

Dated August 12, 1944

Rec'd 1 a.m., 13th

Secretary of State

Washington

1479, August 12, 5 p.m.

For your information (FOR PEHLE FROM HIRSCHELMANN)

ANKARA'S NO. 132) the Governments of Rumania Bulgaria
and Turkey have agreed in principle to grant transit
visas to Jewish refugees from Hungary who have ob-
tained Palestine entry certificates. The two thousand
Hungarian Jews constituting the first group which had
been ready to leave Hungary had been expected to
arrive in Rumania some days ago. It is not under-
stood in Istanbul why this emigration does not pro-
ceed since the Hungarian authorities in their announce-
ment stated that exit facilities would be granted to
Jews in Hungary for whom Palestine visas had been
authorized and Turkish transit visas approved in
principle.

Information received in Istanbul from reliable
~~private~~ sources indicates that although the Hungarian
Government

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By R. H. Parks Date SEP 27 1972

For security reasons the
text of this message must
be closely [REDACTED]

COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS
(LINSON)

1944 AUG 15 PM 5 05

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DIVISION OF

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-2- #1479, August 12, 5 p.m., from Ankara

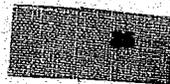
Government has agreed to provide the necessary exit facilities final authorization must be granted by the German military and political organizations in Budapest for the departure of each individual transport, and we are informed that such authorization has not until now been granted.

It is urgent that we know at the earliest possible moment what actually is causing the delay in the departure of this first group of 2000 Hungarian Jews in order that we may take such steps as may be possible from Istanbul to facilitate their emigration. We are exploring the situation from here but suggest that concurrently you request the Swiss Government and the International Red Cross to investigate the situation in Budapest. Please keep us advised of the results of your inquiry.

KELLEY

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PARAPHRASE OF TELEGRAM RECEIVED

FROM: American Legation, Bern
TO: Secretary of State, Washington
DATE: August 11, 1944
NUMBER: 5201
x

Reference is made herewith to the Department's August 2 telegram No. 2687 and August 7 cable No. 2715.

The International Red Cross Committee was presented with communication dated August 11, on same date, which contained text of Department's reply.

HARRISON

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By R. H. Parks Date SEP 27 1972

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES

August 11, 1944

On August 10 at about 4:15 p.m. George Warren called to say that Mr. Russell of the British Embassy was in his office with an answer from the British Government concerning the proposed reply to the Horthy offer. Warren stated that the British had agreed to go along with us. Warren indicated that the only matter for discussion was the request of the British Government that a statement of the action taken be made jointly by the two governments to be released simultaneously in London and Washington. Warren stated that he and Russell were discussing the contents of such a public statement and they had agreed that the text of our reply to the International Red Cross should constitute the text of the public statement, being preceded by a brief reference to the Hungarian offer. Warren stated that in his judgment it was not advisable to reproduce the Red Cross letter. Warren also indicated that Russell suggested there be a slight modification in the sentence referring to assurances having been communicated to neutral countries. Russell wanted to say that assurances are being communicated to such countries because the British have not yet done so. Warren also suggested that the final sentence of our reply be modified in the public statement to sound a little less like a dare to the Hungarians. With this I agreed. Warren said he would immediately discuss the matter of the public statement with Mr. McDermott, Head of Press Relations of the Department of State, and would further advise me.

About a half-hour later, Warren called after Russell had left his office. Warren stated that the British reply was a two-page document commencing with the statement that the British agree that the Horthy offer must be accepted and then indicating that it would be necessary to agree on the terms of a joint declaration. Warren stated that the remainder of the memorandum which he is sending to me contained a discussion of practical measures to be taken to carry out the acceptance of the offer. Warren stated that Russell was somewhat confused by the failure of the British Government to indicate that the British Minister in Bern was being instructed to deliver an identical reply with that which is to be given by our Minister. Russell suggested that the delivery of our reply be delayed until he could further communicate with London. Warren indicated that it would not be possible to do so unless there was some compelling reason that he could present to the War Refugee Board and that in his, Warren's, judgment the fact that the messages were not delivered to the Red Cross simultaneously was not important and that the only matter which needed further discussion with London was the text of the public announcement. (In my first conversation with Warren, I had emphasized that we were in any event opposed to delaying the delivery of our reply to the Red Cross.) According to Warren, Russell finally agreed with this point of view and indicated that he is cabling London as follows:

1. The United States Government is in agreement.
2. The American Minister in Bern will proceed to deliver the reply to the International Red Cross on August 11 and the British Government should, as soon as possible, instruct its Minister in Bern to deliver an identical reply.

3. We are awaiting an agreement by London as to the text of the public statement.

Russell is suggesting to London that the text of the reply given to the Red Cross be the basic part of the public announcement. Warren agreed to clear with us the text of any public statements that are made.

About 6 p.m. Warren called again and stated that the State Department felt it necessary to send the following message to Minister Harrison at once:

"The British Embassy here has advised the Department and the War Refugee Board that the British Government agrees that Hungary's offer should be accepted and that they are ready to make a joint declaration with the U.S. Government to that effect. It is confidently hoped that the British instructions to the British Minister in Bern concerning the reply to be delivered to International Red Cross will reach Bern by Friday, August 11. The two governments have agreed on a joint press release which may be delayed a day or two."

I asked Warren why State felt it necessary to send any such message to Bern. Warren indicated that the message was being sent for the following purposes:

1. To bring Harrison up to date and suggest to him the possibility of mentioning to the International Red Cross that the British answer would probably be delivered soon after ours; and
2. To avoid any publicity being given to our message pending an agreement with London.

I then stated to Warren that I did not think any such message should be sent since it might well be construed by Harrison as indicating that he should not deliver our reply to International Red Cross until the British Minister received his instructions. I stated that if the State Department insisted on sending such a cable, I could not agree to it unless the following sentences were added:

- (a) Immediately following the second sentence: - "You should in any event deliver to International Red Cross on August 11 the reply of this Government as instructed in Department's No. of August 7." (This is the last cable we sent to Harrison telling him to deliver the reply unless he received contrary instructions in the meantime.)
- (b) Immediately following the last sentence: - "Accordingly no release to the press should be made at Bern."

In my discussion with Warren, it became clear that State Department's purpose was not merely to avoid publicity being given in Bern and Warren finally admitted as much when I suggested the addition of the sentence mentioned in (b). Warren, however, insisted that the message be sent but did agree to the addition of the two sentences suggested by me.

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Subsequently I received from Warren copies of the answer of the British Government. After reading this answer, it seemed clear to me that the British had not intended for us to go ahead now, but rather intended to have a further discussion as to what form our joint answer would take. However, Warren had already indicated to Russell that we were going ahead and delivering the reply from this Government anyway, only waiting for a discussion with the British as to what kind of public statement would be made.

J. B. Friedman

J. B. Friedman

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Document #23: Cable # 5197 from Bern
NOT FOUND IN FILE

8-18-05 BSB Clark FOR L

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10th August, 1944.

My dear Mr. Warren,

We have this morning received London's reply to the proposals contained in the Department's memorandum of July 31st regarding the rescue of the Jews from Hungary. The Foreign Office telegram dated August 9th, reads as follows:

1. His Majesty's Government agree that Hungary's offer should be accepted and are ready to make joint declaration with United States Government to that effect. Terms of declaration will, of course, have to be agreed between us.

2. It cannot however be sufficiently emphasized that British capacity to accommodate refugees, as United States Government knows, has now become limited and thus while we accept an indefinite commitment in order to meet the wishes of United States Government we count on them not to face us with the impossible in practice, but to take their fair share of the burden.

3. Accommodation is at least as difficult to find as transport. We have recently examined the possibility of establishing a transitional refugee centre in the Mediterranean area where Jews migrating from Hungary could be received. As United States Government is aware, there are already camps at Fedhala and Philippeville in French North Africa and the French authorities might be unwilling to consent to the establishment of a further camp. With very considerable difficulty and against the wishes of our military authorities we have arranged for the establishment of a camp in Tripolitania. The camps originally started in Egypt under Middle East Relief and Refugees Administration have lately been expanded considerably in order to take in some thousands of Jewish refugees who have reached Southern Italy from Rzeszow. Please obtain the views of the State Department regarding possibility of using Sicily as an asylum in accordance with a suggestion which, it will be remembered, was made a short time ago by President Roosevelt. We will telegraph as soon as possible what accommodation His Majesty's Government

Mr. George Warren,
Room 508, 1712 G. Street,
Department of State,
Washington, D. C.

/cm

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can find for refugees. The practical difficulties of dealing with a large flow of refugees which might arrive at, e.g., Constantza, in the expectation of reaching Palestine are great and a dangerous position might arise, if promises were to be given which could not immediately be fulfilled.

4. We would urge that as a practical measure the services of the Inter-Governmental Committee should be used in making at least some arrangements for the evacuation, especially of Jewish children. The Committee has considerable experience in handling this question and cooperation through the Committee with neutrals such as Sweden and Switzerland would be helped by their association with it. The Directorate of the Committee need presumably only consult with the Zionists, whose cooperation would be helpful. It is not thought that reference to the Committee would be interpreted in Axis Europe as a delaying gesture provided that reference to the Committee were to be the subject of simultaneous Anglo-American acceptance of the offer as proposed above. Similarly in that event lives would not be jeopardised nor would reference to the Committee enable Hungarian Government to proclaim virtual refusal of its offer.

5. We would again urge in view of the extreme difficulty of finding accommodation for Jewish Refugees from Hungary that the United States Government and His Majesty's Government should jointly approach the Latin American Governments as already proposed. "

The next step will appear to be for us to agree on the terms of the necessary declaration and I am assuming that the United States Government will be producing a draft; if you will be good enough to let me have a copy I will immediately telegraph it to the Foreign Office in order that we may get an agreed document with the least possible delay.

Yours sincerely,

J. W. Russell,
Second Secretary.

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8/8/44

Dictated by Warren - message just received from London through
Mr. Russell.

"I hope to be able to send you news of war cabinet on Wednesday,
August 9 and I trust that the U.S. government will be able to hold
their hand until then."

