

BERMUDA CONFERENCE TO CONSIDER THE REFUGEE  
PROBLEM, APRIL 19-28, 1943, AND THE IMPLEMENTA-  
TION OF CERTAIN OF THE CONFERENCE RECOM-  
MENDATIONS<sup>1</sup>

840.48 Refugees/3633

*The British Embassy to the Department of State*

AIDE-MÉMOIRE

REFUGEES FROM NAZI-OCCUPIED TERRITORY

Many thousands of refugees continue to crowd into neutral countries in Europe, and the situation is developing with such rapidity and in such proportions that His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have become impressed with the necessity for consultation and joint effort in dealing with the problem. Certain complicating factors which accompany this development appear to His Majesty's Government to emphasize this necessity.

(a) The refugee problem cannot be treated as though it were a wholly Jewish problem which could be handled by Jewish agencies or by machinery only adapted for assisting Jews. There are so many non-Jewish refugees and there is so much acute suffering among non-Jews in Allied countries that Allied criticism would probably result if any marked preference were shown in removing Jews from territories in enemy occupation. There is also the distinct danger of stimulating anti-semitism in areas where an excessive number of foreign Jews are introduced.

(b) There is at present always a danger of raising false hopes among refugees by suggesting or announcing alternative possible destinations in excess of shipping probabilities.

(c) There is a possibility that the Germans or their satellites may change over from the policy of extermination to one of extrusion, and aim as they did before the war at embarrassing other countries by flooding them with alien immigrants.

2. His Majesty's Government, while aware of these complicating factors, find it impossible to make a merely negative response to a growing international problem, disturbing the public conscience and involving the rescue of people threatened by Germany's extermination policy. It is physically impossible on the score of shipping limitations

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<sup>1</sup> For previous correspondence regarding governmental assistance to refugees, see *Foreign Relations*, 1942, vol. I, pp. 450 ff. For additional correspondence, see *post*, pp. 250 ff.

alone for the United Kingdom or even for the United Nations as a whole, to contemplate meeting in full what may prove to be an unlimited demand. A great part of the refugees who leave German-occupied Europe will have to continue to be received in neutral countries whom His Majesty's Government wish to encourage not only by material help but by assurances (which the Swiss Government has in fact requested) that the refugee problem will be brought within the United Nations rehabilitation plans at the end of the war.

The absorptive capacity of accessible neutral countries in Europe seems however to be approaching its limit, and the Allied Governments cannot very well go on exhorting those countries not to turn any refugees back without offering co-operation in accommodating a proportion of them.

3. A detailed statement of the contributions by the United Kingdom and the Colonial Empire to the refugee problem will be found in the attached statement.<sup>2</sup> It should be noticed that Great Britain, in spite of the prevailing stringency of food and housing under war conditions, is accommodating, besides Allied Forces or Merchant Seamen, nearly 100,000 refugees, while the Colonies are straining their resources of food, labour and accommodation in housing many scores of thousands of refugees in addition to civilian internees, British and Allied evacuees, and prisoners of war; East Africa alone has taken in more than two and a half times its white population. Despite the substantial contribution already made by Palestine and the considerable difficulties of food, labour and accommodation which exists there, His Majesty's Government have within the last few weeks offered to take 4,500 children accompanied by 300 women from Bulgaria. Owing to the acute security problem in Palestine, the authorities are not prepared, except possibly in individual cases, to accept male adults from enemy or enemy-occupied countries; but His Majesty's Government will continue to do everything possible to facilitate the admission of children within the limits imposed by the 1939 White Paper. (A copy of the White Paper in question is enclosed for the convenience of the Department of State.)<sup>3</sup>

4. His Majesty's Government are aware of the generous reception by the United States accorded to many thousands of refugees and of the action taken by the United States in finding other outlets, in particular San Domingo, after the establishment of the Evian Committee<sup>3a</sup> on the initiative of the President. They also appreciate that for security reasons the United States Government now scrutinizes

<sup>2</sup> Not printed.

<sup>3</sup> British Cmd. 6019: *Palestine, Statement of Policy*, Presented by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to Parliament, May, 1939.

<sup>3a</sup> For correspondence on the meeting at Evian, France, see *Foreign Relations*, 1938, vol. I, pp. 740 ff.

new entrants into the country with the greatest care and that, in addition, the question of accommodation and food is influenced by the prevailing war conditions. His Majesty's Government understand, however, that the United States Government have offered to take large numbers of refugee children from France, and they enquire therefore whether, taking all factors into consideration, food potentialities, housing accommodation and the absorptive capacity of the United States on the one hand and the margin for free action within the immigration quotas on the other, the United States Government would still find it possible to offer, as part of an international effort, homes for a proportion of the adult refugees now reaching neutral countries.

5. Considering the matter in further detail, His Majesty's Government would mention that reception in the United States has at least one vital advantage over reception in the United Kingdom, namely that all additional persons received in the British Isles not only require shipping to transport them thither but start new shipping demands for their maintenance as long as they are there. In spite of this, however, and notwithstanding the other obvious difficulties referred to at the beginning of paragraph 3 above, His Majesty's Government are prepared to consider the possibility of further effort, as part of a general endeavour by the United Nations to cope with this problem. In particular, over and above the large part already played by the Colonial Territories, His Majesty's Government would be prepared to examine the question whether there is any scope,—even though it is now bound to be very limited—, for further admissions into the Colonies. It is unlikely for reasons already indicated that any but a very limited number of refugees could in future be accepted into the United Kingdom and, if it proved practical to accept here any further refugees as part of a comprehensive inter-Allied solution, His Majesty's Government would have to reserve to themselves the right to accommodate them in the Isle of Man, possibly under conditions of detention, and could give no guarantee at this stage as to their ultimate disposal.

6. If an understanding could be reached between His Majesty's Government and the United States Government in regard to such a cooperative offer, the way would be open for approaching the other Governments of the United Nations, for example the Latin American countries (except Mexico which has made a very considerable offer of assistance in regard to Poles from Persia), the British Dominions or even neutrals to ascertain what they would be prepared to contribute towards the solution of the most immediate problem. This would have to be done with the minimum of publicity over details, and for this reason His Majesty's Government would be in-

clined to deprecate any kind of formal international meeting; but some kind of private conference of Allied representatives would appear to be the most expeditious and practical procedure, and if its main result was to elicit full statements of what the various Governments were doing and any difficulties in the way of their doing more this in itself would be of great value.

7. His Majesty's Government are gratified to learn of the despatch by the State Department of officials to North Africa, and would be interested to learn the views of these officials as to the capacity of North Africa to accommodate a substantial proportion of the refugees from Spain and Portugal and the possibilities of a civil administration taking responsibility for this problem, in which administration His Majesty's Government would be ready to take their share. His Majesty's Government are also aware that cooperation between the United States and British Governments and the Embassies of the two countries in Madrid have already produced useful local results. There is, however, still danger of unfavourable action by or an appeal from the Spanish Government in connexion with the situation in Spain, and His Majesty's Government therefore feel that consideration of the general problem of refugees is too pressing to be deferred any longer and in particular they consider that it is now necessary to get to grips with the question of alternative destinations. This is their reason for the present approach to the United States Government, on the basis that the time for unilateral and piecemeal action is passed and that combined practical measures must be taken.

8. His Majesty's Government will accordingly be grateful for the observations of the United States Government on the above considerations and, in particular—

(a) Whether the United States Government agree that combined action by the United Nations is now called for.

(b) Whether the United States Government would be prepared as part of this action to admit to the United States further adult refugees from Nazi-controlled areas and, if so, in what numbers.

(c) Whether the United States Government would be able to arrange for the further reception of refugees in San Domingo and, if so, in what numbers.

(d) What assistance in the matter of shipping would be available from the United States.

(e) Whether the United States Government agree as to the expediency of a private and informal United Nations conference and, if so, any views they may hold as to its composition, etc.

(f) Whether the United States Government consider that assurances could now be given to neutral countries that the refugee problem will be brought within the scope of rehabilitation plans of the United Nations at the end of the war.

WASHINGTON, January 20, 1943.

840.48 Refugees/3609 : Telegram

*The Chargé in the United Kingdom (Matthews) to the Secretary  
of State*

LONDON, February 20, 1943—3 p. m.

[Received February 21—1:30 a. m.]

1309. Richard Law<sup>4</sup> asked me to call at the Foreign Office yesterday afternoon. He discussed the question of what steps might be taken looking toward some concerted action by the United Nations on behalf of such Jews on the continent of Europe as are able to escape Hitler's policy of extermination. He said that while much to his regret he was not sure that much practical help could be given these unfortunate people, public opinion in Great Britain has been rising to such a degree that the British Government can no longer remain dead to it. The temper of the House of Commons is such that the Government will be unable to postpone beyond next week some reply to the persistent demands to know what it is doing to help the Jews. With the foregoing explanation and assuring me that he was aware of the many difficulties involved in any attempt to improve the lot of the Jews, he handed me the following memorandum:

"The United States Embassy will be aware of the intense public interest shown in the United Kingdom over refugees from German oppression and in particular over the fate of the Jews. This has grown since the Allied declaration of December 17<sup>5</sup> which revealed the extent of Germany's policy of extermination. Distinguished public men, for example the Archbishop of Canterbury, members of Parliament of all parties and innumerable responsible public bodies have made intensive representation to His Majesty's Government that every effort should be made to meet the extermination policy by rescuing such Jews as are able to escape into neutral countries, and facilitate the reception of more. His Majesty's Government and various colonial governments have already received very large numbers of refugees, and war exigencies, pressure on food and housing, now make further action on any substantial scale quite impracticable, except in Palestine where independently His Majesty's Government have announced their arrangements for taking many thousands of Jews from Southeastern Europe, provided the necessary transport can be secured.

On the main problem, which is so much agitating the public conscience in this country, His Majesty's Government feel sure that the United States Government will agree that it is one for common consideration, and action where possible, on the part of all the governments who participated in the Allied declaration of December 17th. Accordingly His Majesty's Government on January 12<sup>6</sup> addressed themselves, through His Majesty's Ambassador in Washington, to the United States Government to secure that Government's views and if

<sup>4</sup> British Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

<sup>5</sup> Department of State *Bulletin*, December 19, 1942, p. 1009.

<sup>6</sup> Presumably the British *aide-mémoire* of January 20, *supra*.

possible its cooperation on the most pressing aspects of the problem. On receipt of a definite answer from Washington it was suggested that an approach could then be made to the other Allied Governments. Up to the present no statement of the views of the United States Government has been received which could form an agreed joint basis of approach to those Governments, and His Majesty's Government are under the necessity of answering public representations vaguely and of avoiding, naturally, any reference to the American share in finding a solution to the pressing general problem.

His Majesty's Government gratefully acknowledge the cooperation of the United States authorities in Spain and North Africa over the local refugee problems in those territories; this, although of undoubted importance, does not meet the main problem, and His Majesty's Government are therefore anxious to enlist the help of the United States Embassy in London in explaining to the appropriate authorities in Washington the precise urgency and scope of the question as seen in London.

Responsible British opinion will no doubt accept the position that measures of rescue and relief on any great scale are impracticable in the present stage of the war. But there are three steps which, it appears to His Majesty's Government, might be taken without prejudice to vital war needs, and would, in addition to what is already being done in regard to Palestine and elsewhere, go far to meet the legitimate public anxiety over this humanitarian issue. They are: (1) That the United States Government should associate themselves with His Majesty's Government in convening in London a meeting of the Allied Governments to examine the problem and its possible solutions. (2) That both Governments should agree on a number of special visas for refugees, and with this contribution invite similar assistance from countries with the necessary territorial facilities. (3) That the United States Government should associate themselves with His Majesty's Government in promoting an international guarantee to the various neutral governments now, with increasing difficulty and apprehension, receiving refugees, that they would not be left alone to carry this burden at the end of the war.

It appears to His Majesty's Government that if these three steps could be taken at an early date, this would be an effective reply to the agitation aroused in the conscience of the civilized world; it would also demonstrate the practical limitations to which the Allied Governments with all their intense sympathy for the victims of Germany's policy, must at present be inexorably subjected."

I told him that I would be pleased to communicate the memorandum to my Government and that he could rest assured that we fully shared the British Government's desire to do what little may be feasible to help the tragic lot of these poor people insofar it is in our power to do so. I said that I did not know the Department's views as to the proper approach to this question and with regard to point 2 of the Foreign Office memo it occurred to me that Congressional action might be required and that this might present some difficulties.

I asked specifically what the Foreign Office had in mind with regard to assurances that neutral governments receiving Jewish refugees

now "would not be left alone to carry this burden at the end of the war". He said it meant in part that we should exert our influence to see that when the war is over the Jewish nationals of various countries who have sought and been given a haven of refuge by various neutral governments could be repatriated to their native lands. He said, for instance, Sikorski <sup>7</sup> has already declared that after the war all Polish Jews would be welcomed back to Poland. He felt that similar assurances might be obtained with regard to other areas.

I recalled that some thought had once been given before the war to finding a home for oppressed Jews in Madagascar, and asked whether this thought had recently been pursued. Randall,<sup>8</sup> who was with Law, replied that the area did not seem climatically well suited, that it was planned to send other refugee groups there, if possible, and that transport presented outstanding difficulties.

I should appreciate receiving the Department's early instructions as to the reply I should make to the foregoing memo.

MATTHEWS

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840.48 Refugees/3633

*The Secretary of State to the British Ambassador (Halifax)*

The Secretary of State presents his compliments to His Excellency the British Ambassador and has the honor to refer to the British Embassy's *aide-mémoire* of January 20, 1943, relating to the situation of persons fleeing from persecution for religious, racial and political reasons and to the necessity for intergovernmental relief action in their behalf.

It is evident that the problem of the refugees in question cannot be solved in a satisfactory manner by any one of the Governments of the United Nations group nor of the neutral countries. It has been, and is, the traditional policy of this country to seek every available means by which to extend to oppressed and persecuted peoples such assistance as may be found to be feasible and possible under the laws of the United States. In pursuance of that policy, this Government has been and is taking steps to extend assistance in a large measure to those European people who have been subjected to oppression and persecution under the Hitler regime. The measures of assistance afforded have assumed several forms, as follows:

1. Joint and several declarations of official attitude of condemnation of the policies and acts of the Axis Governments and their satellites in oppression or persecution of religious, racial and political minorities;

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<sup>7</sup> Gen. Wladyslaw Sikorski, Polish Prime Minister and Commander in Chief.

<sup>8</sup> Alec Randall, Counsellor in the British Foreign Office.

2. The appropriation and expenditure of large amounts of public and private funds for the relief of persons in need as a result of oppression and persecution because of their racial origin or religious or political beliefs;

3. The application of the immigration laws of the United States in the utmost liberal and humane spirit of those laws;

4. The calling by the President of the United States of the first Intergovernmental Conference at Evian-London in 1938 for the purpose of seeking a solution of refugee problems.<sup>9</sup> There may be repeated here the statement made in that Conference by the Honorable Myron Taylor<sup>10</sup> on behalf of this Government, as follows:

“In conclusion, I need not emphasize that the discrimination and pressure against minority groups and the disregard of elementary human rights are contrary to the principles of what we have come to regard as the accepted standards of civilization. We have heard from time to time of the disruptive consequences of the dumping of merchandise upon the world's economy. How much more disturbing is the forced and chaotic dumping of unfortunate peoples in large numbers. Racial and religious problems are, in consequence, rendered more acute in all parts of the world. Economic retaliation against the countries which are responsible for this condition is encouraged. The sentiment of international mistrust and suspicion is heightened and fear, which is an important obstacle to general appeasement between nations, is accentuated.

“The problem is no longer one of purely private concern. It is a problem for intergovernmental action. If the present currents of migration are permitted to continue to push anarchically upon the receiving States and if some Governments are to continue to toss large sections of their populations lightly upon a distressed and unprepared world, then there is catastrophic human suffering ahead which can only result in general unrest and in general international strain which will not be conducive to the permanent appeasement to which all peoples earnestly aspire.”

At the Evian-London Conference and through the Intergovernmental Committee which grew out of that Conference, this Government exerted its most earnest efforts to persuade the various countries represented to provide asylum for as many refugees from the Axis countries as the laws of the several countries would permit. This Government has also approached other countries for the purpose of finding places of settlement for refugees with funds of the United States origin being made available.

5. As shown by the records of the Department of State, from the advent of the Hitler regime in 1933 until June 30, 1942, 547,775 visas were issued by American diplomatic and consular officers to natives or nationals of the various countries now dominated by the Axis powers, the great majority of which persons were refugees from Nazi persecution. Of this number 228,964 were issued in the war years 1939-1942. Many more than that number of visas were authorized during this latter period, the aliens in whose behalf such authorizations were

<sup>9</sup> See *Foreign Relations*, 1938, vol. 1, pp. 740 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Chairman of the American delegation.



given having been unable to depart from their places of foreign residence to reach the United States. Yet, of the number actually issued, practically all of the aliens who received them during the war years 1939-1942 have actually arrived in the United States and have remained here, many of them having entered in a temporary status and not yet having departed.

6. Over 5,000 visas were authorized for the admission into the United States and permanent residence here of refugee children coming from France, Spain and Portugal under arrangements with certain private persons and organizations in the United States for their care. Visas were also authorized for the parents accompanying them, in certain cases. This Government has sought the friendly assistance of the Government of Switzerland to effect the release from France of such of these children who have not been permitted to leave France, for entry into Spain where visas may be issued to them by the American consular officers.

7. Since the entry of the United States into the war, there have been no new restrictions placed by the Government of the United States upon the number of aliens of any nationality permitted to proceed to this country under existing laws, except for the more intensive examination of aliens required for security reasons.

8. Considerable sums of money have been made available by the American Red Cross and from other American sources to the American Ambassador at Madrid for the care of refugees now in Spain pending their evacuation. A number of these refugees have already been removed to North Africa. The continuation of this movement and its extent are dependent upon military considerations.

9. The American Red Cross and other American organizations have provided assistance for refugees who have been able to reach other neutral countries, such as Iran, and have undertaken extended feeding among children, including refugee children, in France.

10. In evacuating refugees to neutral areas, the full influence of the United States diplomatic and consular representatives has been from time to time invoked, not only with the oppressor nations but with any Government concerned, on behalf of the refugees.

This Government understands that, in addition to the refugee classes under immediate consideration, the British Government has certain undertakings for the care of British evacuees and of prisoners of war. Likewise, the Government of the United States has certain similar undertakings, as follows:

1. For the successful prosecution of the war and for Hemispheric safety, the Government of the United States has offered to receive dangerous Axis nationals from a number of the American Republics where facilities for the internment or close safeguarding of such Axis nationals do not exist. A considerable number of such Axis nationals have thus been brought to the United States and arrangements are being made for the receipt of more of them.

2. This Government has a number of camps in the United States and more camps are under construction or planned for the internment or detention of civilian enemy aliens. There are being maintained in these camps thousands of such aliens.

3. This Government has also established other camps for prisoners of war which are now in use and in which, by arrangement, there will also be placed large numbers of United Nations prisoners. The accommodation of these prisoners in the United States will leave available abroad considerable quantities of food, clothing, etc., for refugees there which would otherwise be used by those prisoners abroad, while on the other hand, the maintenance of the prisoners in the United States will result in a considerable reduction of supplies available here.

4. There have been set up in the United States a number of re-location centers where approximately 110,000 persons of the Japanese race are being housed and maintained at public expense after removal from vital military areas.

The Government of the United States fully shares the concern expressed by the British Government for the situation of the refugees. It feels, in view of the facts set forth above, that it has been and is making every endeavor to relieve the oppressed and persecuted peoples. In affording asylum to refugees, however, it is and must be bound by legislation enacted by Congress determining the immigration policy of the United States.

The United States is of the opinion that further efforts to solve the problem may best be undertaken through the instrumentality already existing, the Executive Committee of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees. To this end it may be considered advisable in order to facilitate action by the Committee that a preliminary exploration of ways and means be undertaken informally by representatives designated by the Government of the United States and the British Government. Such exploration might be undertaken along the following lines:

A. The refugee problem should not be considered as being confined to persons of any particular race or faith. Nazi measures against minorities have caused the flight of persons of various races and faiths, as well as of other persons because of their political beliefs.

B. Wheresoever practicable, intergovernmental collaboration should be sought in these times of transportation difficulty, shipping shortage, and submarine menace, to the end that arrangements may be determined for temporary asylum for refugees as near as possible to the areas in which those people find themselves at the present time and from which they may be returned to their homelands with the greatest expediency on the termination of hostilities.

C. There should accordingly be considered plans for the maintenance in neutral countries in Europe of those refugees for whose removal provision may not be made. Their maintenance in neutral countries may involve the giving of assurances for their support until they can be repatriated, which support will necessarily come from the United Nations augmented by funds from private sources. It may also involve the giving of assurances in all possible cases by their

Governments in exile for their prompt return to their native countries upon the termination of hostilities.

D. The possibilities for the temporary asylum of the refugees, with a view to their repatriation upon the termination of hostilities, in countries other than neutral, and their dependencies, should be explored, together with the question of the availability of shipping to effect their movement from Europe.

It is suggested that the British and United States representatives might meet at Ottawa for this preliminary exploration.

WASHINGTON, February 25, 1943.

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840.48 Refugees/3609 : Telegram

*The Secretary of State to the Chargé in the United Kingdom*  
(Matthews)

WASHINGTON, February 25, 1943—10 p. m.

1241. Your 1309, February 20, 3 p. m. Department has today dispatched to British Embassy *aide-mémoire* responsive to one received January 20, 1943 from British Embassy concerning the subject matter of the telegram under reference.

You may reply to the memorandum you received from the Foreign Office February 19 the text of which is in yours under reference by delivering to the Foreign Office the text of Department's *aide-mémoire* this date to the British Embassy, which reads as follows:

[Here follows text of *aide-mémoire* to the British Embassy, dated February 25, 1943, printed *supra*.]

HULL

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548.G1/64 : Telegram

*The Acting Secretary of State to the Chargé in the United Kingdom*  
(Matthews)

WASHINGTON, March 6, 1943.

1443. Sir Ronald Campbell<sup>11</sup> telephoned me on the evening of March 3 to protest against publication of our note to the British Embassy on the refugee question (radio bulletins 53 and 54<sup>12</sup>) on the ground that the consent of the British Government had not been obtained before publication, nor had it been received in its entirety by the Foreign Office.

At Lord Halifax's request he called on me on March 4 to say that the action taken had seriously embarrassed the British Government in

<sup>11</sup> British Minister in the United States.

<sup>12</sup> The text of the Secretary's note of February 25 had been released to the press on March 3.

as much as it made it appear that this Government had taken the initiative whereas the British Government had actually done so and because Mr. Eden,<sup>13</sup> although under considerable pressure in the House of Commons to state British policy on this question, had delayed doing so because of the lack of a final reply from us, and was now confronted by a publication of our views before Mr. Eden had had a chance to make a statement.

I reiterated in the first place what I had told him by telephone, namely, that I would feel at complete liberty at any time to make public for the information of American public opinion any communication addressed by this Government to a Foreign Government provided it had received the text before publication. Our note had been delivered to the British Embassy on February 25. I continued that the question he had raised involved a much more important and far-reaching matter than any question of diplomatic procedure. I said I had been regretfully forced to the conclusion for some time past by many incidents that the British Government was permitting the impression to be created that it was the great outstanding champion of the Jewish people and the sole defender of the rights of freedom of religion and individual liberty and that it was being held back in its desire to undertake practical steps to protect the Jews in Europe and elsewhere and to safe-guard individual rights and liberties by the unwillingness of this Government to take any action for the relief of these unfortunates beyond words and gestures. Under the circumstances I could not admit any valid reason for the British Government to complain of the natural, logical, and justified desire of this Government to let the American people and the world know its record in assisting Jewish refugees and in endeavoring to safe-guard the individual rights of oppressed people.

I said further that while I would not for a moment assert that such actions were due to or favored by responsible officials of the British Government, it was well-known to us that such a campaign of undermining our foreign policy had been pursued by certain elements in the British Government for a long time. I said he must be fully aware of the complaints which the Secretary had repeatedly made during the last 2 years to the British Government concerning the continuing and insidious and propagandist efforts of certain elements in the British Government against our policy with respect to Vichy and later with respect to our policy in connection with North Africa. I added that while the reply had often been made that the responsible British officials could not control press reaction in England, I could only point out that within the past few days the British Government

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<sup>13</sup> Anthony Eden, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

had very effectively caused the cessation of objectionable comment in the British press on Soviet-Polish relations.

I reiterated that this Government would take such steps as it saw fit to inform public opinion here and abroad of its policies and its record, and that in the present instance I naturally regretted any embarrassment that might have been occasioned Mr. Eden and the British Government but that I considered the step which had been taken not only justified but completely necessary.

Sir Ronald said that he would advise Lord Halifax who would doubtless wish to talk with me personally.

The foregoing is for your information should Mr. Eden or any one else in the Foreign Office discuss the matter with you.

WELLES

548.G1/16

*The Secretary of State to President Roosevelt*<sup>14</sup>

WASHINGTON, March 23, 1943.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: One of the very important matters engaging the attention of the Department is that of the refugees in Europe. As you know, a very large meeting was held in New York recently under the auspices of the World Jewish Congress. Various other meetings have been held in other parts of the United States. These meetings are manifestations of a deep sentiment on the part of the Jewish elements of our population. There is also a deep-lying sympathy for the plight of these unfortunate people in the other elements of our population.

The British Government is also interested in the problem.

There has recently been an exchange of notes between the American and British Governments in which it was agreed to discuss the matter between ourselves to ascertain possible ways and means which might be recommended to the Executive Committee of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, which in turn was the product of the Evian Conference and which seems an instrumentality already at hand and which might attempt to give effect to practical steps to be of aid to these oppressed people.

While it was contemplated that the preliminary meeting between this Government and Great Britain should be held at Ottawa it has since been decided to hold the meeting in another place, possibly Bermuda, but not in either Washington or London.

It will be proper to designate representatives on the part of the United States to meet with the British and to consider the recom-

<sup>14</sup> Marginal note: "CH OK FDR".

mendations which will be made to the Executive Committee of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees.

Considering the intense and widespread feeling on this subject it would seem that an outstanding person with an eminent reputation for vigorous and honest mentality be selected to head the delegation and it seems equally reasonable to suggest that a member of the Senate and a member of the House be named as delegates. The reason for the latter is that the question of expense in dealing with some of these problems may be presented and that the Congressional responsibility in those matters might be party to the decision.

For these reasons I have to suggest for your consideration to represent the United States

Mr. Justice Roberts as head of the American delegation, to be supported by  
Senator Scott Lucas of Illinois and  
Mr. Sol Bloom of New York.

Mr. Robert Borden Reams, a Foreign Service officer presently acting as Secretary to the Executive Committee of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees is indicated as Secretary of the Delegation.

It may be advisable to name one or more additional delegates whom you would probably care to choose from those who have not been heretofore active in this particular matter but who might lend weight to calm, deliberate councils and be helpful in a solution of the problem.

I had hoped to suggest the name of Mr. Myron Taylor,<sup>15</sup> but he is so engaged in other matters of great importance in connection with the post-war work and with some other important matters that it hardly seems practical for him to be absent from the scene of his present duties.

I would be glad to be advised of your pleasure.

Faithfully yours,

CORDELL HULL

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548.G1/13a : Telegram

*The Secretary of State to the Consul General at Hamilton (Beck)*

WASHINGTON, April 7, 1943—10 p. m.

58. Your 88, April 6.<sup>16</sup> For your confidential information, it has been the policy for this Government not to accept gratuitous accommodations and transportation services for delegates to meetings abroad. Please telegraph urgently whether The Horizons is a gov-

<sup>15</sup> Member of President Roosevelt's Advisory Committee on Postwar Foreign Policy, and Personal Representative of the President to Pope Pius XII.

<sup>16</sup> Not printed; it indicated that the Bermuda House of Assembly unanimously voted to assume cost of accommodation and transportation (inland) of delegates to forthcoming refugee conference and that the guest house, The Horizons, on south shore was to be assigned for office and living quarters (548.G1/9).

ernment operated building or a commercial hostelry at which direct arrangements could be made for accommodation of United States group. Also whether other suitable hotel facilities are available in the immediate vicinity. Department will appreciate your views on whether application of the above policy in this instance may prove embarrassing. Definite instructions will be telegraphed upon receipt of your reply.

Composition of delegation which may total 10 or 12 including advisers and stenographers not yet announced.

