GOVERNMENTAL ASSISTANCE TO PERSONS FORCED TO 
EMIGRATE FOR POLITICAL OR RACIAL REASONS

852.48/1406: Telegram

The Ambassador in Spain (Hayes) to the Secretary of State

MADRID, January 4, 1943—10 a.m. 
[Received 4:58 p.m.]

17. Several thousand French and other United Nations refugees now in Spanish concentration camp and prisons are undergoing great suffering from inadequate housing, clothing, heat, food, medicines and sanitary facilities. American and British Embassies are doing everything possible to ameliorate their hardships, and Foreign Office and War Department appear to be doing their best to cooperate but Spanish Minister of Interior reported to be placing obstacles in way.

Papal Nuncio actively interesting himself in problem under special instructions from Vatican.

I believe it would be helpful if you would call in Ambassador Cárdenas and remind him that Spain is now being given treatment usually accorded to a neutral and that we expect that Spain will accord humane treatment to United Nations refugees and in particular will give them as favorable treatment as that given to Axis refugees, such as members of German-Italian Armistice Commission who escaped from French to Spanish Morocco and have never been placed in concentration camp but have been allowed to return to Germany. If you agree you might request that French refugees be permitted to continue their journey to French North Africa just as many Spanish citizens were allowed to pass through France from one nationalist zone to another during Spanish civil war. Please acknowledge.

Hayes

840.48 Refugees/3859

The British Embassy to the Department of State

AIDE-MÉMOIRE

Plans made in 1941 for the evacuation from Spain and Portugal in an emergency of British subjects and approved Allied nationals pro-

vided for their transport in the first instance to Halifax. Owing to the scarcity of shipping and to the lengthy journey this would have meant leaving most of them behind.

In view of the changed situation in North Africa this question has been reconsidered and it is now suggested that in such an eventuality the evacuees should be taken to Algeria or French Morocco. According to present information, the numbers likely to be affected are:—

- From Portugal — 2,000;
- From Spain — 1,000 British subjects and 2,000 Allies.

His Majesty's Government would be glad to learn whether the United States Government would see any objection to the above proposal.

WASHINGTON, January 11, 1943.

840.48 Refugees/3530: Telegram

The Ambassador in Uruguay (Dawson) to the Secretary of State

MONTEVIDEO, January 11, 1943—6 p.m.
[Received 7:45 p.m.]

46. Uruguayan Foreign Office states it has been approached by local Jewish committee with request to permit entry into Uruguay of several hundred Jewish refugee children, the committee claiming that the United States Government has acceded to a similar request made by Jewish committees in the United States. Foreign Office would appreciate confirmation of above before taking action.

Dawson

852.48/1408: Telegram

The Ambassador in Spain (Hayes) to the Secretary of State

MADRID, January 12, 1943—midnight.
[Received January 13—8:21 a.m.]

75. It would be helpful to me if you would let me know if you are agreeable to calling Cárdenas in and talking to him in the sense of my 17, January 4, 10 a.m. I am delaying further representation here pending information concerning your conversation in the event you concur.

Hayes
Memorandum by the Assistant Secretary of State (Long) to the Under Secretary of State (Welles)

[WASHngTON,] January 16, 1943.

Mr. Welles: Our information is that there are approximately 4,000 refugees from France now in Spain. The Red Cross has sent $25,000 to Hayes. He has at our suggestion received from Portugal a delegation of American relief workers who are administering relief in the camps, out of these funds under Hayes’ direction. Many of the refugees have ample funds. Governor Lehman has now taken over the relief phases and is attending to the Spanish situation.

Concerning the migration of refugees, the effort to get children out has not progressed well. Only 170 are reported available and only 35 are enroute to this country. Lack of transportation facilities complicates the problem.

Some four hundred adults have applied for visas and most of them will probably receive them, as several hundred cases have already been approved. They go through the regular war-time visa procedure and receive the most expeditious attention practicable.

Eisenhower has a representative at Madrid selecting such refugees as qualify for the war effort in Africa.

The President’s Committee (through Mr. Warren) suggests that 1,000 go to Palestine, travelling from Lisbon to Lourenço Marques by Portuguese vessel, and that an allied vessel be provided to take them northward from Lourenço Marques. They also suggest that from 500 to 1,000 go to the relief camp at Jamaica by Portuguese vessel.