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*I was by hand
Lohle*

PARAPHRASE OF TELEGRAM SENT

FROM: Secretary of State, Washington.
TO: American Legation, Bern.
DATED: August 7, 1944.
NUMBER: 2715.

CONTROL COPY

The following message has been repeated, only for information, to London, dated August 7, Number 6234.

Please refer to message dated August 2, Number 2657, from the Department, which was repeated as Number 6096 to London.

You are directed, lacking other instructions which in the meantime may be sent you, to send on August 11 to Inter-cross the text of the reply which was transmitted to you for your information in message from the Department, Number 2657.

Immediately upon receipt of this message you should notify Inter-cross that on the 11th of August you will deliver a response to its communication regarding the so-called Horthy offer.

Being considered by the British Government at the present time is the matter of the reply of the British Government to be made to Inter-cross. Deference to the British Government, which requested a postponement for three or four days, caused the delay in delivering the reply of this Government from the 7th to the 11th of August. It is hoped by this Government that before the 11th of August your British associate will have received from London instructions that are similar, but in any case the delivery of the reply of this

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State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By R. H. Parks Date SEP 27 1972

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reply of this Government is not to be postponed beyond the 11th of August.

It is the intention here to make public the message from Intercross, and the reply of this Government to that message, as soon as the reply of this Government, referred to in preceding paragraphs, has been delivered by you. This intention has not been communicated to the British Government.

STETTINIUS
(Acting)

WRD:GLW

PARAPHRASED:

DCR:LCW 8/11/44

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000074

PARAPHRASE OF TELEGRAM RECEIVED

FROM: American Embassy, London.
TO: Secretary of State, Washington.
DATED: August 5, 1944.
NUMBER: 6293.

With reference to messages from the Embassy, Number 6087, dated July 21, and Number 6193, dated August 3, and with reference to telegram from the Department, dated July 28, Number 5948, we received the information today, in absolute confidence and informally, from Henderson of the Foreign Office, Refugee Section, that, with regard to joint American-British action replying to the Horthy offer, scarcely anything was accomplished on August 4 when the War Cabinet considered this matter.

On August 6, this matter will be further discussed by the Cabinet. Fearing that the motive of the Horthy offer is a plot by the Germans to break up the delicate political situation in the Near East by putting there thousands of people who are regarded by the local inhabitants of such places as being undesirable, some members are opposed to acceptance. The British Government's final reply may well be less sympathetic than the reply that would be indicated by the attitude of the Foreign Office by itself.

WINANT.

DCR:LCW 8/7/44

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State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By R. H. Parks Date SEP 27 1972

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MEMORANDUM

On Saturday, August 5, at about twelve o'clock, George Warren called and dictated the following cable just received from the British Embassy concerning the reply to the Horthy offer:

"Matter has been urgently considered and I (Eden) fully share general views of the United States Government as to the importance of Horthy offer and of presented measures for rescue of Jews in Hungary. Certain issues, however, of widest character, particularly in regard to accommodation, are involved, and as these must be considered by War Cabinet I should be most grateful if the United States Government could see their way to agreeing to defer taking the action proposed by them to enable this to be done. Delay involved should not be more than three or four days."

I told George that as soon as I had a chance to study the matter, I would get in touch with him.

After discussing the matter with Messrs. Luxford, Abrahamson and Azkin and Miss Hodel, I prepared the attached memorandum to Mr. Stettinius, a memorandum to be read to the British, and a cable to be sent to Bern.

I attempted to get in touch with Mr. Hayden Raynor to discuss the matter but was unable to do so as he was out of his office.

With Mr. Abrahamson I went to George Warren's office at about 3:30 p.m. to discuss the matter. After Warren had read the attached documents, he objected to the last sentence in the second paragraph and the entire third paragraph of the memorandum to the British, stating that this, in effect, was telling the British that we didn't care what kind of answer they submitted to us. I told Warren that this was not my interpretation of the matter. I stated my view that we were merely repeating what we told the British from the first minute, namely, that it is the policy of the United States to give International Red Cross the answer indicated in our proposed cable to Bern and that we had told the British of this in the hope that they would be able to do likewise, but that we had, from the first moment, indicated our intention of doing it alone if necessary. I further stated that since the British had asked for four more days in which to decide whether they could go along and give a similar reply, we were, out of courtesy, granting the four additional days and repeating once more that in any event we definitely meant to present our answer at the end of the four days.

I explained to Warren that, in my view, this Government could not properly assume the risk of being blamed for further persecution of the Jews in Hungary if our answer to the International Red Cross were delayed beyond August 11 and that that was full justification for making clear our position to the British.

Warren then said that if we would wait for about fifteen minutes he could clear the matter with the Department. Warren left the office and in about fifteen minutes called from the State Department, indicating that the proposed memorandum for the British would be acceptable if we would eliminate the last sentence of the second paragraph and the entire third paragraph. I asked Warren then what the State's view was with respect to the cable itself. He stated that there was no reason why the cable couldn't be sent out just as it was. I pointed out that in this way the British might be angrier than if we told them what we proposed to do, but Warren stated that our instructions to Bern were purely a matter for this Government. I told Warren that with respect to the deletion of the sentences in question I felt it necessary that Mr. Stettinius be consulted. Warren stated that Mr. Stettinius was very busy, but that he would try to arrange an appointment for me to discuss the matter. In a few minutes Warren called from Stettinius' office and told me that Mr. Stettinius wanted to talk with me on the telephone. Stettinius said that Warren had shown him the proposed statement to the British, and that he (Stettinius) felt that the sentences in question should be eliminated. I explained to Mr. Stettinius that my view was that unless we told the British this, we would receive in a few days another delaying answer, suggesting their great sympathy for the project, but raising many points for consideration. Mr. Stettinius said that he was dealing with the British in many matters, including Argentine questions, that we are pressing the British hard on many things, that the bombs are flying in Britain, and he felt that we should not gratuitously insult the British by including the sentences in question. I stated that I obviously deferred to his judgment in the matter.

Warren then called again by telephone and agreed to call Russell of the British Embassy at once, reading to him our proposed memorandum with the sentences in question deleted. I then asked Warren whether the cable would be sent out in its present form, stating that my concurrence in Mr. Stettinius' decision was based on that assumption. Warren said that Mr. Stettinius had not read the cable, but that he (Warren) felt that it would not need to be changed and that it would be sent out in the form in which it was presented. I emphasized to Warren that in my judgment the cable should be sent out this evening. Warren said that there were several other urgent matters that he had to take care of this evening and that he doubted whether he could send the cable out, but that he would try, and in any event it would be sent the first thing Monday morning. I also made clear to Warren that if any change were made in the cable he should get in touch with me at home, which he agreed to do.

At about 6:15 p.m. Mr. Warren called again. He advised me that he had read to Mr. Russell the memorandum prepared by us, with the sentences in question deleted, and that Russell was immediately getting off the cable to London. Warren stated that it was impossible to get out our cable to Bern until Monday morning because everybody had left. Warren stated that he had studied the cable again and wanted to know if I would agree to the

insertion at the beginning of the second paragraph of the words "in the absence of other instructions received in the meantime." I told Mr. Warren that I had no objection to this. Warren then stated that the cable would go out the first thing Monday morning.

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AUG 5 1944

MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Stettinius
From: Mr. Friedman

Please refer to the memorandum dated July 29, 1944 from Mr. Pehle concerning the reply to be given to the communication of the International Red Cross regarding Hungarian Jews. With Mr. Pehle's memorandum there was attached a proposed memorandum to the British Government, which, I am informed, was transmitted to that Government.

Today Mr. George Warren informed me by telephone that the attached reply has been received from the British Government concerning the matter above referred to.

After careful consideration of the matter, it is my opinion that the British Government should now be advised along the lines indicated in the memorandum which is enclosed, and that the attached proposed cable should be immediately dispatched to Minister Harrison in Bern. It is my view that we should not run the risk of further persecution of the Jews of Hungary, which may possibly result if our answer to the Hungarians is delayed beyond August 11th.

J.B. Friedman

CABLE FROM LONDON TO THE BRITISH EMBASSY, WITH THE
REQUEST THAT IT BE GIVEN TO THE DEPARTMENT.

Matter has been urgently considered and I (Eden) fully share general views of the United States Government as to the importance of Horthy offer and of presented measures for rescue of Jews in Hungary. Certain issues, however, of widest character, particularly in regard to accommodation, are involved, and as these must be considered by War Cabinet I should be most grateful if the United States Government could see their way to agreeing to defer taking the action proposed by them to enable this to be done. Delay involved should not be more than three or four days.

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MEMORANDUM

The British should be advised as follows:

Pursuant to the request of the British Government, this Government agrees to delay the delivery of its proposed reply to the International Red Cross until August 11th. In so agreeing to the British request, this Government wishes to emphasize, however, the likelihood that this further delay may aggravate the danger to the Jews of Hungary. This Government therefore agrees to the requested delay only out of deference to the British Government's attitude. In order to alleviate this aggravated danger, and to prevent the possibility that the Hungarians will interpret the delay simply as dilatory tactics, this Government has been compelled to request its Minister in Bern to advise the International Red Cross at once that it will receive a definite answer on August 11th. [The United States Minister in Bern has accordingly been instructed to present the reply on August 11th.]

Material within brackets deleted by State Dept. & remainder read to Mr. Russell of British Embassy on Aug 5.
JB 7

For the reasons indicated, this Government also feels obliged, upon the delivery of its reply to the International Red Cross on August 11th, to make public immediately the action taken by it.]

It is the hope of this Government that the British Government will be able to take parallel action on August 11th.

CABLE TO MINISTER HARRISON, BERN, FROM THE DEPARTMENT
AND THE WAR REFUGEE BOARD.

Please refer to Department's No. 2657 of August 2,
1944.

[In the absence of other instructions received in the meantime]
You are instructed to transmit to Intercross on
August 11 the reply, the text of which has been commu-
nicated to you for your information by Department's 2657.