You will be informed of exact opening date as soon as determined.

HULL

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548.G1/14 : Telegram

*The Consul General at Hamilton (Beck) to the Secretary of State*

HAMILTON, BERMUDA, April 8, 1943—4 p. m.

[Received 7:25 p. m.]

92. Department's 58 April 7, 10 p. m. The Horizons is a privately owned and operated guest house, ideally situated, well managed and comfortable. Rate quoted Bermuda Government on per capita basis at 35 shillings per day if more than 12 persons, 40 if less than 12. Price includes food, lodging, transportation by carriage and use of beach. Building reserved exclusively for both delegations. No other suitable accommodations close by.

Offer of hospitality on part both houses of Legislature was unanimous, to mark in special manner first international conference here. I feel that refusal on our part would cause much disappointment and some embarrassment.

Understand privately Governor today asked Secretary of State for Colonies to extend formal invitation to both delegations.

BECK

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548.G1/14 : Telegram

*The Secretary of State to the Consul General at Hamilton (Beck)*

WASHINGTON, April 10, 1943—10 p. m.

60. Your 92, April 8. In view of special circumstances, please inform appropriate authorities that this Government accepts with appreciation the gracious offer of facilities for the delegates to the forthcoming meeting.

It is tentatively planned for delegation to arrive by air Friday, April 16. Composition of group will be telegraphed as soon as possible.

Please arrange for four typewriters to be installed in delegation office. Mimeograph facilities also should be available for possible use in connection with press relations.

Five newspaper correspondents will arrive with the delegation. Please make suitable hotel reservations on their behalf and telegraph Department.

HULL

548.G1/23

*The First Secretary of the British Embassy (Hayter) to Mr. George L. Brandt, Executive Assistant to the Assistant Secretary of State (Long)*

WASHINGTON, April 10, 1943.

DEAR MR. BRANDT: I enclose an official note<sup>17</sup> conveying an invitation from the Government of Bermuda to the United States Delegation to the Refugee Conference to be their guests during the Conference. A similar invitation has been sent to the British Delegation. I understand that this invitation covers the meeting, the cost of accommodation and inland transportation, and that the Bermuda Government have booked accommodation at a hotel which the Delegates will have to themselves and where they will be able to have their meetings. We should be glad if you would let us know as soon as possible how you feel about this, so that we could inform the Bermuda Government. We naturally hope that you will accept this invitation; the British Delegation intends to do so. I take this opportunity of giving you the full list of the British Delegation. It is as follows:

*Delegates*

The Right Honourable Richard Law, P. C., M.P., Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

Mr. Osbert Peake, M.P., Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State of the Home Office.

Mr. George Hall, M.P., Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State at the Admiralty.

*Experts*

Sir Bernard Reilly, Colonial Office

Sir Frank Newsam, Home Office

Mr. Randall, Foreign Office

Mr. Picknett, Ministry of War Transport

Mr. Hayter, British Embassy in Washington.

Yours sincerely,

W. G. HAYTER

<sup>17</sup> *Infra.*



548.G1/23

*The British Ambassador (Halifax) to the Secretary of State*

No. 239

Ref: 523/49/43

His Majesty's Ambassador presents his compliments to the Secretary of State, and with reference to the previous correspondence on the subject of the Refugee Conference to be held in Bermuda, has the honour to inform Mr. Hull that the Legislative Council and House of Assembly of Bermuda, in order to mark in a special manner the holding of the first International Conference to meet in the Colony, have informed the Governor that they cordially invite both the British and American representatives at the Conference to be the guest of the Bermuda Government.<sup>18</sup>

WASHINGTON, April 10, 1943.

852.48/1506c: Telegram

*The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in the United Kingdom  
(Winant)*

WASHINGTON, April 13, 1943—10 p. m.

2359. For Lehman.<sup>19</sup> Gore-Booth, British Embassy, has inquired status offer British Government contained in letter to Jackson<sup>20</sup> March 12, 1943 to contribute generously to fund of two and a half million dollars then envisaged for refugee relief in Spain. Inquiry precipitated by cable from British Foreign Office asking clarification of situation for British representatives at Bermuda conference to be held immediately. British Foreign Office may consult you London. Gore-Booth was advised of present relief situation Spain and requested to ask his Government to hold offer open until your return. He replied view present relief situation Spain doubtful offer will be held open.

HULL

<sup>18</sup> In a note to the British Ambassador dated April 14, the Secretary of State indicated that the United States Government, on behalf of its delegation to the forthcoming meeting, accepted the invitation of the Government of Bermuda (548.G1/14).

<sup>19</sup> Herbert H. Lehman, Director, Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations, Department of State.

<sup>20</sup> Hugh R. Jackson, Special Assistant to the Director, Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations.

548.G1/20c : Telegram

*The Secretary of State to the Consul General at Hamilton (Beck)*

WASHINGTON, April 14, 1943—1 p. m.

70. Department's 60, April 10 and previous. The following will comprise the United States Delegation to the Refugee Conference:

*Delegates:*

Harold Willis Dodds, Ph.D., President, Princeton University; *Chairman*.

The Honorable Scott W. Lucas, President Pro Tempore of the United States Senate.

The Honorable Sol Bloom, Chairman, Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives.

*Secretary of the Delegation:*

Mr. R. Borden Reams, Foreign Service Officer, Department of State.

*Press Officer:*

Mr. Howard Bucknell, Jr., Assistant Chief, Division of Current Information, Department of State.

*Technical Assistants:*

Mr. Robert C. Alexander, Assistant Chief, Visa Division, Department of State.

Mr. George Backer, of New York, 21 East Fifty-second Street, New York, New York.

Mr. Julian B. Foster, Foreign Service Officer, Department of State.

Mr. Lloyd Lewis, of Chicago.

Mr. George Warren, Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations, Department of State.

*Stenographers and Clerks (from the Department of State):*

Miss Nancy C. White;

Miss Theresa M. Takacs;

Miss Jane F. Finn;

Miss Mary Louise Meyer.

*Code Clerks: (Two from the Department of State).*

Mr. John W. Burnette;

Mr. H. C. Roser.

*Important.* Please give no publicity to the name, title, or Delegation function of anyone except the three Delegates and Secretary Reams. If necessary you may state however that "The Delegates will be accompanied by several Technical Assistants". All names of course may be given in confidence to the appropriate Bermudan authorities for their information and to facilitate landing.

Delegation scheduled to leave La Guardia Airport Friday, April 16 at 10 a. m. arriving about 2:30 p. m.

The following newspaper correspondents will arrive on the above flight:

Robert Edward Vivain, Reuters;  
H. O. Thompson, United Press;  
Richard Massock, Associated Press;  
Mrs. Ida Landau, Overseas News Agency;  
Miss Lee Carson, International News Service.

HULL

852.48/1500: Telegram

*The Ambassador in the United Kingdom (Winant) to the  
Secretary of State*

LONDON, April 15, 1943—4 p. m.  
[Received April 15—11:25 a. m.]

2646. For Sayre<sup>21</sup> from Lehman. Jackson advised Gore-Booth that proposed \$2,500,000 fund was assumed by us to be used for the movement of refugees from Spain to other countries. This proposal was originally put forth by Long<sup>22</sup> and Gore-Booth was advised to consult Brandt, since question of movement of refugees being handled by that office instead of O.F.R.R.O.<sup>23</sup> We believe that consideration of the establishment of any such fund should be discussed by Bermuda Conference. [Lehman.]

WINANT

548.G1/30: Telegram

*The Consul General at Hamilton (Beck) to the Secretary of State*

HAMILTON, BERMUDA, April 18, 1943—9 p. m.  
[Received April 19—12:26 a. m.]

113. From Dodds for Long and Atherton.<sup>24</sup> Congressman Bloom believes that the question of Polish-Jewish refugees in Russia should be brought up but not determined sometime before end of Conference. He feels that delegation should be able to reply in the affirmative if query made on this point by press or interested parties upon conclusion of Conference. Please instruct. [Dodds.]

BECK

<sup>21</sup> Francis B. Sayre, Deputy Director, Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations.

<sup>22</sup> Breckinridge Long, Assistant Secretary of State.

<sup>23</sup> Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations.

<sup>24</sup> Ray Atherton, Acting Chief of the Division of European Affairs.

548.G1/37 : Telegram

*The Consul General at Hamilton (Beck) to the Secretary of State*

HAMILTON, BERMUDA, April 19, 1943—6 p. m.

[Received 9 : 50 p. m.]

119. From preliminary conversations with Mr. Law it is apparent that the British will demand changes in the structure of the Inter-governmental Committee before they agree to its use in connection with refugee problems. He states the mandate of the committee originally applied to Germany and Austria and must be extended. The French delegate on the Executive Committee [omission] and felt some hesitancy about Argentina since it would be embarrassing for the Government to negotiate with that country about the shipping question. Finally Mr. Law feels that Sir Herbert Emerson, the present director, must be replaced since he is stated to be unable to adequately perform the many duties which would fall upon him. The Department's comments upon the points involved will be appreciated.

It is my belief that any necessary changes in the membership of the Executive Committee should be accomplished by the committee as it is now constituted. This would also [be] true in the selection of a new director in the event that a change is considered necessary or advisable.

Above for Long from Dodds.

BECK

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[Dr. Dodds' opening address at the Bermuda Conference was delivered on April 19; for text of the address, see Department of State *Bulletin*, April 24, 1943, p. 351.]

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548.G1/30 : Telegram

*The Secretary of State to the Consul General at Hamilton (Beck)*

WASHINGTON, April 20, 1943—6 p. m.

82. From Long and Atherton for Dodds. Your 113, April 18, 9 p. m. The general plight of refugees was within the full competence of your conference and would include those mentioned or certainly some sections of them, with specific reference to those who were permitted to pass through the Caucasus into Iran. However, the main purpose of the conference was twofold: (a) To consider the plight of those unfortunate persons still within the jurisdiction of Nazi authority and subject to their terrors, and (b) those who had escaped or might escape from territory under their authority but still remaining

subject to the danger of being overtaken by Germany and subjected again to persecution.

The particular persons mentioned in your telegram as a matter of fact are not now subject to Nazi persecution and those who continued to evade the Nazi armies are not now subject to Nazi oppression. Consideration of this last mentioned category is closely linked up with political and boundary disputes between the Soviet and Polish Governments<sup>25</sup> and is so entwined with those questions that it would not appear that an effective solution of this particular problem can be reached until the political issues involved have been settled.

In this connection it should be borne in mind that the Soviet Government informed the Polish Government on December 1, 1941<sup>26</sup> that it did not recognize as Polish citizens persons of Ukrainian, White Russian, and Jewish race who resided in eastern Poland up to November 1, 1939, and that the Soviet Government has not only maintained its position in this regard but in a note dated January 16, 1943<sup>27</sup> informed the Polish Government that since the Poles had put forward a demand in conflict to the sovereign rights of the Soviets in regard to the territories of eastern Poland the Soviet Government no longer recognized the right of persons of Polish race from this area to claim Polish citizenship.

Consequently, a discussion of this question in the conference could hardly lead to a clear recommendation devoid of political implications. And if a discussion is had before the conference and if the delegation will be asked for an affirmative response to an inquiry on that point by the press or interested parties upon the conclusion of the conference, the reply should be very carefully drafted and as brief as possible and reduced to writing. [Long and Atherton.]

HULL

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548.G1/75a : Telegram

*The Secretary of State to the Consul General at Hamilton (Beck)*

WASHINGTON, April 20, 1943—7 p. m.

83. Your 119, April 19, 6 p. m. Last paragraph of yours under reference: Department accepts your statement as a correct expression of its views and hereby confirms your statement. Department will take note of your telegram for future consideration. There is no doubt of the fact that the British Government agreed to the use of the Executive Committee of the Intergovernmental Committee and

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<sup>25</sup> See vol. III, pp. 314 ff.

<sup>26</sup> For text of communication, see *Polish-Soviet Relations, 1918-1943, Official Documents*, issued by the Polish Embassy in Washington by authority of the Government of the Republic of Poland, p. 165.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 170.

subsequently of the organization of the Intergovernmental Committee itself for the purposes under discussion and that at the time of Mr. Eden's visit to Washington<sup>28</sup> this was expressly confirmed.

HULL

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548.G1/40 : Telegram

*The Consul General at Hamilton (Beck) to the Secretary of State*

HAMILTON, BERMUDA, April 20, 1943—8 p. m.

[Received April 21—1:19 a. m.]

123. For Long. Conference met today in morning and afternoon sessions. The morning session was devoted to a general discussion of some of the more radical proposals made by interested organizations. These specifically included the proposal for negotiations with Germany for the release of the Jewish population, the proposal for the exchange of German nationals for Jews and the proposal to lift the blockade for the persecuted people of Europe. It was agreed that these subjects were both impossible and outside of the scope of the Conference.

The shipping question was then considered in complete agreement as the fact that there is at present no possibilities of releasing or diverting any United Nation shipping for the transportation of refugees. The question of the possible charter or use of neutral shipping particularly Portuguese and Spanish was then explored. It was agreed that the possibilities in this connection were very limited but that every effort should be made by the Intergovernmental Committee to secure such ships as may be available.

The afternoon session was devoted to the consideration of the problems presented by the Polish refugees in Iran and the Greek refugees mainly centered in Cyprus. It appears that, after present programs for the evacuation of the Polish refugees from Iran are completed, there will be a balance of approximately 5,000 refugees. The question of these refugees will be referred to the Intergovernmental Committee. In answer to a question as to the availability of Madagascar for these Polish refugees the British delegation raised the point that any approach by the Intergovernmental Committee to General de Gaulle<sup>29</sup> would immediately raise the question of France's representation upon the Committee. De Gaulle has so far agreed to accept 200 Polish families.

It was stated that the problem of Greek refugees at Cyprus was not immediately pressing because of the changed military situation, but

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<sup>28</sup> March 12-30, 1943; see vol. III, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>29</sup> Gen. Charles de Gaulle, President of the French National Committee.

that if possible at least 1,000 of the 5,000 now there should be removed in order provide for future contingencies and to make room for further refugees. The British delegation state that the military authorities object to the idea of bringing these people to Cyrenaica. However, Mr. Law agreed that the matter might be investigated by the Committee. It will also be recommended to the Committee that the possibilities of settlement near Dire Dawa in Abyssinia be investigated.

Tomorrow the Spanish situation will be surveyed at length.

BECK

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548.G1/80a : Telegram

*The Secretary of State to the Consul General at Hamilton (Beck)*

WASHINGTON, April 21, 1943—2 p. m.

2. For Dodds, Lucas, Blum [*Bloom*]. Reference Department's 83, April 20, 7 p. m. Department has been of the opinion that the Executive Committee and the body of the Intergovernmental Committee for Refugees is the ready-made logical and natural instrument through which the United Nations and the neutral nations could cooperate for the purposes of refugee relief. There are several reasons for Department's opinion:

First, governments which are already members of this Committee, and there are 32 such members, may not now escape the fact of their membership in that Intergovernmental Committee nor escape the assumption of partial responsibility for reaching the objectives. In case it should be attempted to organize a new committee some governments might find a valid reason for declining membership on it or for assuming further responsibility for the work to be undertaken as a result of the recommendations which the Bermuda conferees will make. Department feels further that it may not be blithely assumed that a new committee may be created overnight or even in a reasonable length of time to undertake a work which is of emergent importance if it is to be performed—and we think it should be performed. Consequently, it seems only reasonable to use the organization at hand rather than try to fashion a new one.

Second, it is very desirable to have the cooperation of the neutral states for we will have to rely upon some of them to help us achieve some of the objectives. It seems illusory to hope for the collaboration of any neutral states in a new movement headed by two important members of the United Nations if those neutral states will be required to align themselves with that new movement under the leadership of the United States and Great Britain on one side and against Germany and Italy on the other side. Consequently, it seems to the

Department infinitely preferable to continue to use the organization with which the neutral nations are already associated.

Third, the Intergovernmental Committee is the result of President Roosevelt's thought and a development out of his original policy and it seems appropriate that in view of his present and continuing interest in the same objective that this product of his thought should be used as the agency.

While the Department is convinced of the soundness of its views in this respect and while it feels that these considerations outweigh arguments which may be made in support of the plan to create another agency, the Department does not desire to be dogmatic or obstructive and would be glad to consider any plan which you may care to present which would seem to you to embody any better hope of attaining the objective, which is our principal concern.

HULL

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548.G1/43: Telegram

*The Consul General at Hamilton (Beck) to the Secretary of State*

HAMILTON, BERMUDA, April 21, 1943—7 p. m.

[Received 10:37 p. m.]

126. Following is for Long from Dodds. Conference convened morning April 21, with question refugees in Spain on agenda. Problem was defined and separated into four sections; (1), relief to those awaiting evacuation; (2), French nationals; (3), Allied nationals accepted for military service; and (4), the balance of approximately 5,000 Central European refugees. It was agreed that the relief of people in category 1 was proceeding on a satisfactory basis and American contribution was recognized. It was also agreed that an adequate machinery for dealing with categories 2 and 3 already existed. However, it should be recommended to the Intergovernmental Committee that continued interest be shown in these people and that their departure should be expedited. The delegates agreed that diplomatic pressure which was agreed to be essential should continue.

Category 4 occasioned considerable discussion ending in partial disagreement between the two delegations. It was first agreed that these refugees should be evacuated in order to increase the possibility of refuge for others. Agreement in principle was reached that the settlement area should be as close as possible to Spain and that the settlement should be temporary with provision for eventual repatriation. The British Delegation then proposed the use of the concentration camps in North Africa for at least transit use. These camps could be administered by the British. This was opposed by the American



delegation on the grounds that North Africa was a field of present and possible future military operations. Security and supply considerations make it impossible to recommend this proposal to the military authorities. In addition the Arab danger was factor to be considered. There was also the belief that public opinion within the United States would not consent to the establishment of concentration camps in an area under control of American arms. The American delegation would be unwilling even to recommend to the Committee that the question be raised at some future date when military considerations permitted unless the matter had the prior approval of the Department. They would prefer that a recommendation be made for the investigation of Angola as a place of refuge. It was finally agreed that the British delegation would submit a written proposal for transmission to the American Government, text of which is contained in my immediately following telegram. [Dodds.]

BECK

548.G1/44 : Telegram

*The Consul General at Hamilton (Beck) to the Secretary of State*

HAMILTON, BERMUDA, April 21, 1943—8 p. m.

[Received April 22—1:22 a. m.]

127. For Long from Dodds. Following is the text of the British proposal. Would appreciate early instruction.

"The British delegation fully appreciate the very forcible objections which it is understood are felt by the United States military authorities to a proposal that several thousand refugees, mainly of German origin and Jewish race, should be transported to and set at liberty in North Africa, on the lines of communication of the Allied forces.

The British delegation are impressed with the fact, however, that Spain is the only effective channel of escape remaining in Western Europe for refugees of all nationalities. It is of supreme importance that this channel not be blocked as the consequences would be:

- (1) That the admission of further refugees would be prevented by the Spanish Government.
- (2) The Allies would be deprived of useful personnel.
- (3) Public opinion throughout the world would come to the conclusion that the Allies were not making any serious endeavor to deal with the refugee problem.

It is understood that the refugees in Spain amount to approximately 21,000, of whom 14,000 are French nationals mainly of military age, for whose removal administrative arrangements are already completed. As regards the remainder, a considerable number—approximately 3000—mainly Poles and Czechs of military age, can be removed under similar arrangements to join the Allied forces. The remaining 4-5 thousand consisting of men, women and children, are largely Jewish and of enemy nationality or stateless. If all or part of these could

be removed to a temporary home, the Conference would have led to some definite practical result, and moreover, the clearing of the channel in Spain would enable the Spanish authorities to permit a further inflow of refugees and thereby give an opportunity of ascertaining whether the Axis Powers would permit any potential refugees in countries now under their control to escape. If they took steps to prevent further emigration, it would be clear to the advocates of relief measures, (such as a direct approach to Hitler to release refugees) that their proposals were useless.

The main difficulty in removing refugees from Spain and Portugal is one of transport. One of the United States proposals for the Conference was that destinations should be sought as near as possible to the present location of the refugees. Any shipping that may be available will be very limited in passenger capacity and if the refugees are to be removed from Spain within any measurable distance of time, the length of the voyage becomes a governing factor.

Whilst as already stated, the British delegation feel that there is great force in the objections both political and military, to liberating 4-5 thousand refugees in North Africa, they hope that more favorable considerations may be given to a new proposal which they now desire to formulate. In order to relieve the U. S. military authorities of administrative responsibility and the U. S. authorities of any repercussions in the political field they propose that a temporary rest camp under British administration should be formed at some point in North Africa to be selected by the American authorities as far as possible from the scene of military operations and removed from the lines of communication. Possibly the existing internment camps which have been, it is understood, used only for male internees, would be unsuitable for the purpose of a mixed body of men, women and children. The British authorities referred to in my note have had experience of conducting camps of a mixed character for male internees in the Isle of Man where a considerable area was isolated encompassing two villages, where accommodations for holiday makers and tourists was available and where male internees enjoyed a considerable measure of liberty and amenity. If a similarly suitable site could be found in North Africa the British authorities would be prepared to supply the necessary staff for the Administration. It is suggested that the cost might be equally shared for the time being between U. S. and British Governments. Such security arrangements as were satisfactory to the U. S. Military Administration would be complied with. Such a rest camp might accommodate—say 3,000 persons and could be made use of to house refugees pending arrangements which could be considered by the Intergovernmental Committee for their transfer when shipping is available to more distant places of refuge. It is understood that certificates of admission for Palestine for approximately 1500 families, or say 2500 persons, are available at the present time, but that existing transport arrangements do not permit of them proceeding beyond Portuguese Southwest Africa. As regards supplies of food-stuffs, et cetera, so far as the requirements could not be met by local purchase, the necessary arrangements would have to be worked out as part of the problem of supplying the Allied forces in North Africa.

The British delegation feel strongly that world opinion will be bitterly disappointed by the results of the Conference if all future

action is relegated to the Intergovernmental Committee. They would therefore like to obtain the views of the U. S. Government upon this new proposal."

[Dodds]  
BECK

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548.G1/46 : Telegram

*The Consul General at Hamilton (Beck) to the Secretary of State*

HAMILTON, BERMUDA, April 22, 1943—7 p. m.  
[Received April 23—12: 29 a. m.]

128. For Long from Dodds. On the afternoon of April 21 the question of the Balkans [*Balkan refugees*] in Palestine was considered. The British referred to the difficulty of transporting Jewish refugees from the Balkan States to Palestine but stated that they were prepared to fulfill the conditions of the White Paper.<sup>30</sup> Turkish rail transport rendered this accomplishment virtually impossible of fulfillment but there are definite plans for the chartering of two Rumanian vessels which could easily handle the number involved. Mr. Law asked whether it would be possible for the American delegation to recommend that the American Government share the cost of these vessels. They were informed that it was not possible for the delegates to pledge in advance that the Congress would make available funds for any stated purpose. However, it might be possible to recommend favorable consideration of this British suggestion to the appropriate branch of the Government. [Dodds.]

BECK

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548.G1/47 : Telegram

*The Consul General at Hamilton (Beck) to the Secretary of State*

HAMILTON, BERMUDA, April 22, 1943—8 p. m.  
[Received April 23—12: 55 a. m.]

129. The following observations are submitted in connection with the British proposal regarding the establishment of temporary places of refuge in North Africa. The objections made then by the American delegates to this proposal have already been transmitted to the Department in a previous telegram. It is believed that these objections represent the point of view of the American military authorities. However, there are other factors which must be given earnest attention.

Concrete action in regard to the refugee situation in Spain would constitute one of the few definitely affirmative steps possible for

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<sup>30</sup> Presumably British Cmd. 6019: *Palestine, Statement of Policy*, Presented by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to Parliament, May, 1939.

this Conference. It would appear to be essential to empty Spain as rapidly as possible. This would allay some of the criticism presently directed against the British and American Governments for their inability to handle a situation which is not unreasonably difficult. It would also be of direct assistance to the refugees in occupied Europe since it would create vacancies which they could fill and would encourage attempts on their part to escape from German rule.

The American position is dependent entirely [apparent omission] considerations. Otherwise North Africa is one logical step towards the solution of this problem. The British proposal takes cognizance of this fact and places the British in an advantageous position so far as the record is concerned.

The American delegation believes that the favorable considerations outweigh the unfavorable and recommends affirmative action. Immediate reply desired.

Above from Dodds for Long.

BECK

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548.G1/50 : Telegram

*The Consul General at Hamilton (Beck) to the Secretary of State*

HAMILTON, BERMUDA, April 23, 1943—10 p. m.

[Received April 24—4:08 a. m.]

136. For Long from Dodds. Following is text of the first American draft proposal submitted to the British delegation tonight. It is hoped that this draft will afford a basis for discussion tomorrow and that it will be in general acceptable to the British. It follows closely various conclusions reached in conference to date:

“Recommendations arising out of the proposed utilization of the Intergovernmental Committee in connection with the solution of the problems presented by the refugees.

The American and British delegates to the Conference held at Bermuda have agreed to the submission of the following recommendations. These recommendations concern the role to be played by the Intergovernmental Committee in the solution of the pressing problems created by the existence of large masses of persons displaced by the present war. It is mutually recognized that this problem as it is now constituted can only be solved by the community of civilized nations. The problem is so great that it must not be permitted to become the sole burden of the United States and Great Britain.

Various means of obtaining concerted action between the nations interested in this problem have been considered and it is the unanimous convictions of the delegates to this Conference that the problem should be entrusted into the hands of the Intergovernmental Committee. It is hardly necessary at this time to discuss the factors which led the Conference to this conclusion. It is apparent, however, that as a result of this decision the future welfare of these ref-

ugees will be dependent upon the successful prosecution of the duties which may be entrusted to the Committee. Special care, therefore, must be taken to accurately define the scope of these duties and to extend wherever necessary the powers and responsibilities of the Committee. No lack of effort or interest may be permitted to stand in the way of the efficient prosecution of the various measures planned for the alleviation of the unhappy plight of these people.

A number of positive recommendations will be presented by the Bermuda Conference through the two Governments here represented to the Executive Committee of the Intergovernmental Committee. These proposals envisage the necessity for negotiations with neutral and Allied Governments. These negotiations will include, among other things, approaches in regard to the chartering of neutral shipping, the procurement of places of refuge and in some cases the intercession with neutral governments for the furtherance of humanitarian proposals. This last function would not involve negotiations, direct or indirect, with an enemy government. The area of primary interest to the work of the Intergovernmental Committee should be confined to those countries and peoples from which the refugees come as a result of the war in Europe or to which they may be sent. It would be necessary for the Intergovernmental Committee to dispose of funds both public and private. Otherwise the activities and the possibilities for positive and beneficial action would be limited.

The Intergovernmental Committee is now acting under a very narrow mandate. The limitations imposed upon the work of the Intergovernmental Committee by this mandate are evident; its activities are now restricted to refugees from Germany, Austria and the Sudetenland. It acts under the stipulation that the maintenance and transport of refugees is not to be at the cost of member Governments. In addition, the Intergovernmental Committee as it now exists is free to negotiate with the German Government on refugees matters. The Committee suffers from a further disability in that its membership does not include some of the United Nations and neutrals whose assistance is of particular value. The physical organization of the Committee is not conducive to efficient operation. The Executive Committee is composed of a chairman and four vice chairmen, who sit as representatives of their governments and act in an honorary and advisory capacity. There is an unpaid director and a secretary.

It is obvious that all these conditions must be altered. It is of the utmost importance that the scope of the activities of the Intergovernmental Committee be broadened so as to permit its efficient and energetic operation. The following measures are proposed by the delegates to the Refugees Conference at Bermuda.

The mandate of the Committee should be revised. In order to effect this purpose it is suggested that the mandate should read as follows:

"The Executive Committee of the Intergovernmental Committee is hereby empowered by the member states to undertake negotiations with neutral or Allied states or organizations and to take such steps as may be necessary to preserve, maintain and transport those persons displaced from their homes by their efforts to escape from areas where their lives and liberty are in danger on account of their race, religion or their political beliefs. The operation of the Committee shall extend to all countries from which such persons may have been displaced

by the European war or to which they may be sent in an effort to secure for them a place of refuge. The Executive Committee shall be empowered to receive and disburse for the purposes enumerated above funds, both public and private.'

