V. MEASURES DIRECTED TOWARD HALTING PERSECUTION

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

1. PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT

2. CIVIL PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE

B. APPROACHES TO OFFENDING GOVERNMENTS

1. THE SATELLITES
   a. CONDITIONS IN HUNGARY
   b. CONDITIONS IN ROMANIA
   c. CONDITIONS IN BULGARIA
   d. CONDITIONS IN SLOVAKIA

2. THE GERMANS

C. APPEALS THROUGH THE VATICAN

1. SLOVAKIAN DEPORTATIONS

2. ROMANIA AND HUNGARY
MEASURES DIRECTED TOWARD HALTING PERSECUTION: STATEMENTS, POLICIES, AND INFORMATION CAMPAIGNS INSPIRED BY BOARD

PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT

In February 1944 the State Department forwarded to the Board a message from the British Foreign Office to their Embassy here on the question of the issuance of a new declaration concerning Hitler's policy of exterminating the Jews (see attachment #4). The British indicated that they were opposed to the issuance of a new declaration on the ground, among others, that the United Nations Declaration of December 1942 was a sufficient statement of policy in this respect. The British sought the views of this Government on the subject and expressed the hope that the U. S. would be in agreement with their position, although they stated their expectation that this Government would be subject to pressure "in an election year." A letter was sent by the Board to the State Department (see attachment #2), along with a proposed reply to the British Embassy (attachment #3), subsequently handed to Mr. Hayter of the British Embassy by Mr. Warren of State, answering the British points and indicating that the Board had under consideration the issuance by this Government of a strong statement.

Such a statement has since been issued by the President (see attachment #4). This statement points out that with the Jews in the Balkans now facing annihilation as the result of Hitler's recent moves in that area, it is fitting to proclaim again the determination of this Government to pursue and bring to justice all who participate in such acts of savagery.

The President further stated that until victory is won this Government will persevere in its efforts to rescue the victims of Nazi brutality, using all the means at its command, consistent with military necessities, to aid the escape of intended victims, and he called upon the Free peoples of Europe and Asia temporarily to open their frontiers to all victims of oppression. He also reaffirmed the determination of this Government to find havens of refuge for these people and to find the means to maintain and support them until their homelands are freed and they may return.

(cont.)
Since the effectiveness of the President's statement depends largely upon the extent to which it is publicized in German-controlled Europe, the Board immediately despatched cables to the U.S. Missions in various neutral countries, requesting that the utmost publicity be given it in local newspapers, over the radio, and in any other manner feasible. These Missions were also requested to endeavor to have such publicity included in the foreign radio broadcasts emanating from the countries to which they are accredited. Favorable comment on the President's statement from government officials or other prominent persons were also to be solicited. (Cable No. 991 to Bern dated March 24, repeated under the same date as Cable No. 502 to Stockholm, Cable No. 850 to Lisbon, Cable No. 817 to Madrid, Cable No. 223 to Ankara, and Cable No. 45 to Cairo; see attachment #5.)

The Board also sent cables to Ambassadors Winant and Harrison asking them to make the President's statement available to the British and Soviet Governments and to emphasize to such governments the importance this Government attaches to the value of a psychological program designed to change the actions and attitudes of the enemy, particularly his satellites, functionaries, and subordinates. Winant was also asked to call the President's statement to the attention of the representatives in London of the governments-in-exile and to advise them of the advantages of widespread publicity. (See Cable No. 2273 to London dated March 24 and Cable No. 699 to Moscow on the same date.)

Board Representative Ackermann in Algiers was likewise furnished with a copy of the President's statement (Cable No. 893 to Algiers dated March 24).

A copy of the statement was also sent to the Apostolic Delegate in Washington in connection with the Board's request that the Holy See make representations against the continued persecution of the Jewish populations of Hungary and Rumania (see V C - 2, Appeals through the Vatican).

For reports of the widespread publicity accorded the President's statement in response to the Board's requests, see accounts relating to various countries under IV, Cooperation with Other Governments.

For an account of Anthony Eden's subsequent endorsement in the House of Commons of the President's statement, see IV C - 1 c, British Statement on Atrocities against the Jews.

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letters, 1-11-42
By H. H. Perto Date SEP 28 1972

100496
GABLE FROM THE BRITISH FOREIGN OFFICE TO THE BRITISH EMBASSY,
January 25, 1944

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

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

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

DECLASSIFIED
By Authority of British

Govan Telegram 1-13-72
By RHP, 28 SEP 1972
LETTER TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT FROM THE BOARD

February 11, 1944

Dear Mr. Stattdius:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

With respect to the statement on the punishment of atrocities issued at the Moscow Conference, there is merit in the contention that if this declaration had specifically mentioned the atrocities against the Jews, Hitler and his cohorts might have been more of a convinced of our attitude on their treatment of these people. In this connection, it is noted that the British themselves place chief reliance on the 1942 declaration rather than the Moscow declaration. In view of the fact that Hitler has always especially singled out the Jews - reserving, as Secretary Hull stated in his address before Congress on November 16, "for the Jews his most brutal wrath" - there is much to be said for the fact that any statement on our part which omits any specific reference to the Jews loses much of its effectiveness in Germany and among her satellites by reason of the omission.

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

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

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

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

Very truly yours,

J. W. Pehle
Acting Executive Director
REPLY OF THE BOARD TO THE BRITISH EMBASSY

February 25, 1944

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

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

The War Refugee Board has under active consideration the issuance by this Government of a strong declaration relating specifically to the murder of the Jews. It is the view of the Board that the leaders and people in Germany and in the satellite countries must be convinced that this Government and other members of the United Nations view most seriously the policy being followed by the enemy and are determined to see to it that those responsible will be punished. The Board believes that appropriate statements and representations should be pressed to whom they are directed and should be issued under such circumstances as to achieve maximum effectiveness.

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

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

The issuance of such a declaration is under active consideration by the War Refugee Board and when a decision has been reached the British Government will be informed. In the event that an affirmative decision is taken by the Government of the United States, the British Government may wish to reconsider the position stated in the message under discussion in order that they may take parallel action.
The United Nations are fighting to make a world in which tyranny and aggression can not exist; a world based upon freedom, equality and justice; a world in which all persons regardless of race, color or creed may live in peace, honor and dignity.

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the name of justice and humanity let all freedom loving people rally to this righteous undertaking.
CIRCULAR CABLE TO BERN (CABLE NO. 991), STOCKHOLM (CABLE NO. 502), LISBON (CABLE NO. 850), MADRID (CABLE NO. 817), ANKARA (CABLE NO. 253), AND CAIRO (CABLE NO. 46)

March 24, 1944

FOR THE MINISTER FROM THE WAR REFUGEE BOARD

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

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

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

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

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

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

HULL

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter 101-01-72
By H. H. Parks Date SEP 28 1972
MEASURES DIRECTED TOWARD HALTING PERSECUTION: STATEMENTS, POLICIES AND INFORMATIONAL CAMPAIGNS INSPIRED BY BOARD

OMI PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE

On February 22, 1944, the Board submitted to the Office of War Information a proposed policy directive reciting the creation of the Board, giving its composition, and briefly stating its purpose. It was requested that every effort be made to keep before the German people the brutal facts of the Nazi program and to make it clear that everyone in any way connected with such crimes will be punished. Under the proposed directive, OMI would ask the innocent in Axis and satellite territory to demonstrate their good faith by humanitarian deeds and to keep evidence against the guilty. It would also be made clear that this Government is taking positive action to aid the victims of Nazi persecution, and solicits the cooperation of neutral European countries in the evacuation of refugees.

During the last week of February OMI issued such a directive (see attachment #1). In this statement OMI indicated that in its broadcasts it also plans to emphasize the humanitarian roles Sweden, Switzerland, and Portugal are playing in helping evacuate and maintain refugees escaping from Nazi control.

In connection with the President's statement on atrocities against the Jews, OMI has reported employing its full facilities in broadcasts of excerpts and commentaries to Axis territory.
On January 22 President Roosevelt set up a War Refugees Board consisting of the Secretaries of State, War and Treasury, and issued an Executive Order stating: "It is the policy of this Government to take all measures within its power to rescue the victims of enemy oppression who are in imminent danger of death, and otherwise such victims all possible relief and assistance consonant with the successful prosecution of the war." A White House statement issued the same day said that "it was urgent that action be taken at once to forestall the plan of the Nazis to exterminate all the Jews and other persecuted minorities in Europe."

2. Propaganda Treatment

(a) We should use all available news pegs to emphasize, especially to the satellites, that the rescue of the Jews and other "persecuted minorities" now under Nazi rule is a part of the policy of the United States Government.

(b) In news commentary we must remind the satellites such as Hungary, whose large Jewish population included many refugees, that we shall judge them in part by the manner in which they treat the Jews and other helpless minorities in their midst.

(c) We should make clear that all those who participate in any way in crimes against helpless minorities share in the guilt of the executioners, and will be judged and punished in accord with our solemn pledges. We should point out that this was enunciated as agreed United Nations policy in the declaration of December 17, 1942.

(d) In our output to Sweden, Switzerland, and Portugal, as well as to the satellites, we should pay tribute to the humanitarian work these three neutral countries have already done in helping
refugees to escape from Nazi control and in giving them refuge, food and shelter. In this way we can use the power of example to influence our listeners in enemy-occupied countries to show humanity toward helpless minorities.
MEASURES DIRECTED TOWARD HALTING PERSECUTION: APPROACHES TO OFFENDING GOVERNMENTS

THE SATELLITES

Because of its conviction that the best chance of saving the greatest number of Jews and other victims of enemy oppression from death lies in the possibility of changing the actions and attitudes of the enemy, particularly of his satellites, functionaries, and subordinates, the Board, in a letter dated February 10 addressed to the State Department, proposed that pressure be brought to bear on the satellite governments aimed at making them desist from aiding Hitler's campaign of persecution (see attachment #1). Accordingly, cables were sent to U. S. Missions in the neutral countries of Europe, asking them to make clear to the satellites through all methods available the attitude of this Government concerning continued collaboration by them with Hitler's campaign of extermination, and to make apparent to them the opportunities that exist for assisting in rescue and relief operations (Cable No. 770 to Bern dated March 7; repeated on the same date as Cable No. 37 to Cairo, Cable No. 372 to Stockholm, Cable No. 713 to Lisbon, and Cable No. 177 to Ankara; see attachment #2).

In response Minister Horvah in Portugal reported that the substance of this Government's warning to the satellite governments was being conveyed through appropriate channels to the Bulgarian and Hungarian Governments, and that steps were also being taken to have the message conveyed to the Romanian Government (Cable No. 779 from Lisbon dated March 11; see attachment #3).

Another communication from the Board to Horvah, inspired by German military movements and intensified controls throughout Rumania and Hungary, urged continued effort toward increasing Rumanian and Hungarian resistance to Nazi demands with respect to anti-Jewish persecutions (Cable No. 1013 to Lisbon dated April 12; see attachment #4).

In response to the Board's request that the International Red Cross send effective representation to Hungary in order to protect the wellbeing...
of groups facing persecution there under the recent German occupation, Intercross advised Minister Harrison in Bern that for the time being it did not contemplate any such special delegation. Intercross was said to feel that under present circumstances such a mission might be considered as inconsistent with its traditional and conventional competence (Cable No. 2312 from Bern dated April 13).

Ambassador Steinhardt reported from Ankara that he had invited the attention of the Turkish Foreign Office to the fact that no Jewish refugees had arrived from Hungary of late. Steinhardt inquired as to whether the Turkish Consul in Budapest might be withholding the granting of Turkish visas for any reason, in spite of the assurance previously given by the Foreign Ministry that the granting of such visas would be facilitated. In response to this inquiry Steinhardt was informed that the Turkish consul at Budapest had sent the Foreign Office word that every Jew who entered the Turkish consulate in Budapest was arrested as soon as he left and transported to an unknown destination (Cable No. 794 from Ankara dated May 2; see attachment #2).

According to information received from the U. S. Legation in Stockholm, the Bulgarian Minister there, who replaced a strong pro-Nazi, had expressed sympathy for the Jewish situation. Minister Johnson reported his belief that the Bulgarian Minister might be induced to lend aid to any rescue program being pressed in Bulgaria, and suggested that it would be helpful if details of any program under consideration for Bulgaria could be furnished (Cable No. 1669 from Stockholm dated May 8).

In response to this report, the Board forwarded a detailed account of the manner in which Board Representative Hirschmann in Ankara handled a similar situation with respect to both the Romanian and Bulgarian Ministers to Turkey.

A direct approach by Olson to the Bulgarian Minister in Stockholm was proposed, along the lines of Hirschmann's interview with the Bulgarian Minister in Ankara. The Board suggested that in such an interview it could be pointed out that Bulgaria's failure to reply to the telegram and memorandum sent by the the Bulgarian Minister in Ankara, as a result of the Hirschmann interview, created an unfavorable impression on this Government. It was suggested that the Bulgarian Government again be warned that such action will be taken into account in the final reckoning, for it is indicative that Bulgaria has not yet determined to turn its back on the Nazi ideology of race and minority persecution (Cable No. 982 to Stockholm dated May 22).