As soon as you receive this cable you should advise
Intercross that on August 11 you will deliver to it a
reply to its communication concerning the so-called Horthy
offer.

The British Government is presently considering
the question of the reply to be given by it to Intercross.
The postponement of the delivery of our reply to Inter-
cross from August 7 to August 11 has been made out of
deference to a request from the British Government. It
is the hope of this Government that prior to August 11
your British colleague will have received similar
instructions from London, but in any event do not
(repeat not) delay the delivery of this Government's
reply beyond August 11.

It is our intention to make public the message
from Intercross and our reply thereto as soon as our
reply has been delivered by you.

This cable has been repeated to London as No.

*addition
suggested
by Warren
by phone
on Aug 5
at 6:15
P.M. Agreed
* by me on
understanding
that cable
would be
sent out
on Monday
Aug. 7.*

JBS 7

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CABLE TO MINISTER HARRISON AND MCCLELLAND, BERN, SWITZERLAND

Draft

1. With reference to Department's 2657 of August 2 you are now instructed to transmit to Intercross on August 7 (or as soon thereafter as the present message reaches you) the reply text of which has been communicated for your information by said Department's 2657.

Should your British colleague be authorized to transmit a similar communication to Intercross, please urge him to do so, either singly or jointly with you, but in no (repeat no) case delay transmitting this Government's reply to Intercross beyond August 7.

2. With reference to your 4604 of July 19 and Department's 2605 of August 1, please advise Department and Board whether the demarche suggested in Department's 2605 under (3) has been made and results thereof. If demarche has not yet been made, kindly make it immediately.

3. At same time, on August 7 or as soon thereafter as the present message reaches you, please request Swiss Foreign Office to inform Hungarian government that note has been taken by this Government of Swiss note referred to in your 4604 relative to Hungarian authorization for the departure of all Jews from Hungary who hold exit permits for another country; that this Government now repeats specifically its assurance that it will arrange for the care of all Jews permitted to leave Hungary who reach neutral or United Nations' territory, and will find for such people havens of refuge where they may live in safety; ^{that} 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; and that this Government now awaits some concrete evidence of the willingness of the Hungarian Government to carry out its proposal.

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With regard to this request too you should advise your British colleague and suggest to him that, if he is authorized to do so, he address a similar communication to Swiss Foreign Office for transmission to Hungary, either singly or jointly with you, but in no (repeat no) case delay transmitting this Government's reply to Swiss Foreign Office beyond August 7.

4. With reference to 230 from Amembassy London to you, the broad program envisaged above and in Department's 2657 might be jeopardized by limited scope of approach suggested by said 230 from London. Therefore, it is not (repeat not) thought advisable that you limit any of your demarches to children under ten and the supply problem which are the only items dealt with in said 230 from London. But you are authorized, of course, to give the assurance concerning availability of supplies for Hungarian refugees through blockade in line with 230 from London.

5. A discrepancy is noted here to exist between various communications and reports regarding Hungarian government's offer relating to treatment of Jews. This Government bases its stand on the most general version communicated through Swiss Foreign Office and contained in your 4604. Nevertheless, this government perturbed by communication from Intercross delegate referring only to QUOTE emigration of certain categories of Jews UNQUOTE, and contained in Department's 2657, by your 4896 of July 29 reporting that emigration with permits to countries aside from Palestine will be permitted only to children under ten, and by report received by British Foreign Office from Bern that as soon as categories permitted to depart from Hungary have all left deportations of Jews will be renewed.

Accordingly, please ascertain from official Swiss and Intercross sources the exact scope of Hungarian offer and of chances to make certain that it be maintained in its most general and favorable form.

The steps necessary thus to clarify the nature and to ensure the generality of the Hungarian offer should only be undertaken by you after (repeat after) you have made the demarches set out above in paragraphs 1, 2,3, and 4, and without detracting from the position taken by this Government as indicated in these earlier paragraphs.

BAkzin:ar 8/5/44

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August 4, 1944

MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Stettinius

From: Mr. Friedman

Please refer to the memorandum dated July 29, 1944 from Mr. Pehle concerning the reply to be given to the communication of the International Red Cross regarding Hungarian Jews. With Mr. Pehle's memorandum there was attached a proposed memorandum to the British Government, which, I am informed, was transmitted to that Government.

Today Mr. George Warren informed me by telephone that the attached reply has been received from the British Government concerning the matter above referred to.

After careful consideration of the matter, it is my opinion that the British Government should now be advised along the lines indicated in the memorandum which is enclosed, and that the attached proposed cable should be immediately dispatched to Minister Harrison in Bern. It is my view that we should not run the risk of further persecution of the Jews of Hungary, which may possibly result if our answer to the Hungarians is delayed beyond August 11th.

(s) J. B. Friedman

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CABLE TO MINISTER HARRISON, BERN, FROM THE DEPARTMENT
AND THE WAR REFUGEE BOARD.

Please refer to Department's No. 2657 of August 2,
1944.

You are instructed to transmit to Intercross on
August 11 the reply, the text of which has been commu-
nicated to you for your information by Department's 2657.

As soon as you receive this cable you should advise
Intercross that on August 11 you will deliver to it a
reply to its communication concerning the so-called Horthy
offer.

The British Government is presently considering
the question of the reply to be given by it to Intercross.
The postponement of the delivery of our reply to Inter-
cross from August 7 to August 11 has been made out of
deference to a request from the British Government. It
is the hope of this Government that prior to August 11
your British colleagues will have received similar
instructions from London, but in any event do not
(repeat not) delay the delivery of this Government's
reply beyond August 11.

It is our intention to make public the message
from Intercross and our reply thereto as soon as our
reply has been delivered by you.

This cable has been repeated to London as No.

000090

*Discontinued
1-1-41*

MEMORANDUM

The British should be advised as follows:

Pursuant to the request of the British Government, this Government agrees to delay the delivery of its proposed reply to the International Red Cross until August 11th. In so agreeing to the British request, this Government wishes to emphasize, however, the likelihood that this further delay may aggravate the danger to the Jews of Hungary. This Government therefore agrees to the requested delay only out of deference to the British Government's attitude. In order to alleviate this aggravated danger, and to prevent the possibility that the Hungarians will interpret the delay simply as dilatory tactics, this Government has been compelled to request its Minister in Bern to advise the International Red Cross at once that it will receive a definite answer on August 11th. The United States Minister in Bern has accordingly been instructed to present the reply on August 11th.

For the reasons indicated, this Government also feels obliged, upon the delivery of its reply to the International Red Cross on August 11th, to make public immediately the action taken by it.

It is the hope of this Government that the British Government will be able to take parallel action on August 11th.

000091

CABLE FROM LONDON TO THE BRITISH EMBASSY, WITH THE
REQUEST THAT IT BE GIVEN TO THE DEPARTMENT.

Matter has been urgently considered and I (Eden) fully share general views of the United States Government as to the importance of Horthy offer and of presented measures for rescue of Jews in Hungary. Certain issues, however, of widest character, particularly in regard to accommodation, are involved, and as these must be considered by War Cabinet I should be most grateful if the United States Government could see their way to agreeing to defer taking the action proposed by them to enable this to be done. Delay involved should not be more than three or four days.

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7. Haick

PARAPHRASE OF TELEGRAM SENT

FROM: Secretary of State, Washington
TO: AMLEGATION, BERN
DATE: August 2, 1944
NUMBER: 2657.

With reference to offer of Hungarian Government to permit departure of Jews from Hungary (your 4604 July 19) you are advised that the British Embassy here presented on July 26 two cables from the British Foreign Office suggesting that the matter of surveying and coordinating possible places of refuge for the Jews from Hungary be referred to the Inter-governmental Committee. The cables also stated that the possibility of receiving refugees in Palestine were limited and would have to be reviewed and also that the capacities of the camps at Casablanca and Phillipville in Algiers would need to be re-studied. The Department and the War Refugee Board on July 31 presented a memorandum for the British Embassy suggesting that the responsibility for dealing with the Hungarian offer rests on the British and United States Governments particularly and expressing the judgement that the Intergovernmental Committee cannot act in time to be effective because of the need of consulting other governments. Included in the memorandum to the British Embassy was the following draft of a proposed cable to Bern with the request that the British Government concur in its transmission to Bern by August 7, 1944 at the latest.

QUOTE Amlegation Bern. The following communication has been received by the Department from the delegate in the United States of the International Committee of the Red Cross. INNERQUOTE We have received today the following communication from ICRC in Geneva:

The Hungarian Government is willing to make possible the emigration of certain categories of Jews and has advised the ICRC 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 ICRC feels that the number of emigrant Jews to be admitted to the United States

should

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By R. H. Parks Date SEP 27 1972

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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 ICRC is of the opinion that such a statement would impress the Hungarian Government as the visible sign of a favorable 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 ICRC 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 ICRC should do so directly.

The ICRC reserves the right to issue a communique concerning this proposal, which has simultaneously been submitted to the Government of Great Britain. END
INNERQUOTE.

You should at once request the International Committee of the Red Cross to advise the Hungarian Government as follows:

INNERQUOTE 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 Nation's territory, and will find for such people temporary havens of refuge where they may live in safety. These assurances have been communicated

to the

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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. END INNERQUOTE.

The above mentioned proposal has also been addressed to the British Government which is taking parallel action. Accordingly, you may wish to join with your British colleague in conveying to the International Committee of the Red Cross this expression of joint action.

You should indicate to the International Committee of the Red Cross the opinion of this Government that in view of the above assurances it is considered unnecessary to consult the governments of the South American Republics at this time.

It is urgent that the International Committee of the Red Cross convey the foregoing representations to the Government of Hungary without delay. The cooperation of the International Committee of the Red Cross in this matter is appreciated.

Please advise promptly of the results of the action taken by you. UNQUOTE.

In order to prevent any possible misunderstanding, it is repeated that the foregoing draft cable to Bern is now before the British Government for clearance and concurrence and is sent to you solely for your information and understanding at this time. Until you are specifically requested to do so, you are not (repeat not) to take the action suggested in the cable. However, in the meantime you are authorized to advise the ICRC informally that the British and United States Governments are in consultation on the matter and that a reply will be forthcoming shortly to the ICRC note.