It is further recommended by the delegates to the Conference at Bermuda that the membership of the Intergovernmental Committee be broadened. Specifically, invitations might be extended to the U. S. S. R., Poland, Greece and Yugoslavia, and possibly, to Spain and Portugal. It must be assumed that France's place on the Executive Committee must now be considered vacant. However, the interests of the citizens of France will be protected by the Committee with the utmost care and the hope that France may soon be able to take her place on the Committee will be constantly borne in mind.

It is recommended that provisions be made for the procurement of funds adequate for the work of the Committee. The Committee should make every effort to secure funds from private sources. In addition, the member states should be urged to make material contributions toward the work of the Committee. The delegates to the Bermuda Conference believe that it would be preferable to revive the theory of pro rata contributions on the Geneva basis. However, they would be prepared to accept as satisfactory a suggestion that these contributions be placed upon a voluntary basis. Considerable increases in the staff of the Executive Committee will be essential to the proper conduct of the important duties which the Committee must assume. The delegates believe that these additions to personnel may be made by the Executive Committee without special authorization from the member states and that they can be effected from time to time as the occasion demands. However, a specific recommendation is made for the creation within the Executive Committee of a management committee composed of a paid chairman, the director, and the secretary.

2. The pressure of events will not permit long delay in the completion of the measures proposed above. If the labors of the Conference on Refugees in Bermuda are not to be in vain, it is essential that early and decisive action be taken upon the proposals which are to be made. The delegates to the Conference at Bermuda therefore propose that their Governments should instruct the American and British representatives of the Intergovernmental Committee to call an immediate meeting or, if possible, to agree among themselves by telegraph regarding the suggestion made for widening the scope of the Committee."

[Dodds]

BECK

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548.G1/46 : Telegram

*The Secretary of State to the Consul General at Hamilton (Beck)*

WASHINGTON, April 23, 1943—11 p. m.

92. Your 128, April 22, 7 p. m. For Dodds from Long. We assume that transportation costs on Rumanian vessels for refugees in question proceeding to Palestine will be in the neighborhood of \$100,000 to \$150,000. Please advise. We have arranged to have funds available

and are glad to be able to state that the American Government will share transportation costs with the British Government. Because of the nationality of the vessels involved we prefer to make payment to British Government. [Long.]

HULL

548.G1/54 : Telegram

*The Consul General at Hamilton (Beck) to the Secretary of State*

HAMILTON, BERMUDA, April 24, 1943—9 p. m.

[Received April 25—4:13 a. m.]

139. Personal for Long from Dodds. I wish to urge personally the importance attached by the American delegates to the proposal for North Africa. Both Lucas and Bloom strongly support my recommendation and hope for early and favorable action. The place of refuge would be removed from the area of direct military action or importance. Perhaps some spot near Mogador might be feasible. The impression created by the removal from Spain all refugees but the Jews would be unfortunate and would furnish ammunition for the pressure groups and even friendly Jewish organizations and humanitarian groups. This would be a concrete example of our desire to contribute to a solution in spite of special difficulties which are recognized fully by every one. Under no circumstances would the delegates recommend British supervision of these temporary places of refuge.

Proposal for refuge in Africa under American administration appears to be only new contribution we can make that would impress public opinion as matching British measures which otherwise will monopolize attention. Consider possible military objections to area removed from war theatre will not impress interested people. [Dodds.]

BECK

548.G1/55 : Telegram

*The Consul General at Hamilton (Beck) to the Secretary of State*

HAMILTON, BERMUDA, April 24, 1943—10 p. m.

[Received April 25—2:29 a. m.]

140. For Long from Dodds. Draft proposal regarding Intergovernmental Committee tentatively accepted today in general with only language modifications. Will telegraph final draft when approved. [Dodds.]

BECK

548.G1/56 : Telegram

*The Consul General at Hamilton (Beck) to the Secretary of State*

HAMILTON, BERMUDA, April 24, 1943—11 p. m.

[Received April 25—2 : 28 a. m.]

141. For Long from Dodds. The British delegates today agreed to recommend to their Military Authorities that the possibility of using Cyrenaica as a place of refuge for Greek or Polish refugees be reexamined. It was felt that this would be a practical illustration of a mutual desire to include on an equal basis refugees of all races and nationalities. Their attitude suggested confidence approval by their Military. [Dodds.]

BECK

548.G1/53 : Telegram

*The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in the United Kingdom (Winant)*

WASHINGTON, April 26, 1943—3 p. m.

2631. Department has received following telegrams from American delegation at Bermuda :

“(No. 133, April 23, 4 p. m.) The American and British delegates agree that some assurance must be given to neutral states in regard to the eventual repatriation of those refugees received by these states. There will be two categories of such persons. First, those who are nationals of Allied Governments and, second, those who are nationals of enemy governments. It would be possible for separate declarations to be issued, similar to the Polish,<sup>31</sup> which might cover those persons in the first category. However, some special declaration is necessary in connection with the repatriation of enemy nationals.

It is obviously impossible for the Intergovernmental Committee to issue such a statement and therefore the situation can be met adequately only by the issuance of a joint declaration by the governments concerned. The delegates have agreed on a formula which will be transmitted in my next telegram. This declaration will also be submitted by the British delegates to their Foreign Office. It is suggested that the British and American Governments give earnest consideration to the possibility of approaching the other governments concerned in order that the declaration may be issued in the near future.

(No. 134, April 23, 5 p. m.) Following is text of proposed joint declaration : ‘The Belgian, Czechoslovak, Greek, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Norwegian, Polish, Soviet, United Kingdom, United States and Yugoslav Governments recognize with gratitude the humanitarian contributions made toward the solution of the refugee problem by those neutral states which accept and preserve those people fortunate

<sup>31</sup> Vol. III, p. 344.



enough to escape across their borders from areas where [their]<sup>32</sup> lives and liberty are in danger on account of their race, religion or their political beliefs. They understand that this action often increases the difficulties already caused by the war within these states. These burdens may, of course, be borne under emergency conditions and for limited periods. It cannot be expected that these countries, some of which are already overcrowded, should maintain these people for an indefinite period.

The above-mentioned Governments hereby declare that [they will] at the termination of this war, admit to their territories all of their nationals who may have been displaced by the war into other countries. They further declare that it is a part of the settled policy of their Governments to ensure such conditions in the territories at present subject to disturbances caused by the war as will enable all such persons, of whatever nationality, to return to their homes at the end of the War.' ”

Following reply is being sent :

“We are completely in accord with the idea of issuing some such joint statement as proposed regarding the repatriation of refugees. This was contemplated by us as indicated in Item C of our proposed agenda for your conference. However, the wording of the statement will require careful consideration by us and the British before presentation to the other Governments for their acceptance in order to minimize controversial issue as might arise, for example, between the Polish and Soviet Governments. For instance, we think that the second sentence of the final paragraph of the proposed declaration as given in your 134 might well refer exclusively to ‘enemy territories’ and to ‘persons, of whatever nationality displaced therefrom’ who are to be returned to their homes.

This telegram is being repeated to our Embassy at London for communication to the British Government with an invitation for suggestion as to the manner in which the other Governments should be approached. Once agreement with the British Government has been reached on specific language, we would be glad to participate in a joint approach to the other Governments or to have the British Government approach them in our name as well as their own.”

Please take action as indicated in last paragraph of above reply and telegraph report as soon as practicable.

HULL

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548.G1/50 : Telegram

*The Secretary of State to the Consul General at Hamilton (Beck)*

WASHINGTON, April 26, 1943—7 p. m.

100. For Dodds. Your 136, April 23, 10 p. m. Your message was submitted to the Honorable Myron Taylor for his suggestions in view

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<sup>32</sup> In telegram No. 230, May 10, 7 p. m., to the Ambassador in the Soviet Union, p. 178, the word “their” was inserted here.

of his close connection with the refugee problem as Chairman of the American Delegation in the Intergovernmental Committee. Mr. Taylor's comments are given below and the Department finds the changes, which Mr. Taylor suggests be made in the proposals envisaged in your telegram, to be advisable and recommends them to the favorable attention of the American delegation.

"1. (Section III, last paragraph <sup>33</sup>) Mr. Taylor thinks there is great disadvantage and no advantage in transferring the negotiating powers of the Committee from the Director's office to the Executive. The Executive Committee was intended to be an informal working group consisting of the Chiefs of certain delegations who might meet more conveniently and on shorter notice than the Committee as a whole. It was always understood that the members of the Executive Committee, being the Chairmen of certain delegations, could not, of course, speak for the Committee as a whole since the Committee consists of the representatives of the sovereign governments. The Executive Committee could, however, advise and recommend, and Mr. Taylor believes it should continue in this capacity. The Director's office, on the other hand, was set up for the specific purpose of negotiating in behalf of the Committee as a whole following such mandates as might be given it by the Committee.

Accordingly, Mr. Taylor believes that in the first sentence of the recommendation the words 'Director's office' should replace the words 'Executive Committee'.

2. (Section III, last paragraph, 2nd sentence) Mr. Taylor does not object to the extension of the mandate of the Committee as proposed in this sentence, subject to the approval of President Roosevelt.

3. (Section III, last paragraph, last sentence) Mr. Taylor does not object to the receipt and disbursement of funds both public and private by the Committee, but believes that the funds should be disbursed by the Director's office with the approval of the Executive Committee. Accordingly, Mr. Taylor proposes that the words 'Executive Committee' on lines 10 and 11 should be replaced by the words 'Director's office, with the approval of the Executive Committee'.

4. (Section III, last line and Section IV, <sup>34</sup> first two sentences) Mr. Taylor agrees that a recommendation should be made for the expansion of the Committee although he recalls that every effort made previously to invite or solicit the collaboration of the Soviet Union was rebuffed and that Portugal turned down all informal efforts to bring it into the Committee because it is suspicious of the Committee's intentions with regard to Angola. However, Mr. Taylor is thoroughly agreeable to trying once more in these two cases and to approaching the other governments.

5. (Section IV, first paragraph, third and last sentences) Mr. Taylor believes that no mention of France should be made. France is entitled to membership on the Executive Committee and certainly in

<sup>33</sup> This reference and those in paragraphs numbered 2 and 3, *infra*, are to last paragraph on p. 162.

<sup>34</sup> This reference and that in paragraph numbered 5, *infra*, are to paragraph on p. 163 beginning, "It is further recommended . . ."

North Africa may have to play an important role in connection with refugees. In fact, the last delegate nominated by the last pre-armistice government of France, M. Georges Coulon, is now in New York where he is acting as Assistant to Prime Minister Paul van Zeeland, Chairman of the Coordinating Foundation. In short, Mr. Taylor feels that the reference to France is gratuitous and should be omitted.

6. (Section IV, page 1, last paragraph and first sentence of Section IV, page 2<sup>37</sup>) Mr. Taylor is in agreement with this recommendation.

7. (Section IV, last paragraph, sixth and seventh sentences) Mr. Taylor agrees with the principle of the recommendation but believes that in Line 2 the words 'Director's office' should be substituted for the words 'Executive Committee', that in line 5 after the word 'personnel' the words 'of the Director's office' should be inserted and that the word 'authorized' should be substituted for the word 'made' in the same sentence.

8. (Section IV, last line, and Section V, first three lines) Mr. Taylor does not approve of the proposal to create within the Executive Committee a Management Committee or to have a paid Chairman of the Committee. He believes that the Director's office subject to the advice and supervision of the Executive Committee should be in fact the Management Committee. Accordingly, he would propose that the words 'paid Director' be substituted for the words 'paid Chairman' and that a Vice Director be added. Accordingly, this recommendation would read:

'However, a specific recommendation is made for the strengthening of the Director's office which shall serve as the Management Committee under the supervision of the Executive and shall be composed of a paid Director, Vice Director and Secretary.'

9. (Section V, last sentence<sup>38</sup>) Mr. Taylor proposes the following:

'The delegates to the Conference at Bermuda therefore propose that their governments should recommend to the Chairman of the Intergovernmental Committee to call an immediate meeting of the Executive Committee at such a place and time as may be agreed upon by the governments therein represented, to consider these proposals.' [']]

Note: Mr. Taylor telephoned from New York after this was prepared and expressed some concern with regard to the recommendation that the Committee, or rather the Director's office, should receive public and private funds. Mr. Taylor recalled that throughout the work of the Intergovernmental Committee there has been a covert duel between the private organizations and the governments, with the private organizations saying they would put in some funds if the governments would put in money, the governments saying they would make some contribution if the private people would provide substantial funds. As a solution of this difficulty there was set up, upon the proposal of President Roosevelt, the Coordinating Foundation which was to draw in the private funds while the Committee would handle

<sup>37</sup> This reference and those in paragraphs numbered 7 and 8, *infra*, are to paragraph on p. 163 beginning, "It is recommended . . ."

<sup>38</sup> This reference is to last sentence of telegram No. 136, p. 163.

only public funds. Former Prime Minister van Zeeland, of Belgium, upon the invitation of the President, was asked to head the Coordinating Foundation. An Anglo-American Board was set up composed of distinguished private individuals with authority in the financial worlds of London and New York. Mr. Taylor suggested this formula was reached after much heartache, and he questions whether it is wise to revive the whole controversy by transferring all the fund raising authority to the Intergovernmental Committee. He, therefore, suggests that in Section III, line 10 (our paragraph 3) the words 'public and private' be omitted and that further thought be given to this whole problem and the use to which the Coordinating Foundation may be put. He thinks it too bad to scrap a piece of machinery which may prove very useful in a fund raising capacity.

HULL

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548.G1/71 : Telegram

*The Consul General at Hamilton (Beck) to the Secretary of State*

HAMILTON, BERMUDA, April 27, 1943—2 a. m.

[Received 5:45 p. m.]

148. For Long from Dodds. Following is the text of recommendations in regard to the proposed reorganization of the Intergovernmental Committee which has been definitely agreed upon by the delegates of the two Governments at Bermuda:

"Recommendations arising out of the proposed utilization of the Intergovernmental Committee in connection with the solution of the problems presented by the refugees.

The American and United Kingdom delegates to the conference held at Bermuda have agreed to the submission to their respective Governments of the following recommendations: These recommendations concern the contribution to be made by the Intergovernmental Committee towards the solution of the pressing problems created by the existence of large numbers of refugees resulting from the present war. It is recognized by both delegations that this problem as it is now constituted can only be solved by the community of civilized nations. The problem is of such magnitude as to be incapable of solution by the United States and Great Britain alone.

Various means of obtaining concerted action between the nations interested in this problem have been considered and it is the unanimous conviction of the delegates to this Conference that the problem should be entrusted to the Intergovernmental Committee. The future welfare of these refugees will be largely dependent upon the successful prosecution of the duties which may be entrusted to the Committee. Special care therefore must be taken to define accurately the scope of these duties and to extend wherever necessary the powers and responsibilities of the Committee.

The Bermuda Conference therefore presents four positive recommendations to the two Governments here represented for considera-

tion by the Executive Committee of the Intergovernmental Committee. These proposals involve new duties for the Intergovernmental Committee, a widening of its field of activity and a strengthening of its organization. They envisage the necessity for negotiations with Allied and neutral Governments but not, of course, with enemy governments. These negotiations will include, for example, approaches in regard to the chartering of neutral shipping, the procurement of places of refuge and in some cases appeal to neutral governments for the furtherance of humanitarian proposals. The area of primary interest to the work of the Intergovernmental Committee should be confined to those countries and peoples from which refugees come as a result of the war in Europe or in which they may find refuge.

The mandate of the Intergovernmental Committee which was adequate at the time it was adopted at the Evian Conference is now unsuited to the emergency created by the war. The limitations imposed upon the work of the Committee by this mandate are evident. Its scope is now restricted to refugees from Germany, Austria and the Sudetenland. It acts under the stipulation that the maintenance and transport of refugees is not to be at the cost of member Governments. It will be for the Intergovernmental Committee to receive and disburse funds both public and private. In addition, the Intergovernmental Committee as it now exists is free under its mandate to negotiate with the German Government on refugee matters. The Committee suffers from a further disability in that its membership does not include some of the United Nations and neutrals whose assistance is of particular value.

It is obvious that these conditions must be altered. It is of the utmost importance that the scope of the activities of the Intergovernmental Committee be broadened so as to permit its efficient and energetic operation.

The following measures are proposed by the delegates to the Refugee Conference at Bermuda:

(a) The Committee should be invited to revise its mandate. In order to effect this purpose it is suggested that the mandate should read as follows:

"The Executive Committee of the Intergovernmental Committee is hereby empowered by the member states to undertake negotiations with neutral or Allied states or organizations and to take such steps as may be necessary to preserve, maintain and transport those persons displaced from their homes by their efforts to escape from areas where their lives and liberty are in danger on account of their race, religion or their political beliefs. The operation of the Committee shall extend to all countries from which refugees come as a result of the war in Europe or in which they may find refuge. The Executive Committee shall be empowered to receive and disburse for the purposes enumerated above funds, both public and private."

(b) It is further recommended by the delegates to the Conference at Bermuda that the membership of the Intergovernmental Committee be broadened. Specifically, invitations might be extended to the USSR, Poland, Greece and Yugoslavia, and possibly to other countries. It is assumed that France's place on the Executive Committee must unfortunately for obvious reasons be considered vacant for the present. However, the interests of the citizens of France will be protected by the Committee with the utmost care and the hope that France

may soon be able to take her place on the Committee will be constantly borne in mind.

(c) It is recommended that provisions be made for the procurement of funds adequate for the work of the Committee. The delegates to the Bermuda Conference believe that it would be preferable to revive the practice of pro rata contributions on the Geneva basis. However, if this should prove impracticable they would regard as reasonable the alternative of voluntary contributions from member Governments. In addition the delegates assume that considerable funds will be available from private sources.

(d) The administrative organization of the Committee is not conducive to efficient correspondence. Considerable increase in the staff of the Executive Committee will be [necessary?] to the proper conduct of the important duties which the Committee must undertake. The delegates believe that these additions to personnel may be made by the Executive Committee without special authorization from the member states and that they can be effected from time to time as the occasion demands. However, a specific recommendation is made for the creation within the Executive Committee of a management committee composed of a salaried chairman, director and secretary.

It is obvious that the pressure of events will not permit long delay in the completion of the measure proposed above. If the labors of the Conference on Refugees in Bermuda are not to be in vain, it is essential that early and decisive action be taken upon the proposals which are to be made. No lack of effort or interest must be permitted to stand in the way of the efficient prosecution of the various measures planned for the alleviation of the unhappy plight of the refugees. The delegates to the Conference at Bermuda meeting propose that the Government should take immediate steps to implement the recommendations relating to the Intergovernmental Committee."

It is the feeling of the delegates that the following steps should be taken in connection with these recommendations:

1. Lord Winterton should be requested by the British and American Governments to secure by telegraph the assent of the other members of the Executive Committee to these proposals. If necessary he should be supported by joint representations made by American and British representatives accredited to the other states on the Executive Committee.

2. When the assent of the Executive Committee to these proposals is secured, the member states of the Intergovernmental Committee should be requested by telegraph to approve of the suggestions made. Requests for such action will be made by the Executive Committee and will again be supported by diplomatic action on the part of the Governments represented on the Executive Committee.

3. As soon thereafter as possible the adhesion of other neutral and Allied states should be sought.

4. When steps 1 and 2 have been completed the Executive Committee should make all necessary changes in or additions to personnel.

[Dodds]

BECK

548.G1/89a : Telegram

*The Secretary of State to the Chairman of the American Delegation to the Bermuda Conference (Dodds)*

WASHINGTON, April 28, 1943—noon.

12. Department has not yet received response to its telegram concerning the use of a location in North Africa as a refugee haven. In view of the intention of the delegates at Bermuda to conclude tomorrow their conference there and further in view of the fact that the Department lacks authority at present to send any instructions which would commit the Government of the United States, I have to suggest that the delegates recommend to their respective Governments that they each take such steps as they may find possible to arrange promptly for places of refuge in such parts of Africa as may be practical, with particular reference to French Morocco, Madagascar, (or French Equatorial Africa) Cyrenaica and Ethiopia.

If such a recommendation is made to the American Government by the Bermuda Conference the American Government will take all practical steps to implement the recommendations of the conference on the understanding that the British Government will do likewise.

Madagascar (or French Equatorial Africa) is desired to be included because of the very delicate de Gaulle-Giraud situation.<sup>41</sup> De Gaulle controls Madagascar and French Equatorial Africa. Giraud has political influence in Morocco. To present Giraud with a proposal which would leave the onus of a refusal on him would be unfair unless an opportunity were presented to de Gaulle to provide a haven in territories under his control or to refuse.<sup>42</sup>

HULL

548.G1/85 : Telegram

*The Consul General at Hamilton (Beck) to the Secretary of State*

HAMILTON, BERMUDA, April 28, 1943—6 p. m.

[Received April 28—2:54 p. m.]

151. For Long from Dodds. The following agreement has been concluded between the American and British delegations.

The United States delegation pointed out to the United Kingdom delegation that on their return to their respective capitals all the delegates would be under heavy pressure to disclose what had been the course of the discussions at the Bermuda Conference, and what had been the recommendations. The British delegation would be

<sup>41</sup> See vol. II, pp. 23 ff.

<sup>42</sup> In telegram No. 157, dated April 29, 11 a. m., from the Consul General at Hamilton, the Chairman of the American Delegation indicated that the recommendation regarding Madagascar was agreed to by Law (548.G1/90).

faced with a debate in the House of Commons, which was not of the government's seeking, while in both the Senate and Congress searching questions might very well be addressed to Senator Lucas and Congressman Bloom. It would be very embarrassing to both sides to refuse information and take their stand on the secrecy of the whole proceedings, if one side then made any facts public without due warning and before a mutual agreement had been reached.

It was therefore agreed that none of the delegates, and neither of their Governments would disclose any of the proceedings of the Conference or its recommendations except by mutual agreement sought through the diplomatic channel.

The delegates expressed the hope that it might very soon be possible for their Governments to make certain items public, at intervals, and it was recognized that the recommendations regarding the Inter-governmental Committee, when passed on to a number of foreign governments would have to be disclosed. But both delegations agreed that such publication would only be made by mutual agreement and should be simultaneous. [Dodds.]

BECK

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548.G1/86: Telegram

*The Consul General at Hamilton (Beck) to the Secretary of State*

HAMILTON, BERMUDA, April 28, 1943—10 p. m.

[Received April 29—1:48 a. m.]

155. For Byington<sup>43</sup> from Bucknell. Following is text of joint communiqué which we are issuing tomorrow, April 29, at 3 p. m. EWT.

"The United States and United Kingdom delegates examined the refugee problem in all its aspects including the position of those potential refugees who are still in the grip of the Axis Powers without any immediate prospect of escape. Nothing was excluded from their analysis and everything that held out any possibility, however remote, of a solution of the problem was carefully investigated and thoroughly discussed. From the outset it was realized that any recommendation that the delegates could make to their Governments must pass two tests: Would any recommendation submitted interfere with or delay the war effort of the United Nations and was the recommendation capable of accomplishment under war conditions? [The] delegates at Bermuda felt bound to reject certain proposals which were not capable of meeting these tests.

The delegates were able to agree on a number of concrete recommendations which they are jointly submitting to their Governments and which, it is felt, will pass the tests set forth above and will lead to the relief of a substantial number of refugees of all races and nationalities. Since the recommendations necessarily concern governments

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<sup>43</sup> Homer M. Byington, Jr., of the Division of Current Information.



other than those represented at the Bermuda Conference and involve military considerations, they must remain confidential. It may be said, however, that in the course of discussion the refugee problem was broken down into its main elements. Questions of shipping, food and supply were fully investigated.

The delegates also agreed on recommendations regarding the form of intergovernmental organization which was best fitted, in their opinion, to handle the problem in the future. This organization would have to be flexible enough to permit it to consider without prejudice any new factors that might come to its attention.

In each of these fields the delegates were able to submit agreed proposals for consideration of their respective governments."

[Bucknell]

BECK

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548.G1/86: Telegram

*The Secretary of State to the Consul General at Hamilton (Beck)*

WASHINGTON, April 29, 1943.

107. Your 155, April 28, 10 p. m. Department had been of the thought that the conference on its own responsibility would make a statement to the press. Department feels sure that public opinion will desire some statement and that the public will not understand the reasons for the use of the words "they must remain confidential" in the second paragraph. If the conference continues of the same opinion it is suggested that there be inserted at the end of the quoted phrase the words "until the delegates can consult their respective governments". Department would not now bring this to the attention of the delegates were it not considered of real importance from the point of view of public relations not only for the delegation but for the Department itself.

HULL

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548.G1/104h: Telegram

*The Secretary of State to the Consul General at Hamilton (Beck)*

WASHINGTON, April 29, 1943—5 p. m.

15. For Dodds. In view of the possible adverse press and public criticism which may follow the withholding of information as you propose, the Department feels that it is most important that as frank a statement as possible of your recommendations be published immediately after your arrival in this country.

As the members of both delegations will be together in New York I have instructed Travers<sup>44</sup> to meet you at airport with the thought

<sup>44</sup> Howard K. Travers, Chief of the Visa Division.

that a statement may be approved by both delegations and telegraphed to London for concurrence in order Joint statement may be released by both Governments Sunday afternoon.

HULL

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548.G1/106 : Telegram

*The Ambassador in the United Kingdom (Winant) to the Secretary of State*

LONDON, May 5, 1943—midnight.

[Received May 5—8:45 p. m.]

3134. With reference to Department's 2631, April 26, 3 p. m. I have just received the following letter from the Foreign Office.

"Thank you for your letter of the 27th April enclosing copies of a proposed joint declaration by the Allied Governments, drawn up by the United States and British delegations at Bermuda, by which it is proposed to give certain guarantees in regard to maintenance and movement of refugees in neutral, enemy or enemy occupied territories, together with a copy of a telegram addressed to the United States delegation by the State Department embodying the Department's comments.

I am in general agreement with the declaration as drafted and approved by the two delegations and have so informed Mr. Law, adding, however, that your Government are considering the advisability of introducing certain modifications which I am having examined.

I have given careful thought to the views of the State Department in this matter, particularly with reference to the possibility of the present wording of the declaration raising controversial issues with the Soviet Government. I fully agree that we should do all we can to avoid such a contingency, and I would therefore suggest that it might be advisable for us to follow the line which as you know has been taken on certain other occasions where multilateral agreements with the Soviet Government were concerned, and consult the latter before submitting the proposed draft instrument to the other prospective signatories. I shall therefore be grateful if you will communicate our view to the State Department, and inform me in due course of the result of any discussions which they may have had on the subject with the Soviet Government.

I assume that the United States Government would wish to make their approach to the Soviet Government through their representative in Washington, but if it is preferred that the matter should be taken up by His Majesty's Government I shall, of course, be glad to approach Monsieur Maisky<sup>45</sup> here.

As regards the general sense of the modifications proposed by the State Department in the last sentence of the draft declarations, it might be advisable to defer offering any further comments until the receipt of the views of our respective delegations, and also of the agreement in principle of your Government to the proposed approach to the Soviet Government.

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<sup>45</sup> I. M. Maisky, Soviet Ambassador in the United Kingdom.

Finally, as regards the communication which will ultimately have to be made to the Allied Governments I feel that it might be appropriate if this was done in London—since all the Allied Governments (except the Greek) are established in this country—through our duly accredited representatives.” (Signed Anthony Eden).

WINANT

548.G1/201

*The Secretary of State to President Roosevelt*

WASHINGTON, May 7, 1943.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: The American and British Delegates to the recent Bermuda Conference on Refugees have unanimously recommended a program of positive action involving a number of specific steps which should be taken in an effort to alleviate the plight of European refugees. I am enclosing a copy of a summary or outline of the recommendations for your information.<sup>46</sup>

You will note that the recommendations fall within two general and distinct categories; (a) those requiring action by the American and British Governments, and (b) those requiring action by all governments through the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, which was organized at Evian, France in 1938. With reference to the first category, the most urgent and important of the items recommended at Bermuda concerns the evacuation of some 5,000 persons from Bulgaria via Turkey to Palestine. This recommendation has been approved with the understanding that the Government of the United States would contribute half of the necessary expense, the payment of which has been arranged in the amount of several hundred thousand dollars.

Another important recommendation requiring action by the Government of the United States, as well as by the British Government, relates to the movement of some 20,000 refugees from Spain to North Africa, not only to relieve the Spanish authorities of the present burden, but also in order to make it possible for Spain to receive more and more refugees who in turn may be evacuated to North Africa. This raises at once a question of major policy. Temporary refuge in North Africa is not approved by the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The opinion of the Combined Chiefs of Staff has therefore been requested.<sup>46a</sup> General Giraud, after discussing the matter with General Eisenhower, has agreed that after the completion of the movement to North Africa of some 14,000 of these refugees, who are French, the remainder, which consists of the so-called stateless Central Europeans may be welcome to North Africa where many of them may be able to contribute something to the common military effort.