Spanish lower officialdom has not been very amenable to suggestions to free those of military age from internment camps, but the Spanish authorities appear to be committed not to return them to Germany.

The attached draft of a letter to Myron C. Taylor has been prepared for your consideration and possible signature.

Breckinridge Long

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2 Carlton J. H. Hayes, Ambassador in Spain.
3 Herbert H. Lehman, former Governor of New York; Director, Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations.
5 George L. Warren, Secretary, President’s Advisory Committee on Political Refugees.
6 Post, p. 258.
The Ambassador in Spain (Hayes) to the Secretary of State

MADRID, JANUARY 17, 1943—5 A.M.  
[RECEIVED 3:32 P.M.]

116. Following telegram has been sent to Tangier.

French Military Attaché Madrid has forwarded to French Military Attaché Tangier a list of French refugees detained in Spain whom the Spanish Government is willing to release to the French Embassy for departure from Spain. He requested his colleague in Tangier to transmit the list to Rabat to ascertain whether the persons could enter French Morocco.

We are endeavoring, with the representatives here of the French North African regime, to obtain jurisdiction over French refugees in Spain and the Foreign Office has offered to refer the cases of these refugees to us if the French Embassy is not in a position to take care of them.

It is important that the French Military Attaché in Tangier decline to forward this list to Rabat and so inform his colleague in Madrid, or, if the list is forwarded, Rabat should decline to handle the matter through the channel suggested. There is a good chance that, if this is done, we will obtain jurisdiction over French refugees, which is the objective we have in mind.

As you already know the French Embassy in Madrid is endeavoring to act as liaison between General Noguès and Vichy and the device adopted would facilitate the Embassy’s objective which we wish to defeat.

Repeated to Algiers and the Department.

Hayes

540.48 Refugees/3566

The Under Secretary of State (Welles) to the American Representative on the Intergovernmental Committee on Political Refugees (Taylor)

WASHINGTON, JANUARY 20, 1943.

MY DEAR MR. TAYLOR: I have your letter of January 13, 1943 and its enclosures regarding the problem of the refugees from France who are now in Spain.

The British Ambassador has also approached me on this subject.

The American Embassy at Madrid is giving attention to this problem and has arranged to afford some relief to those who are interned. Governor Lehman has taken up the tasks involved.

With reference to the migration of the refugees in Spain, I have been informed that General Eisenhower has a representative at Ma-

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7 Gen. Albert Noguès, French Resident General in Morocco.
8 Not printed.
9 Viscount Halifax.
drid, who may accept those who may be found to qualify for war work in Africa. Advisory approval has been given under the war-time visa procedure for the issuance of visas to several hundred, who may be able to come to the United States. We have sent a message to London regarding the proposal of the President’s Advisory Committee that 1,000 be taken to Palestine and from 500 to 1,000 to a relief camp in Jamaica. I shall also speak to the British Ambassador about this.

I perceive no objection to the proposal of the President’s Advisory Committee to approach the Netherlands authorities regarding a possible place of refuge in Surinam for these refugees for the duration of the war.

The lack of available shipping facilities complicates the problem.

Sincerely yours,

Sumner Welles

840.48 Refugees/3557: Telegram

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

WASHINGTON, January 20, 1943—10 p.m.

450. Department’s 6434, December 18, 1942. There has been no change in policy since the date of cable under reference.

In Africa military conditions are considered of paramount importance. Other questions are subordinated to them and are worked out by Eisenhower in accordance with his military plans.

In Spain the refugee problem is receiving the attention of the American Embassy, which has arranged for representatives of American relief societies to administer relief and which has received $25,000 and certain supplies from the American Red Cross for that purpose.

The number of refugees in Spain is estimated to be approximately 4,000. Some may be accepted by Eisenhower’s representative for the war effort in Africa. Some may have received visas for the United States and others will probably receive them, as several hundred such cases have been given advisory approval under war-time visa procedure.

The President’s Advisory Committee has proposed that 1,000 proceed from Spain to Palestine on Portuguese vessel to Lourenço Marques and north from there on allied vessel, if available; and that 500 to 1,000 proceed by other Portuguese vessel to relief camp at Jamaica.