Repeated to London, as 6096, referring to Embassy's 5956 July 27.

STETTINIUS
(Acting)

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Pursuant to the request of the British Government, this Government agrees to delay delivery of its proposed reply to the International Red Cross until August 11th. The United States Minister in Bern is accordingly instructed to present the reply on August 11th, unless instructed to the contrary previous to that date.

In so agreeing to the British request, this Government wishes to emphasize, however, the likelihood that this further delay may aggravate the danger of Jews in Hungary; it therefore agrees to the requested delay only out of deference to the British Government's attitude. In order to alleviate this aggravated danger, this Government is instructing the United States Minister in Bern to inform immediately the International Red Cross that a reply will be forthcoming on August 11th. This immediate reply could be relayed without delay to the Hungarians and thus alleviate the danger of complications in the meantime.

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Dr. N

The British should be advised as follows:

1. While this Government regrets that any further delay is necessary in answering the Horthy offer, in view of the facts indicated in Eden's cable, this Government is prepared to postpone the delivery of its answer to the International Red Cross until August 11th.

2. The American Minister in Bern is instructed to deliver the answer of this Government to the International Red Cross on August 11th, unless prior to that date he has received contrary instructions. It is our hope that the British Government will be in a position to take parallel action by August 11th, and that on August 11th the British Minister in Switzerland will be prepared to present to the International Red Cross a similar reply.

3. Upon receipt by the International Red Cross of this Government's reply, it is contemplated that both the International Red Cross letter and our reply will be made public. It is our hope that if the British are able to give a similar answer, they will likewise give appropriate publicity to such action.

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MEMORANDUM

On August 4th at twelve o'clock Mr. Warren of the State Department called and dictated over the telephone the attached letter which he had just received from Mr. Russell of the British Embassy. Warren indicated that he wanted to discuss the matter in the State Department, and I told him that I would give him our views.

After considering the matter, I dictated the attached memorandum, indicating the answer which I thought should be given by State to the British Embassy. About 2:30 p.m. I called Warren and read him the memorandum. He stated that he was in agreement with me and would get in touch with Mr. Russell at once to advise him along these lines.

In connection with Paragraph 3 a. of the memorandum, I suggested to Warren that in my opinion it would be very desirable if, after our answer is delivered to the International Red Cross, Secretary Hull would make public the letter from the Red Cross and our answer to it. I told him to suggest to Russell that the British give similar publicity to the matter. Warren agreed to suggest this to Russell.

JB Friedman

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MEMORANDUM

It is suggested that the State Department give the following answer to the attached letter from Mr. Russell of the British Embassy:

1. As indicated in our memorandum of July 31st, it is the view of this Government that the principal obligation of offering to receive all Jews permitted to leave Hungary rests on the Governments of the United States and Great Britain.

2. In accordance with the foregoing, and as further indicated in our memorandum, on Monday, August 7th, this Government intends to advise the International Red Cross of its willingness to find havens of refuge for all Jews who reach neutral or United Nations' territory from Hungary. It is our hope that the British Government will join in this representation.

3. This Government is prepared to join in a United Nations' declaration along the lines indicated in Mr. Russell's letter, but suggests that in the interest of time the following procedure be followed:

a. Upon receipt, by the International Red Cross, of the American and British representations, if the British join, the two governments immediately make public the action taken by them.

b. That the two governments then inform the other United Nations of the action taken and request them to take parallel action by publicly indicating their intention of collaborating with the British and American Governments in receiving the Jews from Hungary.

BRITISH EMBASSY

August 3, 1944

My dear Mr. Warren:

We have received a telegram from the Foreign Office stating that the Board of Deputies of British Jews has suggested that a joint declaration should be issued by the governments of the United Nations, or at least by the leading powers, to the effect that they would receive in their territories all Jews who may be permitted to leave Hungary. Foreign Office adds that the suggestion is supported by several other Jewish organizations in the United Kingdom and asks us to inquire your opinion of the suggestion.

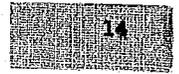
I imagine that your answer will be along the lines of your memorandum of July 31st concerning the recent message from the International Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva, and I shall be glad to know whether you have any special comment to make on this specific suggestion.

Yours sincerely,

John W. Russell
First Secretary

Mr. George Warren
State Department
Washington, D. C.

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000102

*I was Ref Ed
Pelle*

PARAPHRASE OF TELEGRAM RECEIVED

FROM: American Embassy, London.
TO: Secretary of State, Washington.
DATED: August 3, 1944.
NUMBER: 6193.
x

CONTROL COPY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In our message dated July 31, Number 6087, we reported the informal reply we received immediately after we delivered the substance of telegram from the Department, dated July 28, Number 5948, to the Foreign Office.

The Embassy has just received a telephone message from the Refugee Section of the Foreign Office which says that our note, which was based on telegram from the Department, Number 5948, is to go before the War Cabinet tomorrow, and that complete reply will be sent through the British Embassy in Washington to the Department. At the same time, the Foreign Office will transmit the gist of this reply to us.

WINANT.

DCR:LCW 8/5/44

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State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By R. H. Parks Date SEP 27 1972

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ORIGIN. TEXT OF TELEGRAM SENT

FROM: Secretary of State, Washington
TO: American Embassy, London
DATED: July 28, 1944
NUMBER: 5948

FROM THE DEPARTMENT AND THE WAR REFUGEE BOARD.

The substance of a message from Amlegation Bern is as follows:

QUOTE 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. UNQUOTE.

This Government is authorizing its consular officers in neutral countries to issue immigration visas to every person who has been in enemy-controlled areas since December 8, 1941, to whom an American immigration visa was issued or for whom such visa was authorized on or after July 1, 1941, the date when present regulation and security-checking system went into effect, provided such person is not affirmatively found to have become disqualified for a visa or to have been the subject of a subsequent adverse report. The issuance of such visas is, in the discretion of consular officers, not subject to the interdepartmental review procedure. Visas are to be issued, of course, only when such persons arrive in neutral countries. This Government is requesting the Swiss Government to advise the German, Hungarian, Rumanian, and Bulgarian Governments as well as such authorities as there may be in Slovakia of the substance of the foregoing and to request the release to neutral countries of persons holding American visas or for whom American visas were authorized on or after July 1, 1941. The Governments of Switzerland, Spain, Sweden, Portugal, and Turkey are being requested to permit the entry of such persons, upon the assurance that they will be adequately maintained and that arrangements will be made for the evacuation of all such persons admitted into their territories who may be found not (repeat not) to be qualified for the issuance of such visas. Such governments are also being requested to advise Germany and Germany's allies of their willingness to receive such persons.

The Turkish Government is also being requested to advise enemy governments of its willingness either to issue transit visas to all persons in enemy-controlled areas holding Palestine certificates, or to admit such persons into Turkey in transit to Palestine without the

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By R. H. Parks Date SEP 27 1972

-2- #5948 of July 28, 1944, To London.

out the formal issuance of visas.

In further response to message from Amlegation Bern, the substance of which is quoted above, 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 Emberson 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.

STETTINIUS
Acting

Miss Chauncey (For the Sec'y), Abrahamson, Akzin, Borenstein, Cohn, DuBois, Friedman, Gaston, Hodel, Laughlin, Lesser, Mann, Mannon, Marks, McCormack, Pehle, Sargoy, Standish, Weinstein, Cable Control Files

000105

000106

August 2, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES:

On Tuesday, August 1, 1944, at 2 o'clock I was shown cable No. 6074 of July 31 from London, which was received by the Board at about 11 o'clock. The cable relates to a statement to be made by Mr. Dingle Foot on Tuesday, August 1, in Parliament. After reading the cable and discussing it with Mr. Abrahamson and Miss Hodel I called Mr. Raynor and Mr. Warren of the State Department. I pointed out that the one thing about Foot's statement which apparently had already been made when I received the cable was the possibility that it might be construed by the press as an ex-parte British acceptance of the Horthy proposal or, much worse, as a weasel worded answer to the Horthy proposal. I suggested that I could see three possibilities of dealing with the matter:

1. A statement to the press by the State Department indicating that we not only were willing to furnish food through the blockade to children getting out of Hungary, but were also willing to find havens of refuge for them;
2. A statement to the press limited specifically to the blockade question stating that the United States Government had repeated its previous assurances that food would be sent through the blockade to Hungary for children in neutral countries; or
3. To make no statement until we were in a position to say that we have accepted the whole Horthy offer.

At the time of my call neither Mr. Raynor nor Mr. Warren had seen the cable in question. Later in the day, Warren called and told me he had discussed it within the State Department and that State Department had resolved to say, if the question were raised at the Under Secretary's press conference on Wednesday, or if inquiries were received at the Department, that "we have repeated the assurances previously given that we will furnish additional supplies through the blockade to meet the needs of any children which any of the neutral

countries may admit to their territory from Hungary".

Warren stated that it was their view that this kind of answer was all that could be given in the circumstances and that if any further questions were asked about the Horthy offer they would not be answered at this time. Warren pointed out that the above quoted statement goes further than the statement by Dingle Foot in that it offers to "furnish" additional supplies to the blockade, whereas the British only say they will permit importation of such supplies.

J. B. Friedman

000100

August 2, 1944

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15/ J. B. Friedman

JBFriedman:lhk 8/2/44

000110

DEPARTMENT
OF
STATE

INCOMING
TELEGRAM

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

MJB-259

PLAIN

London

Dated July 31, 1944

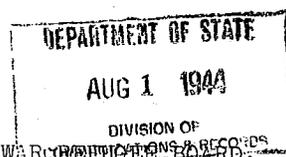
Rec'd 10 a.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

6074, Thirty-first

x
FOR THE DEPARTMENT AND WAR PRODUCTION BOARD.