<sup>46</sup> Not found in Department files.

<sup>46a</sup> For letters from the Joint Chiefs of Staff to the Secretary of State, April 26 and May 7, see pp. 296 and 299, respectively.

With reference to the second category of recommendations of the Bermuda Conference, namely, those requiring action by the Intergovernmental Committee which was organized at Evian, France in 1938, I attach a draft of a suggested cablegram to be sent to our Embassy at London<sup>47</sup> proposing that the British Chairman of the Intergovernmental Committee call a meeting thereof in Washington in the near future in order that the program recommended at Bermuda may be put into effect as soon as possible.

Mr. Myron C. Taylor, who is the American member of the Intergovernmental Committee and of its Executive Committee, and who is no doubt desirable to you as the person to continue the work with which he has been identified, has raised certain questions of purpose and authority to the effect that a meeting of the Intergovernmental Committee, or the Executive Committee thereof, would be futile unless the American and British Governments are prepared to lead the way for the other governments and to make definite commitments regarding the assumption of our share of the cost of evacuation, transportation, maintenance, and eventual repatriation of a large number of persons, which may run into millions of dollars. We would also be obligated to find not only temporary places of refuge but permanent places of settlement for refugees.

These questions require decisions of high policy, about which I must consult you.

1. The unknown cost of moving an undetermined number of persons from an undisclosed place to an unknown destination, a scheme advocated by certain pressure groups, is, of course, out of the question. However, as a practical matter it may be possible for the Government of the United States to undertake its share of cost in financing from time to time the movement of a specific number of persons from a particular place to a designated destination, as determined upon by the Intergovernmental Committee.

2. The immigration quotas of the United States are sufficient to accommodate a large number of Central European refugees who are able to qualify individually under the immigration laws. Any attempt to bring refugees into the country without compliance with the immigration laws, or in excess of quota limitations, would be likely to result in throwing the whole refugee question into Congress, where there is a prevailing sentiment for even more drastic curtailment of immigration into this country in time of war when our own citizens are going abroad to lay down their lives, if necessary, for their country.

3. So far as the United States is concerned, admission under the quota includes the privilege of permanent residence. However, it is not believed that places of permanent settlement in other countries would be as readily offered as temporary asylum or refuge. This question was explored and discussed at great length at Bermuda and

<sup>47</sup> President Roosevelt approved this telegram and it was sent as No. 3128, May 15, midnight, to the Ambassador in the United Kingdom, p. 180.

the conclusion was reached that the desire of refugees to settle permanently must be subordinated to the wishes of the country of asylum if any appreciable number of them are to be saved.

The following questions are therefore posed with respect to the first phase of the implementation of the program drafted at Bermuda:

1. Do you agree that North Africa may be used as a depot for those refugees who can be evacuated from Spain without interference with military operations and with the full approval of the military commanders in that area?

This would approve the recommendations of the Bermuda Conference to save as many as quickly as possible, providing them with temporary asylum in Africa and obtaining commitments for their post-war return to their home countries.

2. Should we undertake to defray a part of the cost of moving these and other particular groups from one place to another from time to time, and if so, what funds will be available for that purpose?

3. I cannot recommend that we open the question of relaxing the provisions of our immigration laws and run the risk of a prolonged and bitter controversy in Congress on the immigration question—considering the generous quantity of refugees we have already received.

4. I cannot recommend that we bring in refugees as temporary visitors and thus lay ourselves open to possible charges of nullification or evasion of the national origins principle embodied in the quota laws.

The above-indicated course would obviate either of these last two possibilities.

May I have your directives for determination of the recommendations of the refugee program formulated at Bermuda.

Faithfully yours,

CORDELL HULL

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548.G1/120a: Telegram

*The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in the Soviet Union  
(Standley)*

WASHINGTON, May 10, 1943—7 p. m.

230. The American and British delegates to the Conference on refugees at Bermuda agreed that some assurance must be given to neutral states in regard to the eventual repatriation of those refugees received by these states. There will be two categories of such persons: First, those who are nationals of Allied Governments and, second, those who are nationals of enemy Governments. It would be possible for separate declarations to be issued, similar to the Polish, which might cover those persons in the first category. However, some special declaration is necessary in connection with the repatriation of enemy nationals.

It is obviously impossible for the Inter-Governmental Committee to issue such a statement and therefore the situation can be met ade-

quately only by the issuance of a joint declaration by the governments concerned. The delegates have agreed on a formula which is transmitted below :

[Here follows text of proposed joint declaration quoted in telegram No. 2631, April 26, 3 p. m., to the Ambassador in the United Kingdom, printed on page 165.]

The British Foreign Office has indicated its general approval of the text of the declaration. However, before an approach is made to the other Governments concerned it is desired to obtain the views of the Soviet Government. You should therefore seek an early opportunity to secure approval of the declaration.

Should objection be made to the second sentence of the final paragraph you are authorized to suggest a change providing specifically for reference to "enemy territories" and to "persons of whatever nationality displaced therefrom".

HULL

548.G1/201

*Memorandum by President Roosevelt to the Secretary of State*

WASHINGTON, May 14, 1943.

In regard to your letter of May seventh, following the Bermuda conference, I suggest on Page #4—Paragraph #1,<sup>48</sup> that we do not give unlimited promises but that we undertake with Britain to share the cost of financing from time to time any specific cases.

As to Paragraph #2, I do not think we can do other than comply strictly with the present immigration laws.

I agree that North Africa may be used as a depot for those refugees but not a permanent residence without full approval of all authorities. I know, in fact, that there is plenty of room for them in North Africa but I raise the question of sending large numbers of Jews there. That would be extremely unwise.

On Page #6—Paragraph #2,<sup>49</sup> I think we should defray a part of the cost of moving. Can this come out of Lehman's funds?

As to Paragraph #3, I agree with you that we cannot open the question of our immigration laws.

I agree with you as to bringing in temporary visitors. We have already brought in a large number.

I have okayed the telegram, which I return herewith.

F[RANKLIN] D. R[OSEVELT]

<sup>48</sup> Paragraph numbered 1, p. 177.

<sup>49</sup> Paragraph numbered 2, p. 178.

548.G1/121 : Telegram

*The Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Standley) to the Secretary of State*

Moscow, May 15, 1943—1 p. m.

[Received May 15—11:56 a. m.]

457. Department's 230, May 10, 7 p. m., to Kuibyshev. Please clarify what is meant by the separate declaration "similar to the Polish".

STANDLEY

548.G1/201a : Telegram

*The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in the United Kingdom (Winant)*

WASHINGTON, May 15, 1943—midnight.

3128. The conference on refugees at Bermuda having been terminated the American and British Governments have the recommendations of the conferees. These recommendations require action by and in respect of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees. Both Governments desiring speedily to implement the recommendations of the conferees, a meeting should be called of the Executive Committee of the Intergovernmental Committee to be followed in short order by a meeting of the full Committee.

We wish you to approach Mr. Eden at once and ask him to propose on behalf of this Government to the Chairman of the Intergovernmental Committee that he convoke at the earliest practicable date a meeting of the Executive Committee, at a place to be agreed upon by the Governments members of the Executive Committee. (In view of the French situation<sup>50</sup> we agree that the sending of any invitation to the French representative should be omitted.) Please inform Mr. Eden that this Government would be agreeable to Washington as the place of both meetings, in which event we would suggest that the Executive Committee meet on June 1 in Washington under the present chairmanship and that the full Committee meet also in Washington shortly thereafter at the call of the Executive Committee. As the Food Conference<sup>51</sup> opens on May 18 arrangements for the refugee conference cannot well be made before June 1. Besides some time will be necessary to notify the member Governments and to permit them to appoint and instruct their representatives. It is assumed

<sup>50</sup> Vichy France had severed diplomatic relations with the United States on November 8, 1942.

<sup>51</sup> See pp. 820 ff.

that, in the large number of cases at least, those representatives will be the chiefs of mission here so that the meeting need not long be delayed.

This message has been seen and approved by the President.

HULL

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548.G1/121 : Telegram

*The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in the Soviet Union  
(Standley)*

WASHINGTON, May 17, 1943—3 p. m.

321. Your 457, May 15, 1 p. m. Prior to the Bermuda Conference the Polish Government made a declaration in regard to the return after the war to Polish territories of Polish nationals. It was at first contemplated that each of the United Nations should make similar declarations. However this idea was dropped and the proposed joint declaration was substituted therefor.

HULL

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840.48 Refugees/3791 : Telegram

*The Ambassador in the United Kingdom (Winant) to the Secretary  
of State*

LONDON, May 17, 1943—midnight.

[Received May 18—1:10 a. m.]

3415. I brought the contents of Department's 3128, May 15, midnight, to Mr. Eden's attention and have just received the following communication from him.

"In reply to your letter of May 17 and following our conversation on the same day, I enclose my comments on the message you were good enough to send me regarding the meeting of the Intergovernmental Refugee Committee.

I should be grateful if in sending my comments to your Government, you would explain that on May 8th I sent instructions to our Ambassador to represent to the State Department<sup>52</sup> our anxiety to proceed forthwith with the Bermuda Conference recommendations regarding the Intergovernmental Committee, and putting certain points which it seemed to us it might be convenient to settle between our two Governments before the Executive Committee met. We should at the same time as we pursue the question of the calling to-

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<sup>52</sup> British *aide-mémoire* of May 11, left at the Department by Mr. Law, missing from Department files.



gether of the Intergovernmental Committee, be very glad to have your Government's observations on the points we raised."

Begin quote enclosure referred to in Mr. Eden's letter:

"His Majesty's Government is in entire agreement with the United States Government in the desire to implement speedily the recommendations of the American and British delegations at Bermuda, and in particular regarding the early meeting of the Executive Committee of the Intergovernmental Committee. Mr. Eden will at once approach Lord Winterton, the Chairman of the Intergovernmental Committee, and ask him to convoke a meeting of the Executive Committee through an approach to the Argentine, Brazilian and Netherlands Governments.

It is noted that in the message of May 15 from the Department of State it is suggested that the place of meeting should be agreed on by all the Government-members of the Executive Committee. So far as His Majesty's Government is concerned they would be willing to meet at any place convenient to the other Government members, but in view of the fact that the present chairman and director are both in London and the headquarters of two of the member Governments are in the same capital, it had already occurred to His Majesty's Government that there might be an advantage in having the smaller meeting of the Executive Committee in London, to be followed by the meeting of the full Committee in Washington. Another and more important advantage of having the first meeting in London would be that the Executive Committee, in reconstituting itself and thereafter trying to bring about a meeting of the full Committee on a wider basis, will need unofficial contacts with other Governments of the United Nations established in London. Questions of some difficulty may present themselves which could be more easily smoothed out by informal conversations with the Government concerned than by diplomatic correspondence, whereas if the smaller committee meets in Washington with some of these anticipated questions unsolved an inconvenient gap may occur between the ending of the Executive Committee and the date on which the Plenary Committee can assemble.

While therefore repeating that as far as His Majesty's Government are concerned they should agree to any place convenient to all fellow members of the Executive Committee, would like to suggest that the advantages should be represented to the United States Government of calling the Executive Committee to meet in London to dispose of all anticipated or unforeseen difficulties as quickly as possible so as to permit of the meeting in Washington of the Plenary Committee at a very early date. While awaiting a reply regarding the place of meeting, His Majesty's Government will forthwith ask Lord Winterton to issue invitations as proposed in the American note, leaving open for the time being the question of place. As for the date, it may be that by meeting in London the Executive Committee assemble earlier than suggested, so making it possible for the Plenary Committee to meet in the first half of June."

548.G1/191

*Statement Issued to the Press by the Department of State,  
May 19, 1943*

The delegates appointed by the American and British Governments to confer at Bermuda upon the refugee problem have now terminated their discussions and have submitted a report<sup>53</sup> to their respective governments. The two governments have received this and are at present engaged in carrying out its recommendations. Throughout the discussions at Bermuda, the United States and British delegations as well as the two governments worked in complete harmony and in a spirit of mutual cooperation. The report was submitted as a joint report and contains no divergence of opinion.

While the details must be regarded as confidential so long as a knowledge of the recommendations contained therein would be of aid or comfort to our enemies or might adversely affect the refugees whom all are trying to aid, certain facts may now be made public.

The two delegations accomplished the useful task of dividing suggestions and proposals for the solution of the refugee problem into two categories: (1) what was possible under existing war conditions and (2) what was impossible under these same conditions.

All suggestions were measured by two strict criteria. In the first place, nothing could be recommended that would interfere with or delay the war effort of the United Nations, and, secondly, any recommendation submitted must be capable of accomplishment under war conditions.

The shipping problem was recognized to be of the utmost urgency and it was agreed that any plan looking to the diverting of allied shipping from the war effort to remove or care for refugees would present considerations of a military character which would disclose almost insuperable difficulties. It was also agreed that no negotiations with Hitler could be undertaken since his entire record has left no doubt that he would only agree to such solutions as would be of direct aid to the Axis war aims.

The conference was, however, able to recommend measures both for removing refugees from neutral countries and, in those cases where such removal was not possible, for giving assurances of international cooperation in the future of the refugee problem so far as it affected them.

It also recommended a number of temporary refugee havens to which refugees could be transported and maintained if and when shipping should become available. At least one such movement has been effected.

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<sup>53</sup> Not found in Department files.

Certain measures of a financial nature to cover necessary expenses and a declaration of intention to provide for repatriation upon the termination of hostilities were also recommended.

The conference also submitted a plan for an expanded and more efficient inter-governmental organization with increased authority to meet the problems created or likely to arise under war conditions.

Some of these measures are now being put into effect and others, it is hoped, will soon be possible. It is therefore believed that the practical results of the recommendations submitted by the conference will soon become apparent.

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548.G1/136 : Telegram

*The Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Standley) to the Secretary of State*

Moscow, May 21, 1943—7 p. m.  
[Received 11:59 p. m.]

500. The Department's 230, May 10, 7 p. m., to Kuibyshev. I delayed presenting this matter to the Soviet Government until I had an opportunity to discuss it with Molotov<sup>54</sup> with whom I had an appointment yesterday. In the meantime, however, the British Ambassador has advised me that the British and American Governments have not agreed on the wording of the last sentence of the draft declaration referring to the territories to be affected by the aforementioned assurance. He said that the State Department had taken the view that in order to minimize such an issue as might arise for example between the Soviet and Polish Governments the last sentence should refer exclusively to "enemy territories" and to "persons of whatever nationality displaced therefrom" who are to be returned to their homes; that in the view of the British Government this suggested modification would be too restricted and that the British Government would like to see the words "enemy territories or territories in enemy occupation" substituted for the words "territories". The Ambassador said that he had been instructed to consult with me on this question pointing out that the British Government desired him to associate [himself] with the American approach to the Soviet Government. [Since the British and American Governments] had not yet agreed upon the wording of the last sentence of the draft, [I] suggested that either no approach be made until full agreement had been reached between the two Governments on the draft or the approach at this stage be confined merely to ascertaining whether the Soviet Government would agree that a joint declaration should be made.

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<sup>54</sup> V. M. Molotov, Vice-Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Soviet Union.

In view of the above I have postponed taking this question up with the Soviet Government. The Department's instructions are requested.  
STANDLEY

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548.G1/154a : Telegram

*The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in the Soviet Union  
(Standley)*

WASHINGTON, May 22, 1943—11 p. m.

345. Your 500, May 21, 7 p. m. Department approves your action in postponing presentation of question to Soviet Government in view of British Ambassador's statements, and will consult British Government again and send you new instructions.

HULL

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840.48 Refugees/3633

*The Secretary of State to President Roosevelt*

WASHINGTON, May 22, 1943.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: You asked about the proposed Ottawa conference to consider the refugee problem. The suggestion came about in the following way:

On January 20 the British Government submitted an *aide-mémoire* reviewing Great Britain's activity in helping Jewish refugees, making some inquiry as to what the United States could do in addition to what it had done, and suggesting that the matter was essentially a United Nations problem which might be dealt with in a United Nations conference.

We replied under date of February 25, reviewing what the United States had done, expressing our deep interest in the problem of racial, religious and political persecution and suggesting instead of a United Nations conference that the Executive Committee of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, which you will remember was the product of the Evian Conference, be used as the instrumentality for the work, partly because it already existed, and further suggesting that a preliminary conference between the United States and Great Britain be held in Ottawa for the purpose of developing the possible field of action of that Committee.

In suggesting such a conference it was thought that it would be preferable to have the coordinated activity of the American and British Governments as a guide to the contemplated work of the Executive Committee of the Intergovernmental Committee.

I am enclosing copies of the British *aide-mémoire* and of our reply.<sup>55</sup>

Faithfully yours,

CORDELL HULL

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<sup>55</sup> *Ante*, pp. 134 and 140, respectively.

548.G1/142: Telegram

*The Ambassador in the United Kingdom (Winant) to the Secretary of State*

LONDON, May 27, 1943—midnight.

[Received May 27—10:25 p. m.]

3657. Mr. Eden asked me and Lord Winterton, Chairman of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, to meet him in his office this afternoon in order to go over certain points which he thought our two Governments would like to consider before the meeting of the Executive Committee. He said the invitations were ready to go out to the other members of the Executive Committee, namely, the Argentine, Brazilian and Netherlands Governments (it being agreed that France should be omitted) as soon as the place and time of meeting had been determined. He mentioned he hoped he would hear from us shortly about this on the basis of his note transmitted in my 3415, May 17, 12 midnight.

The points raised by Mr. Eden on which he would like the American Government's opinion with a view to completing our understanding before the Executive Committee meets were the following:

(1) Shall the Executive Committee, when it meets, invite to the plenary meeting all the original members of the Intergovernmental Committee? With the agreed upon omission of France, the British Government's opinion was in the affirmative, and Mr. Eden thought that the member Governments would find the invitations acceptable, with the possible exception of Switzerland. He believed in any case that should a sufficient number of member Governments agree, the meeting of the Plenary Committee could then be called.

(2) In order to eliminate the necessity of the Executive Committee first calling together a full meeting of the Intergovernmental Committee with its present membership we felt that the Executive Committee could consult with the Governments as to the final membership of the Plenary Committee to be called in Washington and as to the agenda to be considered. If you approve of this procedure then the question of the Governments to be asked should be agreed upon by the British and ourselves before the Executive Committee meets. The British thought certainly that Russia, Poland, Greece and Yugoslavia also should be invited, and they sought our views with respect to Spain and Portugal.

(3) Where should the headquarters of the Intergovernmental Committee be established? Mr. Eden reiterated the reasons outlined in my 3415, May 17, 12 midnight in favor of the choice of London as the place of meeting of the Executive Committee, but suggested Washington as the place of meeting of the Plenary Committee.

(4) For which category of refugees should the full Intergovernmental Committee be responsible? The British favored the Bermuda Conference formula as set forth in chapter 5 of the conference re-

port,<sup>56</sup> namely all refugees from religious, racial and political oppression in Axis held countries.

In the course of our conversation Lord Winterton raised the question of the relationship between the Intergovernmental Committee and the League of Nations refugee bodies. Since Sir Herbert Emerson is director of the former and is also League of Nations High Commissioner for Refugees there is at present no problem, but should it be decided later to have a younger man replace Sir Herbert the relationship referred to above would need to be considered. Lord Winterton also mentioned that should the headquarters of the Intergovernmental Committee be established in Washington, as he personally hoped it might be, his parliamentary duties in London might make it difficult for him to continue as chairman, and he suggested that he be replaced by an American. Lord Winterton finally raised the point of financing future refugee work. He referred to the funds hitherto largely derived from private Jewish organizations and he suggested that in view of the wider scope recommended by the Bermuda Conference, financing henceforth be made a Government responsibility. No definite opinions were expressed concerning these questions raised by Lord Winterton since we felt they were matters which might more appropriately be taken up later when the Plenary Committee meets in Washington.

With respect to the numbered points set forth above I would be grateful if the Department could give me its views for communication to Mr. Eden as soon as possible, as he believes that a preliminary understanding with us would assist the Executive Committee in drawing up its agenda and proceeding quickly with its work.

WINANT

548.G1/180

*Memorandum by Mr. George L. Brandt, Executive Assistant to the Assistant Secretary of State (Long)*

[WASHINGTON,] June 3, 1943.

Subject: Proposed Joint Declaration of United States and European Allies to Give Assurance for Repatriation of European Refugees upon the Termination of the War

Prior to initialing the attached draft telegram to the Embassy at London<sup>57</sup> on the above matter, Dr. Bowman<sup>58</sup> raised with Mr. Long and Mr. Brandt the question whether the declaration contemplated the repatriation of Quislings or other traitors, as for example, in the

<sup>56</sup> Not found in Department files.

<sup>57</sup> Airgram No. 791, June 7, 6 p. m., *infra*.

<sup>58</sup> Isaiah Bowman, President of Johns Hopkins University and member of the Advisory Committee on Postwar Foreign Policy.

case of a Quisling who had fled from Belgium to Spain. It was agreed that the declaration would not cover such persons in as much as they would not be considered as persons displaced from their native country "and who have sought refuge in other countries, because of persecution on account of their race or their religious or political beliefs", in the language of the declaration, the emphasis being primarily on the word "persecution". The case of any person claiming repatriation under the terms of the declaration would be subject to examination.

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548.G1/136: Airgram

*The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in the United Kingdom  
(Winant)*

WASHINGTON, June 7, 1943—6 p. m.

791. Reference Department's 2631 of April 26, 3 p. m.

1. Upon receipt your reply no. 3134, May 5, midnight, Department telegraphed Ambassador at Kuibyshev requesting him to obtain the views of the Soviet Government on the proposed joint declaration relating to the repatriation of refugees, in the language recommended at the Bermuda conference. The Ambassador was informed that the British Foreign Office had indicated its general approval of the text but that should objection be made by Soviet authorities to the second sentence of the final paragraph he might suggest a change providing specifically for reference to "enemy territories" and to "persons of whatever nationality displaced therefrom".

2. Ambassador now telegraphs British Ambassador informs him British Government desires associate itself with American approach to Soviet Government but that as it has not yet agreed upon wording last sentence of draft it suggests either no approach be made until full agreement reached between our two Governments on draft or that approach at this stage be confined merely to ascertaining whether Soviet Government would agree that a joint declaration should be made. British Ambassador stated further that his Government considered modified language proposed by Department to be too restricted and that it would like to see the words "enemy territories or territories in enemy occupation" substituted for the words "enemy territories". American Ambassador accordingly has postponed taking up question with Soviet Government pending Department's further instructions.

3. The proposed joint declaration, in the wording recommended at Bermuda, first states, in the initial sentence of the second paragraph, that the Allied Governments named, upon the termination of the war, "will admit to their territories all their nationals who may have

been displaced by the war into other countries". The next and final sentence states that it is a part of the settled policy of those Governments "to ensure such conditions in the territories at present subject to disturbances caused by the war as will enable all such persons, of whatever nationality, to return to their homes at the end of the war".

4. The Department considered it possible that the Soviet Government might refuse to join in any declaration obligating it to receive in their former homes persons, other than Soviet nationals, displaced from territories now under enemy occupation. The Department therefore suggested that the final sentence refer only to "enemy territories", leaving the first sentence to cover the occupied territories. It is now seen that that sentence only provides for the return of the "nationals" of the occupied territories and also, that French territory in occupation would not be covered. Presumably, British objection to the change arises from those considerations.

5. The Department now proposes that the second paragraph of the declaration read as follows: "The above-mentioned Governments hereby declare that they will, at the termination of this war, admit to their territories all of their nationals who may have been displaced by the war into other countries. They further declare that it is a part of the settled policy of their Governments to ensure such conditions in the enemy countries and the countries under enemy occupation as will permit the return thereto of all persons, of whatever nationality, now displaced therefrom and who have sought refuge in other countries, because of persecution on account of their race or their religious or political beliefs."

6. The Department suggests this language because it promises the return of the persons in question to the "countries" of their former domicile rather than to their former "homes" which could mean the precise places where they had resided. Thus, there would be allowed a broader latitude of action in the resettlement of the displaced persons. This might particularly be more acceptable to the Soviet Government. Finally, the Department believes that the declaration should identify the persons to be repatriated as those who are refugees from persecution for racial, religious or political reasons, they being the only persons in whose behalf the declaration is to be made.

7. Please take up the question with the appropriate British authorities and report their views as promptly as possible. Inform them that the Department is of the opinion that it would be advisable for the American Ambassador at Kuibyshev to approach the Soviet Government with a text of the proposed declaration to facilitate that Government's consideration of the proposal.



548.G1/165b : Telegram

*The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in the United Kingdom  
(Winant)*

WASHINGTON, June 25, 1943—1 p. m.

3879. For the Ambassador's information only. Your 3415, May 17 midnight, and 3657, May 27 midnight, and also *aide-mémoire* of May 11 left by Mr. Law in Department,<sup>59</sup> regarding implementation of recommendations of Bermuda Refugee Conference.

1. On June 18, with the approval of the Secretary, Mr. Myron C. Taylor met with Lord Halifax. Mr. Taylor outlined a plan for initial agreement between the American and British Governments involving the following elements:

- I. Agreement between Britain and United States on place of temporary refuge.
- II. Agreement to bear expense jointly.
- III. Meeting of Intergovernmental Executive Committee in London to
  1. Appoint a full time Vice Director (American) ?
  2. Appoint a full time Secretary (?)
- IV. Agreement that after arrival at place of temporary refuge United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration will maintain refugees until end of war when they may
  - A. Return to their homes
  - B. Be transferred to places of permanent residence
- V. British and American Embassies or Legations in the countries concerned would delegate each a representative to carry out the plans for transit and reception of refugees.
- VI. With these agreements the Director's Office in London may contact all countries represented upon the Intergovernmental Committee to secure
  - A. Offers to accept refugees
  - B. Contributions to the fund for support of the office
  - C. Contributions to the funds for transit of refugees and their maintenance in places of temporary refuge.
- VII. Under these conditions no meeting of full Intergovernmental Committee would be necessary at this time.
- VIII. Any change of authority by Intergovernmental Committee enlarging scope to include all refugees can be accomplished without Intergovernmental Committee full meeting by letters to be secured from representatives of government members in London.

2. Mr. Taylor reported that Lord Halifax appeared to favor this plan and said that he would present it to London immediately.

HULL.

<sup>59</sup> *Aide-mémoire* missing from Department files.

840.48 Refugees/3919a

*The Under Secretary of State (Welles) to President Roosevelt*

WASHINGTON, June 30, 1943.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Following the recommendations of the Bermuda Conference we have been in negotiation with the British Government to arrive at a method of procedure and have now received from the British Embassy the agreement of the British Government to a proposal made to them in writing by Mr. Myron Taylor after consultation with Mr. Hull. This is particularly gratifying. Among other things it provides for a meeting in London of the Executive Committee of the Intergovernmental Committee and it is our thought that it will operate under a British chairman with an American as Director of Operations acting under him and with a secretary from some other country, probably the Netherlands.

Mr. Taylor has been so long identified with this work it is hard to think of carrying it on without his continuing participation. I know he has some reluctance to continue active on this account, due largely to his occupation in post-war studies and other activities here.

I discussed the matter with Mr. Hull and we were of the opinion that it would be well if you would ask Mr. Taylor to continue. He need not necessarily devote his personal time and energy to attending meetings for he could designate an alternate and could in fact name the Director of Operations mentioned above. This Director could report through the Department to Mr. Taylor so that he could be generally advised of the movements and developments of the work carried out by the Executive Committee.

If you agree, I wonder if you would not be willing personally to let Mr. Taylor know of your desire that he continue. I think his continuation would be particularly welcome to all of the groups directly interested in this work and I feel that it would likewise assist greatly in the successful completion of the work.<sup>59a</sup>

Believe me

Faithfully yours,

SUMNER WELLES

840.48 Refugees/3924

*The Department of State to the British Embassy*

AIDE-MÉMOIRE

With reference to the *Aide-Mémoire* dated June 29, 1943, handed by Mr. Hayter of the British Embassy to Mr. Reams of the State

<sup>59a</sup> Mr. Taylor was unable to attend the August meeting, and, as indicated in telegram No. 5069 from London, August 4, 10 p.m., p. 199, Ambassador Winant was present instead.