(cont.)
Minister Johnson subsequently reported that an informal memorandum was presented along the lines suggested. Johnson was told that the memorandum was being forwarded to the Bulgarian Foreign Office and that a reply could be expected in due course. Meanwhile an informal response was received from the Bulgarian Minister stating, in effect, that both the Bulgarian Government and the Bulgarian people have maintained a sympathetic attitude toward Jews. It was asserted that the Government of Bulgaria had never turned a deaf ear to humanitarian considerations or to those of tolerance. It was alleged that the air force of the United States, however, have been engaged in acts of violence and cruelty against the defenseless civilian population in Bulgaria, including the total destruction of the Queen's chateau, which was said to have been far removed from any objective of a military nature and in an isolated location.

The reply concluded with the observation that if a stop could be put to the alleged slaughter of an innocent civilian population, then the Bulgarian Government would undoubtedly be prepared not only to recognize the moral right of this Government to advance humanitarian pleas, but also to approve action consistent with such pleas. (See Cable No. 2122 from Stockholm, dated June 13.)

Johnson and Olson were advised that a reply to the Bulgarian Minister might be made to the effect that while problems arising from aerial bombings are not within the province of the Board, in considering such matters informally and objectively it is impossible to overlook the bombings of such civilian centers as Warsaw, Rotterdam, Belgrade, Amsterdam, London, and Coventry, all by forces with which Bulgaria continues to be allied.

Reference would be made to the appeal recently directed to Hungarians by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Calling for resistance on the part of the general public to such persecutions. The Board suggested that Johnson and Olson point out to the Bulgarian Minister that this appeal applies as much to Bulgarian and other Axis countries as to Hungary, and that those to whom such warnings are applicable have it within their power to act in such a way, with respect to Jews and other defenseless civilian minorities, as to invite more favorable consideration, when punishments are noted out, than their conduct up to now may warrant. (See Cable No. 1311 to Stockholm, dated July 1.)

Meanwhile a communication from the U.S. Embassy in London, based on information received from London representatives of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, confirmed previous reports that the deportation of Jews from Hungary and territories under its control had begun. As of early May, 24,000 persons were said to have been deported from Sub-Carpatho Russia.

(cont.)
in addition to the general deportation of Polish refugees seized by the Hungarian police (Cable No. 3641 from London dated May 4). The Board promptly requested that U.S. missions in Moscow and London endeavor to have the broadcasts from their respective countries transmit to German and satellite military and civilian personnel carrying out deportation proceedings the warning that they personally will be held responsible by the United Nations for their actions and for the deaths that may result from such deportations. Arrangements were also made to have such warnings carried by the Office of War Information transmitters in their foreign broadcasts. Ambassadors Harriman and Ninan were also asked to request the Soviet and British Foreign Offices to use their influence upon the satellite governments and populations toward increasing resistance to German demands for the deportation and persecution of minority groups under satellite control. (See Cable No. 3934, to London dated May 17 comprising attachment #6, and Cable No. 1225 to Moscow dated May 17.) Vatican support in applying pressure on the satellites, and on Hungary in particular, was likewise solicited (see V C - 2, Appeals through the Vatican re Rumania and Hungary).

The Board was subsequently advised that, in accordance with the Board's request, the British Broadcasting Company had broadcast such warnings to Hungary (Cable No. 4205 from London dated May 25).

According to another report from London, out of a large group of persons arrested in Bucharest for their activity in aiding the escape of Jewish refugees from Hungary and other areas, all but 30 Jews were released. The remaining 30 were said to be facing immediate trial (Cable No. 3642 from London dated May 4). The Board immediately asked the U.S. Consul General in Jerusalem to attempt to obtain further details with respect to the 30 persons detained (Cable No. 101 to Jerusalem dated May 11). Ambassador Steinhardt in Ankara was asked to communicate with the Rumanian Foreign Minister in Ankara, when this information was received and at his discretion, remind him of the assurances he gave to Board Representative Hirschmann in a conversation late in March to the effect that such persecutions would not occur. Steinhardt was also asked to press for the release of the 30 persons detained and for an opportunity for them to leave Rumania (Cable No. 440 to Ankara dated May 17). At the same time, the U.S. Consulate in Jerusalem was requested to obtain and report to the State Department the names of the Hungarian officials responsible for the reported arrests in Hungary.

The Jewish Agency for Palestine subsequently indicated its belief that only 12 to 15 of these persons were still under arrest. The name of one Hungarian official allegedly involved in the Hungarian persecutions

(cont.)
was forwarded by the Jewish Agency as its only information to date. According to a 1938 report relayed by the Agency, up to April 25 over 300,000 Jews from the war zone had been interned (unnumbered cable from Jerusalem dated May 18).

In cables to Bern, Lisbon, Madrid, Ankara, and Stockholm the Board indicated this Government's grave concern over measures looking toward the mass extermination of Jews in Hungary. U. S. Missions were asked to request the authorities of the various government to which they are accredited to obtain as soon as possible detailed information from their missions in Budapest concerning the treatment of Jews in Hungary. (See Cable No. 1786 to Bern dated May 23 comprising attachment #7, Cable No. 1459 to Lisbon dated May 23, Cable No. 1431 to Madrid dated May 20, and Cable No. 458 to Ankara dated May 23.) The Board also asked Harold Tittmann, Foreign Service Officer at Vatican City, to approach Vatican authorities with a view to obtaining such information through the Nuncio and clergy in Hungary (Cable No. 1785 to Bern dated May 23).

Since the lives of some 800,000 persons in Hungary may well depend on the restraint resulting from the mere presence in that country of the largest possible number of foreign observers, key U. S. Missions abroad have been asked to make representations designed to induce the various governments to which they are accredited to take immediate steps to expand their respective diplomatic and consular staffs in Hungary and to distribute such personnel as widely as possible throughout the country. Such diplomatic and consular representatives would use all means available to them to persuade individuals and officials to desist from further barbarism. (See Cable No. 1805 to Bern dated May 25 comprising attachment #8, Cable No. 1479 to Lisbon dated May 25, Cable No. 1515 to Madrid dated May 26, Cable No. 1568 to Ankara dated May 25, and Cable No. 1520 to Stockholm dated May 25.)

In another cable to Harrison and McClelland the Board asked that the International Red Cross be advised of the persistent reports reaching the Board with respect to the systematic mass extermination of Jews in Hungary. Harrison and McClelland were asked to convey to Intercross the urgent hope of this Government that the special delegation previously requested would be sent to Hungary immediately. Failing this, the Board asked that Intercross be advised of the Board's conviction that an immediate enlargement of the Intercross delegation in Budapest and throughout Hungary, especially in the localities in which Jews are being concentrated, is an elementary humanitarian obligation of that organization (Cable No. 1806 to Bern dated May 25; see attachment #9).

(cont.)
In a stirring statement issued by members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on May 31 and shortened to Hungary by the Office of War Information, the people of Hungary were asked to use every means possible to protect the lives of their fellow citizens of the Jewish faith. Hungarians were asked to make note of authorities aiding the Nazi executioners as well as of those authorities who extend mercy, until such time as the guilty and the innocent can be adjudged.

Ambassador Hayes meanwhile informed the Board that, in response to certain inquiries directed to the Spanish Foreign Office with respect to the situation in Hungary, he was advised that the measures taken by the Germans thus far in Hungary have applied mainly to Czech, Polish, and German Jews. The Spanish "representative" in Budapest was said to have reported that the Sephardic Jews, for example, have not been confined in concentration camps, nor had he been unduly hindered in carrying out his instructions to make arrangements for evacuating these people. It was his hope, the Foreign Office added, that the Germans would be sufficiently preoccupied in organizing Hungary for waging war to prevent their taking steps similar to those taken in Poland.

Hayes reported having urged that instructions be sent to Budapest directing the Spanish "representative" and his staff to be as active as possible, since their presence might have a deterring effect on the Germans. The Spanish Foreign Office was said to have agreed to this.

In view of the fact that the Foreign Office went out of its way throughout the interview to refer to its envoy in Hungary as a "representative" and not as a Minister, Hayes felt that it would be useless to suggest that additional personnel be sent to the Spanish mission in Hungary, especially since such action would be against Spain's current policy of minimizing its connections with the present Hungarian regime (Cable No. 1943 from Madrid dated June 1; see attachment #10).

Minister Norweb reported from Lisbon that in his opinion representations to the Portuguese Government with respect to enlarging the Portuguese mission in Hungary would be impolitic and perhaps even prejudicial to the favorable attitude now existing in Portugal with respect to the reception of refugees. Norweb pointed out that as a result of having made fairly strong representations, following the invasion of Hungary, seeking to persuade the Portuguese Government not to recognize the puppet government in Budapest, it would seem inappropriate that he now approach the Portuguese with the proposed request. As a practical matter, he said, Norweb added, it would be imprudent to do so now. The Portuguese, he felt, would be likely to be in no position to extend the mission at the present time. Norweb felt that the most effective way to consider the representation of the Jews in Hungary would be to make a further effort to secure the withdrawal of the Germans in order to provide a situation where the Jews could be protected. (cont.)
Board Representative McColland indicated from Bern that in the matter, and aside from this consideration, Norweb voiced grave doubts that the Germans would allow any increase in personnel in the Portuguese mission in Hungary at this time (Cable No. 1671 from Lisbon dated June 3; see attachment #12).

According to a cable from Ambassador Steinhardt, Hungarian-Turkish relations were virtually non-existent, due to the strain resulting from the Turkish Government's having materially reduced the shipment of strategic materials to Hungary, at the request of the Allies. Steinhardt indicated that the Turkish Government therefore did not feel that it was in a position to ask the Hungarian Government for permission to expand the Turkish diplomatic and consular force in Hungary, as the Board had requested. Moreover, it was reported that the Turkish authorities were convinced that any such request would be refused, especially since the Germans would have to approve it.

In Steinhardt's opinion, any approach to the Hungarian Minister in Ankara or to his staff in an effort to restrain the Hungarian Government in its persecution of Jews would be of no use whatever, in view of their pro-Nazi attitude.

With respect to the suggestion that the Turks be asked to allow refugees to enter Turkey without Turkish visas, Steinhardt indicated that the acceptance of such a proposition by the Turks was an extremely remote possibility. In this connection Steinhardt pointed out that in obtaining permission for Jewish refugees to enter and pass through Turkey without Turkish visas, he has had to make separate representations to the Foreign Minister concerning each group or individual upon arrival (Cable No. 1010 from Ankara dated June 5; see attachment #13).

Minister Johnson reported that, in response to his inquiry, the Swedish Foreign Office replied that thus far no information had been received from its Budapest Legation to indicate that the mass annihilation of Jews in Hungary was contemplated (Cable No. 2028 from Stockholm dated June 6).

Early in June Ambassador Steinhardt was asked to consider the advisability of directly or indirectly approaching the Hungarian mission in Ankara, or other personalities in Turkey, along the lines of Ira Hirschmann's talks with the Romanian Foreign Minister, as a result of which the Romanian Government agreed to facilitate the emigration of Romanian Jews (Cable No. 499 to Ankara dated June 2). Afterward Harrison and McColland in Bern were advised that the Board had under consideration the advisability of asking the Swiss Government to...
address an inquiry on behalf of this Government to appropriate authorities in Hungary, asking them to state their intentions with respect to the future treatment to be accorded Jews in ghettos and concentration camps and, more specifically, whether they contemplate forced deportations to Poland or elsewhere, the imposition of discriminatory reductions in food rations, or the adoption of any other such measures. At the same time the Swiss Government would be requested to remind Hungarian authorities of the grave view which this Government takes with respect to the persecution of Jews and other minorities, and of its determination to see to it that all those who share the responsibility for such acts are properly dealt with when hostilities cease. The widest possible publicity in Hungary, through broadcasts and otherwise, would be given such a request when made.

Harrison and McClelland were asked to give careful consideration to this matter, and unless they were of the opinion that positive disad- vantages would be involved, they were to proceed promptly to make the requests outlined (Cable No. 1945 to Bern dated June 6; see attachment). The substance of reports on the situation in Hungary was communicated to Ambassador Harriman in Moscow. Harriman was asked to relay to appropriate Soviet authorities the nature of these reports, along with the text of the statement made by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, in an effort to obtain Soviet action along the lines suggested (Cable No. 1470 to Moscow dated June 10).

Ambassador Harriman in turn addressed a letter to Vyshinski, renewing the Board's request that the Soviet Government issue a statement comparable to the President's declaration on atrocities against the Jews. It was also requested that Soviet radio stations broadcast appropriate messages to Germany and the satellite countries and issue leaflets supplementing any such broadcasts (Cable No. 2152 from Moscow dated June 14).

Board Representative Ackermann cabled from Algiers that, in his opinion, it would be appropriate to make fuller use of the President's declaration on atrocities against the Jews, particularly by means of pamphlets to be dropped over Hungary, where the greatest number of Jews in occupied territory are now concentrated. Such pamphlets would stress the President's appeal to the Hungarian people to hide Jews or aid their escape. Ackermann also indicated that the OIM in Algiers could give greater coverage to the President's statement if such a directive were received from the UNI in Washington. Accordingly, the Board enlisted OIM cooperation in this matter (Cable No. 1926 from Algiers dated June 10).

(cont.)
Board Representative McAlloon indicated that in the course of a discussion with Dr. Karl Burckhardt of the International Red Cross, it was learned that Intercross has only one representative in Hungary. This representative is in Budapest in his capacity as Director of the Swiss Chamber of Commerce in Hungary, since it was feared that his going as an Intercross delegate would have delayed his receipt of a German visa. It was reported that, significantly, this representative had not yet been officially accredited as the Intercross delegate to the Hungarian Government.