Tomorrow, Tuesday August 1, Dingle Foot, Parlia-
mentary Secretary of the Ministry of Economic Warfare
will answer a question in Parliament asking whether
the British Government has knowledge of Admiral Horthy's
offer to permit evacuation of Jewish children and
whether shipment of food and relief supplies through
the blockade will be permitted in the event these
children are received by neutral countries. The text
of the response he plans to give to the question
follows below. Washington may wish to make an
announcement along parallel lines. (Reference Depart-
ment's 6040, July 29).

"Yes, sir. His Majesty's Government have been
informed by the International Red Cross of the offer
referred

000111

-2-#6074, Thirty-first, from London

referred to in the question.

"As regards the second part of the question, both H.M.G. and U.S.G. have always been anxious to facilitate the reception in neutral countries both of Jewish children from any part of Axis Europe and also of children from enemy-occupied countries. On a number of occasions, particularly during the past year, assurances have been given to certain neutral governments that if schemes of this kind could be arranged, H.M.G. and U.S.G. would sanction the importation of additional supplies through the blockade over and above the normal blockade quotas which such countries are permitted to receive through our controls. Since receiving the communication from the I.R.C. to which I referred, H.M.G. have informed these governments that our offer of increased imports holds good in this particular case. I understand that a similar assurance has been or is being given by the United States Government."

WINANT

GSB

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000113

PARAPHRASE OF TELEGRAM SENT

FROM: Secretary of State, Washington
TO: AMLEGATION, BERN
DATE: August 2, 1944
NUMBER: 2657.

CONTROL COPY

With reference to offer of Hungarian Government to permit departure of Jews from Hungary (your 4604 July 19) you are advised that the British Embassy here presented on July 26 two cables from the British Foreign Office suggesting that the matter of surveying and coordinating possible places of refuge for the Jews from Hungary be referred to the Inter-governmental Committee. The cables also stated that the possibility of receiving refugees in Palestine were limited and would have to be reviewed and also that the capacities of the camps at Casablanca and Phillipville in Algiers would need to be re-studied. The Department and the War Refugee Board on July 31 present^a a memorandum for the British Embassy suggesting that the responsibility for dealing with the Hungarian offer rests on the British and United States Governments particularly and expressing the judgement that the Intergovernmental Committee cannot act in time to be effective because of the need of consulting other governments. Included in the memorandum to the British Embassy was the following draft of a proposed cable to Bern with the request that the British Government concur in its transmission to Bern by August 7, 1944 at the latest.

QUOTE Amlegation Bern. The following communication has been received by the Department from the delegate in the United States of the International Committee

of

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By R. H. Parks Date SEP 27 1972

000114

- 2 -

of the Red Cross. INNERQUOTE We have received today the following communication from ICRC in Geneva:

The Hungarian Government is willing to make possible the emigration of certain categories of Jews and has advised the ICRC 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 ICRC 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 ICRC is of the opinion that such a statement would impress the Hungarian Government as the visible sign of a favorable 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 ICRC 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 ICRC should do so directly.

The

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The ICRC reserves the right to issue a communique concerning this proposal, which has simultaneously been submitted to the Government of Great Britain. END
INNERQUOTE.

You should at once request the International Committee of the Red Cross to advise the Hungarian Government as follows:

INNERQUOTE 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.
END INNERQUOTE.

The above mentioned proposal has also been addressed to the British Government which is taking parallel action.

Accordingly, you may wish to join with your British colleague in conveying to the International Committee of the Red Cross this expression of joint action.

You should indicate to the International Committee of the Red Cross the opinion of this Government that in view of the above assurances it is considered unnecessary to consult the governments of the South American Republics at this time.

It is urgent that the International Committee of the Red Cross convey the foregoing representations to the Government of Hungary without delay. The cooperation of the International Committee of the Red Cross in this matter is appreciated.

Please advise promptly of the results of the action taken by you. UNQUOTE.

In order to prevent any possible misunderstanding it is repeated that the foregoing draft cable to Bern is now before the British Government for clearance and concurrence and is sent to you solely for your information and understanding at this time. Until you are specifically requested to do so, you are not (repeat not) to take the action suggested in the cable. However, in the meantime you are authorized to advise the ICRC informally that the British and United States Governments are in consultation on the matter and that a reply will be forthcoming shortly to the ICRC note.

Repeated to London, as 6096, referring to Embassy's 5956 July 27. X

STETTINIUS
(Acting)

000117

PARAPHRASE OF TELEGRAM RECEIVED

FROM: American Legation, Bern
TO: Secretary of State, Washington
DATE: July 19, 1944
NUMBER: 4604

Reference is made herewith to Legation's July 5 cable No. 4260 and to the Department's July 6 telegram No. 1945.

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.

HARRISON

DCR:EBH
7/20/44

Miss Chauncey (for the Sec'y) Abrahamson, Akzin, Bernstein, Cohn, DuBois, Friedman, Gaston, Hodel, Laughlin, Lesser, Luxford, Mann, Mannan, Marks, McCormack, Pehle, Sargoy, Standish, Stewart, Weinstein, H. D. White, Files

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By R. H. Parks Date SEP 27 1972

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000119

July 31, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES:

On July 31, at 9:30 a.m., I called George Warren at the State Department to ascertain the status of the documents we had sent over concerning the Hungarian offer. Mr. Warren stated that they were ready to be given to the British late Saturday afternoon but that Mr. Stettinius could not be found. Warren indicated that he talked with Mr. Stettinius on the telephone yesterday about the matter and that Stettinius will see that the British receive the documents the first thing this morning. I told Warren that I was a little troubled about having the week go by without in some way indicating to the International Red Cross that action is being taken on the offer. I suggested the following:

- (1) That Warren call Zollinger today and tell him that the matter is being discussed with the British and that an answer will be given to the International Red Cross not later than August 7.
- (2) That State Department cable Minister Harrison at Bern transmitting to him for his information the answer which we propose to give to the Hungarians through the International Red Cross, and outlining what we have told the British. In such a cable Harrison would be advised immediately to advise the International Red Cross in Bern that the matter is being considered and an answer will be given no later than August 7.

Mr. Warren agreed to my suggestions and said that this morning he would call Zollinger and prepare a cable to Harrison along the lines indicated.

At 1:00 p.m., I called Mr. Warren and he read to me the cable which he had prepared to Bern. The cable fully described what we propose to do and asked Mr. Harrison to tell the International Red Cross at once that the matter is being discussed with the British and that an answer will be given very shortly. I suggested to Warren that he add to the cable the text of the instructions which we intend that Harrison shall pass on to the International Red Cross. Warren agreed to do so. In view of cable No. 5956 of July 27 from London, I suggested to Warren that the cable to Bern also be sent to London with an indication that this matter should not be discussed with the Intergovernmental Committee until a decision has been reached by the British Government.

JB7

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000121

COPY

PARAPHRASE OF TELEGRAM RECEIVED

FROM: American Embassy, London
TO: Secretary of State, Washington
DATED: July 31, 1944
NUMBER: 6087

*Since this
was sent by
British prior to
receipt of our
message memo.
an answer was
not deemed
necessary.*

707

████████████████████

With reference to Department's cable of July 28, No. 5948, the Foreign Office responded cordially to suggestion for joint action to aid departure Jews from Hungary and transit neutral countries. It is pointed out by the Foreign Office that it issued instructions to British Embassy, Washington, recently to inform the Department that with regard to this matter, it is prepared to cooperate. British representatives in neutral countries will likely receive similar instructions along these lines.

Information like that contained in reference cable (with but one exception) has been received by Foreign Office from British Legation, Bern. The exception is that as soon as categories permitted to depart from Hungary have all left, deportations of Jews will be started again by Hungarian Government.

The advisability of asking Turkish Government to announce formally its readiness to waive visa requirements

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By R. H. Parks Date SEP 27 1972

000122

for refugee entering Turkey is questioned by the Foreign Office. The Foreign Office believes that through unofficial and informal leniency of Turkish border guards and authorities, much is being accomplished along this line, that the Government of Turkey is not willing to regularize this situation formally, and that to force it to do so might be disadvantageous.

In connection with issuance of additional Palestine certificates, according to the Foreign Office, this matter must be taken up with Colonial Office and the Foreign Office further says that if preparation of refuges elsewhere for excess Jews admitted to Palestine were hastened, the Colonial Office's reluctance to acquiesce might be decreased. With regard to this same matter, Foreign Office says British Embassy, Washington, has been directed to suggest joint approach to Latin American Governments to Department, with the view of getting them to accept more refugees, and in view of possibility Angola, an approach to Portugal has also been suggested.

The message referred to was considered most encouraging by IGC and they will report as to amount of funds available for transportation and maintenance of refugees arriving in Neutral countries from Hungary as soon as possible.

WINANT

000123



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000124

July 29, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES

Mr. Zollinger of the International Red Cross called today to inquire whether or not we contemplate sending a reply to the recent International Red Cross cable on the Hungarian situation. He stated that he feared that the Geneva office would make public the Hungarian proposal very soon unless it received word that a reply from the British and American Governments could be expected. Mr. Zollinger suggested that if we contemplated sending a reply to Geneva that he might in the meanwhile send a cable stating that our answer might be expected shortly. He felt that such action on his part would forestall the publicity referred to above.

Mr. Zollinger was advised that the matter was presently before the State Department and that the matter of a possible reply from this Government had not yet been decided upon. Accordingly, he was advised not to send the cable he had proposed. He was told that any action taken with respect to the proposal would be called to his attention.


F. Hodel

000125

July 29, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES

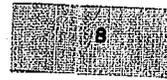
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F. Hodel

FH:lab 7/31/44

000126



000127

MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Stettinius

From: Mr. Pehle

July 29, 1944

The Hungarian Government, through the International Red Cross, has indicated to the Governments of the United States and Great Britain that it will permit the emigration of certain categories of Jews. This proposal apparently is the result of the warnings and appeals that have been addressed to the Hungarian authorities by the two governments, the Vatican, and the King of Sweden. The proposal is so couched, however, as to say in effect: "We will permit Jews to leave Hungary if the United States and Great Britain will take care of them." It is, in reality, a direct challenge to the two governments.