Department,<sup>80</sup> concerning the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, the United States Government concurs in the views of His Majesty's Government as outlined therein, with the following qualifications:

Paragraph III. The United States Government would prefer that the Chairman of the Executive Committee continue to be the British representative.

The United States Government agrees with His Majesty's Government in the proposal that invitations be extended by telegram to the Brazilian, Netherlands and Argentine Governments at once.

The United States Government suggests that should it be found expedient to invite a representative of the French Committee for National Liberation to attend the meeting of the Executive Committee, that this invitation be extended by the Executive Committee after it meets in London.

WASHINGTON, July 5, 1943.

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840.48 Refugees/4060 : Telegram

*The Ambassador in the United Kingdom (Winant) to the Secretary of State*

LONDON, July 23, 1943—9 p. m.

[Received 11:11 p. m.]

4810. Refugee problem. Lord Winterton and Sir Herbert Emerson called on me by appointment today, accompanied by Mr. A. W. G. Randall, Counsellor of the Foreign Office, and discussed a possible preliminary understanding between the American and British representatives before the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees which it is hoped will take place in London on August 4. Winterton laid emphasis upon his desire to proceed on July 29 with the inviting of representatives of other countries, and the Department's response to the proposals below is therefore urgently requested at as early a date as possible. These proposals are aimed at incorporating to date all requirements in the matter, including suggestions heretofore offered by the Department. Winterton, Emerson, and Randall brought with them a draft of suggestions for a preliminary understanding. This we jointly discussed and modified to read as follows:

"It is suggested that before the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Intergovernmental Committee, which it is hoped will take place in London on August 4, there should be a preliminary understanding between the British and American representatives, to be followed if

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<sup>80</sup> Not printed.

possible by a similar understanding with the other members of the Committee, regarding the following main questions:

(1) France. The French Government was a member of the original Executive, and in view of the importance of French colonial territory in connection with refugees it seems very desirable that a place should be found on the Executive for a French representative. It is suggested that while the status of the French National Committee of Liberation is being fixed by the British and American Governments a French representative should be invited to take part in the deliberations of the Committee.

(2) Procedure. When the Executive Committee meets under Lord Winterton's chairmanship, with the director present, it will have an agenda based on this present memorandum and one of its decisions should be to charge the director with notification of the meeting of the Committee to all the original members. This notification would describe the changes in the constitution, membership and scope of the Committee which the Executive propose to effect, and ask for approval. It is agreed that there need be no meeting of the whole Committee. A notification would also be made of the Executive Committee's decision to invite non-members to join the Committee, and this would only be sent when the necessary approaches had been made as described in paragraph 4 below.

(3) Present membership. This is as follows: Australia, Argentine Republic, Belgium, Bolivia, United Kingdom, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, United States of America, France, Haiti, Honduras, Ireland, Mexico, Nicaragua, Norway, New Zealand, Paraguay, Netherlands, Peru, Sweden, Switzerland, Uruguay, Venezuela. Guatemala and Panama both withdrew in 1940, but it is suggested that they should be invited to resume membership.

(4) New members. South Africa, Poland, Roumania, Greece, and Costa Rica sent observers to the foundation meeting of the Intergovernmental Committee at Evian in 1938, but did not become members. The Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Spain, Portugal, and Czechoslovakia had no concern with the Committee. It seems desirable that all except of course Roumania should be invited to join the Committee, and, if this is agreed by the Executive, it is suggested that before the director issues a formal invitation the British and American Governments should make a diplomatic approach to the potential new members and ascertain whether they would welcome the invitation, should it be sent.

(5) Scope or [of?] Committee's action. The following recommendation was made by the British and American delegations at Bermuda:

"The Committee should be invited to revise its mandate. In order to effect this purpose it is suggested that the mandate should read as follows: "The Executive Committee of the Intergovernmental Committee is hereby empowered by the member states to undertake negotiations with neutral or Allied states or organizations and to take such steps as may be necessary to preserve, maintain and transport those persons displaced from their homes by their efforts to escape from areas where their lives and liberty are in danger on account of their race, religion or their political beliefs. The operation of the Committee shall extend to all countries from which refugees come as a result of the war in Europe or in which they may find refuge. The Executive Committee shall be empowered

to receive and disburse, for the purposes enumerated above, funds both public and private.”’

This formula was adopted in order to bring under the Committee refugees other than Jews, such as the Poles who are in or are being transferred from Persia and the Greek and other Allied refugees in Egypt and elsewhere. It seems desirable, however, to find wording which would give discretion to the Committee, guided by the Executive (which is not necessarily bound by the recommendations of the Bermuda Conference), to include or not various groups of refugees according to what may be found practicable. Accordingly the following alternative is suggested:

“The Committee shall extend its mandate so as to include, as may be found necessary and practicable, in addition to those already within the mandate, those persons wherever they may be who as a result of events in Europe have had to leave or may have to leave their countries of residence because of the danger to their lives or liberties on account of their race, religion or political beliefs.

With regard to persons coming within the mandate as extended the Executive Committee of the Intergovernmental Committee would be empowered by the member states to undertake negotiations with neutral or Allied states or organizations and to take such steps as may be necessary to preserve, maintain and transport them. The Executive Committee shall be empowered to receive and disburse, for the purposes enumerated above, funds both public and private.’

(6) Finance. The Executive should be informed of the decision by the American and British Governments jointly to underwrite the expenses of the Committee, but should also be told that when a clearer idea has been obtained of the money required for the efficient conduct of the Committee’s work under its new commitments an invitation will be addressed to all the member governments, inviting them to contribute to the running expenses of the Committee and to the transport and maintenance of the refugees, in accordance with their abilities and interest in the humanitarian work which the Committee will undertake.

(7) Staff. It is proposed that the Executive Committee should empower the director to submit an estimate of the staff required, but forthwith to make arrangements for appointing, subject to the Committee’s approval, a salaried full-time vice-director and a salaried full-time secretary, with the necessary clerical staff.

(8) Maintenance of refugees. The American and British Governments have agreed, and presumably will find no difficulty in securing, the agreement of the other members of the Committee, that after the refugees arrive at places of temporary refuge which the Committee has succeeded in obtaining for them they shall be maintained by the United Nations Relief Administration if it is able to carry on activities in the countries in question. If, as seems probable in neutral countries, the United Nations Relief Administration is unable to function, it will then be for the Intergovernmental Committee itself to assume responsibility for maintenance after negotiation with the governments concerned. In general it should be agreed that normally maintenance responsibilities should not be retroactive and that member governments or voluntary organizations who have assumed financial commitments in respect of refugees will wish to continue. Cases of hardships can be considered on their merits. The question whether new groups of refugees should be maintained by the Intergovern-

mental Committee or by their Governments would be for consideration equally on the individual merits of each group.

Foreign Office, 22nd July, 1943."

With regard to the above the Embassy's comments, offered for your consideration, are contained in Embassy's 4811, July 23, 10 p. m.<sup>61</sup>

WINANT

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840.48 Refugees/4058 : Telegram

*The Ambassador in the United Kingdom (Winant) to the Secretary of State*

LONDON, July 23, 1943—10 p. m.

[Received July 24—12:35 a. m.]

4811. Reference Embassy's 4810, July 23, 9 p. m. I offer the following comments regarding the proposals in connection with the forthcoming August 4 meeting of the Executive Committee on refugees:

In the matter of a French representative, I find Lord Winterton fully agreeable to pragmatic solution of the question (if the status of the French National Committee of Liberation is not fixed within the next few days) on the basis of the selection, by joint agreement of all parties concerned, of a name which Winterton might announce to the meeting convening on August 4 as having already been agreed upon for the choice of a person to serve as French representative. May I suggest to the Department the desirability of speedily obtaining approval for such a nomination in order that the Executive Committee may be relieved of the necessity of discussing the problem?

With reference to the Department's proposal contained in airgram 791, June 7, 6 p. m., on a proposed joint declaration relating to the repatriation of refugees, and the Embassy's telegram 4661, July 17, 4 p. m.,<sup>62</sup> relating thereto, Randall stated today that the Foreign Secretary had signed a note to me accepting the Department's proposal for a joint declaration and asking that the British Government be informed when an approach pursuant thereto is to be made by the American Ambassador at Kuibyshev in order that the British Ambassador may be instructed to take similar action. The note has not yet been received by the Embassy, but Randall's statement about it is here mentioned for the Department's information in connection with the subject of the present telegram.

WINANT

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<sup>61</sup> *Infra.*

<sup>62</sup> Not printed.

548.G1/185 : Telegram

*The Ambassador in the United Kingdom (Winant) to the Secretary of State*

LONDON, July 26, 1943—8 p. m.

[Received 11 p. m.]

4874. I received today from Mr. Eden the following reply to a communication sent to him by me upon receipt of the Department's airgram 791, June 7, 6 p. m. :

"Taking in order the points dealt with in paragraphs 4, 5 and 6 of the message from the State Department, we feel, with regard to the point that French territory is not explicitly covered by the terms of the proposed declaration, that, as the declaration is to be issued in the name of 'Governments' it might be difficult to include, at the present stage, the French Committee of National Liberation. Should, however, that body shortly be recognized by our two Governments, its name could eventually be inserted in the declaration, as finally approved by all concerned after the name of Yugoslavia—as was done with the French National Committee in the declaration read by me of the 17th December last in the House of Commons regarding the persecution of the Jews.<sup>63</sup> Alternatively, France could be regarded as covered by the second paragraph of the declaration as now redrafted by the Department of State, but the first suggestion would appear preferable to my Government; it would, we think, be invidious to avoid all mention of French refugees in a statement on behalf of all the Allied countries.

As regards the other modifications of the draft suggested by the Department of State, I am glad to be able to inform you that my Government are in agreement with these. In order to save time His Majesty's Government propose to instruct His Majesty's Ambassador at Moscow to communicate the draft to the Soviet Government, provided that he sees no grave objection from the Soviet point of view to the modifications proposed, together with the necessary oral explanations for their views and, it is hoped, their concurrence. He will be instructed to act in association with his United States colleague as soon as the latter has received the necessary instructions from the State Department.

I shall be grateful if you will inform me as soon as it is decided to send the necessary instructions to the United States Ambassador at Moscow so that our Ambassador may associate himself with Admiral Standley's approach to the Soviet Government."

WINANT

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<sup>63</sup> *Parliamentary Debates*, House of Commons, 5th series, vol. 385, col. 2082.

840.48 Refugees/4060 : Telegram

*The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in the United Kingdom  
(Winant)*

WASHINGTON, July 28, 1943—9 p. m.

4539. Your 4810, July 23, 9 p. m. The Department is in accord that it is desirable to reach a preliminary understanding between the British and American representatives and concurs with the recommendations in the numbered paragraphs of your telegram with the following exceptions:

1. While it is undoubtedly desirable that a French representative should attend this meeting since French North Africa is to be utilized, the Department does not feel that we should ask the Committee to appoint a representative until our relations with the French Committee of National Liberation are clarified. There is no objection to having the British discuss the matter informally with the French authorities in North Africa with a view to having the latter select a representative. If our relations with the Committee are defined prior to the meeting, all will be well. If not, we would desire the French representative to attend the meeting on a clear understanding that his attendance would not be regarded as affecting the question of our relationship with the French Committee of National Liberation.

4. We believe that the Director should issue formal invitations to the potential new members without any diplomatic approach being made beforehand, as proposed. The public is certain to note and to inquire concerning the omission from any announcement of new member countries of any country which may have declined membership. Accordingly, we feel that such a country should not be in a position to state that no invitation had been issued to it, leaving the British and American Governments to explain.

HULL

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840.48 Refugees/4087 : Telegram

*The Ambassador to the Polish Government in Exile (Biddle) to the  
Secretary of State*

LONDON, July 29, 1943.

[Received July 30—2:15 a. m.]

51. Polish series. Mr. Masaryk, Czechoslovak Foreign Minister, and Mr. Romer, Polish Foreign Minister, called today and on behalf of Governments listed below requested me to convey to you following message dated July 28, 1943: <sup>64</sup>

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<sup>64</sup>This same message was sent to the British Government which conveyed it through Lord Winterton to the Executive Committee at meeting on August 4.



"The Governments of Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, and Yugoslavia\*<sup>65</sup> have been informed of the communiqué issued at the conclusion of the Bermuda Conference on aid of refugees.<sup>66</sup> They have also been informed of the declaration of the United States State Department of May 19th last<sup>67</sup> and of the statements made by Mr. Eden and Mr. Peake<sup>68</sup> on the same day in the House of Commons.<sup>69</sup> They understand that the Conference, although accepting the principle that the winning of the war in the shortest time possible was the best service which their respective Governments could render to the refugees and to all those who are suffering under the tyranny of the Germans and their satellites, reached the conclusion that there are certain possibilities of a limited character for aiding refugees immediately. The Conference has in view, among other things, a scheme to support neutral countries who are receiving refugees, and who would be given an assurance that they are not expected to shoulder unaided and indefinitely the burden entailed by the receiving of refugees. A scheme of financial help to neutral countries is also being contemplated. This presupposes an efficient machinery of international consultation, collaboration and action and to this purpose it is proposed to reestablish an intergovernmental committee on a wider basis, carrying much greater authority.

The Governments of Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Norway, Poland and Yugoslavia prompted by the endeavor to assist to the utmost of their ability their citizens who are suffering severe hardships under the yoke of the Germans and their satellites, but at the same time bearing in mind all the difficulties in the way of a large-scale handling of this problem, avail themselves of this opportunity to assure the American Government that they are fully prepared to undertake the closest cooperation for affording all possible aid to refugees.

It has been suggested and considered with approval that the scheme for financial help to neutral countries should if necessary apply also to Governments of the United Nations who are ready to afford hospitality to refugees."

\* "The reply of the French Committee of National Liberation has not yet arrived from Algiers."

[BIDDLE]

<sup>65</sup> In telegram No. 56, August 12, from the Ambassador to the Polish Government in Exile, it is explained that the first asterisk indicated in the message refers to a footnote and the second asterisk is the footnote itself (840.48 Refugees/4151).

<sup>66</sup> See telegram No. 155, April 28, 10 p. m., from the Consul General at Hamilton, p. 173.

<sup>67</sup> *Ante*, p. 183.

<sup>68</sup> British Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department.

<sup>69</sup> *Parliamentary Debates*, House of Commons, 5th series, vol. 389, cols. 1117-1204.

840.48 Refugees/4104a : Telegram

*The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in the United Kingdom  
(Winant)*

WASHINGTON, July 30, 1943—4 p. m.

4579. At the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees to be held in London on August 4, 1943, the Department desires that you:

1. Recommend that Sir Herbert Emerson continue as the Director of the Executive Committee.

2. Recommend that Mr. Patrick Malin, an American citizen, be named as Vice-Director of the Executive Committee.

3. Recommend that the Secretary of the Executive Committee be a national of one of the member-Governments other than Great Britain or the United States.

4. Vote for a revised mandate as recommended in the report of the Bermuda Conference.

5. Recommend that all projects and the financing thereof be considered individually and the American and British Governments consulted before any favorable decision is taken thereon, in view of the agreement of those Governments to underwrite the expenses of the Committee's operations.

6. Endorse such recommendations for financing as may be made which will cause the other member-Governments to contribute for individual projects, and recommend that the administrative expenses of the Executive Committee be shared equally by the various countries represented.

7. Recommend that the headquarters of the Intergovernmental Committee be continued in London.

8. Recommend that the specific duties of the Intergovernmental Committee as differentiated from the duties of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration be determined.

HULL

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840.48 Refugees/4115 : Telegram

*The Ambassador in the United Kingdom (Winant) to the Secretary  
of State*

LONDON, August 4, 1943—10 p. m.

[Received 11:44 p. m.]

5069. The Executive Committee of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees met at the Foreign Office at 11 o'clock this morning. The following Governments were present, Argentina, Brazil, France, Netherlands and United States, with Lord Winterton in the chair

representing Great Britain. The program you asked me to support was accepted by the Executive Committee with unanimous agreement of those present to so recommend to their Governments.

It was understood that Sir Herbert Emerson will continue as Director. The Executive Committee accepted Patrick Malin as Vice Director and the Secretary was to be a national from another country. We are trying to get Van Weede of the Dutch Government, to accept this post but his name did not come up at the meeting this morning. The Director was empowered to find a suitable candidate and then ask consent of the members of the Executive Committee here.

There is a matter on which I would like your opinion as it has not come up in our interchange of messages. The Director on his opening remarks said that he hoped that the relationship with the League Committee would not be diminished. As you know he has served as Director of the Intergovernmental Committee and also as High Commissioner of the League of Nations Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees. I find that he has taken no salary from the Intergovernmental Committee but continues to receive his salary as High Commissioner of the League Committee, a position he held at the time he was made Director. His salary as Commissioner is free from British taxation. If he were paid by the Allied Governments his salary would be subject to income tax here.

I think the British were inclined to accept the League's formula of proportional payment on administration costs. I intervened by recommending that administrative expenses of the Executive Committee be borne equally by all Government members. This was accepted by the Committee for the present year and was made part of the general recommendations. This you asked be done. When the full minutes have been received by the Embassy we will forward a more complete report.

Please tell Mr. Taylor that he was very much missed.

WINANT

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840.48 Refugees/4096 : Telegram

*The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in the Soviet Union  
(Standley)*

WASHINGTON, August 7, 1943—6 p. m.

662. Your 975, July 30, 2 p. m.,<sup>70</sup> and previous. Please present proposed declaration in following language to Soviet Government for agreement:

"The Belgian, Czechoslovak, Greek, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norwegian, Polish, Soviet, United Kingdom, United States and Yugo-

<sup>70</sup> Not printed.

slav Governments recognize with gratitude the humanitarian contributions made toward the solution of the refugee problem by those neutral states which accept and preserve those people fortunate enough to escape across their borders from areas where their lives and liberty are in danger on account of their race, religion or their political beliefs. They understand that this action often increases the difficulties already caused by the war within these states. These burdens may, of course, be borne under emergency conditions and for limited periods. It cannot be expected that these countries, some of which are already overcrowded, should maintain these people for an indefinite period.

"The above-mentioned Governments hereby declare that they will, at the termination of this war, admit to their territories all of their nationals who may have been displaced by the war into other countries. They further declare that it is a part of their settled policy to ensure such conditions in the enemy countries and the countries under enemy occupation as will permit the return thereto of all persons, of whatever nationality, now displaced therefrom and who have sought refuge in other countries, because of persecution on account of their race or their religious or political beliefs."

We are in agreement with the British Government which suggests that should the French Committee of National Liberation shortly be accepted by our two Governments, the name of the Committee be inserted preceded by the word "and" after "Yugoslav Governments" in the initial paragraph of the declaration and also after "Governments" in the first sentence of the second paragraph.

We are in accord on the proposal to have your British colleague associate himself with you in the approach to the Soviet Government.

The proposed declaration as now written promises the return of the persons mentioned to the "countries" of their former domicile rather than to their former "homes" which could mean the precise places where they had resided. Thus, there would be allowed a broader latitude of action in the resettlement of the displaced persons. The language now identifies the persons to be repatriated as those who are refugees from persecution for racial, religious and political reasons, they being the only persons in whose behalf the declaration is to be made.

Please endeavor expedite agreement by Soviet Government and telegraph results promptly.

HULL

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548.G1/185 : Telegram

*The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in the United Kingdom  
(Winant)*

WASHINGTON, August 7, 1943—10 p. m.

4779. Your 4874, July 26, 8 p. m., and previous. We are in accord with British Government's proposal to have its Ambassador at Moscow

associate himself with our Ambassador in approach to Soviet Government and have today telegraphed our Ambassador to proceed.

Following excerpt from Department's telegram to Moscow is quoted for your and British Government's information:

[Here follows paragraph 4 of telegram No. 662, August 7, 6 p. m., to the Ambassador in the Soviet Union, printed *supra*.]

Such insertion in the second paragraph would require change of second sentence thereof and in quoting proposed declaration to Moscow Department changed that sentence to read: "They further declare that it is a part of their settled policy" etc.

HULL

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840.48 Refugees/4115 : Telegram

*The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in the United Kingdom (Winant)*

WASHINGTON, August 9, 1943—7 p. m.

4802. Your 5069, August 4, 10 p. m. We see no reason for any change at this time in relationship of Intergovernmental Committee with League Commission as originally established. We appreciate Sir Herbert's continued donation of his services to the former.

Please advise who represents the French at meeting and how designated.

HULL

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840.48 Refugees/4128 : Telegram

*The Ambassador in the United Kingdom (Winant) to the Secretary of State*

LONDON, August 9, 1943—8 p. m.

[Received August 9—4: 18 p. m.]

5228. In reading over the minutes of the Executive Committee meeting of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees (my 5069 August 4, 10 p. m.) I found that, in place of the phrase "that administrative expenses of the Executive Committee be borne equally by all Government members" the word "share" alone appeared. My statement to the Committee was clear, as I read it from a typed sheet and then argued in support of the position. The Brazilian representative acquiesced in accepting the United States viewpoint, and no one present dissented. As soon as I received the minutes I had Coville<sup>71</sup> contact the Foreign Office. He has just handed me the following memorandum:

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<sup>71</sup> Cabot Coville, First Secretary of Embassy.

"Sir Herbert Emerson has just called me by telephone this afternoon to discuss the matter raised by you of altering the minutes of the recent Executive Committee meeting by the insertion of the word 'equally' to read 'with regard to finance, it was recommended that the member Governments should share equally the administrative expenses of the Committee, and members of the Executive Committee further agree to commend this to their own Governments'.

Sir Herbert states that he has discussed the question with Lord Winterton, who is of the definite opinion that he could not make this alteration without submitting the question to all the other representatives present, and feels that this could not be done without holding another meeting. Lord Winterton states that in putting the question he did not use the word 'equally', and that therefore the agreement which was expressed was agreement in the form as used in the minutes only.

Sir Herbert points out that the minutes in their present form, constituting a recommendation that the member Governments should share the administrative expenses, must inevitably bring up hereafter the question of the basis of sharing, and that the American Government will have full opportunity upon that occasion to pursue its proposal of equal sharing of the administrative expenses. This being so, he feels that the American point of view would lose nothing by leaving the minutes in their present form; whereas, if you press for insertion of the word 'equally' at the present time, the decision of the members of the Committee might well be against acceptance of this change.

Sir Herbert's particular apprehension is that for this matter to be pressed now would inevitably cause delay and would hold back the communications to Governments, based on the action taken by the Executive Committee, which he has prepared and holds ready for intended sending tomorrow (August 10). He therefore asks that you accept the minutes as they are (recognizing that the basis of sharing is undetermined but recognizing also that sharing on a basis of equality must inevitably be given consideration hereafter) in order that the work growing out of the meeting may proceed without further waste of time."

I would gladly call for a re-convening of the Committee, but if you feel, on the other hand, that it is not worth while, I believe that we are protected in the position we took.

Please advise me by cable tonight if possible.

WINANT

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840.48 Refugees/4124 : Telegram

*The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in the United Kingdom  
(Winant)*

WASHINGTON, August 10, 1943—5 p. m.

4815. Your 5228, August 9, 8 p. m. It occurs to us that assent to the insertion of the word "equally" into the minutes of the meeting of the Executive Committee might be obtained without another formal

meeting by individual approach to the other members with the explanation of its inadvertent omission. However, in view of the considerations mentioned by you we are agreeable to proceeding as is proposed.

We suggest the advisability of some public statement being made by British and us announcing the meeting and such of the proceedings as it may be deemed expedient to publish at this time. Please consult British confidentially and prepare with them draft for their and our agreement. Bucknell<sup>72</sup> may be of assistance to you in this connection as he was at Bermuda.

We do not understand reference to meeting in Washington contained in your 5138, August 6, 7 p. m.<sup>73</sup> The proposal to hold a meeting of the Intergovernmental Committee in Washington was dropped in agreement between Mr. Taylor and Lord Halifax. In this connection see Department's 3879, June 25, 1 p. m. We are still averse to a meeting here.

HULL

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840.48 Refugees/4142 : Telegram

*The Ambassador in the United Kingdom (Winant) to the Secretary of State*

LONDON, August 12, 1943.

[Received August 12—5: 43 p. m.]

5303. Following is text of press communiqué given out by Director's office following meeting of Executive Committee of Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees on August 4:

"4th August 1943. Press communiqué. The Executive Committee of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees met this morning at the Foreign Office, presided over by Lord Winterton, chairman and British Government representative. The other members of the Committee present were as follows: H. E. the Argentine Ambassador Señor Dr. Don Miguel Angel Carcano, KBE; H. E. the Brazilian Ambassador Señor J. J. Moniz de Aragao, CBE; H. E. the Netherland Ambassador Jonkheer E. Michiels van Verduynen; H. E. the Ambassador of the United States of America, the Honorable Mr. John Gilbert Winant; Monsieur P. Vienot, representative in London of the French Committee of National Liberation. Sir Herbert Emerson, as Director, was present.

The Committee agreed on recommendations involving the reorganization of the Committee as a whole, and an extension of its scope and activities. These recommendations are to be submitted forthwith to the other member Governments. The Committee expressed the hope that the recommendations, when approved, would enable it to make an

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<sup>72</sup> Howard Bucknell, Jr., Counselor of Embassy in the United Kingdom.

<sup>73</sup> Not printed.

early contribution towards the alleviation of the present position of refugees, and materially assist in solving the post-war refugee problem.”

WINANT

840.48 Refugees/4150 : Telegram

*The Ambassador in the United Kingdom (Winant) to the Secretary of State*

LONDON, August 12, 1943—9 p. m.  
[Received August 13—1: 50 a. m.]

5305. My 5228, August 9, 8 p. m., and Department's 4815, August 10, 5 p. m. I have now received the complete recommendations of the meeting of August 4th which are embodied in a communication from the Director to member Governments of the Intergovernmental Committee. Text will be forwarded by airmail.<sup>74</sup>

The following two points, in addition to the omission of the word “equally” in connection with the sharing of the administrative expenses of the Executive Committee (which has already been reported to the Department) were omitted from the text although they are implied: (1) That all projects and the financing thereof be considered individually and the American and British Governments consulted before any favorable decision is taken thereon in view of the agreement of those Governments to underwrite the expenses of the Committee's operations, and (2) that the headquarters of the Intergovernmental Committee be continued in London.

I immediately took up with Sir Herbert Emerson the matter of the textual inclusion of these two points in the recommendations to member Governments as desired by the Department. He foresees no objection to agreement on the part of the member Governments to include the desired phraseology as a clarification of the original minutes and as an addition to the recommendations made by the Executive Committee.

With Winterton's approval he is taking up these two points individually and informally with the members of the Executive Committee. Also with Winterton's approval, Emerson discussed the question of the recommendation regarding the equal sharing of the administrative expenses of the Committee with the Foreign Office which seemed to approve but which did reserve the right to reconsider in case objection develops. Emerson now proposes to approach members of the Executive Committee informally and individually regarding this point, although he feels that this may be the occasion of some disagreement. He is not clear as to (a) exactly what the “administrative expenses

<sup>74</sup> Letters dated August 10, not printed.



of the Executive Committee" are intended to include and (b) whether it is proposed that these expenses be shared equally by members of the Executive Committee alone or by members of the Intergovernmental Committee as a whole. The Department's instructions on these points are requested.

As regards a statement to the press concerning the meeting of August 4th, it was agreed by the Executive Committee at that time that the press communiqué quoted in our telegram No. 5303, August 12, should be given out by the Director's office to all newspapers and domestic and foreign news services. It was agreed that this should be brief and do little more than state the fact of meeting in that it was felt that the reaction on Governments would not be favorable if they just learned of recommendations of the Executive Committee through the press.

It appears that due to lack of space this communiqué was not referred to or published in any way in England insofar as the Embassy can ascertain. I propose, however, to have an early discussion with the Foreign Office to endeavor to prepare a statement to the press which could be released jointly by our two Governments. Any draft agreed upon would of course be submitted in advance to the Department for approval.

My reference in my 5138, August 6, 7 p. m.,<sup>75</sup> to a meeting in Washington was through inadvertence since it was agreed at the meeting on August 4th that no plenary meeting of the Intergovernmental Committee would be necessary.

WINANT

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840.48 Refugees/4150: Telegram

*The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in the United Kingdom  
(Winant)*

WASHINGTON, August 14, 1943—4 p. m.