In response to the Board's request that Intercross enlarge its representation in Hungary, McAlloon reported that Intercross wished to do so and was trying to find a second suitable delegate to send there. It was also reported that Intercross is continuing its efforts to obtain German permission to send its Zagreb delegate to Budapest, at least temporarily.

McAlloon also indicated that a purchasing agent sent to Budapest by the Intercross Joint Relief Commission had confidentially been instructed to get in touch with Jewish circles there and examine with them all possible channels of rescue and relief for Jews in ghettos and concentration camps. (See Cable No. 3731 from Bern dated June 11.)

In accordance with the Board's request, Minister Harrison delivered to the Swiss Foreign Office, for transmission to the Hungarian Government, a note inquiring into the intentions of Hungary with respect to the further treatment of Jews, with special reference to forced deportations, discriminatory reductions in food rations, and the like. The note reiterated the grave view which this Government takes regarding persecution of Jews and other minorities, as well as its determination to see to it that those who share the responsibility for such crimes are fittingly punished. The Foreign Office accepted this note and agreed to transmit it verbatim. Harrison recommended that no publicity be given to this matter pending delivery of the note and that even then, no mention be made of Swiss intermediation. (See Cable No. 3843 from Bern dated June 16 comprising attachment #12; see also Cable No. 2128 to Bern dated June 22 and Cable No. 466 from Bern dated June 26.)

Johnson and Olson reported from Stockholm that the Swedish Foreign Office, in response to the Board's request, had agreed to appoint a Special Attaché to the Swedish Legation at Budapest for the specific purpose of following and reporting on the situation in Hungary, particularly the persecution of Jews and other minority groups. While no trouble was anticipated in connection with obtaining a visa for the individual who is to serve in this capacity, the Foreign Office indicated that if the visa should be refused, the Swedish Government would in turn simply refuse to receive the Hungarian Charge d'Affaires. (See Cable No. 2231 from

(Cont.)
Stockholm dated June 21 comprising attachment #16; see also Cable No. 1010 to Stockholm dated May 25 and Cable No. 2069 from Stockholm dated June 9.

Late in June Mr. Pohle met with the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, in executive session, to summarize activities and objectives of the Board. Following this meeting, on June 23 a resolution concerning refugees and approving the activities of the Board was unanimously approved by the Committee. This resolution was addressed to all Nazi-controlled territories but was directed to Hungary in particular.

Secretary Hull at his radio and press conference on June 26 acclaimed the House Committee protest. Secretary Hull asserted that there cannot be too many protests against the wholesale murder being practiced by the Nazis. Pointing out that the House Committee resolution demanded that the puppet Hungarian Government put an end to these assassinations, Secretary Hull reiterated this Government's intention of seeing to it that those who are guilty of such inhuman conduct are fittingly punished.

The text of the Committee's resolution was subsequently communicated to Board representatives in key U.S. Missions abroad for transmission to the appropriate authorities in Great Britain, Turkey, Spain, Portugal, Sweden, and Switzerland. The Board asked that it be given the widest possible publicity, and that its contents be brought to the attention of the Hungarian Government through all available channels. (See Circular Cable to London, Ankara, Madrid, Lisbon, Stockholm, and Bern dated June 28 comprising attachment #17).

Various private organizations in this country have been receiving appeals for substantial amounts of money to be used in efforts to stop deportations and to permit departures for safer countries. According to one such appeal, there is the possibility that an additional 8,000 persons can be rescued from the Balkans at an approximate cost of two to two and one-half million dollars. The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, to whom the appeal was addressed, indicated its willingness to undertake these operations. Accordingly, the Board cabled details of the proposal to Ambassador Steinhardt and Board Representative Hirschmann in Ankara, asking that they forward immediately their recommendations in the matter (Cable No. 588 to Ankara dated June 30).

Another appeal indicated that some 2600 persons from the Balkans might be evacuated if the operations proposed could be undertaken to the extent of $800,000. In these evacuations ships similar to the "Milla" and "Marita" would be used, without hope of safe-conduct, for transporting refugees to Istanbul. In view of the risks involved, responsibility would be shared by the Board, the Jewish Agency, and the Joint

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Distribution Committee. Under these conditions, the JDC agreed to provide up to $800,000 for the program contemplated. The recommendations of Steinhardt and Hirschmann were also solicited in this connection (Cable No. 568 to Ankara dated June 29; see also Cables No. 213 and 216 to Bern dated June 27).

See V A, Statements, Policies, and Informational Campaigns Inspired by Board.

See V B - 1 a, Conditions in Hungary; V B - 1 b, Conditions in Romania; V B - 1 c, Conditions in Bulgaria; and V B - 1 d, Conditions in Slovakia, for the substance of various other reports received by the Board with respect to conditions in the satellite countries.

See V B - 22, Appeals to the Germans, for an account of current efforts to bring about, through approaches to the German and satellite governments, the full or partial application to "massacred" civilian internees of the Geneva Convention and resolutions of subsequent International Red Cross conferences so that internees may be accorded treatment comparable to that of prisoners of war.

See V C, Appeals through the Vatican.

See also V F - 1, Recognition of Latin American Passports.
LETTER TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT FROM THE BOARD
February 10, 1944

Dear Mr. Stettinius:

As I view the question of the practical measures which should be taken at once to make effective the President's policy of rescuing Jews and other persecuted minorities from the Nazis, opportunity exists now for a forceful attack on one of the very roots of this problem, namely, collaboration by the Axis satellite governments in the Nazi extermination program.

It is apparent that Allied successes in the war have shaken to its foundations the resolution of Nazi collaborators outside of Germany and have implanted in their minds a fearful apprehension of the fate which will be theirs in the day of allied victory. There are also indications that perhaps the least whole-hearted collaboration given to Germany by her satellites have been the measures designed to assist Hitler in his organized massacre of Jews, e.g., forced deportations to Poland and the prevention of escape to neutral countries.

In view of the foregoing, I think that it is of utmost importance for this Government to commence at once an organized and concentrated effort to make clear, by all appropriate means, to all Axis satellites, including the Vichy Government, that this Government views in the most serious light their collaboration in any form to Hitler's program to exterminate the Jews and other similar groups, regarding all such action as criminal participation in organized murder. This Government deserves to do everything in its power to rescue such unfortunates who are in danger of death should also be brought home to the satellites with special force in order not only to give them a clear view of our attitude in the matter but also to make apparent to them the opportunities which exist for assisting in the execution of our policy. The object of this attack is of course two-fold: (1) To get the satellites to desist from aiding Hitler's campaign, and (2) By clearly stating our own policy in the matter to offer the occasion for actual assistance to us if they care to give it. Needless to say, a campaign of this character should not be limited to the making of formal representations but should be carried out through all appropriate means, now or hereafter available. Moreover, such representations should be constantly repeated.

(cont.)
at every available opportunity.

It is, of course, desirable that other Allied Governments participate in this effort. However, our Government's action alone in the matter may be of the greatest significance, and it should not, I believe, be delayed pending the collaboration of others. Rather they should be informed of our action and invited to take parallel action.

I am not unmindful of the fact that our Government may already have taken some action along the lines indicated. However, I feel that it is extremely urgent that a new and perhaps more concerted effort should be undertaken at once, using as a starting point the President's new and unequivocal statement of policy.

I would greatly appreciate having as soon as possible a full statement of all action of this kind heretofore taken and being kept informed of such new efforts as are made.

Very truly yours,

J. W. Fehle
Acting Executive Director
The fact that you have had approaches through various channels from one or more of the Governments of Bulgaria, Rumania, and Hungary, and that you have channels through which messages can be conveyed to one or more of these Governments is borne in mind by the Department.

We instruct you to convey through such channels to the Governments of Bulgaria, Rumania, and Hungary, or any of them to which you have such access, the following information:

At the present time the Government of the United States is aware that these Governments are pursuing programs of persecuting their Jewish minorities and refugees of other nationalities who have escaped into their territories. The persecution consists among other forms in sending such refugees beyond the borders of their own countries into Poland where they undergo various forms of cruelty and even death, dictated by Nazi degeneracy. Still another form of persecution consists in preventing the refugees from escaping to neutral countries where their lives may be saved.

The Government of the United States is determined to do everything it can to rescue such unfortunate who are in danger of losing their lives and to find them havens of refuge. Any continuation by these Governments of the execution of these policies of Hitlerite persecutions is viewed with great seriousness by this Government and will be kept in mind. The President, in establishing the War Refugee Board, recently restated unequivocally the position of the United States Government in this matter. (Department's cable to Bern of January 25, 1944 No. 201). The Government of the United States takes the view that these Governments, as well as their subordinates and functionaries, are fully responsible for the actions of persecution committed on their territories and in the interests of humanity they should desist immediately. Moreover, they should be informed that in their own interest, they will be well advised to take advantage in the future of such opportunities as may be available to them to allow refugees to depart across their borders into territories of any neutral countries which may be prepared to receive them.

(Cont)
You are requested to try to ascertain through appropriate channels that the Governments in question have received the substance of this message, and the results of the representations, if any.

The foregoing message was repeated to Cairo for MacVaugh as Greek Series 37 and to Stockholm, Lisbon, and Ankara as the Department's cables Nos. 372, 713, and 177 respectively.

STETTIMUS
CABLE NO. 779 FROM LONDON TO THE BOARD

March 11, 1944

Through appropriate channels the substance of the message contained in the Department's number 713 dated March 7 has been launched and within a comparatively short time may be expected to reach both the Bulgarian and Hungarian Governments. Although it may still take a few more days to expedite it from here steps are also being taken to see that it is conveyed to the Government of Rumania.

Although we have reason to believe already that we may expect an answer in due course from the Government of Hungary, no such intimation has been conveyed as yet concerning the intentions of the Government of Bulgaria or of course of the Government of Rumania, with the channel of approach to which we have not yet made contact.

These answers will be sent to you as quickly as possible when and if we receive them.

NORWEB
CABLE NO. 1013 TO LISBON FROM THE BOARD
April 12, 1944

War Refugee Board sends the following for the attention of Minister,
Norweb.

Your telegram of March 11, 1944 No. 779 is referred to herewith.

The Swedish press carries reports that there has been an intensifi-
cation of pressure by the Nazis on Hungary to strengthen the anti-Jewish
policy and to deport Polish and other Jews who have escaped to Hungary.

In view of the German military's reported operations in Hungary, we
request that you again approach the Government of Hungary
that are available to you and state again the position taken by this
Government and make it clearly understood that in spite of the current
pressure by the Nazis any action on the part of the Hungarian Government
in inflict new and further persecutions or to continue existing persecu-
tions designed against foreign or native Jews or the deportation to Ger-
many itself or any territory controlled by Germany of foreign or native
Jews will be considered by this Government with the greatest disfavor and
will be taken into account at the end of the war. You should also again
approach the Rumanian Government through the channels that are available
to you and inform them regarding the foregoing message to the Hungarian
Government, explaining the circumstances that the approach is based upon.
You should clearly intimate that in spite of any actions taken by the
Nazis to intensify the deportation or other persecution of foreign or
native Jews, which may result in military defeats of the Nazis or from
either causes, the foregoing view will also be taken by this Government
with respect to the Government of Rumania.
CABLE NO. 794 FROM ANKARA TO THE BOARD

May 2, 1944

The Ambassador sends the following for W.B.'s attention.

Today, when I invited the attention of the Assistant Secretary General of the Foreign Office to the fact that no Jewish refugees have arrived from Hungary of late, and asked whether the Turkish Consul in Budapest might be withholding the granting of Turkish visas for any reason in spite of the assurance I received from the Foreign Minister that the granting of the visas would be facilitated, I was informed by Mr. Sinic that the Turkish Consul in Budapest had sent the Foreign Office word that every Jew entering the Turkish Consulate in Budapest was arrested as soon as he left and transported to an unknown place.

The foregoing is W.B.'s 50 from Ankara.

STEINHARDT

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter 1-11-72

By R. H. Parks Dato...SEP 26 1972
CABLE NO. 3934 TO LONDON FROM THE BOARD
May 17, 1944

Not paraphrased.

American Embassy in Moscow has been informed of the contents of your
3641 of May 4, and has been requested to endeavor to have Russian broad-
casts in appropriate languages beamed on Germany and German-satellite
countries. Transmitters transmit warnings to German and German-satellite military and
civilian personnel carrying out deportation proceedings that they personally will be held responsible by the United Nations for their actions and
the deaths that may result from deportation. The Russian Foreign Office is
also being approached in an attempt to use its influence upon the satellite
governments and populations by all possible means to cause their resistance
to German demands for the deportation and persecution of minority groups
under their control.

Please make similar endeavors with regard to the Ministry of Infonna-
tion and the Foreign Office. Please consult with Schoenfeld in this latter
matter with a view to having Czech Government request Moscow to take all possible
action to protect Czech nationals in Sub-Carpatho-Russia.

For your information, the OWI transmitters are carrying similar warn-
ings. The Embassy at Ankara states that the Turk Consul at Budapest had
sent the Foreign Office word that every Jew entering Turk Consulate there
was arrested as soon as he left and transported to an unknown place.

The Vatican is being approached with a view to obtaining its support
in applying pressure on satellites, particularly Hungary, in this matter.

Action being taken on your 3642 through Ankara.