We have also received from the British Foreign Office through the British Embassy here certain suggestions as to the manner of dealing with the Hungarian proposal. In essence, the British suggest that the matter be referred to the Intergovernmental Committee while discussions are carried on with Latin American countries as to the possibilities of immigration.

It is my strong opinion that the proposal now advanced by the Hungarians requires that the British and American Governments, acting jointly and on their own behalf, accept completely and unequivocally the Hungarian proposal without any limitation as to numbers. We should state to the Hungarians that the Governments of the United States and Great Britain are prepared to arrange for the care of all Jews permitted to leave Hungary who reach neutral or United Nations' territory and to find havens of refuge for such people. In present circumstances it is most unlikely that many people will leave Hungary, but our acceptance cannot take the form of a niggardly gesture. I think that both you and Secretary Hall will agree that the proposal of the British would be construed in all quarters as simply a delaying tactic, which not only would jeopardize lives, but would also be interpreted as an admission that the policies of the two governments as proclaimed by their highest authorities are without substance.

Attached hereto is a proposed memorandum to be handed to the British Embassy in Washington which clearly expresses our point of view. Also attached is a proposed reply to be given to the Hungarians by the International Red Cross.

000128

It is most important to obtain British agreement without delay, and I believe that under the circumstances the British will agree. You will note, however, that it is our proposal that the United States Government act not later than August 7th by transmitting to the International Red Cross its acceptance of the Hungarian offer. In view of the time element, it seems to me essential that we do not delay longer. This should be made clear to the British as it is in the attached proposed memorandum.

(s) J.W. Peelle

000124

MEMORANDUM

The following communication has been received from the International Red Cross in Geneva:

"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 communiqué concerning this proposal, which has simultaneously been submitted to the Government of Great Britain.

/s/ Alfred M. Zollinger
Alfred M. Zollinger
Delegate, I.C.R.C. "

Careful consideration has been given to the foregoing proposal. In this connection there have also been examined the telegrams from the British Foreign Office dated July 20th and July 22nd respectively, which were transmitted to the Department of State on July 26, 1944, and a telegram from the American Legation at Bern dated July 19, 1944.

The foregoing communications relate to a proposal by the Hungarian Government to make possible the emigration of certain categories of Jews, a proposal which apparently has resulted from warnings and appeals addressed to the Government of Hungary to cease the deportation of Jews.

The following are the views of the United States Government with respect to this matter:

- (1) However repugnant to principles of justice and humanity the proposal and its motivation may be, the practical situation requires that such proposal be accepted as quickly as possible in an effort to save the lives of the largest possible number of people.
- (2) In present circumstances, it is unfortunately not likely that any substantial number of refugees can or will be moved from Hungary. In any event, it is the strong view of this Government that the acceptance of the Hungarian Government's proposal should not be couched in terms of specific numbers of people for whom it is now thought possible to find asylum in each of specified countries. It is also our view that such acceptance should not await the outcome of any census of possible locations for such refugees as may be able to leave Hungary. The short time remaining does not permit of any such discussion if lives are to be saved.
- (3) We must face the fact that the obligation of accepting the Hungarian proposal is the responsibility of the United States and British Governments, and those Governments must act at once without waiting to consult or solicit the aid of other governments if the action is to be effective. In our judgment, the acceptance of the Hungarian proposal should not be handled through the Inter-governmental Committee which, of necessity, would have to consult and receive the approval of its several members, some of whom are neutrals. An effort to delegate the matter to the Inter-governmental Committee would in the circumstances, we believe, be understood in Hungary and elsewhere as a delaying gesture. Any such delay would not only jeopardize lives, but would enable the Hungarian Government to proclaim that its offer to release Jews has in effect been refused by the United States and Great Britain. For the same reason, it is not considered desirable at this time to negotiate on the matter with the South American Governments.
- (4) It is the considered view of this Government that the two governments acting in conjunction should request the International Red Cross to advise the Hungarian Government that the two governments 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 where they may live in safety. This statement should be clear and unequivocal and should be publicly announced. Only this kind of an acceptance will in the eyes of the Hungarians and of the world constitute a genuine expression of willingness to save the Jews of Hungary. The question of actually finding havens of refuge for such persons as reach neutral or United Nations territory should be considered at the time they arrive. In this way we will be in a position to know accurately the numbers involved as well as the problems of transport, etc. Although the basic responsibility for finding havens of refuge will be that of the two governments, they can, when the situation arises, make requests for the cooperation of other governments such as the governments of Latin America and of appropriate international organizations. Any other process, we are convinced, would prevent effective action within the limited time remaining.

In view of the foregoing, and with the firm conviction that such action should be taken without delay, this Government proposes to take the following steps:

(1) To request the International Red Cross to advise the Hungarian Government that the Government of the United States is prepared to arrange for havens of refuge for all Jews who are permitted to leave Hungary and who reach neutral or United Nations territory.

(2) To make public in the widest and most effective manner possible this joint acceptance of the Hungarian proposal.

Attached hereto is a draft of cable which this Government proposes to send to the International Red Cross not later than August 7, 1944. It is extremely important that the British Government take parallel action, and it will be appreciated if the assent of the British Government is received prior to August 7th, in order that our cable may indicate that the action is the joint action of the two governments. The British Government would, of course, send similar instructions to its representative in Bern.

Attachment

000132

CABLE TO MINISTER HARRISON, DENRU, FROM THE DEPARTMENT AND THE WAR REFUGEE BOARD.

The following communication has been received by the Department from the delegate in the United States of the International Red Cross:

QUOTE 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 favorable reaction to their decision to cease the persecution of the Jews also on this side. However, the possibility of an eventual withdrawal of this 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. Alfred E. Zollinger, Delegate, I.C.R.C. UNQUOTE

You should at once request the International Red Cross to advise the Hungarian Government as follows:

UNQUOTE The Government and people of the United States have been appalled by the brutal and inhuman treatment of the Jews in Hungary, and our views have repeatedly been made clear to the Hungarian authorities.

It has now been indicated by the Hungarian Government that certain categories of Jews will be permitted to emigrate from Hungary. This Government, despite the substantial difficulties and responsibilities involved, has consistently made clear its determination to take all

steps to insure that it
be granted that it
might cause R. Harrison
& Wilson & Livingston int. J. August & Widdellm.
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practicable steps to rescue victims of enemy oppression in imminent danger of death. In view of the desperate plight of the Jews in Hungary and the overwhelming humanitarian considerations involved, this Government now wishes to repeat specifically its assurance that it will arrange for the care of all Jews permitted to leave Hungary who reach neutral or United Nations' territory, and will find for such people 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 some concrete evidence of the willingness of the Hungarian Government to carry out its proposal. **URGENT**

The above mentioned proposal has also been addressed to the British Government which is taking parallel action. Accordingly, you may wish to join with your British colleague in conveying to the International Red Cross this expression of joint action.

You should indicate to the International Red Cross the opinion of this Government that in view of the above assurances it is unnecessary to consult the governments of the South American Republics at this time.

It is urgent that the International Red Cross convey the foregoing representations to the Government of Hungary without delay. The cooperation of International Red Cross in this matter is appreciated.

Please advise promptly of the results of the action taken by you.



000135

3 War Refugee (read)

~~SECRET~~

London, July 28, 1944

CONTROL COPY

No. 17147

Subject: Desire of International Red Cross for quick response to offer of Admiral Horthy to alleviate situation of Jews in Hungary.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State
Washington

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to the Embassy's telegram No. 5956, July 27, 6 p.m. transmitting a summary of a communication received from the Director of the Inter-governmental Committee on Refugees regarding a discussion which he had had with a representative of the International Red Cross Delegation in London respecting the need for a quick and positive response to the offer alleged to have been made by Admiral Horthy, Regent of Hungary, to alleviate the situation of the Jews in that country. Reference is also made in this connection to the Embassy's telegram No. 5811, July 22, 6 p.m., and to despatch no. 17024 of July 24, on the same subject.

1/ There is transmitted herewith a copy of the full text of the Director's letter of July 27 to the Embassy in this connection.

Respectfully yours,
For the Ambassador:

Howard Bucknell, Jr.
Minister-Counselor

File 848
Enclosure:
1/ Copy of letter.

SHB/ecw

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By R. H. Parks Date SEP 27 1972

000134

COPY OF LETTER DATED JULY 27, 1944 TO THE LEGASSY
FROM SIR HERBERT EMERSON, DIRECTOR OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL
COMMITTEE ON REFUGEES.

INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE ON
REFUGEES

11d, Regent Street
London, S.W.1.
27th July, 1944.

"In continuation of my letter of the 21st July, with which I enclosed the Memorandum of a discussion which we had with Mr. Shertok and Mr. Linton regarding the offer made by the Regent of Hungary, I write to say that we have had a visit from a representative of the International Red Cross Delegation in London.

The International Red Cross at Geneva is extremely anxious that there should be positive response to this offer as soon as possible, since unless one is forthcoming, there is the danger that it will be withdrawn or, at any rate, whittled down, on the excuse that other countries, and especially the United Kingdom and United States of America are not really interested in the matter. We understand that the chief delegate in London is putting this point of view before the British Foreign Office, and that a similar point of view will be put before the State Department in Washington. We are in entire and strong agreement with the necessity of a very early response.

We explained to the delegate the position of the Intergovernmental Committee as stated in our interview with Messrs. Shertok and Linton. While we took the view that the International Red Cross should deal with matters in Hungary itself, and that they should lose no time in doing so, we made it quite clear that the Intergovernmental Committee is not only ready, but anxious, to do everything possible during the further stage, namely, that of finding places of asylum for those allowed to leave, and especially the children, transport and maintenance. I may add that the Chairman of the Executive Committee, (Lord Winterton), and the Executive Committee itself, are very anxious that the Intergovernmental Committee should make the fullest use of this opportunity. I would, therefore, urge strongly that the American and British Governments, in consultation, should come to decisions as to the part they intend to play, and in particular, whether they are willing to make the necessary provision for the Intergovernmental Committee to carry out the operations which might be involved. The Intergovernmental Committee will then be in a position to correlate with the War Refugee Board their respective actions.