4927. Your 5305, August 12, 9 p. m. We regret omission of two points mentioned in Committee's recommendations. They must be included. The first relating to consideration of projects individually is highly important in as much as it follows a directive from the President. In a memorandum dated May 14, 1943, in answer to a question presented by the Secretary regarding our participation in the cost of financing from time to time the movement of refugees, the President stated "I suggest that we do not give unlimited promises but that we undertake with Britain to share the cost of financing from time to time any specific cases".

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<sup>75</sup> Not printed.

Our answers to the questions raised regarding the administrative expenses of the Executive Committee are: (a) expenses as heretofore incurred in the financing of which we have shared and propose to continue to share; (b) the expenses should be shared equally by members of the Intergovernmental Committee as a whole, membership on that Committee carrying with it such responsibility.

In regard to publicity concerning the Committee meeting, we received advance information on August 12 that a portion of the press here was to publish on the following day a story regarding the meeting. Accordingly, we were obliged to prepare some statement for immediate release in time to reach the press on August 13.<sup>76</sup> The substance of the release is given in Radio Bulletin no. 192 of August 12. The British Embassy was informed and given an advance copy of the release to be telegraphed to London with the request that you be also advised. It would have been of much assistance to us to have had beforehand the communiqué issued by Sir Herbert Emerson as conveyed by your 5305 of August 12.

HULL

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840.48 Refugees/4155 : Telegram

*The Ambassador in the United Kingdom (Winant) to the Secretary of State*

LONDON, August 17, 1943.

[Received August 17—5:55 p. m.]

5387. The Chairman having obtained the consent of the members of the Executive Committee on Refugees, the Director is today addressing to the members of the Intergovernmental Committee identical letters as follows:

“In continuation of my letter dated 10th August to Your Excellency, I have been instructed by the Chairman of the Committee to say that the Executive Committee has adopted the further recommendations, first, that: ‘The headquarters of the Intergovernmental Committee should continue to be in London’. Second, that: ‘In view of the agreement of the Governments of the United Kingdom and the United States of America jointly to underwrite the expenditure of the Committee other than administrative expenses, it be agreed that all projects and the financing thereof be considered individually, and that the Governments of the United Kingdom and the United States of America be consulted before a project is sanctioned or expenditure incurred thereon.’ I am accordingly to request that Your Excellency will kindly communicate these recommendations to Your Excellency’s Government for favourable consideration.”

WINANT

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<sup>76</sup> See Department of State *Bulletin*, August 14, 1943, p. 98.

840.48 Refugees/4175 : Telegram

*The Ambassador in the United Kingdom (Winant) to the Secretary of State*

LONDON, August 20, 1943.

[Received August 20—9:15 p. m.]

5470. I have received from the Director of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees a letter dated August 19 enclosing the memorandum quoted below. The Director states that the Chairman has instructed that it be circulated to the members of the Executive Committee and that the Chairman will be grateful if I communicate in due course any comments which I may wish to make on the memorandum, notifying the Director whether I would wish the memorandum to be discussed in Executive Committee. I should appreciate the Department's instructions. The memorandum follows:

"12th August 1943. Memorandum on relations of the Intergovernmental Committee with voluntary organizations. The relations between the Intergovernmental Committee, on the one hand, and private organizations and workers, on the other, are of importance. Before war, voluntary organizations were active in many countries. Some were concerned with refugee questions in general but most of them were interested in particular groups of refugees, e. g. Russians, Armenians, Spaniards, German and Austrian, Czechs, etc. Within the nationality groups there were and still are separate organizations according to religion—Catholic, Protestant, Jewish. The activities show much diversity. In some organizations the functions are purely humanitarian. In others they are almost entirely political. Often they are mixed. As might be expected from the nature and size of the problem, great difference exists among the Jewish organizations. During the war new bodies have been formed relating to fresh groups, e. g. Greeks and Poles, or have devoted themselves to particular aspects of old or new problems. Contact with organizations previously working in occupied countries has necessarily been lost, but it is known that some have been able to continue, although with limited and controlled functions. As soon as conditions allow, others will revive and new ones be formed. Private organizations already number many hundreds. They may well run into thousands after the war.

2. There is a great volume of good will, effort, and also money being devoted to the cause of refugees; it is most desirable to encourage, extend and utilize it. The Intergovernmental Committee will, therefore, presumably wish to cooperate so far as practicable with responsible private organizations and individuals working in the refugee field, and to charge the Director and his staff with this general duty. Cooperation can be secured in various ways:

(a) by establishing and maintaining contact with the various organizations

(b) by being accessible in receiving deputations and representations

(c) by giving the more important and reliable organizations information regarding activities and plans, where it is not neces-

sary, in the interests of refugees or for other reasons, to observe secrecy

(*d*) by encouraging the organizations to furnish information which they may have

(*e*) by consulting organizations and individuals on particular matters on which they may have special knowledge and experience

(*f*) by inviting, where this is desirable, individuals with special knowledge or experience to join (1) the sub-committees which the Intergovernmental Committee or the Executive Committee may set up for the study of particular questions, and (2) committees which the Director may find it convenient to form for a similar purpose.

In short, the Director and his staff must be accessible to voluntary bodies interested in any of the numerous classes of refugees that are included within the activities of the Committee. In particular, they must give no ground for complaint that the Committee is more interested in one group or another, although, of course, from time to time, a particular group, because of the actual facts, may require more attention than another.

The fact that the scope of the Committee's activities is very wide indeed should be continuously borne in mind.

3. It may sometimes be convenient and economical for the Committee to arrange for the maintenance of refugees through voluntary organizations rather than direct, and to subsidize them where necessary. This is a particular aspect of the question which will require separate attention.

4. The methods of cooperation suggested above would apply not only to the headquarters staff of the Committee, but also to the representatives of the Committee in other countries. An important part of their duties would be to keep contact and to cooperate with responsible organizations within their area.

5. The degree of cooperation will necessarily vary. It can be full when the objects of the organization are humanitarian. When they are mixed up with politics, the Director and his staff will have to be careful. For instance, the merits or otherwise of a free Austria after the war are not their concern; nor should they get involved in the political side of the Palestine question. Again, there are organizations whose motives are excellent but whose methods are to bring pressure on their own Government and sometimes other Governments by public agitation, which, in the past, has sometimes included irresponsible and unfounded charges. It is suggested that while the Director and his staff should be accessible to such bodies where they have useful contributions to make, they should not allow themselves to be associated with attacks on any member Government of the Committee. This does not mean that the Director and his officers would be debarred from urging on member Governments more liberal measures. Indeed, this will be an important part of their duties, especially as regards the reception of refugees, but they have to do this through friendly relations by reason and persuasion.

6. It will probably be desirable for the Executive Committee itself to receive deputations when important questions of policy are involved. There is almost certain to be a revival of certain proposals

submitted by private bodies or individuals for consideration at the Bermuda discussions. Some of these have been rejected as impracticable by the Governments of the United Kingdom and the United States of America and public statements have been made to this effect. This will not prevent them being raised again, and I anticipate that requests will be made for the Executive Committee to receive a deputation or deputations. It is only fair that non-official refugee organizations, provided that their *bona fides* is above reproach, should have an opportunity of prosecuting their case before the Executive Committee itself, although some of their proposals may not be practicable.

7. I do not think that it would be wise in the early stages at any rate, to establish formal and regular relationship with any particular organization or group of organizations, e. g. to set up an advisory council. Proposals of this kind have already been made by some of the Jewish organizations, but apart from the practical difficulties that would arise in getting a truly representative body, the principle, if accepted for one class of refugees, must be extended to others, and administration would be hampered by a multitude of counsellors.

The methods of cooperation which I have suggested are practical and should be adequate. H. W. Emerson."

WINANT

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548.G1/187 : Telegram

*The Ambassador in the United Kingdom (Winant) to the Secretary of State*

LONDON, August 24, 1943—10 p. m.

[Received August 24—7:20 p. m.]

5574. Declaration on maintenance and repatriation of refugees in neutral states. In replying to my note based on the Department's 4779, August 7, 10 p. m., the Foreign Office states that it has duly informed the British Ambassador in Moscow. The Foreign Office further states its agreement with the changes in the declaration along the lines suggested.

WINANT

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840.48 Refugees/4175 : Telegram

*The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in the United Kingdom (Winant)*

WASHINGTON, August 25, 1943.

5180. Your 5470, August 20. The Department has considered the memorandum of August 12, 1943 which you have received from the Director of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees and concurs in all of the suggestions contained therein, with the following reservations:

1. The suggestion mentioned in clause (f) of part 2 is not desirable so far as any proposal to invite individuals from private organizations to become members of technical committees or subcommittees may be concerned. However, the Department would interpose no objection to the action of any technical committee or subcommittee in inviting members of private organizations to appear before them and discuss with them any proposals which may be under consideration. A distinction should be maintained between the responsible members of a committee or subcommittee, whose action should be authoritative, and the status of a technical witness or special pleader, whose opinions should be of a recommendatory character only.

2. Part 3 of the memorandum involves a proposed practice which may jeopardize the procurement in the United States of official appropriations or funds necessary to operate individual projects. It is possible that the subsidizing of private organizations would not meet with congressional approval. It is also likely that that procedure would create dissension among the various interested private organizations.

The Department concurs that it would be inadvisable to establish any permanent advisory council as mentioned in paragraph 7.

In view of the above comments and the possibility that other members will also comment on the memorandum, it would seem that a discussion of the memorandum by Executive Committee would be necessary to reconcile divergent points of view.

HULL

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840.48 Refugees/4476 : Telegram

*The Ambassador in the United Kingdom (Winant) to the Secretary of State*

LONDON, September 14, 1943.

[Received September 14—4:05 p. m.]

6097. Reference Embassy's airmail despatch 11174, September 13, 1943,<sup>77</sup> I have received the following communication from the Director of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees:

"13th September 1943. There will be a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Intergovernmental Committee at 3 p. m. on Thursday 30th September at the office of the Committee, 11D Regent Street, London. The agenda is as follows:

1. Appointment of the Secretary
2. Estimate of staff requirements

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<sup>77</sup> Not printed; it transmitted copy of a letter of September 9 from the Director of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, and three memoranda received therewith. The Director stated that the subjects discussed in the memoranda would be included in the agenda of the next meeting of the Executive Committee. (840.48 Refugees/4483)

3. The relations of the Intergovernmental Committee with voluntary organizations
4. Proposals to include private individuals in the Intergovernmental Committee
5. The administrative expenses of the Executive Committee
6. Any other business.

Memoranda on items 2, 3, 4 and 5 have already been circulated. A memorandum on item 1, and a further memorandum on item 3 will be circulated before the meeting."

WINANT

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840.48 Refugees/4483 : Telegram

*The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in the United Kingdom  
(Winant)*

WASHINGTON, September 24, 1943—3 p. m.

5876. Your 6097, September 14 and your airmail despatch no. 11174, September 13.<sup>78</sup> You are instructed to represent the United States Government at the meeting of the Executive Committee to be held September 30, 1943, since Mr. Myron C. Taylor is unable to attend.

The following comment refers to the numbered paragraphs of your no. 6097:

(1) The Department understands that the Secretary will be a national of a member Government other than Great Britain or the United States.

(2) The Department perceives no objection to the estimate of additional staff requirements mentioned in Enclosure 3 to your despatch under reference, but you are free to discuss this question with an open mind and agree to any changes which seem reasonable to you.

(3) and (4) The Department stated in its no. 5180 of August 25, its position regarding the extent to which private individuals or voluntary organizations should be permitted to participate in the deliberations of the Committee. The views expressed by Sir Herbert Emerson in paragraphs 3 to 5 inclusive of Enclosure 2 to your despatch under reference are fully concurred in by the Department.

(5) While the Department has felt that the administrative expenses of the Executive Committee should be shared equally by the member Governments of the Intergovernmental Committee the Department is willing to consider a recommendation of the Executive Committee that such expenses be shared according to the Evian Scale as we had formerly agreed when the Committee was first organized.

The Department will appreciate receiving a complete report of the proceedings of the meeting of the Executive Committee to be held on September 30, 1943.

HULL

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<sup>78</sup> With reference to the latter, see footnote 77, p. 211.

840.48 Refugees/4669 : Telegram

*The Ambassador in the United Kingdom (Winant) to the Secretary of State*

LONDON, October 14, 1943.

[Received October 14—12:30 p. m.]

7021. Reference third sentence of Embassy's telegram 6616, October 1 and section numbered 7 of airgram A-1160, October 3 [2], 2 p. m.<sup>79</sup> An appropriate question having been asked and answered in the House of Commons yesterday, a press communiqué is being released today at 5 p. m. Greenwich time by the Director of the Intergovernmental Committee in the form agreed to at the September 30 meeting of the Executive Committee. Effort is being made to assure attention by the press. The complete text follows:

"At the meeting held on August 4th last, the Executive Committee of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees agreed on recommendations involving the reorganization of the Committee as a whole and the extension of its scope and activities. These recommendations were submitted to the member Governments of the Committee and communicated to certain other Governments that were invited to join the Committee.

The following Governments are members of the Committee or have been invited to join:

Australia, Argentina Republic, Belgium, Bolivia, United Kingdom, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, United States of America, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Luxembourg, Mexico, Nicaragua, Norway, New Zealand, Panama, Paraguay, Netherlands, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Salvador, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

As the recommendations have reached all the Governments concerned, it is now possible to make public the nature of the proposals.

Previous to the reorganization of the Committee, its activities were restricted to refugees from Germany and Austria and from the Sudeten areas. It is now proposed to extend the mandate so as to include, as far as practicable also those persons wherever they may be who, as a result of events in Europe, have had to leave, or may have to leave, their countries of residence, because of the danger to their lives or liberties on account of their race, religion or political beliefs.

It has been further recommended that with regard to persons coming within the extended mandate, the Executive Committee should be empowered by the member states to undertake negotiations with neutral or Allied states or with organizations, to take such steps as may be necessary to preserve, maintain and transport the refugees and to receive and disburse for the above purposes both public and private funds.

<sup>79</sup> Neither printed.



With regard to finance, the Executive Committee has recommended that the administrative expenses should be shared by all the member Governments. With regard to other expenditure, the Governments of the United Kingdom and of the United States of America have agreed subject to legislative consent to underwrite it jointly on the condition, first, that all projects which come within this offer shall be considered individually, and the two Governments consulted before a project is sanctioned or expenditure incurred thereon; and second, that when a clearer idea has been obtained of the money required for the efficient conduct of the Committee's work under its new commitments, an invitation will be addressed to all the member Governments inviting them to contribute to this expenditure also, in accordance with their abilities and their interest in the humanitarian work of the Committee.

The responsibility for maintenance will not be retroactive and it is confidently expected that member Governments or voluntary organizations who have assumed financial commitments in respect of refugees will continue to do so. The question whether new groups of refugees in need of assistance will be maintained by the Intergovernmental Committee or by their own Governments will be for consideration on the individual merits of each case.

The Executive Committee has recommended that, in order to avoid overlapping, the proposed United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration should be responsible for maintenance of refugees in areas where it is operating, if it is prepared to undertake this task."

WINANT

840.48 Refugees/4687 : Telegram

*The Ambassador in the United Kingdom (Winant) to the Secretary of State*

LONDON, October 20, 1943.

[Received October 20—10 p. m.]

7236. With regard to a joint declaration to neutral states concerning repatriation of refugees, the Embassy has today received the following letter dated October 18 from the Foreign Office:

"On 18th of August Mr. Law wrote to your Ambassador regarding the proposed declaration of the Allied nations regarding the maintenance and repatriation of refugees now receiving hospitality in neutral countries. It appears that the United States Ambassador and our Ambassador in Moscow communicated the text on which both our Governments had agreed to the Soviet Government on 14th August, just 2 months ago. No reply has come, and we are therefore asking the Ambassador in Moscow to make an effort to get one. Should the Soviet Government still not furnish their views I should like to suggest that both our Governments might agree for our respective Ambassadors in Moscow to:

(a) Press the Soviet Government to say why they are unable to concur; or

(b) Obtain the Soviet Government's concurrence in our ap-

proaching all the other Governments concerned, to none of whom have we of course yet communicated either the text or even our intention of promoting the declaration at all.

It would be unfortunate if the declaration had to be issued with the Soviet Government omitted but it is our feeling, as also, I think, [that] of the Intergovernmental Committee, that the Allied declaration should be issued as soon as possible and that at the very least the other Governments whom it is proposed to ask to join in it should not be kept in ignorance in the absence of any expression of views on the part of the Soviet Government."

Instruction as to the action which the Department may take in response to the British suggestions above would be appreciated by the Embassy.

WINANT

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840.48 Refugees/4096 : Telegram

*The Acting Secretary of State to the Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Standley)*

WASHINGTON, October 20, 1943—11 p. m.

1039. We have just observed that the word "now" in the final sentence of the second paragraph of the proposed joint declaration relating to the repatriation of refugees, as embodied in our 662 of August 7, 6 p. m., could be interpreted so as to limit the number of refugees affected to those displaced at the date of issuance of the declaration. Please therefore request the Soviet authorities, to whom you have presented the draft for consideration, to delete the word from the draft.

We doubt the advisability of pressing the Soviet authorities at this moment for their agreement to the declaration but we would appreciate the receipt of a statement from them to be obtained later by you at a more opportune time, as to the Soviet Government's acceptance of the declaration.

Foregoing repeated to London <sup>80</sup> for the information of the British Government.

STETTINIUS

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840.48 Refugees/4722 : Telegram

*The Ambassador in the United Kingdom (Winant) to the Secretary of State*

LONDON, November 1, 1943—6 p. m.

[Received 6 : 25 p. m.]

7565. In accordance with Department's 6549, October 20, midnight,<sup>81</sup> we informed the Foreign Office by letter dated October 21

<sup>80</sup> As telegram No. 6549, October 20, midnight.

<sup>81</sup> See footnote 80, above.

and have now received the following reply from the Foreign Office dated October 29, seeking the Department's agreement to certain instructions:

"Thank you for your letter of the 21st October informing me of your Government's reactions to the present impasse which the affair of the declaration to neutrals has reached.

We agree that the word 'now' should be omitted from the last sentence of the second paragraph of the draft declaration, and also that we should not press the Soviet Government to agree to the issue of the declaration. At the same time, however, the considerable fresh influx of refugees into Sweden and Switzerland seems to make it advisable that we should not await the Soviet Government's concurrence before informing at least those governments whose refugees are now burdening the neutral countries that we hope to arrange in due course for the issue of an Allied declaration. Subject, therefore, to the agreement of the State Department, we should like to instruct our representatives to the Polish, Czechoslovak, Yugoslav, Greek, Norwegian, Belgian and Netherlands Governments to inform orally the Governments to which they are accredited of the step we hope to take. I hardly think we can withhold this information much longer."

WINANT

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840.48 Refugees/4729 : Telegram

*The Ambassador to the Polish Government in Exile (Biddle)  
to the Secretary of State*

LONDON, November 2, 1943.

[Received November 3—1 : 23 a. m.]

77. Polish series. In a note of October 26, Monsieur de Jean, head of the French Mission accredited to the Allied Governments established in London, refers to the communication of July 28 (quoted in my 51 of July 29th) regarding the desire of the Allied Governments named therein to collaborate in aiding refugees as envisaged by the Bermuda Conference, and states that he now desires to advise that the French Committee of National Liberation whose reply had to be reserved at that time considers itself as engaged by the above-mentioned *démarche* of July 28.

Interested authorities here informed.

[BIDDLE]

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840.48 Refugees/4722 : Telegram

*The Acting Secretary of State to the Ambassador in the Soviet Union  
(Harriman)*

WASHINGTON, November 10, 1943—8 p. m.

1191. With reference to Department's number 1039, October 20. Large number refugees in Sweden and Switzerland make it urgent

to announce proposed joint declaration on repatriation in near future. Other countries have not been informed of proposed declaration pending Soviet Government's acceptance. You are requested to discuss this with Soviet authorities at earliest appropriate date and endeavor to secure their acceptance.

STETTINIUS

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840.48 Refugees/4722 : Telegram

*The Acting Secretary of State to the Ambassador in the United Kingdom (Winant)*

WASHINGTON, November 10, 1943—10 p. m.

7089. With reference to your number 7565, November 1, Department is unable to see how benefits derived from informing other governments of proposed declaration on repatriation prior to having approval of the Soviet Government would justify incurring possible displeasure of Soviet authorities should they disapprove the declaration. Department believes declaration will be of little value unless accepted by Soviet Government and is requesting American Ambassador at Moscow to endeavor to expedite Soviet reply.

STETTINIUS

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840.48 Refugees/4763 : Telegram

*The Ambassador in the United Kingdom (Winant) to the Secretary of State*

LONDON, November 11, 1943.

[Received November 12—1:29 a. m.]

7867. The Secretary of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees has circulated notice of an Executive Committee meeting November 18th. The agenda includes the following.

1. Procedure for approval of minutes as proposed in enclosure to despatch 12063 November 4, 1943.<sup>82</sup> Department's instructions are requested.

2. The acceptance of Kullmann<sup>83</sup> as Honorary Assistant Director. Embassy believes Department's already expressed approval will be sufficient.

3. There may be a report from the sub-committee on administrative expenses if the Brazilian Ambassador receives instructions in time. No new instructions to us are believed necessary at present.

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<sup>82</sup> Not printed.

<sup>83</sup> Gustave Gerard Kullmann, Swiss citizen, Deputy High Commissioner for Refugees under the League of Nations.

4. The Embassy desires Department's instructions with regard to relations between IGC<sup>84</sup> and UNRRA<sup>85</sup> concerning which the following memorandum dated November 8th from the Director is to serve as basis for a request by him for authorization by the Executive Committee:

"1. At the meeting of the Executive Committee held on the 30th September 1943, the Director stated that he and the Vice-Director had started preliminary and exploratory inquiries regarding the relations between the IGC and the UNRRA, and that when the case was ready it would be submitted for consideration at the next meeting of the Committee.

2. The preliminary stages of inquiry and discussion included the following:

(a) The draft of a memorandum by the Director in consultation with the Vice-Director stating their conception of the relations between IGC and UNRRA.

(b) Discussions of this memorandum with Sir Frederick Leith-Ross<sup>86</sup> and his colleagues on the British side, the result being that it was accepted with very slight modification as according with their views.

(c) Discussion of the memorandum with representatives of the Embassy of the United States of America and also representatives in this country of the OFRRO,<sup>87</sup> the official American relief organization. As a result of this discussion the memorandum was referred by the representatives of OFRRO to their headquarters in Washington, the question also being raised as to whether it would be desirable for the Director or Vice-Director to be present if, and when, the question was discussed at the conference relating to UNRRA which is to take place this month in Atlantic City.<sup>88</sup>

(d) The result of the reference in Washington is given in the letter attached (enclosure 1 from Mr. Jackson, Special Assistant to Governor Lehman, the Director of OFRRO, to Mr. Hoehler, the head of its London office).

(e) During those discussions, it was made clear by the Director and Vice-Director that the memorandum represented their views only and not necessarily those of the Executive Committee, and that the object of the discussions was to enable the Director to submit the case to the Executive Committee in a form in which the issues would be clearly defined. Similarly, it was made clear on the other side that the views expressed could not commit UNRRA and that the question would have to be considered by that body.

(f) Subject to the above qualification, the present position is that a large, indeed almost complete, measure of agreement has been reached in the preliminary and non-committal discussions,

<sup>84</sup> Intergovernmental Committee.

<sup>85</sup> United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

<sup>86</sup> Chairman, Inter-Allied Committee on Postwar Requirements.

<sup>87</sup> Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations, Department of State.

<sup>88</sup> See Department of State Conference Series No. 53: *First Session of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, Selected Documents, Atlantic City, New Jersey, November 10-December 1, 1943* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1944).

and that the question is likely to be discussed in the very near future in the course of the conference at Atlantic City.

3. The attached memorandum (enclosure 2) embodies the views of the Directorate put forward during the preliminary discussions, and accepted to the extent indicated above. The Executive Committee is now requested to consider and to adopt, with such modification as it may deem necessary, the conception of the relations between the two bodies as stated in the memorandum.

The Executive Committee is further requested to authorize the Directorate to take what consequent action may be necessary including the following:

(a) To arrange for the decisions of the Executive Committee to be available during the discussions in Atlantic City.

(b) To arrange that, if any difference of a principle should emerge during those discussions, the IGC be given an opportunity of representing its views before any conclusions are reached.

(c) To invite Mr. Myron Taylor, on behalf of the Executive Committee, kindly to represent the IGC if this is necessary, or if he is unable to attend, kindly to arrange for Mr. Robert Pell (formerly on the IGC staff and now in the Department of State, and designated as Mr. Taylor's alternate on IGC matters) to represent the IGC and to arrange that Mr. Myron Taylor be adequately briefed."

First enclosure mentioned above is letter of October 14<sup>89</sup> from Hugh Jackson of OFRRO to Fred K. Hoehler and second is memorandum transmitted with despatch 11508, October 5th.<sup>90</sup>

WINANT

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840.48 Refugees/4763 : Telegram

*The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in the United Kingdom  
(Winant)*

WASHINGTON, November 17, 1943.

7283. With reference to your 7867 November 11, Department concurs in procedure for approval of minutes of Executive Committee as outlined in despatch 12063, November 4.<sup>90</sup>

Concerning relations between IGC and UNRRA Department will delay instructions in view of discussions taking place at Atlantic City Conference.

We believe it inadvisable for IGC representative to attend Atlantic City Conference at this time. Matter has been discussed with Mr. Myron Taylor who concurs in this view.

HULL

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<sup>89</sup> Not found in Department files.

<sup>90</sup> Not printed.

840.48 Refugees/4788 : Telegram

*The Ambassador in the United Kingdom (Winant) to the Secretary of State*

LONDON, November 19, 1943.

[Received November 19—11:30 a. m.]

8078. The November 18 meeting of the Executive Committee of the IGC took place uneventfully. For the agenda see despatch 12251 November 16.<sup>91</sup> We acted in accordance with Department's 7283, 17th. Because of our stating that in the matter of relations between IGC and UNRRA Department will delay instructions in view of discussions taking place at Atlantic City Conference the Director did not request the authority outlined in his November 8 memorandum<sup>92</sup> but asked for permission to make arrangements for tentative discussions on the basis of that memorandum. The Committee without committing itself authorized him to do so, subject to report to the Committee's subsequent approval or disapproval (Lord Winterton particularly asked for concurrence to this, stating that it would be useful in meeting anticipated questions in the House of Commons on IGC activities in arranging for relations with UNRRA).

A subject discussed informally with Winterton, Emerson and Randall after the meeting is taken up in the Embassy's next telegram.

WINANT

840.48 Refugees/4782 : Telegram

*The Ambassador in the United Kingdom (Winant) to the Secretary of State*

LONDON, November 19, 1943.

[Received November 19—12:10 p. m.]

8079. A matter has been raised with the Director of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees which may make desirable a decision to whether the organization's affairs are to be subject to determination by majority vote, require unanimity, or are to be regulated in accordance with some basic document on procedure still to be adopted stipulating unanimous vote for some questions and majority vote for others. Department's instructions not later than November 24, when the subject is to be discussed further, are urgently requested.

The immediate problem is brought up by part of a letter dated November 14 from the Brazilian Ambassador to the Director as follows:

<sup>91</sup> Not printed, but see telegram No. 7867, November 11, from the Ambassador in the United Kingdom, p. 217.

<sup>92</sup> Text quoted in telegram No. 7867, p. 217.

"With reference to the subject matter discussed by the sub-committee regarding the administrative expenses of the Intergovernmental Committee, I have received instructions from my Government requesting me to inform them of the point-of-view of the other members of the Executive Committee, namely, France, Argentine and the Netherlands, as to whether they consider that the expenses referred to above should include those of the Committee's representatives abroad.

Would it therefore be possible to submit to these members the divergent points-of-view of Great Britain and the United States on the one hand and that of Brazil on the other, and the question decided by a majority vote?"

In this connection various alternative possibilities occur to the Embassy:

1. The sub-committee was presumably set up to make a recommendation to the Executive Committee and save it effort, and the Brazilian Government should hardly expect to discharge the responsibility by throwing the decision back upon the Executive Committee. Department may wish to consider instructing Ambassador Caffery<sup>93</sup> to endeavor to have the Brazilian Government retract the instruction. Neither the Director nor Chairman feel that further approach by them to the Brazilian Ambassador here would be effective.