HULL

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter. SEP 28 1972
By R. H. Falls.
CABLE NO. 1786 TO BERN FROM THE BOARD

May 23, 1944

Not paraphrased.

FOR MINISTER HARRISON AND McCLELLAND, BERN, SWITZERLAND

This Government gravely concerned by reports of measures looking to mass extermination of Jews in Hungary.

Please request Swiss authorities to obtain as speedily as possible detailed information from Swiss mission in Budapest concerning treatment of Jews in Hungary and to inform you of results of inquiry. Advise Department of results without delay.

THIS IS WTD BERN CABLE NO. 24.

Hull

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

SEP 28 1972
CABLE NO. 1805 TO BERLIN FROM THE BOARD
May 25, 1944

Attention of McClelland and Minister Harrison

Please represent to the Swiss Government that, according to persistent and seemingly authentic reports, systematic mass extermination of Jews in Hungary has begun. The lives of 600,000 human beings in Hungary may well depend on the restraint that may result from the presence in that country of the largest possible number of foreign observers. To this end, please urge appropriate authorities in the interest of most elementary humanity to take immediate steps to increase to the largest possible extent the numbers of Swiss diplomatic and consular personnel in Hungary and to distribute them as widely as possible throughout the country.

It is hoped, of course, that all such diplomatic and consular representatives will use all means available to them to persuade individuals and officials to desist from further barbarism.

Please inform Department forthwith of extent to which Swiss Government is cooperating in this matter.

THIS IS WBB BERN CABLE NO. 26.

HULL

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-73
By H. H. Parks Date SEP 28 1972
CABLE NO. 1826 TO BERN FROM THE BOARD  
May 25, 1944

Not paraphrased.

FOLLOWING IS FOR MINISTER HARRISON AND McCLELLAND, BERN, SWITZERLAND

Reference is made to Department's 1023 of March 27 and your 2312 of April 13.

Please represent to Intercross that according to persistent and seemingly authentic reports, systematic mass-extinction of Jews in Hungary has begun. The lives of 800,000 human beings may well depend on the restraint that may result from the presence in Hungary of the largest possible number of international observers. It is difficult to believe that measures designed to check such slaughter directly or indirectly can be considered by Intercross as "intruding into domestic policy" within the meaning of your 2312. If the measure suggested is unprecedented, so is the emergency.

Please convey to Intercross the urgent hope of the Government of the United States that the special delegation requested in our 1023 will be sent forthwith to Hungary. Failing this, it is felt that a considerable and immediate enlarging of Intercross delegation in Budapest and throughout Hungary, especially in the localities in which Jews are being concentrated, is an elementary humanitarian obligation of Intercross in face of this man-made disaster.

Confident that Intercross will rise to the emergency, this Government would appreciate receiving prompt information as to the number and distribution of Intercross delegates in Hungary and as to the extent to which they are able to observe the treatment of Jews in that country.

THIS IS WIR BERN CABLE NO. 27.

HILL

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter 11-11-74
By R. H. Parks Date SEP 28 1972
STATEMENT BY SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

May 31, 1944

The people of the United States and all freedom-loving peoples are horrified by the news that Hitler has designated the 800,000 Jews in Hungary for death.

That the people of Hungary should countenance the cold-blooded murder of innocent men, women, and children is unthinkable. Once Hungary was the haven of tens of thousands who fled the Nazi terror in other lands. Once Hungary protected the helpless who sought refuge within its borders. Once Hungarians shielded their Jewish fellow-citizens. But now the Hungarian puppet government has joined the Nazis in their ruthless determination to do away with the Jews.

While there is yet time the people of Hungary can demonstrate to the world that this unholy scheme is a betrayal of the true Hungarian spirit. They can hide the Jews until such time as they may help them to safety across the borders. They can refuse to purchase property stolen from the Jews. They can use every means to obstruct the Nazis and those Hungarians who are in league with the Nazis. They can keep watch and remember those who are accessories to murder and those who extend mercy, until the time when guilt and innocence will weigh heavily in the balance. That time is near.

Washington, D. C.,
May 31, 1944

Signed:
Tom Connolly, Chairman
Walter F. George
Robert F. Wagner
Joseph P. Guffey
Bennett Champ Clark
Robert R. Reynolds
G. M. Gillette
Theodore Francis Green

James M. Tunell
Alben W. Barkley
Arthur Cupp
Robert L. Polkette Jr.
Arthur W. Vandenberg
James J. Davis
James R. Murray

Members, Foreign Relations Committee, United States Senate.

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 11173
By R. H. Peake Date, SEP 21 1972
CABLE NO. 1943 FROM MADRID TO THE BOARD

June 1, 1944

In response to the request made of the Spanish Foreign Office in compliance with the Department's telegram of May 20, 1944 No. 1431, it is stated by the Spanish Foreign Office that the reports received from its Budapest "representative" concerning measures taken by the Germans against the Jews in Hungary have applied mainly so far to Czech, Polish and German Jews who have been and are being placed in concentration camps. For instance, the Sephardic Jews, with whom the Spanish representative is particularly concerned, are not confined in this manner and in carrying out his instruction to make arrangements for their eventual passage through Spain, he has not been unduly hindered. Measures of mass extermination have not been reported to him to date and it was added by the Foreign Office that the situation, which was without doubt dire, could be described best by stating that rumors had happily far outstripped the actualities thus far and it was his hope that the Germans would be sufficiently preoccupied in organizing Hungary for waging war to prevent them from taking steps similar to those taken in Poland by them.

He was urged by me, after a lengthy representation of our interest in this important humanitarian matter and the undesirability of merely hoping that events would not take a frightful course, that instructions be dispatched to Budapest requesting that the representative and his staff be as active as possible since the presence of the representative and his staff might have a deterring effect on the Germans. This was agreed to by the Foreign Office and it recalled at the same time that representation to Berlin with a view to obtaining exodus for Rabbis were being made by it on behalf of the United States and England. Please see Department's telegram of May 26, 1944 No. 1515.

It will be noted by you that the Foreign Office went out of its way throughout the interview to refer to its envoy in Hungary as a "representative" and not as a Minister. No purpose would be served by suggesting that further Spanish official personnel be sent to the Spanish mission in Hungary as such action would be against the policy of the Spanish Government as stated to me by the Foreign Minister, namely, to minimize the connections of Spain with the present Government of Hungary. This policy was adopted by the Foreign Minister as a result of my and my British colleague's representations. The representations made to him by me were in accordance with the instructions contained in the latter part of the penultimate paragraph of this cable dated April 17, 1944 No. 1063.

HAYES DECLASIFIED
State Dept, Letter 1.11.72
By R. H. Parks Date SEP 28 1972
CABLE NO. 1671 FROM LISBON TO THE BOARD

June 1, 1944

Considerable thought has been given by us to the matters which number 1479 dated May 25 (WRB 31) from the Department contained and we have been compelled to conclude that representations to the Government of Portugal along the lines indicated would be impolitic and perhaps prejudicial to the favorable attitude which exists here at present with respect to the refugees' reception. As a result of having made fairly strong representations following the invasion of Hungary seeking to persuade the Government of Portugal not to recognize the puppet regime in Budapest, we found ourselves in an awkward position of which the WRB may not have been aware. The British vigorously duplicated these representations.

It would seem to us that we would be estopped from now approaching the Portuguese with a request to deal with that same puppet regime on our behalf, in the light of the foregoing. As a practical matter and even aside from this consideration it is doubtful that the Germans would at this time allow any increase in personnel in Hungary of the Government of Portugal.

Either indirectly or directly there exists at the present time no effective channel of communication here through Hungarian officials. Only as a private individual is the former Hungarian Minister who has resigned, here. Pro-German and unreliable Hungarian officials staff the Legation at present.

During a conversation between Dexter and Jofao, he (Jofao) said that he will make an attempt to get in touch with Bekhan who is in Bern at the present time.

At present and under the circumstances, Dexter is making no reply to Pehle's reference message.

NORMED

D.E. / NA
State Dep. / 14-73
By R. H. Parker / SEP 28 1972
CABLE NO. 1020 FROM ANKARA TO THE BOARD

June 5, 1944

Ambassador sends the following for WNB

Referring to message Number 69 from Ankara and Department's telegram of June 2, Number 499, it is my opinion that any approach to the Hungarian Minister and his staff here would be of no use whatever, since their pro-Nazi attitude is notorious, as the Department knows.

In connection with the last paragraph of cable referred to, it is thought that the Turkish agreement to an "arrangement" involving violation of their own laws by allowing refugees or any other individuals to enter Turkey without Turkish visas is an extremely remote possibility. Separate representations concerning each group or individual, upon arrival, have been presented in obtaining permission for Jewish refugees to enter and pass through Turkey without Turkish visas, and this fact should be borne in mind in this connection. I believe, when appropriate representations are made in each case, the Jewish refugees entering Turkey from Bulgaria will be treated with the same kindness as have those coming from Greece.

STEHMBART

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter 1-11-72
By R. H. Park Date SEP 28 1972
CABLE NO. 1945 TO BERN FROM THE BOARD

June 6, 1944

Not paraphrased.

To McClelland and Minister Harrison:

1. Legation Stockholm reports that it is informed that German authorities have evacuated all Jews from the southern and northern frontiers of Hungary and have concentrated them in ghettos located in the following places: Beregszasza, Beszterce, Debrecen, Das, Kassa, Hormarossziget, Kisalo, Kolozvar, Magyareldvos, Marosgyhann and Szeged.

2. Consulate-General Jerusalem reports that it is informed that the following Hungarian officials are closely associated with Germans in persecution of Jews: Yaron Ander, Minister of Interior; Andre Lasso, Chief and Farky Laslo, Deputy Chief, Jewish Department, Ministry of Interior; Donovni Magyaran, Liaison Officer between Hungarian and German Armies; Zronkol Gzverti, Head of Central Police and Kolody Tibor, Mayor of Budapest.

For Minister's personal attention and McClelland's information:

3. In view of consistent neutral press reports carrying Berlin and Budapest datelines and other information to the effect that the eight hundred thousand Jews in Hungary are being segregated in ghettos and concentrated in camps, there seems little doubt that the pattern heretofore set in Poland and repeated elsewhere is again being followed. In an effort to develop means to forestall the effectuation of this ultimate ends of such program, that is mass-executions either before or after deportation, consideration has been given to the advisability of requesting the Swiss Government to address an inquiry on behalf of this Government to appropriate authorities in Hungary asking them to state their intentions with respect to the future treatment to be accorded to Jews in ghettos and concentration camps and specifically whether they contemplate forced deportations to Poland or elsewhere or the imposition of discriminatory reductions in food rations, or the adoption of other measures which like those mentioned will be tantamount to mass-execution.

(Cont.)
At the same time, the Swiss government would be requested to remind the
same authorities of the grave view that this Government takes with
respect to the persecution of Jews and other minorities and of the deter-
mination of this Government to see to it that all those who share the
responsibility for such acts are dealt with in accordance with the
President's statement of March 24, 1944. Also at the same time the fact
of this Government's request of the Swiss Government and the nature
thereof would be given the widest possible publicity in Hungary through
broadcasts in the Hungarian language and such other means as may be
practicable.

Please give the foregoing your most careful consideration and un-
less you are of the opinion that to do so would involve positive disad-
vantages you should proceed promptly to make the requests outlined above.
If you address such requests to the Swiss Government, please advise the
Department thereof without delay and any views you may have with respect
to the proposal to publicise in Hungary the fact and nature of such requests
would be appreciated. If you are of the opinion that such requests should
not be made, please inform the Department of your reasons therefor.

THIS IS NEW YORK CABLE NO. 37.

SCHUMANN
(Acting)
CABLE NO. 3843 FROM BERN TO THE BOARD
June 16, 1944

Reference is made herewith to No. 37 from WH, your cable of June 6, 1944 No. 1945.

1. A note requesting transmission of inquiry to Hungarian Government, as suggested, has been delivered to the Swiss Foreign Office. This note requests an indication of the intentions of Hungary as regards further treatment of Jews with special reference to forced deportations, discriminatory reductions of food rations or adoption of similar measures that amount to mass execution and reminding them of the grave view which the United States takes regarding persecution of Jews and other minorities and the United States' determination to punish those sharing the responsibility in accordance with the March 24, warning by the President.

The Foreign Office has accepted the note as presented and will transmit verbatim as annex to the note to the authorities of Hungary. It has been agreed by the Swiss to report the date of the delivery of the note.

2. It is recommended that the foregoing be given no publicity pending receipt of information of delivery of the note by the Swiss to the Hungarians and that no mention of Swiss intermediary be made should publicity then appear to be advisable.

3. Considering the extremely small number of radio receiving sets in Hungary, dropping pamphlets by plane would be the best method of achieving publicity in Hungary.

HARRISON

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By H. E. Parks  Date SEP 28 1972
CABLE NO. 2231 FROM STOCKHOLM TO THE BOARD
June 21, 1944

Please repeat to War Refugee Board as Legation's number 31.