I shall be grateful if, in view of the extreme urgency of the matter, you will cable the substance of this letter to the State Department at Washington. I have sent a similar letter to Mr. Walker of the Foreign Office."

000137



000133

*I - man Refused.
Mr. Kehl*

PARAGRAPH OF TELEGRAM RECEIVED

FROM: American Embassy, London
TO: Secretary of State, Washington
DATED: July 27, 1944
NUMBER: 5956
x

CONTROL COPY

You are referred to despatch No. 17024 of July 24, and Embassy's cable of July 22, No. 5811.

The Embassy has just been advised of discussion with representative of International Red Cross delegation London in connection with Horthy proposal in a letter from Director IGC.

Since it is feared that the offer will be withdrawn or at least decreased in scope, on the contention that other countries (particularly United States and Great Britain) are disinterested, the representative of Intercross is extremely anxious that positive answer be given as soon as possible. The determination of a course of action in response to offer and arrangements for necessary provision for IGC to proceed in accordance with the action decided upon by the American and British Governments is strongly urged by chief delegate IGC. In this connection, IGC wants to correlate action with WRE and is extremely anxious to make arrangements for havens of refuge, maintenance and transportation of Jews permitted to depart from Hungary. We request that WRE be informed of the foregoing. We are forwarding via airmail complete text of Director's letter.

WINANT

DCR:GPM

7-29-44

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By R. H. Parks Date SEP 27 1972

000139

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000140

Ref: 105/110/44

July 26th, 1944.

Dear Mr. Warren,

With reference to my letter of to-
day's date, on the subject of Jewish refugees
from Hungary, I enclose a copy of a further tele-
gram which we have received from London about the
grant of visas for these people.

Here again, as you will see, London
suggest that the coordinating arrangements should
in the first instance be made through the Inter-
Governmental Committee, and ask, if you agree to
this proposal, that you send the necessary in-
structions to the United States Ambassador in
London.

Yours sincerely,

K. I. Poate.

Mr. C. L. Warren,
United States Department of State,
Washington, D.C.

000141

PARAPHRASE OF TELEGRAM FROM FOREIGN OFFICE
DATED July 20, 1944

It would seem that warnings of United States and United Kingdom Governments, and possibly appeal by the King of Sweden, have assisted change of Hungarian attitude. But numbers of Jews in Hungary with valid visas for other countries must be small. We are trying to ascertain number for British territory and Palestine, and presumably United States Government can estimate number for the United States while Swiss Government's assistance might be invoked in discovering numbers for other countries. If limited to valid visas, numbers to be brought out should prove quite manageable but there will no doubt be heavy pressure on United States and United Kingdom Governments to grant fresh visas in numbers far beyond transport facilities. For carrying out of practicable possibilities in connection with valid visas in the first instance we suggest co-ordinating arrangements through Inter-Governmental Committee.

000142

Ref: 105/111/44

July 26th, 1944.

Dear Mr. Warren,

We have received a telegram from the Foreign Office in London, a paraphrase of which is attached hereto, about the press reports that the Hungarian Government are willing to allow the departure of Jews from Hungary, especially children and holders of Palestine immigration certificates.

As you will notice the question of accommodating these Jewish refugees, if the offer materializes, is one which is being given urgent consideration in London. The possibilities that have occurred to His Majesty's Government are

- (a) the United States Government might be prepared to accept more Jewish refugees in the United States,
- (b) the United States Government and His Majesty's

/Government

Mr. J. L. Warren,
United States Department of State,
Washington, D.C.

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- 2 -

Government might jointly ask the Latin-American Republics to accept more Jewish refugees, (c) a joint approach might be made to the Portuguese Government with a view to finding asylum in Angola.

The Foreign Office have also put forward the suggestion that it might be most convenient, both for the United States Government and His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, if the whole problem of alternative destinations arising out of the Regent of Hungary's offer were remitted to the inter-Governmental Committee. Would you let us know your views on this?

Yours sincerely,

K. I. Poate

000144

PARAPHRASE OF TELEGRAM FROM FOREIGN OFFICE, LONDON
DATED July 22, 1944.

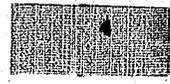
We have as yet received no, repeat no, reply to our request for official confirmation of press reports that the Hungarian Government are willing to allow the departure of Jews from Hungary, especially children and holders of Palestine immigration certificates.

2. If the offer is genuine we propose to advise the Inter-Governmental Committee that there is now a chance of arranging for the departure of children from Hungary in lieu of those whom it has proved impossible to get out of France.

3. The Representatives of the Jewish Agency appear to be about to exert heavy pressure in favour of greatly increased Jewish immigration to Palestine as a corollary to the offer of the Hungarian Government. The possibilities of Palestine immigration are, however, limited; such as exist will be urgently examined in connection with this new development, but the possibility of finding alternative destinations must we think be examined without delay.

4. The recently proposed camp in Tripolitania is for Yugoslavs only and cannot be greatly enlarged, though additions here as well as at Fedhala and Philippeville will be looked into at once.

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000146



INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS
IN GENEVA, SWITZERLAND
DELEGATION TO THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
1645 Connecticut Ave., Washington 9, D. C.

In replying, refer to (S/4/k...)
July 25, 1944

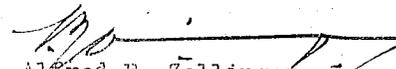
Mr. J. T. Pehle
Executive Director
War Refugee Board
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Pehle:

This Delegation has received a cable from the I.C.R.C.,
the text of which is embodied in enclosed note.

At the suggestion of Mr. George L. Warren, Advisor on
Refugees and Displaced Persons, Department of State, I am
pleased to send you a copy thereof.

Yours very truly,


Alfred E. Zollinger
Delegate of the I.C.R.C.

AEZ:pst
Enclosure

000147

25/7/44 Handled over personally to
Mr. Nathan of State.

Ref: 3/4/44
July 25, 1944

We have received today the following communication
from the I.C.R.C. in Geneva:

The Hungarian Government is willing to help 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 possi-
bility 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 pro-
posal 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 communiqué
concerning this proposal, which has simultaneously been submitted
to the Government of Great Britain.

/s/ Alfred E. Zollinger
Alfred E. Zollinger
Delegate, I.C.R.C.

AEE:pst
cc: Mr. Richard Allen

C O P Y



000149

CONTROL COPY

London, July 24, 1944

No. 17024

Subject: Discussion between officials of the Inter-governmental Committee on Refugees and of the Jewish Agency for Palestine regarding rescue of Jews from Hungary.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State
Washington

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to this Embassy's telegram No. 5811 of July 22, 6 p.m. giving a summary of a memorandum of discussion between the Director, Vice Director and Secretary of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees and Mr. M. Shertok and Mr. Linton of the Jewish Agency for Palestine regarding an alleged offer made by Admiral Horthy, Regent of Hungary, to end the present persecution of Jews in Hungary.

1/ The full text of the memorandum is transmitted herewith.

Respectfully yours,
For the Ambassador:

JOHN M. ALLISON

John M. Allison
Second Secretary of Embassy

File No. 848
Enclosure:
1/ Copy of memorandum.

SHB/cev

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By R. H. Parks Date SEP 27 1972

File in Hungary 9-24-44

000150

21st July, 1944

MEMORANDUM OF A DISCUSSION WITH MR. M. SHERTOK AND MR. LINTON
OF THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE

PRESENT - The Director, Vice-Director and Secretary.

1. Mr. Shertok and Mr. Linton came to see us in regard to the offer made by Admiral Horthy, Regent of Hungary regarding Jews in Hungary. They had received from Switzerland information that the offer was to the following effect:- (i) the deportation of Jews would stop, (ii) the International Red Cross would be given facilities for affording relief to Jews in internment and detention camps; (iii) Jews with Palestine Certificates would be allowed to leave; (iv) children under ten who obtained visas for any neutral or allied countries would be allowed to leave.

I mentioned that I understood Mr. Randall of the Foreign Office had taken steps to verify the contents of the offer, but for the present we might assume that the information they had was correct.

2. They said that they had pressed strongly on the Foreign Office the necessity of very prompt action, so that the fullest use could be made of the offer. They had suggested in this connection that the Intergovernmental Committee might send a representative to Budapest, but that the reaction had not been favourable. They particularly mentioned Dr. Kullmann. I explained to them that there might be difficulties in the Intergovernmental Committee sending a representative. Under our present mandate negotiations with Governments at war with the Allies was not contemplated. But quite apart from this, the Intergovernmental Committee could only send a representative if the Executive Committee so decided, and in particular if the Governments of the United Kingdom and United States of America wished this to be done. Because of the political issues that might well emerge out of any discussions in Budapest, the Union

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of Soviet Socialist Republics, which was a Member of our Committee, might be interested in a question of this sort. For these reasons I apprehended that there might be a delay and difficulty in giving effect to such a proposal. On the other hand, it was clear that, assuming the offer was genuine, there would be many details to discuss and settle. I suggested that the obvious organisation seemed to be the International Red Cross, to which the offer seemed to have been made, and which was very suitable for the purpose. They seemed agreed, that this might be the better course, but rightly urged that in that case the International Red Cross should send one of their best men to Budapest charged with this particular task, and with instructions to stay there in order to help with such questions as selection, transport facilities, etc.

3. We then explained that the question of giving effect to whatever arrangements might be made by the International Red Cross was another matter, for instance, the question of finding homes for the children, of obtaining shipping facilities or other transportation, of finding the necessary finance and so on. All this was clearly within the functions of the Intergovernmental Committee, and we were extremely anxious to do all that was possible to help. But we would have to find the necessary finance from the Governments of the United Kingdom and the United States of America, and as regards the Balkans, we had an understanding with the War Refugee Board that we would act in the closest consultation with them. It might well be that we could best give effect to some of the arrangements, while the War Refugee Board could best give effect to others. For instance, the War Refugee Board was in a better position than we were, in cooperation with the British and American Embassies at Ankara, and with the Agency for Palestine to arrange for transportation, etc., for people

RECEIVED
REFUGEE BOARD
20 11 MA 7 00A AM '41

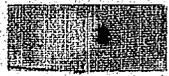
going to Palestine, ~~or for persons~~ not going there but who got out of Hungary through South Eastern Europe. These were matters for settlement, but they could rest assured that we were anxious and ready to do everything possible. For instance, if we had the necessary authority to take up this matter, we would certainly resume our previous talks with Sweden and Switzerland regarding asylum for children, and with other Governments who had been willing to take children from Vichy France when this question was under consideration.