2. To avoid for the present the problem of admitting vote by majority the Department may wish to consider withdrawing our suggestion on administrative expenses and accepting the Brazilian plan. Randall of the Foreign Office is slightly inclined to this course but states that he does not speak for the Foreign Office which seems ready in this matter to follow whatever lead the Department may wish to give. He is putting the question to the British Treasury for its advice.

3. In any event the Director's in effect canvassing the vote of the Executive Committee for the benefit of the Brazilian member of the sub-committee is too cumbrous a procedure, but the Department may wish to consider having the question referred back to the Executive Committee for decision by majority vote. Winterton inclines to the view that majority voting procedure is desirable in the IGC to increase sense of participation by other Governments and to avoid the limitations always obstructing unanimous procedure organizations. It is not impossible that a vote in the Executive Committee would support the British-American position on administrative expenses, and even if not the cost might be worth the gain. The Executive Committee now numbers six but will be a more workable body for voting purposes when increased as now hoped by some such addition as the Soviet Union, Poland and Mexico. Protection for the United States and Great Britain against cost of projects favored only by other countries is already covered by the requirement of our consent, and the danger of our being blocked by a negative majority vote on proj-

<sup>93</sup> Jefferson Caffery, Ambassador in Brazil.



ects which we favor does not appear insurmountable when humanitarian considerations are so heavily involved. This is perhaps an opportunity to allow a question to be submitted without comment to majority decision by the Executive Committee, thus permitting the organization to develop in that direction without the necessity of a definitive regulation of procedure in that regard although it must be realized this would establish a precedent difficult to avoid in the future.

WINANT

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840.48 Refugees/4781 : Telegram

*The Ambassador in the United Kingdom (Winant) to the Secretary of State*

LONDON, November 19, 1943.

[Received November 19—11:35 a. m.]

8080. Foreign Office states that British Ambassador in Moscow reports that Soviet Government has accepted the proposed declaration to neutrals (Department's 6897, 3d<sup>94</sup>) as modified by Department's suggestion. Foreign Office now favors approach to other Allied nations. Department's instructions therefore requested. Urgent letter from Randall, Counselor of Foreign Office, dated November 18 follows:

"I was on the point of replying to your letter of the 4th November and Coville's of the 12th about the draft declaration to neutrals when a telegram arrived from our Ambassador in Moscow saying that the People's Commissariat accepted the declaration together with the omission proposed by the State Department (see Coville's letter of the 21st October) of the word 'now' in the concluding sentence of the second paragraph.

The next step seems to be to carry the other Allied Nations with us so that we can publish an Allied Nation's declaration. I would therefore suggest that our respective representatives to those Governments should concert a joint approach here and (for the Greeks and Yugoslavs) in Cairo. We should therefore be grateful if you would let us know whether the State Department agree so that we may take action as soon as possible."

WINANT

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840.48 Refugees/4796 : Telegram

*The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in the United Kingdom (Winant)*

WASHINGTON, November 20, 1943—1 p. m.

7346. It is suggested that it would be well to establish small offices in Algiers, Naples, Lisbon, Madrid and Ankara for the purpose of as-

<sup>94</sup> Not printed, but see telegrams No. 662, August 7, and No. 1039, October 20, to the Ambassador in the Soviet Union, pp. 200 and 215, respectively.

sisting refugees. We would be disposed to share with the British Government the expenses of maintenance of such offices in case the expenses could not be conveniently provided from the administrative funds of the Executive Committee. It is thought that both British and American officials should be sent to each office. In the cases of Algiers and Naples the approval of the responsible military authorities would of course have to be obtained. In the cases of Lisbon, Madrid and Ankara the consent of the Portuguese, Spanish and Turkish Governments, respectively, would have to be obtained. Also in the case of Madrid it would seem advisable to obtain the opinion of the American and British Ambassadors there on the proposal in view of the confidential arrangements made with the Spanish Government for the care and evacuation of refugees in Spain.<sup>94a</sup>

Please discuss this with the appropriate British authorities and in agreement with them present it to the Executive Committee and advise us as promptly as possible of the results.

HULL

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840.48 Refugees/4782: Telegram

*The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in the United Kingdom  
(Winant)*

WASHINGTON, November 23, 1943.

7413. With reference to the necessity for determining the manner in which the affairs of the Intergovernmental Committee are to be decided, referred to in your 8079, November 19, the Department approves decisions by majority vote if the approval of the Committee therefor can be obtained.

It may be found necessary to agree that any Government desiring to contribute less than its share of administrative expenses according to the Evian Scale be permitted to do so. The Department agrees to share equally with the British Government the deficit which would result from such action by one or more Member Governments. You are requested to submit this proposal to the authorities of the British Government before presenting it to the Directorate of the Intergovernmental Committee. In this connection reference is made to the Department's 7346 of November 20 suggesting the establishment of small offices of the Intergovernmental Committee in specified cities for the purpose of assisting refugees.

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<sup>94a</sup> See pp. 250 ff.

With reference to the attitude of the Brazilian Government the Department refers to its 7058 of November 9<sup>95</sup> captioned "Personal for the Ambassador from Matthews".<sup>96</sup>

HULL

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840.48 Refugees/4096 : Telegram

*The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in the United Kingdom  
(Winant)*<sup>97</sup>

WASHINGTON, November 24, 1943—10 p. m.

7442. We are glad to state that we have just received a telegram dated November 13 from the American Embassy at Moscow<sup>98</sup> advising that the Embassy is in receipt of a note dated November 11 from the Soviet Foreign Office stating that the proposed text for the joint declaration concerning the repatriation of refugees as modified (see the Department's 4779, August 7, 10 p. m. and 6549, October 20, midnight to you<sup>99</sup>) is considered acceptable by the Soviet Government. Please immediately inform the British Government which we assume will take prompt steps to place the proposed joint declaration before the other United Nations Governments concerned and ask for their adherence thereto.

In order that there will be no misunderstanding as to the wording of the declaration as now accepted by this and the British and Soviet Governments, it is repeated as follows:

"The Belgian, Czechoslovak, Greek, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norwegian, Polish, Soviet, United Kingdom, United States and Yugoslav Governments and the French Committee of National Liberation recognize with gratitude the humanitarian contributions made toward the solution of the refugee problem by those neutral states which accept and preserve those people fortunate enough to escape across the borders from areas where their lives and liberty are in danger on account of their race, religion or their political beliefs. They understand that this action often increases the difficulties already caused by

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<sup>95</sup> This telegram stated: "Ambassador Caffery telegraphs me that the Brazilian Foreign Minister says he will authorize the \$24,000 contribution." (840.48 Refugees/4688)

<sup>96</sup> H. Freeman Matthews, Chief of the Division of European Affairs.

<sup>97</sup> In despatch No. 12727, December 13, from the Ambassador in the United Kingdom, it was indicated that the Embassy sent a note similar to this telegram to the British Foreign Office on November 26. In the Foreign Office reply, dated December 10, a copy of which was enclosed with the despatch, the Foreign Office expressed agreement to the text of the joint declaration (as quoted in this telegram), and indicated they had communicated it to the other Allied Governments concerned (with exception of the Soviet Government). With reference to the last paragraph of this telegram, they expressed agreement to the interpretation of the application of the declaration to Europe and the explanation to be used if necessary with regard to the declaration. (840.48 Refugees/4893)

<sup>98</sup> Telegram No. 1939, not printed.

<sup>99</sup> With regard to latter telegram, see footnote 80, p. 215.

the war within these states. These burdens may, of course, be borne under emergency conditions and for limited periods. It cannot be expected that these countries, some of which are already overcrowded, should maintain these people for an indefinite period.

The above-mentioned Governments and the French Committee of National Liberation hereby declare that they will, at the termination of this war, admit to their territories all of their nationals who may have been displaced by the war into other countries. They further declare that it is part of their settled policy to ensure such conditions in the enemy countries and the countries under enemy occupation as will permit the return thereto of all persons, of whatever nationality, displaced therefrom and who have sought refuge in other countries, because of persecution on account of their race or their religious or political beliefs.”

We understand that the conferees at Bermuda in suggesting this declaration thought that it might well be limited to apply to Europe and therefore drafted it for joint issuance by the European Governments named, members of the United Nations, plus the United States, following the joint statement which was made last year (see Department's press release of December 16 [17], 1942, no. 589<sup>1</sup>) condemning Nazi treatment of the Jews in Europe. We have concurred in the thought, as we assume the British authorities also have done and we suggest that in agreement with them this statement is to be used in explaining to any of the other United Nations Governments who may inquire, why they have not been asked to join in the declaration.

HULL

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840.48 Refugees/4772 : Telegram

*The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in the United Kingdom  
(Winant)*

WASHINGTON, November 27, 1943—7 p. m.

7519. There is considerable publicity being given to the legislation referred to in your 7970, November 16<sup>2</sup> and because of the very active popular demand for information as to concrete results obtained by the Intergovernmental Committee for saving the Jews from Hitler, the Department desires to make public immediately information concerning (1) the revised mandate as proposed by the Bermuda Conference and (2) the opening of the center in North Africa for persons who escape from Nazi persecution.

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<sup>1</sup> Department of State *Bulletin*, December 19, 1942, p. 1009.

<sup>2</sup> Not printed; it mentioned a news item which referred to a joint resolution of Democratic and Republican members of Congress, introduced in both Houses, recommending the creation by President Roosevelt of a commission of diplomatic, economic, and military experts to formulate a program to save the surviving Jews of Europe from extinction by Hitler.

The Department believes it would be desirable for such release to be issued by the Intergovernmental Committee and you are requested to ask the British for their immediate concurrence and request the Intergovernmental Committee to make immediate announcement telegraphing text and proposed date of communiqué.

HULL

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840.48 Refugees/4816a : Telegram

*The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in the United Kingdom  
(Winant)*

WASHINGTON, November 28, 1943—5 p. m.

7526. From Long. We are confronted here by a serious internal pressure based on humanitarian impulse and surrounded with doubt, uncertainty and suspicion on the part of high officials and a large part of the public including groups naturally interested on account of race and religion. We have been unable to satisfy them that the Department has taken adequate steps to achieve their natural desires. The prohibition upon publication or even use of the deliberations of the Bermuda Conference and the program of the Intergovernmental Committee prevent the Department from enlightening this large and important section of our people as to the efforts made and being made to alleviate distress and persecution.

Under these circumstances it becomes urgently necessary to use the material disclosing our activities and efforts.

Resolutions are in the House and Senate <sup>4</sup> which require recognition and response.

I am sure you will understand our predicament and this will urge you to present it urgently to Law and to the Intergovernmental Committee and such others as may be necessary to consent to our use of these facts immediately.

Of course they may simultaneously use it there or even make a statement of their own in advance but the consent to our use here is a matter of serious moment.

Please do what you can as quickly as possible and advise at the earliest moment because the House Committee <sup>5</sup> is about to take action and the Senate Committee <sup>6</sup> has it under immediate consideration. [Long.]

HULL

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<sup>4</sup> H. Res. 350 and H. Res. 352, providing for the establishment by the Executive of a commission to effectuate the rescue of the Jewish people of Europe; S. Res. 203, favoring the appointment of a commission to formulate a plan to save the Jews of Europe from extinction by Nazi Germany.

<sup>5</sup> House Committee on Foreign Affairs.

<sup>6</sup> Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

840.48 Refugees/4817 : Telegram

*The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in the United Kingdom  
(Winant)*

WASHINGTON, November 30, 1943.

7556. From Long. Very glad to receive information in yours of yesterday.<sup>7</sup> We agree that the quickest and probably most effective action would be the joint release.

Agree with you that communiqué would be strengthened by the announcement of the five IGC offices abroad and the visit of Vice-Director. We think it is also necessary to include the text of the mandate and we would urge to be included both (a) specific references to the recommendations of the Bermuda conference, and (b) specific references to the program of the IGC. As regards visit of Vice-Director the statement can be made that the Department is recommending the visit.<sup>8</sup>

The facts are that the House Committee has necessarily been advised of the entire program in executive session and in entire confidence. However, the enormously favorable impression made upon the members of the Committee by a full relation is an indication of the very real public reaction in favor of all of our efforts if the public could be advised. We would like to go just as far as possible along that line. [Long.]

HULL

840.48 Refugees/4824 : Telegram

*The Ambassador in the United Kingdom (Winant) to the Secretary  
of State*

LONDON, December 1, 1943.

[Received December 1—3:56 p. m.]

8384. The Biddle mission<sup>9</sup> is beginning to receive from the British copies of British communications addressed to certain of the Governments in Exile asking their adherence to the proposed joint declaration to neutrals regarding repatriation of refugees. The Department has not made it entirely clear to us whether the approach is to be made by the British solely. The Biddle mission has expressed to us the

<sup>7</sup> Telegram No. 8346, November 29, 9 p. m., not printed; it stated that the proposals contained in telegram No. 7519, November 27, p. 225, were being discussed with the Foreign Office and Intergovernmental Committee and their cooperation was indicated.

<sup>8</sup> In telegram No. 7563, November 30 (not printed), the Ambassador in the United Kingdom was advised that the Combined Chiefs had recommended to the theater commander that a visit be permitted.

<sup>9</sup> Anthony J. Drexel Biddle, Jr., was accredited near the Governments of Belgium, Czechoslovakia, the Netherlands, Norway, and Poland, established in England, and Yugoslavia, established in Egypt.

view that the reception by the Governments in Exile might be somewhat better if a parallel approach is made by the American Government.

WINANT

840.48 Refugees/4826 : Telegram

*The Chargé in the United Kingdom (Bucknell) to the Secretary of State*

LONDON, December 2, 1943.

[Received December 2—1 : 23 p. m.]

8402. After the Foreign Office yesterday revised and amplified the Director's draft referred to in Embassy's 8372, 1st,<sup>10</sup> the document is this morning being circulated to the members of the Cabinet Subcommittee on Refugee Questions for approval or correction. Foreign Office has in mind using document as basis for debate in House of Commons early next week and, therefore, seeks Cabinet clearance (which is expected by Saturday). The document will probably take the form of a 10-page statement which can mutually be modified in phraseology to some extent to meet our respective needs, rather than the precise wording of a proposed communiqué for identical release. Embassy is also continuing in touch with Director for his suggestions on each draft revision.

BUCKNELL

840.48 Refugees/4826 : Telegram

*The Secretary of State to the Chargé in the United Kingdom (Bucknell)*

WASHINGTON, December 2, 1943.

7616. Your 8402, 2d. Procedure outlined is very agreeable to us. A statement which can mutually be modified in phraseology to some extent to meet our respective needs would seem to be a very practical solution and could be used here in connection with the statement Long made to the House Committee<sup>11</sup> as it could be used there as basis for statement to Parliament. Your close attention to this matter is appreciated and is entirely justified by the importance which it assumes here from the point of view of public interest.

HULL

<sup>10</sup> Not printed.

<sup>11</sup> *Rescue of the Jewish and Other Peoples in Nazi-Occupied Territory*: Hearings Before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 78th Congress, 1st session, on H. Res. 350 and H. Res. 352, November 26, 1943 (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1943), p. 15.

840.48 Refugees/4834 : Telegram

*The Chargé in the United Kingdom (Bucknell) to the Secretary of State*

LONDON, December 5, 1943.

[Received December 5—2 p. m.]

8478. The draft below regarding refugee work is transmitted in response to Department's 7654, December 4, 2 p. m.<sup>12</sup> in the hope that it may be helpful. Such statement as may be approved by the Cabinet Subcommittee may differ in form but the Foreign Office gives us to believe that it expects approval for a statement which will be substantially along these lines though refusing to commit itself in detail. In any event there is no expectation thus far here that the Cabinet Subcommittee will desire identical releases. The Department may wish to amplify statement regarding relations with UNRRA concerning which we have not been informed of the Atlantic City decisions;<sup>12a</sup> it may desire to scrutinize, in the light of information from the theater commander, the reference to an Intergovernmental Committee officer's visiting Italy; and it has presumably received from Madrid a caution (orally mentioned to us by the Foreign Office) from the British and American Ambassadors there concerning danger of premature publicity about North African refugee project which the Department may wish to weigh.

Remainder of this telegram consists of draft subject to above conditions.

Since the Conference on Refugees held at Bermuda in April 1943 between British and American delegations the two Governments have been in continuous consultation on all aspects of this pressing and difficult problem. At the time it was impossible to disclose the course of the discussions without grave prejudice to the interests of refugees. While some reserve must still be maintained, both for this reason and in order to avoid embarrassment to negotiations with other Governments, the following summary of the proceedings of the Conference and of the efforts made subsequently on behalf of refugees in Europe is now issued:

The discussions, which were marked throughout by the utmost frankness, cordiality, and cooperation, had necessarily to conform to war-time realities, and they proceeded on the following agreed basis:

(a) The refugee problem should not be considered as being confined to persons of any particular race or faith. Nazi measures against minorities have caused the flight of persons of various races and faiths, as well as of other persons because of their political beliefs.

<sup>12</sup> Not printed.

<sup>12a</sup> See *First Session of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, Selected Documents, Atlantic City, New Jersey, November 10-December 1, 1943.*



(b) Wheresoever practicable, intergovernmental collaboration should be sought in these times of transportation difficulty, shipping shortage, and submarine menace, to the end that arrangements may be determined for temporary asylum for refugees as near as possible to the areas in which these people find themselves at the present time and from which those who will be found able to return may return to their homelands with the greatest expediency on the termination of hostilities.

(c) There should, accordingly, be considered plans for the maintenance in neutral countries in Europe of those refugees for whose removal provision may not be made. Their maintenance in neutral countries may involve the giving of assurances for their support until they can be repatriated. It may also involve the giving of assurances in all possible cases by their Governments in exile for their prompt return to their native countries upon the termination of hostilities.

(d) The possibilities for the temporary asylum of refugees in countries other than neutral, and their dependencies, should be explored, together with the question of the availability of shipping to effect their movement from Europe, and the availability of food and accommodation.

(e) Examination of the precise method of organizing concerted action and providing the necessary executive machinery.

It was on these principles that the subsequent discussions took place, and the main problems to which the delegations devoted prolonged and detailed attention were:

- (1) Shipping and supply.
- (2) The Polish and Greek refugees.
- (3) The refugees in Spain and the prospects of alternative accommodation for them.
- (4) The Jewish refugees from the Balkans and the means of removing them to Palestine.
- (5) The refugee children in France and whether there are any possibilities of getting them to the homes offered to them.
- (6) The refugees who are in or might enter neutral countries.
- (7) The future of International Refugee Organization and the executive means to be employed.

It is unnecessary to go into the details of all the foregoing, particularly since certain discussions have been overtaken by developments. In order, however, to remove certain misconceptions regarding the scope and dimensions of the refugee problem, it should be recorded that the Conference had before it complete material on the refugee problem as it had already been handled, showing, among other achievements, that some 40,000 Polish refugees were in the process of being removed from Persia to East Africa, India, Palestine and Mexico through the efforts of the Governments concerned; that the problem of caring for some 16,000 Greek refugees was in hand; that some 195,000 immigrants from Europe, the majority of them refugees, had been admitted into the United States since 1938; that some 60,000

non-British refugees had been admitted into the United Kingdom since May 1940 and were still being admitted at an average rate of at least 800 a month; and that: Over and above admission into Palestine which had already taken place under the White Paper or under special refugee provisions, the Palestine Administration had offered to receive some 34,000 potential Jewish refugees, mainly women and children, from southeastern Europe.

From this review of what had been or was in process of being done the delegations proceeded to an exhaustive examination of the future. As a result, the two delegations made to the United States and British Governments unanimous recommendations for action which may be divided into two main parts:

- (1) Those involving direct action by the Governments of the United Kingdom and the United States of America acting jointly.
- (2) Action through the Intergovernmental Committee which was to be reorganized.

The following measures have been taken by the two Governments acting directly:

(1) Successful negotiations have been carried out with the French Committee of National Liberation for the establishment of a refugee camp in Morocco to which certain refugees who have escaped from occupied territory to Spain may be moved and given temporary asylum until permanent arrangements can be made for them.<sup>13</sup> The two Governments have agreed to share the cost of the camp, which will be under American direction with the cooperation of the French and British experts. With the transfer of the refugees to this camp, which is being put in hand forthwith, and with the transfer of other refugees to Palestine, the greater part of the refugees in Spain and Portugal will have been removed.

(2) Following a recommendation from the Bermuda Conference arrangements were undertaken for the issue by several nations of a declaration having as its object to reassure neutral states regarding the future of refugees and thereby to encourage them to give temporary asylum to refugees. This declaration is approaching the point of being published. Taken in conjunction with the proposals regarding the repatriation of displaced populations made by the United Nations Relief [and] Rehabilitation Administration at Atlantic City on November 26th,<sup>14</sup> the declaration provides convincing evidence that the United States and British Governments regard the refugee burden as one to be borne through common international action in which they themselves are fully prepared to take their proper share.

(3) The two Governments have discussed with particular neutral

<sup>13</sup> For correspondence concerning governmental assistance to persons forced to emigrate for political or racial reasons, see pp. 250 ff.

<sup>14</sup> See Resolution No. 10, Department of State Conference Series No. 53: *First Session of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration*, p. 37.

states the question of affording to those states assistance towards the maintenance and other expenses incurred by them in the reception of refugees. Details of these discussions could not be disclosed without embarrassment to the refugees themselves, but both the British and United States Governments would reaffirm their high appreciation of all that has been done by neutral Governments for refugees, and their determination that this humanitarian effort shall be assisted to the fullest extent possible, subject only to the overriding limitations of the war situation. It may be recorded here that Switzerland is at present giving shelter to some 64,000 refugees and prisoners of war, and that in recent weeks Sweden has received over 8,000 refugees from Denmark.

(4) The British Government has pursued the question of giving asylum in Palestine to Jews (mainly children, with a proportion of women) from Rumania and Bulgaria. Its efforts, so far, have been unsuccessful because of the refusal of these two Governments to allow the Jews to leave.

(5) The two Governments immediately accepted the unanimous and emphatic recommendation of the Bermuda Conference to reorganize the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees. They agreed that it was by this means that the alleviation and, so far as possible, solution of the refugee problem, both during the war and after, could be placed on the most practicable international foundation. In this way the Bermuda discussions were the essential preliminary to the creation of international machinery which is now in operation dealing with current refugee problems and will be able to take advantage of opportunities as they arise during the war, also assuming responsibility for finding homes for those who have difficulty in returning to their own countries after the war.

The scheme of the reorganization of the Intergovernmental Committee was approved by the Executive Committee at a meeting held in London on the 4th August 1943. The main recommendations then adopted have been made public in a communiqué issued by the Committee on the 14th October 1943.<sup>15</sup>

For regular information regarding the plans and activities of the Committee reference must be made, by those interested, to the Committee itself, but the United States and British Governments, on information derived from their representatives, would summarize the chief features of the reorganization in the terms below.

It was decided that the Committee should be enlarged, and invitations have accordingly been issued to 20 Governments to participate. If all these Governments accept the invitation the Committee will consist of 49 member Governments, since previous to reorganization there were already 29 member Governments.

The mandate of the Committee was greatly extended so as to include, as may be found necessary and practicable, in addition to those

<sup>15</sup> For text of communiqué, see telegram No. 7021, October 14, from the Ambassador in the United Kingdom, p. 213.

already within the mandate, those persons, wherever they may be, who, as a result of events in Europe, have had to leave, or may have to leave, their countries of residence because of the danger to their lives or liberties on account of their race, religion or political beliefs; and with regard to persons coming within the mandate as extended the power is included to undertake negotiations with neutral or Allied states or with organizations, to take such steps as may be necessary to preserve, maintain, and transport them, and to receive and disburse for these purposes funds both public and private. While it is proposed that the member Governments should share the administrative expenses, the Governments of the United Kingdom and the United States of America have agreed, in the first place, to underwrite all other expenses, leaving it to the other member Governments voluntarily to contribute towards these in accordance with their ability and their interest in this great humanitarian work.

Since August last the Committee has been engaged both in matters of organization and procedure and in measures for the assistance of refugees. Among the former it has considered the question of the relations between itself and the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration with a view to close cooperation between the two bodies and the definition of their respective functions. It has laid down the principles which will govern its relations with the many voluntary organizations in various countries engaged in assisting the many different classes of refugees. These principles assume close and continuous contact with voluntary bodies and workers, and include facilities for mutual consultation and assistance and the exchange of information. The Committee is in touch with many voluntary bodies, and welcomes contact with all interested in the refugee cause.

Among the measures taken towards the relief and assistance of refugees are the following:

The Intergovernmental Committee has made direct approaches with the object of obtaining asylum for refugees in neutral states.

It is engaged in carrying out practical schemes for the physical relief of refugees in occupied territory.

It has taken what means are available to assist the escape of particular groups.

It has been kept informed, and has been consulted, regarding the camp in North Africa.

It has been in continuous touch with the Governments of the United Kingdom and United States of America regarding the direct measures which these Governments have undertaken.

It is the aim of the Intergovernmental Committee, to which the United States and British Governments attach the utmost importance, to have its own representatives in various countries so soon as necessary

consent is accorded and details can be worked out. The two Governments are convinced that only by an organization of this kind will it be able efficiently to carry out its duty of maintaining and preserving refugees, and of performing its ultimate function of finding new homes and opportunities for those who are unable to return to their own countries. In pursuance of this policy, an officer of the Committee is about to visit southern Italy, where responsibility for large bodies of refugees discovered in, and escaping to, liberated territory has been assumed by the Allied authorities; and advanced plans are under examination for the appointment of representatives in several other countries. In this way the Committee, in present conditions, can give effectual assistance to refugees, while at the same time being in position to make the best use of opportunities as they arise.

While deferring to inevitable military requirements (as, for example, in instances in which the allocation at a given moment of shipping to the moving of refugees would make impossible troop movements essential to long and carefully scheduled United Nations offensives), and while recognizing the existence of very great practical obstacles to effective succor to refugees in enemy-occupied territory until the enemy is defeated, the Governments which are members of the Intergovernmental Committee, including the British and American Governments, have been unremitting in their attentiveness to all possibilities of aid to refugees. The necessities of operations in wartime have imposed limitations which patriotic persons can not wish violated, however those limitations may be regretted; but in spite of those limitations there have already been carried [out?] preliminary measures well calculated to provide for the most favorable treatment of refugees step by step with the progress of the war henceforth. The Intergovernmental Committee is competently staffed and well organized as the repository and active agent of the combined will of a large group of like-minded nations to carry into effect the best possible solutions of refugee problems.

BUCKNELL

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840.48 Refugees/4724 : Telegram

*The Secretary of State to the Chargé in the United Kingdom  
(Bucknell)*

WASHINGTON, December 6, 1943.

7719. Concerning proposal for approaching other Allied Nations regarding joint declaration on repatriation as outlined in your 8080 November 19, please refer to Department's 7442 November 24, in which it was assumed that British Government would take prompt steps to place proposed declaration before other United Nations of Europe.

Since British Foreign Office believes the respective representatives of Great Britain and the United States should make approach to other Nations jointly, the Department accepts British view. Department is therefore instructing our representatives to United Nations Governments or authorities concerned, namely Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Yugoslavia, and the French Committee of National Liberation, to collaborate with the British representative in securing the adherence of these Governments or authorities to the declaration.

HULL

840.48 Refugees/4834 : Telegram

*The Secretary of State to the Chargé in the United Kingdom  
(Bucknell)*

WASHINGTON, December 7, 1943.

7731. Your 8478, 5th. The text seems to be very much along the line of our own thought. It presents the U. S. and U. K. combined activities which Long treated in similar substance, preceding it with a running account of our own activities from the fall of 1939 up to Bermuda. We are planning under pressure to accede to House Committee's desire to release it Thursday. We go on the assumption that the main facts are to be used by each of us in our own way as necessitated by different practices in each country's legislative body and to be generally included in the presentation. That is the way ours was presented orally to the Committee and as they want it released.

What hour Thursday would be agreeable?

HULL

840.48 Refugees/4848 : Telegram

*The Chargé in the United Kingdom (Bucknell) to the Secretary  
of State*

LONDON, December 8, 1943.

[Received December 8—9 p. m.]

8546. Department's 7731, 7th. Although agreeing that main facts are to be used by each of us in our own way the Foreign Office would like to know (for Parliamentary reasons) before its release the complete text which will be released in Washington. We take it there may be additions to the text in Embassy's 8478, 5th. On this account Foreign Office favors aiming at release at a late hour on Friday rather than on Thursday. Regarding North Africa project and Malin's<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Patrick Malin, Vice-Director of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees.

visit (see end of foreword of Embassy's 8478) Foreign Office favors deferment of announcement unless Department possesses subsequent approval from Madrid and theater commander, respectively.