Mr. Boheman has informed me that Mr. Raoul Wallenberg will be appointed an Attache to the Swedish Legation at Budapest for the specific purpose of following and reporting on situation with respect to persecution of Jews and minorities. It is likewise intention of Foreign Office to secure if possible an appointment as representative of other Swedish Red Cross for Professor Malte, a Swede who is now teaching in University of Budapest. Professor Malte will not be connected with Swedish Legation but will cooperate closely with Wallenberg (my 2069, June 9, 6 p.m.). As Wallenberg's Functions in Budapest will be purely official and he has for time of appointment severed all business connections, Boheman does not anticipate any trouble in his securing the necessary visa. He said if the visa is refused the Swedish Government will simply refuse in turn to receive the Hungarian Charge d'Affaires. Mr. Boheman made it clear that Foreign Office and his government are disposed to cooperate as fully as possible in all humanitarian endeavors and the appointment of this Attache is undoubtedly an evidence of official Swedish desire to conform to the wishes expressed in Department's telegram 1010, May 25, 2 p.m.

Olsen and I are of opinion that War Refugee Board should be considering ways and means of implementing this action of Swedish Government particularly with respect to financial support it may be possible to arrange for any concrete rescue and relief progress which may be developed.

JOHNSON
CIRCULAR CABLE TO LONDON, ANKARA, MADRID, LISBON, STOCKHOLM, AND BERN
June 28, 1944

The cable below is from War Refugee Board.

The following is the text of a resolution which was unanimously approved today by the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives:

"Resolved, That the House of Representatives hereby expresses its deep concern over the plight of the threatened millions in Nazi-occupied and Nazi-dominated territories. The House of Representatives expresses its approval of the activities of the War Refugee Board, which is facilitating the actual rescue of persons so exposed, furnishing relief to such persons by making available food and other supplies, and attempting to influence through psychological and other measures the attitudes of both the leaders and rank and file populations in those territories where extermination of minority groups is imminent, and be it further resolved, That the House of Representatives is not content merely to join with those who have expressed their horror at the barbarism of the governments involved in the cruelties herein condemned, but hereby expresses its determination that the criminals who are guilty of this inhuman conduct shall be brought to justice, and hereby requests the Secretary of State to convey, through such means as he may find appropriate, this concern and determination of the House of Representatives. This concern and determination, while addressed to all Nazi-controlled territories, is particularly directed to Hungary, where the lives of a million Jews hang in the balance. At this historic moment, when the tide of military battle has turned decisively in favor of the United Nations, the House of Representatives of the United States of America calls upon the Nazis and all their satellites to stem the tide of inhumanity toward helpless peoples."

You are requested to convey the contents of this resolution to the appropriate authorities and to use all possible means to give the resolution the widest possible publicity, particularly in Europe. The cooperation of MFA should be solicited.

In addition, through such channels as may be available to you, this action of the House of Representatives should be brought to the attention of the Hungarian Government.

Sent to London:

Repeated to Ankara, Madrid, Lisbon, Stockholm and Bern.

HULL
DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter 1-1-72
By R. H. Park Date SEP 28 1972
MEASURES DIRECTED TOWARD HALTING PERSECUTION: APPROACHES TO OFFENDING GOVERNMENTS

THE SATELLITES: CONDITIONS IN HUNGARY

Early in April, in a report from Minister Harrison in Bern, increasing restrictions against Jews were noted, including those relating to general urban accommodations. Aryanization of banks and commercial and industrial enterprises was said to be proceeding. The establishment of ghettos or internment centers was also foreseen. Mass deportations to the east, however, were reported to hinge upon military developments. Significantly, Jews were forbidden to leave Budapest despite the official evacuation of that city. (See Cable No. 2320 from Bern dated April 14.)

Harrison next advised the Board of the reported creation, by Budapest decree, of a Union of Hungarian Jews which is expected to be organized on a country-wide basis. Jews were reportedly being resettled in ghettos in Budapest (Cable No. 2600 from Bern dated April 24).

According to another report from Bern, the Axis press and other agencies indicated that the 300,000 Hungarian Jews in Russia and other declared military areas had been interned in concentration camps. Food restrictions on Jews not in war industries were also reported (Cable No. 2798 from Bern dated May 1).

Harrison subsequently relayed a report from the Swiss Committee for Aiding Jews in Hungary, to the effect that the Hungarian Government had issued a decree authorizing the confiscation of the property of Jews (Cable No. 2770 from Bern dated May 2).

The U. S. Embassy in London relayed to the Board the substance of a report received by the London office of the Jewish Agency for Palestine from that organization's headquarters in Geneva. This report detailed recent anti-Semitic measures in Hungary and urged a step that the Board had already undertaken, namely, that an attempt be made to warn the people and officials of Hungary by means of radio broadcasts against receiving confiscated property and against aiding in carrying out comparable decrees (Cable No. 3915 from London dated May 13).

(cont.)

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter 1-11-73
By R. H. Parks Date SEP 28 1972
According to a communication from the U.S. Consulate in Istanbul, representatives of Jewish refugee organizations there reported that reliable evidence was available to indicate that the extermination of Jews in Hungary along Polish patterns was soon to begin. Certain suggestions advanced by these organizations in an effort to halt such extermination were forwarded (Cable No. 288 from Istanbul dated May 15).

An urgent memorandum outlining suggested methods of rescuing Hungarian Jews from annihilation was addressed to the Board by the American Chapter of the Religious Emergency Council of the Chief Rabbi of Great Britain. This memorandum, dated May 15, pointed to a report appearing in the New York Times from the Times correspondent in Istanbul, confirming previous advice as to the intentions of the Hungarian regime and its Nazi cohorts. "Baths" or gas chambers were reportedly being prepared to slaughter not only the Jews of Hungary, but also large numbers of refugees of the Jewish faith from Poland and other Nazi-held lands who had found asylum within Hungary's borders.

Because of the limitations of underground channels, it was urged that Turkey be approached with a view to her permitting the entry of all genuine refugees, to be housed there in temporary camps, if necessary, under supervision of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

The memorandum also urged that the Apostolic Delegate in Washington be approached with a view to enlisting the aid and cooperation of the Vatican in certain specific rescue operations. It was suggested that, as a result of Vatican pressure, the authorities in Budapest might be influenced to permit a gradual exodus of Jews. (In this connection see W C. Appeals through the Vatican.)

Ambassador Steinhardt reported the receipt of a letter from the representative in Ankara of the International Red Cross, in reply to the Board's request for information concerning the Jewish situation in Hungary. Intercessor stated that, in response to this inquiry, it had instructed its Budapest representative to keep its representative in Ankara informed as to Hungarian developments. According to a preliminary report from Budapest, lack of transportation and the impossibility of obtaining Hungarian exit visas are virtually insurmountable difficulties in the rescue of Jews from Hungary. This report repeated previous advice to the effect that the Jews of Budapest were placed in concentration camps near industrial centers on the outskirts of the city in the hope that Allied planes would hesitate to bomb such areas (Cable No. 895 from Ankara dated May 18).

Minister Johnson informed the Board from Stockholm that German authorities were reliably reported to have evacuated all Jews from the
southern and northern frontiers of Hungary and to have concentrated them in ghettos in various communities (Cable No. 1839 from Stockholm dated May 25).

According to information transmitted by the U. S. Legation in Bern later in May, steps being taken in Hungary were unmistakable preliminaries to the mass deportation and extermination of the Jewish population, especially in the Carpatho-Russian and Maramures regions. The number of persons immediately involved was said to be about 200,000, with all signs pointing to the extension of such actions to the Jewish population in Hungary proper.

From all reliable reports, including stories appearing in the Hungarian press, the Hungarian population has not sympathized with the brutal anti-Jewish measures reported. On the contrary, Hungarians in general are reported to have aided openly with the persecuted Jews and to have tried to aid them by furnishing food and clothing.

Hungarian authorities are said to have taken severe measures to isolate the camps in which these people have been placed. According to one newspaper account, the mass attempt on the part of the general public to get food and clothing to Jews in concentration areas has been an "incomprehensible phenomenon. As a result, the authorities have been forced to take the necessary police measures to cut off such Jews from all contact with the population."

The lot of the Jews in such improvised camps was said to be wretched. The cattle markets, tile factories, and cow yards in which they are confined are reported to be almost completely devoid of sanitary facilities. In many instances, thousands of men, women, and children, along with the sick and the aged, are forced to live in the open under frightfully overcrowded and degrading conditions. Since the persons confined in these camps were permitted to take nothing with them in the way of blankets or covers, it has become tragically obvious, according to this report, that a great many of them will die from exposure as well as from disease and slow starvation, even before they are jammed into cattle cars for deportation.

It was urgently suggested that an attempt be made to persuade the Soviet Government to issue a declaration on atrocities against Jews similar to that issued by President Roosevelt late in March (see V A-1, Presidential Statement). It was stated that since Soviet armies are standing on the frontiers of Hungary and since there is already a mortal fear of the Russians in the hearts of a large number of "collaborators" in Hungary, a declaration by the Soviet Union would have all the more weight. Moreover, it was urged that any such Russian declaration be publicized in pamphlet form, as well as over the radio, since most Hungarians in the regions concerned do not have radios.

(cont.)
It was also indicated that certain channels of particular value, especially Communist, would be opened up through which relief and rescue operations from Switzerland could be carried on in the Balkans if such a Soviet declaration were to be forthcoming (Cable No. 3346 from Bern dated May 25; see attachment #1).

According to another report from Minister Harrison, Hungarian authorities were said to be considering a memorandum allegedly prepared and submitted by Jewish leaders, proposing that Jews in Hungary be exchanged against Hungarian prisoners of war in Russian hands and against Hungarians residing in overseas countries. This proposal was said to involve the creation of a mixed commission, including representatives of the Hungarian Government, the Jewish Agency in Hungary, and the International Red Cross, which would be requested to aid in the exchange (Cable No. 3405 from Bern dated May 27).

A subsequent report from Bern indicated that a decree had been issued in Budapest mobilizing into military auxiliary labor battalions all Jewish males between the ages of 18 and 48 (Cable No. 3637 from Bern dated June 7).

Minister Johnson relayed to the Board from Stockholm the principal features of an exhaustive summary of conditions in Hungary prepared by the Swedish Foreign Office on the basis of reports from the Swedish Minister in Hungary and made available to the Board in strictest confidence. The substance of this official summary substantiated previous reports of cruelty, torture, murders, and suicides.

In some 600 cases the Swedish Legation in Budapest is said to have been instructed to advise Hungarian authorities that the individuals involved had the protection of the Swedish Government and had been promised entry visas. It was stated that while this had been helpful in certain cases, in others it had been of no avail.

Among the recommendations made in the Foreign Office summary were the suggestions that, on the basis of the purportedly official Hungarian declaration that the Jewish problem there can be solved only by evacuation, neutral countries be persuaded to offer haven to refugees from Hungary and to assist in their evacuation. While it was not considered likely that Hungary would permit politically suspect Jews to depart, there was said to be a chance that the departure of other groups would be allowed, especially if neutral countries were to express a protective interest. Such evacuations, the report added, would require bargaining with certain German officials and would unquestionably be expensive (Cable No. 2187 from Stockholm dated June 17 comprising attachment #2).

(cont.)
According to a communication from Consul General Pinkerton in Jerusalem, additional information on the matter of Jewish persecutions in Hungary and Rumania was furnished him by a representative of the Jewish Agency for Palestine. Hundreds of thousands of Jews are said to have been interned in Hungarian camps and ghettos. The names of 26 such ghettos were forwarded.

Details were supplied by the Jewish Agency representative with respect to previous reports concerning the arrest of a number of Jewish leaders in Bucharest late in March. While intervention on the part of representatives of the local Jewish community is said to have affected the release of two of the persons arrested by the Rumanian police, all of the others are reported to be still under detention and are to be tried before a court martial. The charges brought against them are "activities harmful to the security of the state, communication with the enemy, and smuggling of Polish Jews to Rumania."

According to the refugee from whom this information was obtained, there are reasons to believe that the authorities in Rumania are showing a tendency to alleviate the conditions of the Jews there in the hope that this may place them in a more favorable position with the Allies. It was thought that diplomatic intervention with respect to the persons still detained in Bucharest might therefore produce results. Contrary to the original report that only 12 to 15 persons remain in custody, it was indicated that there now appear to be some 26 persons involved. (See Dispatch No. 1189 from Jerusalem dated May 26.)

Board Representative McClelland meanwhile reported that there was no doubt but that the majority of the Jewish population east of the Danube, especially in eastern, northern, and northeastern Hungary, have been deported to Poland. McClelland indicated that information confirming this fact had come to him from a variety of reliable, independent sources.

Prior to the deportations there were said to have been two weeks to a month of brutal concentration, during which thousands of Jews were crowded together in primitive quarters without sufficient food, clothing, or water and without respect to health, sex, or age. Hungarian gendarmes are said to have carried out this action.

The actual large-scale deportations apparently began about May 15 and lasted until the middle of June, according to the information reaching McClelland. Some 12,000 persons per day were said to have been involved. It was reported that, characteristically, people were deported 60 to 70 per sealed freight wagon for a trip of two to three days, without adequate food or water.

(cont.)
The particular stretches of railroad used in these deportations were indicated to McClelland, who relayed without recommendation the fact that all his sources of information in Slovakia and Hungary had urged that vital sections of these lines, especially bridges, be bombed as the only possible means of slowing down or stopping future deportations.

According to the figures received by McClelland, at least 350,000 Jews had already been deported from Sub-Carpathian and Ruthenian areas, from Transylvania, and from the Tisza region. Some 350,000 Jews are said to have been concentrated in Budapest and environs.

McClelland also forwarded the names of individuals in the Hungarian Government who are said to bear the major responsibility for these persecutions. (See Cable No. 4041 from Bern dated June 24.)