4. They said that they thought it was essential that there should be some quick response to the offer, not necessarily a response involving big commitments, but one which would show that the American and British Governments, in particular, were taking the offer seriously, and were not putting it in the same category as the Brandt affair. They said they had pressed this point on the Foreign Office. We agreed that this was very important, and promised to support the suggestion which we now do.

5. Without going into any detail, we mentioned that we were, in another connection, very interested indeed in the question of assistance to Jews in Hungary, and we had only yesterday made certain arrangements which we hoped would be of substantial assistance, the more so since the Horthy offer might well open out more opportunities for assistance to Jews inside the country.

H.W. EMERSON.

Director



000153

I am ref. to. file

CONTROL COPY

PARAPHRASE OF TELEGRAM RECEIVED
FROM: American Embassy, London
TO: Secretary of State, Washington
DATE: July 22, 1944
NUMBER: 5811

File 909

x
~~IDENTIFIED~~

The following message is for War Refugee Board.

A copy of memorandum covering yesterday's interview between Linton and Shertok of Jewish Agency for Palestine and the director, vice-director, and secretary of IGC is being forwarded by the Embassy via airmail. A summary of the memorandum is given below:

Information has been received by Linton and Shertok from Switzerland to effect that Horthy has offered to stop deportation of Jews, to furnish Intercross facilities for release of Jews in detention and internment camps, to permit departure of Jews with Palestine certificates, and to allow children under ten possessing visas for any Allied or neutral countries to leave.

According to Linton and Shertok they had urged need for more prompt action in connection with Foreign Office offer and had made the suggestion representative of IGC be sent to Budapest but there was an unfavorable reaction to this from the Foreign Office. They were told by Emerson of many difficulties in way of sending representative of IGC because of necessity

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By R. H. Parks Date SEP 27 1972

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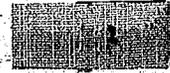
of necessity of obtaining IGC's various members' approval
including that of the USSR. It was suggested by Emerson,
and Linton and Shertok agreed, that Intercross is in better
position to send representative to Budapest.

In addition Emerson pointed out necessity of finding
homes for children and obtaining shipping and other trans-
portation facilities and also necessity of securing from the
British and American Governments the funds necessary to finance
whatever arrangements Intercross might make, plus need to
consult with the War Refugee Board.

Linton and Shertok were advised by Emerson that need
for quick action with regard to the offer was realized by
IGC and all possible support was promised.

WINANT.

000156



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Jewish
Subcom

MEMORANDUM

Re: Emergency Refugee Shelters in Palestine.

Recent developments in Hungary have brought the refugee situation to a sharp and tragic focus. There the remnants of millions of Central European Jews are on the brink of annihilation. After having deported or killed half the Jewish population in Hungary, Horthy, in response to strong outside pressure, initiated principally by the governments of the United States and Great Britain, has recently consented to stop these processes temporarily pending the departure of certain categories of Jews from Hungary.

While Hungary's offer to permit the emigration of Jews varies in the several reports reaching us, we have been officially advised by the Swiss government that the Hungarian Government has authorized the departure of all Jews from Hungary who hold permits for another country, including Palestine. According to this report from the Swiss government transit through occupied territories will be permitted by the German government, and as soon as possible the Swiss Legation in Budapest in collaboration with the Palestine Bureau will take necessary measures for evacuation. There are some indications from other sources, including the International Red Cross, that Jewish children under ten will be permitted to leave Hungary.

Whatever the exact terms of the offer may be, the Hungarians have said in effect: "We will permit Jews to leave Hungary if the United States and Great Britain will take them." The offer is a direct challenge to the two governments which must be met unequivocally by such governments.

The British and United States governments, independently and jointly, are currently engaged in transmitting to the Hungarian Government, through the International Red Cross and the neutrals, a series of guarantees that persons who reach Allied or neutral territory will be cared for by the two governments. The neutrals have been assured in terms of blockade-lifting, guarantees of maintenance, and provision of havens.

However high-sounding such general guarantees may be, we must face the fact that they do not meet the challenge of the Hungarian Government by placing squarely on that government full responsibility for any further butchery of the Jews in Hungary. There are cogent considerations of time, geography and transportation which make it essential that the Hungarians be advised that a specific haven exists to which all Jews released from Hungary can go at once. Even though in the short time remaining before the end of the war relatively few Jews are actually able to leave Hungary, the clear and specific expression of readiness to receive them may well deter further butchery.

Existing havens in the Mediterranean area are not sufficient to meet this problem. Nor does it appear feasible to insist that neutral countries, Switzerland, for example, receive large numbers of Jews from Hungary. In present circumstances, Palestine is the obvious place which, considering time, geography and transportation, can be offered in a practical way as a haven for the Jews of Hungary. Accordingly, the Hungarian offer should be met by the advice that all Jews permitted to pass through the Balkans to neutral or United Nations territories will be received in Palestine.

This can be done without in any way abrogating the White Paper, by permitting the entry of Hungarian Jews to Palestine for the duration of the war only. This would be accomplished by establishing in Palestine emergency refugee centers of the kind which has been recently established at Port Ontario, New York. This is also the plan which the Mexican Government has now indicated its willingness to apply in Mexico.

The refugees who came to Palestine under this plan would be transients rather than settlers, and after the war their destination could be determined as part of a more general agreement as to the settlement of displaced persons. In this way all problems of Palestine certificates and attendant political matters would be avoided.

During five years of war while Hitler has been systematically exterminating the Jews of Europe, the fact that there has been a rigid limitation on the number of Jews permitted to enter Palestine has not only been a source of dismay and ill-will on the part of many Jews throughout the world but also a cause for gloating on the part of the Nazis. Now, as the war approaches its closing months, there is an excellent opportunity to wipe out unpleasant memories and remove a source of criticism. And thousands of human beings may be saved by such action.

000159

SECRET
CONFIDENTIAL
CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM

Re: Emergency Refugee Shelters in Palestine

During five years of war while Hitler has been systematically exterminating the Jews of Europe, the fact that there has been a rigid limitation on the number of Jews permitted to enter Palestine has not only been a source of dismay and ill-will on the part of many people throughout the world but also a cause for gloating on the part of the Nazis. In addition, whether true or not, in the opinion of many the British policy with respect to Palestine has played a major role in determining the fate of the European Jews.

Now, as the war approaches its closing months, there is not only an excellent opportunity to wipe out unpleasant memories and remove a source of criticism, but also the possibility of saving the lives of hundreds of thousands of human beings.

This can be done without in any way abrogating the White Paper, by permitting the entry to Palestine for the duration of the European war only of Jews escaping from enemy territory between now and the end of the European war. This would be accomplished by establishing in Palestine emergency refugee centers of the kind which has been recently established at Fort Ontario, New York. This is also the plan which the Mexican Government has now indicated its willingness to apply in Mexico.

The refugees who came to Palestine under this plan would be transients rather than settlers, and after the war their destination could be determined as part of a more general agreement as to the settlement of displaced persons. In this way all problems of Palestine certificates and attendant political matters would be avoided.

Even though in the short time remaining before the end of the European war relatively few Jews will actually be able to get out of Europe, the clear and specific expression of readiness to receive them in Palestine may well deter further extermination.

This action is particularly significant at this time in the light of recent developments in Hungary which have brought the refugee situation to a sharp and tragic focus. There the remnants of millions of Central European Jews are on the brink of annihilation. After having deported or killed half the Jewish population in Hungary, Horthy, in response to strong outside pressure, initiated principally by the Governments of the United States and Great Britain, has recently consented to stop these processes temporarily pending the departure of certain categories of Jews from Hungary.

While Hungary's offer to permit the emigration of Jews varies in the several reports reaching us, we have been officially advised by the Swiss Government that the Hungarian Government has authorized the departure of all Jews from Hungary who hold permits for another country, including Palestine. According to this report from the Swiss Government transit through occupied territories will be permitted

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Whatever the exact terms of the offer may be, the Hungarians have said in effect: "We will permit Jews to leave Hungary if the United States and Great Britain will take them." The offer is a direct challenge to the two governments which must be met unequivocally by such governments.

The United States Government is currently engaged in transmitting to the Hungarian Government, through the International Red Cross and the neutrals, a series of guarantees that persons who reach Allied or neutral territory will be cared for by the United States Government. We are also prepared to advise the Hungarian Government specifically that we will provide havens for all Jews leaving Hungary and to give this action publicity in the widest and most effective manner. We have requested the British Government to join in this general guarantee.

However high-sounding such general guarantees may be, we must face the fact that they do not meet the challenge of the Hungarian Government by placing squarely on that Government full responsibility for any further butchery of the Jews in Hungary. There are cogent considerations of time, geography and transportation which make it essential that the Hungarians be advised that a specific haven exists to which all Jews released from Hungary can go at once.

Existing havens in the Mediterranean area are not sufficient to meet this problem. Nor does it appear feasible to insist that neutral countries, Switzerland, for example, receive large numbers of Jews from Hungary. In present circumstances, Palestine is the obvious place which, considering time, geography and transportation, can be offered in a practical way as a haven for the Jews of Hungary. Accordingly, the Hungarian offer should be met by the advice that all Jews permitted to pass through the Balkans to neutral or United Nations territories will be received into refugee shelters in Palestine, where they will remain until the end of the war in Europe.

action - with Hall, Und. Sect 8/70.

~~Had Wiman's memo?~~

*1) about new memo - presented to Wiman (9 Nov) to
Eden for discussion
- Sect. present but Wiman's bag left behind
- substance of T's cable rearranged
JKD's discussion with Hall*

2) Conos with Bracken.