BUCKNELL

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840.48 Refugees/4834 : Telegram

*The Secretary of State to the Chargé in the United Kingdom  
(Bucknell)*

WASHINGTON, December 9, 1943.

7780. Your 8546, December 8. As indicated in our 7731 our statement is embodied in testimony which Long gave to House Committee on Foreign Affairs on November 26, preceded by running account of our own activities up to Bermuda and followed by questions and answers. The testimony is contained in 57 printed pages which the House Committee will release tomorrow. We are obtaining advance copies and will deliver them today to British Embassy.

No mention made of Malin's proposed visit to Italy. Regarding North Africa project see our 7760, December 8, 7 p. m.<sup>17</sup> We see no need to refer that matter to Madrid and Algiers considering general nature of statement and that project must become public very soon as it has been approved and further, as reported to us yesterday, it is already known even to refugees in Spain.

HULL

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840.48 Refugees/4887b : Telegram

*The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in the United Kingdom  
(Winant)*<sup>18</sup>

WASHINGTON, December 10, 1943.

7815. For Biddle. You are requested to collaborate with the British representative in presenting the following declaration to the Governments to which you are accredited<sup>19</sup> and to appropriate representatives of the Government of Luxembourg and endeavor to secure their acceptance at an early date,<sup>20</sup> the declaration having already

<sup>17</sup> *Post*, p. 387.

<sup>18</sup> The same, *mutatis mutandis*, on the same date, as No. 61 to the Minister in Egypt for presentation to the Governments of Yugoslavia and Greece, and as No. 107 to the Consul General at Algiers for presentation to the French Committee of National Liberation.

<sup>19</sup> The Governments of Belgium, Czechoslovakia, the Netherlands, Norway, and Poland, established in England.

<sup>20</sup> Acceptances received by January 15, 1944, from all countries involved, with some suggested modifications. The British Embassy suggested and the Department concurred that, because France, Greece, and several other countries were not in complete agreement regarding present wording of the repatriation declaration, the representatives of the various countries confer in London and agree upon the text. In telegram No. 453, January 18, 1944, the Ambassador in the United Kingdom was instructed to transmit the foregoing information to the Directorate of the IGC. (840.48 Refugees/5042b)

been accepted by the Governments of Great Britain, the United States and Soviet Russia.

[Here follows text of declaration as stated in telegram No. 7442, November 24, 10 p. m., to the Ambassador in the United Kingdom, printed on page 224.]

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840.48 Refugees/4865a : Circular telegram

*The Secretary of State to Diplomatic Representatives in the American Republics*

WASHINGTON, December 10, 1943—10 p. m.

The United States and British Governments released today separate but parallel statements explaining what has been done and what is contemplated with respect to the problem of refugees from Nazi tyranny. The United States release is in the form of a statement by the Honorable Breckinridge Long before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs.<sup>20a</sup> A copy will be furnished to each mission as soon as available. There follows a summary of points which it is believed will be of immediate interest to you and to the governments to which you are accredited.

1. The United States and Great Britain have now agreed on and are urging the other member states of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees to agree on the enlargement of the scope of the Committee by means of a new mandate reading as follows:

“The Executive Committee of the Intergovernmental Committee is hereby empowered by the member states to undertake negotiations with neutral and Allied states or organizations and to take such steps as may be necessary to preserve, maintain, and transport those persons displaced from their homes by their efforts to escape from areas where their lives and liberty are in danger on account of their race, religion, or political beliefs. The operation of the committee shall extend to all countries from which refugees come as a result of the war in Europe or in which they may find refuge. The Executive Committee shall be empowered to receive and disburse for the purposes enumerated above funds both public and private.”

2. The United States is supporting before the Executive Committee of the IGC in London (on which Argentina and Brazil are the other American republics represented) a proposal that the IGC establish agencies in certain key (neutral) countries.

3. The United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union have adopted, and are urging adoption by the European Allied Governments and the French Committee of National Liberation, of a joint

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<sup>20a</sup> See footnote 11, p. 228. See also telegram No. 8975, December 24, from the Ambassador in the United Kingdom, p. 394, and telegram No. 8171, December 27, to the Ambassador in the United Kingdom, p. 396.



declaration looking toward the return to their homes after the war of those refugees from Axis and Axis-dominated countries who desire repatriation. (The text of this declaration will be transmitted to you after it has been agreed on, and if possible before publication.)

In case any question is raised as to the reasons for limiting the participants in the declaration mentioned in 3 above to the United States, the European Allied Governments, and the French Committee of National Liberation, you are instructed to reply in the following sense: It has been thought that it would be well to limit the declaration to apply to Europe, following the joint statement of December 16, 1942, condemning Nazi treatment of the Jews in Europe (Radio Bulletin no. 297, December 17, 1942<sup>21</sup>). With respect to United States participation you may find it appropriate to remark upon the long-continuing active interest of this Government in the refugee problem and to refer particularly to the President's calling of the Evian Conference in 1938.

For your background information, El Salvador is the only American republic not a member of the IGC, while Costa Rica, Guatemala and Panama have not yet participated in the renewed activities of the IGC which have grown out of the Bermuda Conference.

HULL

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840.48 Refugees/4796 : Telegram

*The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in the United Kingdom (Winant)*

WASHINGTON, December 17, 1943—7 p. m.

7962. The Department believes it to be expedient to take definite steps at once to establish the five additional offices of the IGC referred to in Department's 7346 of November 20.

You are requested to report to the Department as soon as possible the decision of the Executive Committee regarding suggestions in the telegram under reference as to personnel, the method of meeting expenses and the procedure to follow preparatory to establishing the offices.

HULL

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840.48 Refugees/4885 : Telegram

*The Ambassador in the United Kingdom (Winant) to the Secretary of State*

LONDON, December 18, 1943—6 p. m.

[Received December 18—5:14 p.m.]

8795. The Embassy has today received a letter dated December 16 from the Foreign Office on the subject of the five additional IGC of-

<sup>21</sup> Department of State *Bulletin*, December 19, 1942, p. 1009.

fices at the same time as receiving Department's 7962, December 17, 6 [7] p. m. The Foreign Office expresses agreement in principle and makes several suggestions.

The next meeting of the Executive Committee is to be in January and we understand from a previous statement by the Director that he does not feel free to proceed with the subject until approved by the Executive Committee although he strongly favors the proposal. We feel that time might consequently be saved by having British and American diplomatic representatives clear the proposal at the several proposed places if possible, before the Executive Committee meets, thereby avoiding the delay in awaiting such action subsequent to the Executive Committee meeting, and on Monday we propose to hold an informal joint meeting with the Directorate and Foreign Office with this in mind. This Saturday afternoon we cannot reach them.

WINANT

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840.48 Refugees/4920a : Telegram

*The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in the United Kingdom  
(Winant)*

WASHINGTON, December 22, 1943.

8071. For the Ambassador and Bucknell. Department refers to the text of the revised mandate of the IGC as proposed at the Bermuda Conference which reads as follows:

"The Executive Committee of the Intergovernmental Committee is hereby empowered by the member states to undertake negotiations with neutral or Allied states or organizations and to take such steps as may be necessary to preserve, maintain and transport those persons displaced from their homes by their efforts to escape from areas where their lives and liberty are in danger on account of their race, religion or their political beliefs. The operation of the Committee shall extend to all countries from which refugees come as a result of the war in Europe or in which they may find refuge. The Executive Committee shall be empowered to receive and disburse for the purposes enumerated above, funds both public and private."

You will observe that the second sentence reads "The operation of the Committee shall extend to all countries from which refugees come as a result of the war in Europe, etc."

Department has assumed and each of our delegates to the Bermuda conference concurs in the conviction that the area of operations of the Committee includes the German and satellite governments.

This understanding has been fortified by the minutes of the Bermuda conference<sup>22</sup> at Part V immediately preceding the text of the mandate and on the same page thereof where it states, "In addition

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<sup>22</sup> Not found in Department files.

the IGC as it now exists is free under its mandate to negotiate with the German Government on refugee matters". (This refers to the original mandate).

On the preceding page of the minutes in the third paragraph the third sentence reads "They envisaged the necessity for negotiations with Allied and neutral governments but not, of course, with enemy governments". The Department understands that that statement was in the nature of a reservation on the part of the American and British Governments, themselves, of their inability and indisposition to communicate directly with the enemy governments. However, the reservation of the American and British Governments as to their individual or collective activities in that respect was not contemplated to affect the sphere of activity of the IGC comprising as it does neutrals as well as belligerents. The IGC was chosen as the agency because its membership included the neutral governments who were necessary for the wider activity of the Committee and for possible use in dealing with situations within the jurisdiction of the enemy governments and it has been the Department's understanding that the whole movement to enlarge the powers of the IGC was for the purpose of rendering every possible aid and assistance to persons who were persecuted because of their race, religion or political beliefs wherever they might be. This is fortified by the record of the proceedings of the IGC held in London on August 4, 1943 where it states in Section 4: "The IGC shall extend its mandate so as to include as may be found necessary and practicable in addition to those already within the mandate those persons wherever they may be who as a result of events in Europe have had to leave or may have to leave their countries of residence because of the danger to their liberties on account of their race, religion or political beliefs".

Yesterday a Representative from New York by the name of Celler, as the latest of a series of criticisms and attacks upon the Department, in a widely circulated statement refers to Mr. Long's testimony before the House Committee where he stated (after reading the text of the revised mandate of the IGC), "In other words, they are given plenary authority to do whatever they can within and without Germany and the occupied territories". Mr. Celler then proceeds to state: "I am now informed from headquarters of the IGC on Refugees in London that Mr. Long is absolutely incorrect, that the terms of the mandate do not permit direct negotiation with Germany for the relief and rescue of Jews and other persecuted peoples."

In the light of this you are requested to obtain from the IGC a statement in denial of Celler's allegation and in support of our understanding that the mandate authorizes the Committee to extend

its field of activities to persecuted persons wherever they may be and further, that the mandate does not preclude indirect or direct negotiations by the Committee with any government when and wherever such negotiations may become necessary and promise success for the rescue of persecuted persons. Department will appreciate your very careful and prompt action in the above matter. Your early reply will be appreciated as you will understand that direct challenge to good faith cannot permit of delay in treatment. Also, who could give out a statement such as Celler quotes?

HULL

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840.48 Refugees/4898 : Telegram

*The Ambassador in the United Kingdom (Winant) to the Secretary of State*

LONDON, December 24, 1943.

[Received December 24—8:50 a. m.]

8943. We immediately took up with the Intergovernmental Committee the matter raised by the Department's 8071, December 22. On December 17 the Jewish Telegraphic Agency telephoned the IGC Directorate and stated that it had received from the Jewish Telegraphic Agency in New York the following report: "Washington authoritatively learned Intergovernmental Committee given mandate initiate discussions with Germany direct regarding release Jews other oppressed people. Doubt whether Germany will agree but attempt will be made." Emerson instructed an assistant to reply that this report was completely incorrect so far as mandate is concerned. At the time he had no knowledge of Mr. Long's statement quoted in Department's instruction.

We have discussed the considerations set forth in the Department's telegram at length with Sir Herbert, [who] said that he will consider the matter further and will set forth his position definitely in writing but stated that he does not consider that the mandate of the Committee would permit the Committee to have any direct dealings with Germany, although pointing out that indirect negotiations may be undertaken through neutrals. Such neutrals would not be acting as members of the Committee in such negotiations.

Lord Winterton and other members of the Committee are out of London for Christmas. In the event that Emerson's interpretation of the mandate is as forecast would you want us to take further action? Will wait Department's instructions.

WINANT

840.48 Refugees/4898 : Telegram

*The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in the United Kingdom  
(Winant)*

WASHINGTON, December 24, 1943—2 p. m.

8124. We are of the opinion that any authoritative interpretation of the mandate (referring to your 8943, December 24) must emanate from the Executive Committee. We are further of the opinion, on the question of whether the mandate authorizes indirect or direct negotiations with Germany by the Committee, that the interpretation must be as stated in our 8071 of December 22 "that the mandate does not preclude indirect or direct negotiations by the Committee with any Government when and wherever such negotiations may become necessary and promise success for the rescue of persecuted persons". This interpretation is supported by the record at Bermuda and further, by the fact that the original mandate at Evian authorized the Director to negotiate with Germany and such negotiations were actually undertaken and the revised mandate does not cancel the authority therefor.

Please do your best to have a reply for us by Tuesday or Wednesday of next week.

HULL

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840.48 Refugees/4900 : Telegram

*The Ambassador in the United Kingdom (Winant) to the Secretary  
of State*

LONDON, December 24, 1943.

[Received December 24—10:38 p. m.]

8974. Executive Committee of IGC will meet January 4th and consider Department's recommendation for establishment of five IGC offices for assisting refugees. British Government is informing the Directorate that it is instructing its delegate to support the United States in the discussions. Meantime we have met with Foreign Office and IGC staff to discuss steps to carry the project forward and although opinion is that no diplomatic approach should be made before Executive Committee has opportunity to approve, nevertheless time might be saved (by better presentation to January 4th meeting and by more expeditious action pursuant thereto) if we could have within a few days Department's reactions to the following ideas:

1. Neither Foreign Office nor Directorate see need for both British and American officer in each office and would not confine office personnel to those nationalities.

2. Certain of the offices might be unsuccessful unless in the charge of local nationals. This suggestion was made concerning Algiers and Lisbon.

3. In light of Turkish policy on refugees, no usefulness is foreseen for an office at Ankara, and Cairo is suggested instead, not of course to take the place of Merra but to cooperate with it.

4. The IGC should be charged with stipulated duties toward Fedhala Camp in connection with Algiers office.

5. Department's approval is requested for approach to French Committee for suggestion of a Frenchman to head IGC Algiers office.

6. Kullman is shortly visiting Switzerland and might informally discuss possible IGC office there.

7. Can Department suggest Americans who might serve in various offices and proposed salary scales.

WINANT

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840.48 Refugees/4900 : Telegram

*The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in the United Kingdom  
(Winant)*

WASHINGTON, December 27, 1943.

8174. We are in accord with proposals 1, 2, 3, 5 and 6 presented in your 8974, December 24 regarding establishment of IGC offices for assisting refugees. With respect to proposal 4 we would like to know the nature of the duties with which it is thought that the IGC should be charged toward the Fedhala camp, particularly in order that we may get agreement here with our authorities directing the camp's operation. With regard to proposal 7 we will be glad to investigate and hope to be able to make suggestions regarding Americans who may serve in the various offices and the proposed salary scales.

HULL

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840.48 Refugees/4921 : Telegram

*The Ambassador in the United Kingdom (Winant) to the Secretary  
of State*

LONDON, December 29, 1943—noon.  
[Received December 29—9:20 a. m.]

9033. Following statement was prepared by Sir Herbert Emerson and forwarded to the Embassy yesterday (Department's 8124, December 24). After receiving it I asked Lord Winterton to come on to London to discuss the question of mandate with me. He completely supports the interpretation of mandate as stated in the Emerson memorandum. Therefore I am cabling this document in order that it may reach you Wednesday morning Washington time.

In my conversation with Lord Winterton he told me he felt that the matter should be taken up with the Foreign Office as well as with him. Prior to his conversation with me he had not himself ap-

proached the Foreign Office. I am seeing Eden at noon today on this question and will telegraph the Department the results of our conversation.

Following is the text of Emerson's memorandum :

"With reference to the talk you had yesterday with my colleagues and myself regarding the mandate of the Intergovernmental Committee, I am now writing to explain the position.

1. On the 17th December, the Jewish Telegraph Agency rang up saying that they had received the following message from their office in New York :

'Washington authoritatively learned Intergovernmental Committee given mandate initiate discussions with Germany directly regarding release Jews other oppressed peoples. Doubted whether Germany will agree but attempt will be made. Russia and Turkey been invited join Committee.'

The agency asked for confirmation. My personal assistant communicated the message to me. For reasons which will appear later, I told her to ask the Jewish Telegraph Agency not to publish the portion regarding the initiation of direct discussions with Germany, since this was not covered by the mandate, but to confirm the part relating to Russia and Turkey. I assumed that, as has happened previously, the message from New York was not a correct report of facts. At the same time, I asked Mr. Malin, Vice-Director, to ascertain the basis of the report so that, if there were any misunderstanding, it might be cleared up. He took steps to do this.

A few days later, Mr. Schick, a representative of the Jewish Telegraph Agency office in London, saw Mr. Malin, when the latter gave him a copy of the communiqué issued by the Intergovernmental Committee, which contained the terms of the mandate.

You will see that the question in issue was whether the mandate of the Intergovernmental Committee included the powers to initiate discussions direct with Germany. Believing as I did then, and still believe, that the mandate does not contain such powers, it would not have been possible, even had we known that the statement to this effect had been made in Washington, for us to confirm the statement. The course we might have taken would have been to say that we had no statement to make, and this might have been the wiser course, but the results would have been the same, since the Jewish Telegraph Agency office in London would then have cabled back to say that the Director's office in London had declined to confirm the statement. Much therefore, as I regret the situation that has arisen, and the inconveniences it has, and may, cause, I do not think that any action, or inaction, on our part could have prevented it, other than a confirmation of the statement that the mandate was as described in the message, and this we could not do.

2. The main reason for this view is the mandate itself. I may remind you that the procedure followed by the Executive Committee has been to ask the member Governments to confer on them certain powers, and they have been addressed in this sense. The relevant portion of the recommendation is the following :

'With regard to persons coming within the mandate as extended, the Executive Committee is empowered by the member states to undertake negotiations with neutral or Allied states or with organizations, and to take such steps as may be necessary to preserve, maintain and transport them.'

So far as negotiation is concerned, the power is sought in regard to neutral or Allied states only. There is no mention of enemy states. According to the normal canons of interpretation the omission is conclusive. Since powers had been expressly sought in regard to Allied and neutral states, it seems inadmissible to make the assumption that these powers were also to extend to enemy states. This is the more so, since the inclusion of enemy states is a matter on which there may well be considerable difference of opinion among those member states who are at war.

As you know, the mandate, apart from verbal changes, was a formula agreed beforehand between the American and British Governments. I do not, therefore, know what they may have had in mind, but so far as the discussions previous to the executive meeting of the 4th August are concerned, and the discussions in that meeting itself nothing was said or suggested, to my knowledge, to indicate that the mandate did not mean what it said, and that negotiations with enemy states had not been deliberately omitted. Owing to the fact that the Chairman, Lord Winterton, is out of town, and the matter is urgent, I have been unable to consult him. But if he was aware of any reservation in the sense now suggested, he did not communicate it to me, as I believe he would certainly have done, had he been aware of it.

Moreover, so far as my own knowledge goes, and so far as public statements are concerned, the whole trend of policy since public attention became keenly interested in the matter towards the end of 1942, has been in the direction of rejecting any direct approach to Germany. It is necessary to give only one example of this. I would refer you to the relevant portion of the statement made by Mr. Peake in the House of Commons on behalf of the British Government, on the 19th May, 1943, during the debate on the Bermuda Conference. It will be found 1130 of Hansard of that date.<sup>23</sup> It was, presumably, a statement of which the substance had been agreed between the American and British Governments. Giving an account of the Bermuda Conference he made the following statement:

'At the outset they (the delegations) agreed in rejecting, as contrary to the settled policy of both Governments, and calculated to injure the United Nations war effort, any proposal for general negotiations with the German Government to release potential refugees.'

Until the present matter arose, I had no reason to suppose that there had been any change in this policy.

3. Yesterday you mentioned certain considerations supporting a contrary interpretation. Some of these had reference to the report of the Bermuda Conference. In this connection it is, I think, relevant to remember that that report has not been communicated to members of the Executive Committee other than Lord Winterton and Mr. Winant, and it has not been communicated to any other member Governments of the Intergovernmental Committee, or to the non-member Governments who have been invited to join the Committee. While, therefore, it may be relevant as indicating what the delegations had in mind, it is not relevant as to the intentions of the Executive Committee, and still less as to the interpretation by the other Governments of those intentions as expressed in the recommendation.

4. So far as the original mandate of the Committee is concerned, the relevant position is the instruction to the Director 'to undertake

<sup>23</sup> *Parliamentary Debates*, House of Commons, 5th series, vol. 389, col. 1130.



negotiations to improve the present conditions of exodus, and to replace them by conditions of orderly emigration'. Negotiations to this end were, in fact, in progress when hostilities began in September, 1939. The war brought them to an abrupt end, and there has been no suggestion that they should be renewed. They relate to a policy of orderly emigration which is no longer an issue, and in any case, they relate only to refugees, or potential refugees, in Germany and Austria.

5. For the above reasons, I still hold the view that if the question had been raised in Executive Committee, or is raised, as to the powers of that body to initiate direct discussions or negotiations with Germany, it would be my duty to give the following opinion: First, that the mandate does not include the conferment of such powers by the member states, and it would, therefore, be *ultra vires* for the Executive Committee to exercise them. Secondly, that if the contrary interpretation were adopted, since the matter is one on which some Governments may take a very keen interest, the right and proper course would be to communicate to them the extended mandate for their agreement. You will understand that since the matter has not arisen in Executive Committee, I am merely expressing a personal opinion, which might or might not be accepted by the Executive Committee, but since I am the servant of the Committee as a whole, I would be bound to give this advice in discharge of my obligations to all members. Although the responsibility is mine, I may add that the matter has been discussed fully with my colleagues Mr. Malin, Dr. Sillem and Dr. Kullmann, and that they agree. What I have said refers only to the issue of the mandate as it now stands, and not to the wider question of policy as to whether it should be expanded so as to include the power of direct negotiations with enemy states.

6. In regard to some other matters which you mentioned which fall outside the direct issue, it is undoubtedly the case that the mandate now includes persons, whoever they may be, in enemy or enemy-occupied territory, or elsewhere, who as a result of the events in Europe, have had to leave, or may have to leave, their countries of residence because of the danger to their lives or liberty, on account of their race, religion or political beliefs. The aim of the Intergovernmental Committee is to give them all assistance they can within the powers conferred on them. Even if it cannot, within its powers, enter into direct negotiations with enemy states, it can initiate and carry out measures for their assistance. The approach to Sweden is one example, although it may be noted that Sweden has been asked to move the German authorities as a neutral country, and not as a member of the Intergovernmental Committee, acting on its behalf. Similarly as regards the approaches that have been made, or are contemplated [with] regard to Switzerland. In fact, the question of a direct approach to Germany is, apart from questions of policy, largely academic, since there are no means by which such an approach can be made. Nor does the absence of the necessary powers, if this is in fact that position, detract from the practical measures that can be taken, at present. The situation may change as the war develops, and it may be necessary to seek wider powers. This is, perhaps, what the Bermuda delegation had in mind in framing their first recommendation, namely, 'that no approach be made to Hitler for

the release of potential refugees in Germany or German-occupied territory but that the question be borne in mind by the Intergovernmental Committee in case conditions altered at a later date'. In short, the lack of those particular powers is not an obstacle at present, since the powers which exist are sufficient to take advantage of such opportunities as occur. May I here take the opportunity of saying how very much we appreciate the great help the State Department has given during the past few months in initiating proposals and in referring them to the Intergovernmental Committee. This makes me regret the more that I have added unconsciously to its difficulties."

WINANT

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840.48 Refugees/4926 : Telegram

*The Ambassador in the United Kingdom (Winant) to the Secretary of State*

LONDON, December 29, 1943.

[Received December 29—11 : 19 a. m.]

9034. Director states that December 28th Soviet Embassy informed him that Soviet Government accepts membership in Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees.

WINANT

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840.48 Refugees/4935 : Telegram

*The Ambassador in the United Kingdom (Winant) to the Secretary of State*

LONDON, December 31, 1943.

[Received December 31—11 : 18 p. m.]

9111. Pursuant to my conversation with Eden (this refers to the Embassy's telegram No. 9033, December 29, noon) we have again reviewed the entire question of the mandate of the Intergovernmental Committee with Emerson and with a representative of the Foreign Office. We also examined the text of Mr. Long's statement as quoted in the printed hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

The Foreign Office representative pointed out that Mr. Long in his testimony on page 34 did not read the revised mandate of the Intergovernmental Committee but did read the recommendations of the Bermuda Conference which have never been placed before the Committee. Both Emerson and the Foreign Office representative also referred to the Department's press release following the Bermuda Conference of May 19 number 198<sup>24</sup> in which the following appears: "It was also agreed that no negotiations with Hitler could be undertaken since his entire record has left no doubt that he would only agree to such solutions as would be of direct aid to the Axis war aims". They

<sup>24</sup> *Ante*, p. 183.

also referred to Peake's statement before the House of Commons quoted in the telegram referred to above which was agreed to by both the British and American authorities as was the Department's announcement before it was issued. They felt that they could not issue any statement that indicated that the Intergovernmental Committee through its revised mandate had authority to negotiate with Germany or other enemy governments and pointed out that such a step would only result in a public outcry in this country and difficulties with the member Governments of the Committee, particularly Soviet Russia.

It was agreed however that the scope of the activities of the Committee should be clarified and Emerson has handed us the statement quoted below which is addressed to the Department of State and signed by Emerson as Director of the Committee and which may be published as a communication from the Director by the Department of State if the Department so desires or alternatively issued as a communiqué here in London. Emerson prefers the first alternative since so far the matter has received practically no publicity here and informs me that he understands that the Foreign Office would also prefer this if acceptable to the Department. The statement has the approval of Winterton and of the Foreign Office and I consider that it goes to the absolute limit that either the Executive Committee or the Foreign Office is prepared to go in meeting the Department's views as set forth in its instructions numbers 8071 December 22 and 8124, December 24, 2 p. m. I therefore suggest that it be accepted and published by the Department in the belief that it will serve to clarify the existing situation.

Following is text of statement :

"On 14th October, 1943, the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees issued a communiqué<sup>25</sup> which included the terms of its mandate. It seems desirable to amplify the communiqué by some account of the scope of the powers of the Committee, and the manner in which they are being exercised.

The procedure followed by the Executive Committee has been to invite all the member Governments to confer on it certain powers. Owing to the difficulty of communications, replies have not yet been received from all those Governments, but those so far received have given the necessary agreement. The persons coming within the activities of the Committee include all those who, as a result of events in Europe, have had to leave, or may have to leave, their countries of residence because of the danger to their lives, or liberties, on account of their race, religion or political beliefs. Provided they come within the above definition, it does not matter where they are—in neutral, occupied or any other countries. It is true that some persons do not need assistance because their own governments are willing, and

<sup>25</sup> Quoted in telegram No. 7021, October 14, from the Ambassador in the United Kingdom, p. 213.

able, to look after them. Nonetheless, the Intergovernmental Committee is at the service of those governments. It is further true that it is not, at the moment, possible to extend assistance to all, or indeed to the majority who come within the mandate. This is because of the stern facts of war.

The Executive Committee has been empowered for the purpose by the member Governments. Although under the mandate, as it stands, it is not empowered to undertake negotiations with other than neutral or Allied states or organizations, it may, and does, within the powers it has, take such steps as may be necessary to preserve, maintain and transport the persons coming within its responsibility. In the exercise of these powers, the services are sought, when necessary, of neutral governments, some of whom are members of the Committee. Some are willing and able, in their individual capacity, to discuss refugee matters in which the Committee is interested with those governments with whom the Intergovernmental Committee itself cannot carry on negotiations. Their assistance, which has already been of value, is much appreciated; it will be continually sought as occasion requires. The assistance of voluntary organizations is available, and is being used. Thus, under its present revised mandate, the Committee has all requisite authority to do whatever can be done, under present circumstances. The sphere of activities of the Committee is conditioned by practical realities, and not by lack of authority. At present the powers are adequate. If conditions change so as to require an enlargement of them, it is open to the Executive Committee to seek the agreement of member Governments."

WINANT

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840.48 Refugees/4935 : Telegram

*The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in the United Kingdom  
(Winant)*

WASHINGTON, January 4, 1944.

53. Concerning IGC mandate referred to in your 9111 December 31, Department accepts statement prepared by Emerson. However if statement is published inclusion of last sentence might raise new controversy and it seems preferable to omit it. At present we have no intention to publish Emerson's statement but we may desire to do so at any time omitting last sentence.<sup>26</sup> There is no objection here if statement is published in London.

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<sup>26</sup> Telegram No. 135, January 6, 1944, from the Ambassador in the United Kingdom indicated that there was no objection to publishing Emerson's statement in the United States, omitting the last sentence (840.48 Refugees/4962).