See also V C - 2, Appeals through the Vatican re Rumania and Hungary.
According to all reliable information (including some published in Hungarian newspapers particularly provincial press) unmistakably steps are being taken preparatory to massive deportation and extermination of the Jewish population especially in Carpatho-Russian and Transcarpathia regions. The number of people immediately involved is about 200,000 and the action shows every sign of being extended to the Jewish population in Hungary proper.

This action has all the unmistakable tragic and brutal earmarks of similar actions carried out in Poland by the Nazis and their henchmen. It is being most savagely taken in northeastern Hungary (along Silesian border and in Carpatho-Ukraine) the principal towns involved being:

Kassa, Ungvar, Hunkacs, Beregszasz, Hramara, Saigot and Nagy Szollos.
About 200,000 Jews live in this region (namely some 20% to 25% of the population).

During the second half of April concentration of the Jewish population began in the districts of Ung, Berog, Hramara, and Peremisk. In the outlying towns they were first assembled in the synagogues and in the case of the town of Ungvar (district of Ung) concentrated in the Moskovics tile factory, in the Kapocswrutsza and Randvanyorsztraße. At first more 8,700 Jews from surrounding townships were brought here; later when the number grew to 14,000 and there was not room enough in the tile factory, those newly driven in were concentrated from April 30 on in a wood yard belonging to Glueck and Company. The Mayor of the town of Ungvar, Dr. Hegy Laszlo, as a result of the general attempt of Christian population to bring clothing and food to these Jews, ordered that such concentration camps be isolated and that all traffic in adjoining streets be stopped. He further requested central authorities to get the Jews out of town as quickly as possible because their presence endangered not only the public peace but hygienic conditions.

HARRISON

(cont.)
In the town Munkacs Jews from surrounding villages were concentrated at first in an area bordered by Kostulajos and Jrinyi streets and later transferred to cattle market in the same town. This brutal action considerably aroused the whole.

In the town Beregszasz Jews from outlying districts were brought to Varjani and Kost tile factories. Varjani factory could house a maximum of four thousand people but twelve thousand to fifteen thousand persons were crowded into it.

In the town Kassa Jews were also concentrated in the open cattle market and in the municipal slaughter houses. In this town in particular the action aroused great popular feeling since the Jewish population played an important part in the town's industries and commercial establishments.

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

On the other hand the Hungarian authorities have taken severe measures to isolate such concentration camps and to cut off all assistance from outside. To quote from one paper: "The mass attempt to get food and clothing to Jews in concentration areas on the part of the population has been incomprehensible phenomenon. As a result the authorities have been forced to take the necessary police measures to cut off such Jews from all contact with the population."

The lot of these Jews in such improvised "camps" is wretched. Such cattle markets, tile factories and wood yards are almost completely devoid of sanitary facilities and in many instances thousands of men, women, children old and sick people are forced to live in the open under conditions of frightful crowding and promiscuity. They were permitted to take nothing with them in the way of blankets or covers and it becomes tragically obvious that a great many will die of exposure, disease and slow starvation even before they are jammed on 1500 to 1800 L. wagons into cattle cars. Inconceivable.

HARRISON

(Cont.)

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. 11-72
By R. H. Parker Date SEP 28 1972
CABLE NO. 3346 (SECTION THREE) FROM BERN TO THE
OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION
May 25, 1944

It is my urgent suggestion, in close collaboration with the War
Refugee Board representative here, that the Government of the USSR be
prevailed upon in regard to the purpose of the occupation of Hungary by the
Nazis, to associate itself with the declaration of March 24 by
President Roosevelt (Eden March 31). Since the Soviet armies are
standing on the frontiers of Hungary and the fear of the Russians in
the hearts of a large number of "collaborators" in Hungary is mortal,
a declaration by the Soviet Union would have all the more weight. A
man who returned from Hungary quite recently and who had seen Horthy
gave a reliable report that the old man stated that the persecution
of the Jews was deplorable in his opinion; but, on the other hand, he felt
strongly that as for the Germans who are defending Hungary from the
"Bolshevik peril", everything should be done to placate them.

Logically it is to be expected furthermore that the Russians would
issue such a statement since their government carried out the "Korhon
trials" after having subscribed to the "War criminal" clause of Moscow
agreement.

HARRISON

DECASSIFIED
State Dept. Center, 11-11-71
by H. H. Perkins Dec 28, 1972
CABLE NO. 3346 (SECTION FOUR) FROM BERN TO THE OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION

May 25, 1944

By pamphlets especially should the Russian appeal (or rather threat) be publicized since most of the Hungarians do not possess radios in the regions concerned.

In any propaganda campaign the emphasis ought to be placed on the complicity of the satellite Hungarian authorities' inveigling, lending willing hands and carrying out this persecution. Facts which should not be forgotten are that the former Government of Hungary not only had pursued a long-standing policy of anti-Semitism, but also that in the guilt of deportation to Galicia and Poland of some 17,000 Jews (for the reason that they were not able to establish adequately their Hungarian Jews deported in 1942 in forced labor battalions to the eastern front in most cases to death from military action, exposure, disease and hunger; and had been directly responsible for the massacres of several thousand Serbs and Jews at Zabljak and Ugvidik (Novi Sad) in January of the same year.

In addition, the Soviet Government should associate itself with the declaration of the President on the event of the establishment of the War Refugee Board; it is strongly suggested.

HARRISON

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter 1-15-72
By R. H. Perkins Date SEP 28 1972
CABLE NO. 2187 (SECTION ONE) FROM STOCKHOLM TO THE BOARD

June 17, 1944

Following summarizes principal features of Bohn's report of the situation in Hungary, which has been forwarded airmail by pouch leaving here June 20.

This is our 32 for WB supplemeting our 27 (Legation's 2090, June 12, 9 a.m.).

Number of refugees in Hungary estimated to require relief and protection placed at more than one million. Group comprises following citizens:

Political refugees: Social Democrats, Liberals, Communists and others, three thousand.

Non-Hungarian Jews who escaped from German, Austria, Slovakia, Rumania and other neighboring countries, twenty thousand.

Hungarian Jews, eight hundred thousand, plus an additional two hundred thousand involved through Nuremburg and other laws and decrees.

Polish citizens and Polish soldiers, were approximately twenty thousand but impossible to determine how many are still alive.

Official regulations against Jews issued through May include dispossession of flats, confiscation of cash and securities; dispossession of agricultural properties, personal and household effects, closing of approximately forty five thousand stores; destruction of all books by Jewish authors; conscription of all persons between 18 and 40 for forced labor.

All communities have been instructed to place their Jewish population in concentration camps and ghettos. A secretary of

JOHNSON

(cont.)
June 17, 1944

State for Jewish Affairs personally made tours of inspection to determine whether regulations were carried out, thereafter made public announcements of great success of program. It was announced that 320,000 Jews had been placed in concentration camps in provincial areas east of Thali. Reports of cruelty, torture, murders and suicides appear confirmed.

Swedish Foreign Office has, in approximately 800 individual cases, instructed its Legation in Budapest to advise Hungarian authorities that such persons have protection of Swedish Government and have been promised entry visas. This has been helpful in certain cases, in others of no avail.

Following recommendations are made in report as to rescue operations:

To have neutral countries, on basis of Hungarian official declaration that its Jewish problem can only be solved by evacuation of this element, offer to supply haven for these refugees and to assist in their evacuation. It is not considered likely that Hungarians would permit politically compromised Jews to depart, but there is a chance they would permit other groups in which neutral countries have expressed a protective interest to depart, also others who are eligible to go to Palestine, and still other groups to be determined by negotiations. Evacuation would require some bargaining with certain German officials and evacuation operations in general unquestionably will be expensive.

JOHNSON
CABLE NO. 2187 (SECTION THREE) FROM STOCKHOLM TO THE BOARD
June 17, 1944

Report contains following suggestions for relief operations:

Food and medicine is of tremendous urgency for people in concentration camps and ghettos, much of which could be obtained locally if properly organized. Similarly, distribution of local currency for needy cases would be most helpful. Much of the activity can be coordinated through a temporary committee designated by Minister of Interior on May 13 for management of Jewish problems, called Committee of the Union of Hungarian Jews. It is presided over by Szamu Stern, Chairman of the Jewish community in Budapest, and Feto Erno as Vice President. Committee members are: Karoly Wilholm, Bola Borend (Chief Rabbi), Rabbi Samu Kahan Frankl, Pál Oszvald Freundig Guer (T) (Freudiger) (President of the local Jewish community), Sandor Torok (author), Dr. Jose F. Hady (head physician of the Jewish Hospital) and Dr. Janos Gabor (attorney).

JOHNSON

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By R. E. Price
SEP 28 1972
MEASURES DIRECTED TOWARD HALTING PERSECUTION: APPROACHES TO OFFENDING GOVERNMENTS

THE SATELLITES: CONDITIONS IN RUMANIA

According to information reaching Ambassador Steinhardt in Ankara, the Rumanian Government in June decided to create an interdepartmental board for Jewish emigration under the supervision of the Prime Minister, and to establish an emigration office under the direction of the representative in Bucharest of the Jewish Agency. It was also reported that Rumania would implement this action by making the "S.S. Alba Julia" and other Rumanian vessels available for the transportation of Jewish refugees (Cable No. 1125 from Ankara dated June 21; see attachment #1).

Information reaching the Board through Board Representative McClelland in Bern tended to confirm the softening of the official Rumanian attitude toward Jews, as reported by Steinhardt. According to sources considered by McClelland to be reliable, the Rumanian Government issued confidential instructions to border control authorities to facilitate the admission of Jewish refugees from Hungary for transit through Rumanian territory (Cable No. 3667 from Bern dated June 17).

A subsequent cable from Minister Harrison, however, referred to a contradictory though somewhat earlier story in a Berlin newspaper. According to this account, the Rumanian Minister of Justice, because of the recent influx of Jews presumably from Hungary and Poland, issued a decree providing the death sentence as punishment for foreign Jews illegally entering Rumania, with a similar penalty for persons taking possible such entries (Cable No. 3914 from Bern dated June 19).

Harrison and McClelland were asked to indicate which of these reports was considered to be more reliable (Cable No. 2206 to Bern dated June 29).

See V B - 1, Approaches to the Satellites; V B - 1 a, Conditions in Hungary; and V C - 2, Appeals through the Vatican to Rumania and Hungary. See also VI C, Evacuations to and through Turkey.

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By R. L. Paste Up SEP 28 1972

700554
CABLE NO. 1125 FROM ANKARA TO THE BOARD
June 21, 1944

The Ambassador transmits the following, Ankara No. 78, for the
War Refugees Board.

Information has reached me that the government of Rumania has decided
to create an interdepartmental board for Jewish emigration under the Prime
Minister's supervision and to establish an emigration office under the
direction of A. L. Zissu, the Jewish Agency Representative in Bucharest,
and by making the Rumanian S. S. ALBA JULIA and other Rumanian boats available for the transportation of Jewish refugees, thereby to implement the same.

STEINHARDT
MEASURES DIRECTED TOWARD HALTING PERSECUTION: APPROACHES TO OFFENDING GOVERNMENTS

THE SATELLITES: CONDITIONS IN BULGARIA

See V B-1, Approaches to the Satellites, particularly the account of relations between Board Representative Olsen in Stockholm and the Bulgarian Minister to Sweden.
MEASURES DIRECTED TOWARD HALTING PERSECUTION: APPROACHES TO OFFENDING GOVERNMENTS

THE SATELLITES: CONDITIONS IN SLOVAKIA

Minister Harrison reported from Bern that word had reached him from Bratislava to the effect that the civil administration of eastern Slovakia had been placed under the jurisdiction of the Slovak War Minister. This report also indicated that military authorities were deporting Jews from many declared military areas in Slovakia (Cable No. 3181 from Bern dated May 18).

See also V B - 1, Approaches to the Satellites; and V C - 1, Appeals through the Vatican re Slovakian Deportations.
MEASURES DIRECTED TOWARD HALTING PERSECUTION: APPROACHES TO OFFENDING GOVERNMENTS

THE GERMANS

Since the outbreak of war, as the result of informal agreement between the United States, Great Britain, Germany, Italy, and Japan, with regard to their respective nationals, the treatment of civilian internees in the above countries has in some respects been assimilated to the treatment of prisoners of war. No such agreement has been made with Germany by either the U. S. S. R. or any of the governments-in-exile, however, and as a result, civilian nationals of these countries have not been given the advantage of treatment similar to that accorded prisoners of war under the 1929 Geneva Convention. Moreover, since the Germans do not recognize any of the governments-in-exile and since these governments do not have any German nationals under their control, there is little reason to anticipate that Germany would agree to apply to the nationals of these countries the principles observed in the treatment of prisoners of war.

In a cable to the International Red Cross the Board asked Inter-cross to attempt to obtain assurance from the German and satellite governments that Jews and other persons detained, interned, or otherwise confined because of race, religion, or political belief, would be accorded treatment equal to that of civilian internees. In the event Inter-cross felt that this general assurance was unobtainable, the Board asked that Inter-cross press for an assurance of equal treatment at least to the extent that such persons would be permitted to receive packages under IRC supervision on the same basis as civilian internees.

The Board also asked the IRC to make every effort to obtain for Jews and other victims of Nazi oppression, including those not actually interned, opportunities to obtain food and other necessities on a basis of equality with the local population.

At the same time the Board indicated to Minister Harrison in Bern its conviction that special emphasis should be placed on efforts to persuade the Germans to improve the condition of Jews and similar groups within occupied territories. Toward this end, Harrison was authorized to request the Swiss Government to make approaches to the Germans similar to those requested of Inter-cross at any time Harrison believed the Government of

(Florida)

DECLASIFIED
State Dept Letter, 12-11-72
By R. H. Parks Date, SEP 28, 1972
Switzerland would be willing to act upon such a request (Cable No. 1498 to Bern dated April 29; see attachment #1).

Harrison subsequently transmitted to the Board the text of a letter received from the president of the International Red Cross in response to the proposal made to Intercross. Intercross maintained that steps of the kind proposed would go far beyond the "limits of their traditional capacity" and that the governments to whom such a request might be addressed would inevitably view the proposal in that light. It also pointed out that in provisions of international agreements, Intercross has only a slender basis upon which to found its humanitarian activities, and is therefore dependent upon the good will of belligerent states. Intercross felt that it might thus lay itself open to the objection that it was trespassing upon internal concerns of state should it attempt to act on behalf of certain categories of persons considered by the state concerned to be subject exclusively to its domestic legislation.

In response to the Board's request that Intercross at least press for an assurance of equal treatment to the extent that interned persons would be permitted to receive packages under Intercross supervision on the same basis as civilian internees, Intercross declined on the ground that such a proposal would be viewed by Germany and the satellite governments in much the same light.

In connection with the civilian war relief work to which Intercross felt compelled to confine itself, it was stated that encouraging results had been achieved. According to Intercross, it was largely due to the Board's support of proposed feeding projects that urgently needed relief activities had been possible in certain countries (Cables No. 3144 and 3147 from Bern dated May 17; see attachments #2 and 3).

In view of this disappointingly negative response, the Board cabled Harrison to proceed immediately with the previously suggested approach through the Swiss Government (Cable No. 2196 to Bern dated June 28).
CABLE NO. 1498 TO BERN FROM THE BOARD
April 29, 1944

Not paraphrased.

FROM WAR REFUGEE BOARD FOR HARRISON

This is WRB Bern Cable No. 10.

Following for Intercross:

QUOTE: In full agreement with interested American welfare agencies, War Refugee Board requests Intercross to approach the German and satellite governments through appropriate and expedient channels, to bring about a treatment equal to that accorded civilian internees to whom Geneva Conventions is currently applied by analogy, or equal treatment of such persons to the extent of at least that reception and distribution of packages under Intercross supervision be permitted them under guarantees equal to those in effect with respect to the civilian internees referred to in (1) above. War Refugee Board feels strongly that (1) above is preferable and suggests that (2) should be only if in the judgment of Intercross (1) is unobtainable.

Furthermore, War Refugee Board requests Intercross to make every effort to obtain, wherever possible, for Jews and other victims of Nazi oppression (who though they may not be physically interned have been singled out for persecution) facilities and opportunities to obtain food and other necessities on the basis of equality with the local population both from local or domestic sources and through Intercross channels. In addition, War Refugee Board calls attention to the Board's efforts to bring Jews and other persecuted persons out of German controlled territory in as large numbers as possible. The Board urges that Intercross, through appropriate approaches to the German and other authorities in German controlled territory and through any other means possible, do what it can to assist the departure of these persecuted peoples to neutral countries.

The Board is cognizant of unceasing efforts of Intercross in the direction of making this general program a reality and is appreciative.

(cont.)
of the humanitarian activities of Intercross. The Board is ready to assist Intercross in every way to effectuate the realization of all of the foregoing UNQUOTE

Following for Harrison:

War Refugee Board considers the proposed approaches to the German and other authorities through Intercross are of utmost importance to the success of its program. In view of recent military developments, including the reported situation in Hungary, Bulgaria and Romania, the Board is convinced that special emphasis should be placed on efforts to persuade the Germans to improve the condition of Jews and other similar groups within occupied territories. Accordingly, you are requested to do everything possible to support the proposals being made to Intercross. If at any time you believe that the Swiss Government would be willing to make similar approaches to the Germans or otherwise assist in the program outlined herein, you are authorized informally to make a request for such action to the Swiss on behalf of this Government.

HULL
A fifteen paragraph letter dated May 12 has been received from the President of IRC, Mr. Max Huber, in reply to my May 2 letter which contained information set forth in April 29 telegram No. 1498 from the Department.

May 17 telegram No. 3147, transmitted first thirteen paragraphs of text of Huber's letter under reference, in which "subjects" means "the Jews", "inquirers" means "German authorities"; "league" means "World Jewish Congress"; "respondents" means "the International Committee of the Red Cross"; and "inquirer" means "War Refugee Boards".

The following is a paraphrase of paragraph fourteen: Nevertheless so far as conditions permitted IRC have been instrumental in facilitating emigration of Jews from some southeastern European countries to Palestine. Memorandum dated May 5 describing work done has been furnished U.S. Legation at Bern by us. (Note from Legation: If and when mailing facilities permit, copy will be forwarded by microfilm.) As regards responsibility which we can assume primarily in matter of safe conduct for vessels it does not depend upon ourselves but rather on interested governments and on circumstances.

As regards fifteenth paragraph: It is desire of IRC that War Refugee Board be informed but that since any publicity can be prejudicial to some persons we are trying to help, it requests that communication be kept confidential.

HARRISON
CABLE NO. 3147 FROM BERN TO THE BOARD

May 17, 1944

One. I beg to thank you sincerely for your kind letter of 2 May, 1944, in which you reproduce message from INQUERER requesting respondents to approach certain governments with view to obtaining for subjects and other persons interned treatment comparable with that which is accorded to civilian internees to whom Geneva Convention relative to treatment of prisoners of war is applied by analogy or failing such treatment, that such persons be placed on equal footing with civilian internees as regards permission to receive relief.

Two. We desire in first place to point out that steps of this nature by respondents would go far beyond limits of their traditional capacity and that governments to whom such request might be addressed would not fail to view this proposal from that particular angle.

Three. In provisions of international agreements respondents have only slender basis upon which to found their humanitarian activities. Latter are therefore dependent upon goodwill of belligerent states and can only take practical shape insofar as they are accepted or solicited by governments concerned.

Four. Consequently respondents might lay themselves open to objection that they were going beyond limits of their competences and trespassing upon internal concerns of state should they attempt to act on behalf of certain categories of persons whom that state considered to be subject exclusively to its domestic legislation.

Five. Exceptional position of respondents as neutral intermediary between belligerent countries precludes their seeking other solutions than those which offer practical hope of realization through appropriate action in quarters where best results may be expected.

Six. The proposal contained in point one of message from INQUERER has on occasion been submitted on several occasions to respondents by League. On each occasion respondents were obliged to answer that numerous endeavors they had made on behalf of subjects had invariably met with negative answer with exception of certain concessions with regards to relief measures.

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DECLASIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 11-1-72
By R. H. Parks "Sep 28, 1972"
Seven. Under these circumstances we must admit that application by respondents to umpire in this matter would not only have no prospect of success but might even in eyes of umpire appear - quite unjustifiable - dictated by political rather than by humanitarian motives.

Eight. We deeply regret having to confine ourselves to purely relief activities on behalf of persons who do not enjoy protection of convention applicable to prisoners of war and civilian internees. This circumstance is not due to absence of endeavors of all kinds by respondents on behalf of such persons - irrespective of race - with view to their assimilation with civilian internees by reason of their enemy nationality. Unfortunately not one of these approaches has been successful.

Nine. As regards point two respondents are compelled in view of experiences in this field to admit likewise fact that such application would be considered incompatible with domestic legislation of detaining power and moreover would constitute serious menace not only to general activities of respondents on behalf of prisoners of war and civilian internees but also endanger limited possibilities which we enjoy of assisting few groups of persons who are not protected either directly or by analogy by international conventions. Respondents must it will be remembered take extreme care that province in which belligerents have accepted our ministrations should not be closed to future action.

Ten. Same observation applies to proposal contained in last paragraph of message from INQUIRER to rescue from the occupied areas subjects and other persons who are victims of persecution. Any such attempt by respondents would at once have most unfortunate consequences for their entire work - an eventuality which they cannot conscientiously envisage.

Eleven. Since repeated and conclusive experience in this field leads us to suppose that any steps of this kind would not only be altogether fruitless but might even do more harm than good respondents must to their regret abide by proposals they have already submitted to authorities in Washington and to Inter-Governmental Committee in London. After careful consideration of problem and exploration of all avenues in other fields of action respondents are in other words compelled to confine themselves strictly to relief work within limits which circumstances prescribe.

Twelve. Scheme for relief of civilian war victims, irrespective of race and religion with which INQUIRER is familiar is to our mind and for present only province in which action by respondents can produce useful results. Moreover scope of such action can be widened in obedience to conditions prevailing only inssofar as publicity of any kind is avoided. In this connection we are happy to stress fact that respondents have

(cont.)

DECLASIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-74
By R. H. Parks Date SEP 28 1972
achieved encouraging results in field of relief work. It was largely due to kind support given to our suggestions by INQUIRY short time ago that relief activities on behalf of subjects in certain countries could be undertaken. This work is worth being pursued.

Thirteen. As regards other countries mentioned in message of INQUIRY and in which respondents are also engaged actively here too we must confine ourselves to questions of purely material relief and we shall be pleased to receive as soon as possible any assistance INQUIRY is able to give us with view to our taking practical action along lines we have submitted to their consideration on behalf of civilian war victims without distinction of race or creed.

HARRISON
MEASURES DIRECTED TOWARD HALTING PERSECUTION: APPEALS THROUGH THE VATICAN

SLOVAKIAN DEPORTATIONS

Reports from Sweden indicated that the Slovakian Government has undertaken the registration of all Jews in Slovakia as a prelude to their deportation. It was said that there are about 15,000 Jews still remaining in Slovakia and that their deportation was being pressed on the Slovakian Government by Germany. A memorandum was sent to Stettinius on February 15 suggesting that, since Dr. Josef Tiso, the President of Slovakia, is a Roman Catholic priest, the Vatican might be requested to communicate with Dr. Tiso to persuade the Slovaks to desist permitting the deportation of Jews (see attachment #1).

On February 21 the State Department in a letter to Archbishop Cicognani asked him to present to the Holy See the request of the Board which had the approval of the State Department, that efforts be made to persuade Dr. Tiso and his associates to refrain from further aiding and abetting the Nazi in their persecution of the Jews. The Holy See was also asked to advise the Government of Slovakia of this Government’s serious view of their collaboration in Hitler’s persecution of Jews and of the certainty that their conduct will be taken into account by this Government in the future. It was also suggested that the Holy See might wish to express its own views of the subject to Dr. Tiso (see attachment #2).

In a letter dated February 26 to the World Jewish Congress, the Apostolic Delegate advised that the Holy See had taken up with Dr. Tiso the plight of Jews remaining in Slovakia and that Tiso had promised that the Jews would not be condemned to severe punishment but could only be interned and given opportunity and facilities to go to other countries. The Holy See, it was indicated, could continue to interest itself in this matter (see attachment #3).

Inasmuch as this report contained no real assurance that Jews in Slovakia would not be deported to Poland, the Board in a letter dated April 3 asked the Apostolic Delegate to attempt to obtain from Dr. Tiso and his associates more adequate assurances that Jews in Slovakia would not be persecuted nor removed to German-occupied territory (see attachment #4).

See also V B - 1, The Stettinos, and V B - 1 d, Conditions in Slovakia.

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 3-11-72
By R. R. P. SEP 28 1972

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See also V B - 1, The Satellite, and V B - 1 d, Conditions in Slovakia.
MEMORANDUM TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT FROM THE BOARD
February 15, 1944

To: Mr. Stettinius

From: Mr. Pohle

We are advised that the Swedish press reports that the Slovakian government has undertaken the registration of all Jews in Slovakia as a prelude to their deportation. It is said that there are about 15,000 Jews still remaining in Slovakia and that their deportation is being pressed on the Slovakian government by Germany.

We have been informed that Dr. Josef Tiso, the president of Slovakia, is a Roman Catholic Priest. We have also been informed that Hungary has recognized the government of Slovakia.

It is of the utmost urgency that all possible pressures promptly be brought to bear on Dr. Tiso and the Slovakian government to persuade them to desist from further aiding and abetting the Nazis in the slaughter of Jews. Tiso and his government must be made to understand that this Government views most seriously and will take into account any part that may be played by him or by any of his subordinates in the deportation or other persecution of Jews in Slovakia.

It is suggested that the good offices of the Vatican might properly and profitably be sought as a means of communicating the views of this Government to Dr. Tiso. The Vatican might also be requested to advise the Hungarian government of this Government's position and to suggest that Hungarian pressure on Slovakia would not be unwelcome. Furthermore, every effort should be made to induce the Vatican to express to Dr. Tiso its own disapproval of the Nazi persecution of Jews and particularly of the contemplated deportation of Jews from Slovakia.

Accordingly, it is suggested that this Government communicate immediately with the Apostolic Delegation in Washington in connection with this matter. Since time is of the essence, I would appreciate the earliest possible expression of your views.

J.N. Pohle

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter 3-11-72
By W. P. Parks Date SEP 28 1972
LETTER FROM THE STATE DEPARTMENT TO THE APOTOLIC DELEGATE
February 21, 1944

My dear Archbishop Cicognani:

The Swedish press has recently reported that the present regime in Slovakia headed by Dr. Josef Tiso has undertaken the registration of all Jews preliminary to their deportation. It is further reported that there are about 15,000 Jews remaining in Slovakia whose deportation is being discussed by the German Government.

President Roosevelt, in establishing the War Refugee Board, clearly announced the intention of the United States Government to take every action within its power to preserve the lives of those who suffer at the hands of our enemies and to rescue those whose lives are in imminent danger. In furtherance of these humanitarian objectives we earnestly seek your good offices in presenting to the Holy See the request of the War Refugee Board which has full support of this Department that efforts be made to persuade Dr. Tiso and his associates to refrain from further aiding and abetting the Nazis in their persecution of the Jews.

This Government views most seriously and will take into account in the future any part which Dr. Tiso or his associates may play in the deportation and persecutions of the Jews in Slovakia.

In view of the urgency of the matter it is possible that the Holy See may wish to express simultaneously its own views on the threatened deportations.

Very sincerely yours,

Edward R. Stettinius, Jr.

His Excellency
The Most Reverend
Apostolic Delegate of the Holy See,
Washington.
LETTER FROM APOSTOLIC DELEGATE TO THE WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

February 26, 1944

Reverend Dr. Maurice L. Perlweig
World Jewish Congress
330 West 42nd St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Perlweig:

Referring to your letter of February 4, 1944, and my reply of February 11, 1944, concerning the welfare of Jews remaining in Slovakia, I wish to inform you that I have been assured that the Holy See has taken up the interests of these unfortunate peoples. It seems that the census was made for the purpose of investigating certain specific suspicions. It likewise appears that the President of the Republic has promised that the Jews will not be persecuted, that is, condemned to severe punishment, but will only be interned and will be given opportunity and facilities to go to some other country.

The Holy See will continue to take interest in the sad and uncertain condition of these unfortunate people.

With sentiments of esteem and every best wish, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

S. G. Cicognani

Archbishop of Laodicea
Apostolic Delegate
LETTER TO THE APOSTOLIC DELEGATE FROM THE BOARD

April 3, 1944

My dear Archbishop Ciecognani:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letters of March 25, and March 31, 1944. In reply, I wish to express to you, on behalf of the War Refugee Board, its deep appreciation of your speedy action in invoking the assistance of the Holy See, and the Board's gratitude to the Holy See for its efforts to assist the suffering Jews in Hungary and Rumania.

I take this opportunity to draw your particular attention to the treatment of Jews in Slovakia. The attention of the War Refugee Board has been drawn to a letter addressed by the Apostolic Delegation to Dr. Maurice L. Perlweig, of the World Jewish Congress, on February 26, 1944.

In this letter, it was stated that

"the Holy See has taken up the interests of these unfortunate people. It seems that the census was made for the purpose of investigating certain specific suspicions. It likewise appears that the President of the Republic has promised that the Jews will not be persecuted, that is, condemned to severe punishments, but will only be interned and will be given opportunity and facilities to go to some other country.

"The Holy See will continue to take interest in the sad and uncertain condition of these unfortunate people."

In view of this Government's deep concern for the welfare of the Jews in Slovakia and elsewhere under Nazi domination, the War Refugee Board is happy to note the assurance contained in your letter to Dr. Perlweig regarding the interest which the Holy See takes in their condition. At the same time, the common interest which the Government of the United States shares with the Holy See prompts me to bring to your attention the view that the assurances given by Dr. Tiso to the Holy See, referred to in the aforementioned letter to Dr. Perlweig, are not of a nature to allay any fears regarding the fate of Jews in Slovakia.

(cont.)
Thus, the assurance that "the census was made for the purpose of investigating certain specific suspicions," is not without ambiguity since it does not contain any specific indication as to the use to which the information gained by the census will be put.

Similarly, the assurance that Jews in Slovakia "will be given opportunity and facilities to go to some other country," is of uncertain meaning since it is susceptible to the interpretation that Dr. Tiso and his associates contemplate the deportation of Jews to Poland or elsewhere, in accordance with the pattern and for the purpose heretofore evidenced in other countries under Nazi domination.

Furthermore, the War Refugee Board would appreciate the clarification of the meaning of the statement that "the Jews will not be persecuted, that is, condemned to severe punishments, but will only be interned."

It is the view of the War Refugee Board that no assurances from Dr. Tiso and his associates could be considered adequate unless they include undertakings that Jews in Slovakia will not be persecuted, and that under no circumstances will they be removed from Slovakia to Germany or to any territory occupied by the German military forces.

These observations are submitted in the earnest hope that they may assist the Holy See in any conversations with Dr. Tiso or his associates proceeding from the Department of State's letter of February 21st last to the Apostolic Delegation with respect to the Jews in Slovakia.

Very sincerely yours,

J. W. Pohle
Executive Director

His Excellency
The Most Reverend
Amleto Giovanni Cicognani
Archbishop of Laodicea di Frigia
The Apostolic Delegate
Washington

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By R. H. Foster Date SEP 28 1972
MEASURES DIRECTED TOWARD HALTING PERSECUTION: APPEALS THROUGH THE VATICAN

RUMANIA AND HUNGARY

On March 24 the Board transmitted to the Apostolic Delegate in Washington a copy of the statement issued by the President and asked him to suggest to the Holy See that action on its part may facilitate the adoption of measures by the people and Governments of Hungary and Rumania to protect the Jewish population of these countries (see attachment #1).

In reply, the Apostolic Delegate on March 31 advised the Board that the Holy See, through the Apostolic Nuncios in Bucharest and Budapest, had interested itself in the fate of the Jews in the Balkans. It was reported that insistent recommendations were being made by the Holy See through the Nuncios, although no great assurance could be given that such representations would be successful (see attachment #2).

On May 23 the Board asked Harold Tittmann, Foreign Service Officer at Vatican City, to approach Vatican authorities with a view to obtaining through the Nuncio and clergy in Hungary detailed information concerning the treatment of Jews there (Cable No. 1785 to Bern dated May 23). Requests for information on this score were also addressed to various neutral European countries (see V B - 1, The Satellites).

In a message addressed by this Government later in May to the Cardinal Secretary of State, the attention of the Holy See was called to the recurrent reports that authorities in Hungary were planning to slaughter the 800,000 Jews in that country. The message indicated that while this Government has warned the authorities and the people of Hungary of the material consequences that will follow the perpetration of such inhumane acts, it would be both timely and fitting that they also be reminded of the moral values involved and of the spiritual consequences that must flow from indulgence in the persecution and mass murder of helpless men, women, and children. In view of the great numbers of persons in Hungary professing adherence to the Roman Catholic Church, it was suggested that the Holy See might find it appropriate to express

(cont.)

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter 1-11-78
By R. H. Parker Date SEP 28 1972
itself on this subject, by radio and through the Nuncio and clergy in Hungary, as well as through a representative of the Holy See to be dispatched to Hungary for that particular purpose (Cable No. 1819 to Bern dated May 26; see attachment #1).

On June 13 Archbishop Spellman of New York, in response to the Board's request, issued a strong statement designed for dissemination in Hungary as a basic part of the Board's campaign to halt the persecution of Jews and other minorities. This statement is being shorthand by the Office of War Information to appropriate areas. At the same time, U.S. Missions in Switzerland, Turkey, Portugal, Spain, and Sweden were asked to promote such additional use of the statement as might be feasible on the part of local newspapers and radio stations in these various European countries. The statement is also to be brought to the attention of Hungarian and other satellite authorities through whatever channels are available. (See Cable No. 2215 to Bern dated June 29 comprising attachment #2; repeated as Cable No. 585 to Ankara, Cable No. 1850 to Lisbon, Cable No. 1850 to Madrid, and Cable No. 120 to Stockholm, all dated June 29.)

See also V B - 1, The Satellites; V B - 1 a, Conditions in Hungary; and V B - 1 b, Conditions in Rumania.
LETTER TO THE APOSTOLIC DELegATE FROM THE BOARD  
March 24, 1944

My dear Archbishop Cisogna:

There is herewith transmitted a copy of the statement issued today by President Roosevelt.

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

Very sincerely yours,

J. W. Pohle
Acting Executive Director
LETTER FROM THE APOSTOLIC DELEGATE TO THE BOARD

March 31, 1944

My dear Mr. Pehle:

In reply to my recent communication to the Cardinal Secretary of State, Vatican City, mentioned in my letter to you under date of March 25, 1944, I received the following message:

The Holy See has taken advantage of every possible occasion to bring assistance to suffering Jewish people. Some time ago the Apostolic Nuncios in Bucharest and Budapest were called upon to interest themselves in the lot of unfortunate Jews in Romania and Hungary. The appeals to these Nuncios have been repeated from time to time and now further insistent recommendations are being made by the Holy See, although, sad to say, no great assurance can be given that they will succeed.

If other information regarding this matter reaches me, I shall notify you at once.

With assurance of highest personal regards and with sentiments of esteem, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

A. G. Cisogna
Archbishop of Nazareth
Apostolic Delegate

Mr. John W. Pehle
Executive Director
War Refugee Board
Washington, D.C.
In view of the common concern of the Holy See and the people of the United States with such matters, we believe it appropriate to call to the Holy See’s attention the seemingly authentic reports that the present authorities in Hungary have undertaken to persecute the 800,000 Jews in Hungary solely because they are Jews, and are planning their mass slaughter both in Hungary and after deportation to Poland. The Government of the United States has warned the authorities and people of Hungary of the material consequences that will follow the perpetration of such inhuman acts of barbarism. We believe, however, that it is both timely and fitting that the Hungarian authorities and people should be reminded of the moral values involved and of the spiritual consequences that must flow from indulgence in the perpetration and mass-murder of helpless men, women and children. To that end, we earnestly suggest that His Holiness may find it appropriate to express himself on this subject to the authorities and people of Hungary, personally by radio and through the
Nuncio and clergy in Hungary as well as through a representative of the Holy See specially despatched to Hungary for that purpose. His Holiness, we deeply hope, may find it possible to remind the authorities and people of Hungary, among whom great numbers profess spiritual adherence to the Holy See, of the spiritual consequences of such acts and of the ecclesiastic sanctions which may be applied to the perpetrators thereof.

Hull.
CABLE NO. 2215 TO BERN FROM THE BOARD
June 29, 1944

The cable below is for Harrison and McClelland from war refugees.

The following is the text of a statement by Francis J. Spellman, Roman Catholic Archbishop of New York, released today by the U.S. This statement will, of course, be short-waved to appropriate areas but such additional use as may be made of it by local papers and radio stations will be helpful, and to this end please make appropriate efforts. Text follows:

Almost on the feast of Pentecost, the day on which the Church of Christ emphasizes the supernatural, supersubstantial character of her mission, we learned that the Government of Hungary had agreed to enforce against the Jewish people a code of discriminatory laws. We were told that this unhappy segment of Israel in Hungary is being herded into Ghettos after its homes, and its shops had been systematically looted and pillaged.

This announcement has shocked all men and women who cherish a sense of justice and of human sympathy. It is in direct contradiction of the doctrines of the Catholic Faith professed by the vast majority of the Hungarian people. It is a negation of the noblest pages of Hungarian history and cultural tradition.

Through the stormy ages Hungarian Catholics have been loyal to the lofty principles of justice, mercy and charity proclaimed by Our Divine Lord in the Sermon on the Mount. They have been steadfast whether under attack by the Mongols and the Turks in centuries past or in our own time under the bitter persecution of Bela Kun and his cruel cohorts.

It seems incredible, therefore, that a nation which has been so consistently true to the impulses of human kindness and the teachings of the Catholic Church should now yield to a false, pagan code of tyranny because of blood and race. How can men of good will fail to heed these solemn words of Pope Pius XI: 'Abraham is called our patriarch, our ancestor. Anti-Semitism is not compatible with the sublime reality of this text. It is a movement in which we Christians cannot share. Spiritually we are Semites, and INNTERQUOTE (cont.)
One of the great lessons to be learned from the life of Hungary's king and Patron Saint is that no minority should be oppressed. For, injustices of whatever kind can wreck and destroy the integrity of any nation's life.

Nearly a thousand years ago, St. Stephen, King of Hungary, received his crown from Pope Sylvester II. He realized that Hungary was destined by the very exigencies of geography to be the crossroads of Europe where diverse racial stocks would necessarily meet. St. Stephen pledged himself and his people to live as common children of a loving mother country.

The same saintly national hero dreamed always of Hungary as a REGNUM MARIANUM, END INNERQUOTE as a realm of Mary. To this day, the coinage and the postage stamps of the country bear the figure of Mary, the Mother of Mankind. It would be all the more tragic, therefore, if a people so devoted to Mary, the Jewish Maiden who was the Mother of the Messiah, should freely countenance cruel laws calculated to despoil and annihilate the race from which Jesus and Mary sprang.

It is incredible that a people with such profound Christian faith, with its glorious history, with the oldest parliamentary tradition on the Continent, would join in a hymn of hatred and willingly submit to the blood lust and brigandage of tyranny.

No man can love God and hate his brother. No one who hates his brother can be a faithful follower of the gentle Christ.

You are authorized to bring this statement to the attention of Hungary and other satellite authorities through such channels as may be available to you.

Sent to Bern. Repeated to Ankara, Lisbon, Madrid and Stockholm.

HULL

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-79
By R. H. Parks Date SEP 28, 1979