26 Infra.
You may inform Emerson of substance, as reply from Taylor to his message in your 7390, December 28, 10 p.m.\textsuperscript{13}

HULL

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852.45/1415: Telegram

The Ambassador in Spain (Hayes) to the Secretary of State

MADRID, January 24, 1943—7 p.m.
[Received 9:20 p.m.]

181. Problem of French refugees growing more serious daily. Absolutely essential from both political and military point of view we give adequate relief to these Allies of ours who cannot be expected to look to Vichy for relief.

Most refugees seeking to reach North Africa. Many are trained fighters including generals and other high officers. Our problem is not only maintaining them but transporting them to North Africa.

Urgently request $100,000 be made available immediately. My 171, January 23, 11 a.m.\textsuperscript{14}

Hayes

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852.45/1415: Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Spain (Hayes)

WASHINGTON, January 26, 1943—noon.

162. Your 181 January 24. Essential that we have further information in order to consider and discuss further financial aid with budget authorities.

1. Do we understand that the money which you request will be used exclusively for French and American nationals?

2. How many do you estimate are included in group for which you propose to assume responsibility and what is the probable rate of addition to this group?

3. We understand that French North African officials are prepared to take military personnel and civil servants useful to the military effort. What progress has been made with regard to screening French nationals for service in North Africa? Can you estimate the total number and percentage of French refugees who might successfully pass this screening?

4. How many French nationals will remain who cannot be sent to North Africa? What arrangements do you propose for the care of these refugees? Is this likely to entail an indefinite responsibility on our part?

\textsuperscript{12}Sir Herbert Emerson, Director of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees.


\textsuperscript{14}Not printed; it indicated that it was imperative that the United States assume responsibility with North African regime for care and evacuation of French refugees loyal to that regime (852.48/1417).
5. With respect to those French refugees who cannot be transported to North Africa would it be practicable to have private agencies handle the situation?

6. For what period would the $100,000 you have requested meet the need there?

7. To what extent are the British prepared to continue looking after other nationals? How many do you estimate will be cared for by the British?

Your telegrams have to some extent informed the Department of the various elements of the problem with which you are faced but it is desired that you give us a complete up-to-date picture of the situation with respect to refugees including information as to nationalities involved, numbers, possibilities for their maintenance in Spain, and estimated number of those who are continuing to pass the Franco-Spanish border. This information is desired as rapidly as possible but do not delay your answer to numbered points above pending complete report.

HULL

840.48 Refugees/3580: Airgram

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Uruguay (Dawson)

WASHINGTON, January 26, 1943—5:50 p.m.

A-228. Your telegram no. 46, January 11, 1943. Prior to the occupation of former unoccupied France, American Consuls in that area were notified that arrangements were being made to receive up to 5,000 refugee children of refugee parents who had been deported from France or who were about to be deported. The arrangements for issuing visas to such children under 16 years of age were suspended when the Consular Offices in unoccupied France were closed, but at the present time authorization has been given to Consular Officers in Spain and Portugal to grant visas to such children who have reached those countries and to refer to the Department for expeditious consideration the cases of refugee parents desiring to accompany their refugee children to the United States. The general arrangements relating to children only also apply to children with parents in Spain or Portugal who have signified their desire to have their children proceed without any relation to the parents' own immigration.

As a large portion of the child refugee cases handled have concerned Jewish children, it is possible that the Uruguayan Jewish Committee had in mind the special arrangements outlined above when it approached the Uruguayan Foreign Office.

HULL
FORCED EMIGRATION

852.48/1408: Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Spain (Hayes)

WASHINGTON, January 28, 1943—7 p.m.

187. Your 17, January 4, 10 a.m., and 75, January 12, midnight. This matter was discussed with Ambassador Cárdenas on Tuesday on the basis of your telegrams under reference.

Hull

852.48/1420: Telegram

The Ambassador in Spain (Hayes) to the Secretary of State

MADRID, January 28, 1943—midnight.
[Received January 29—10:05 p.m.]

224. Department’s 162, January 26, noon.

1. Yes.

2. We estimate from 1500 to 2000 now receiving aid of some sort. At Miranda we are giving equivalent $3.50 cash weekly as well as blankets, sweaters and gloves to approximately 600. British supplying extra rations but we have agreed to take over this responsibility as soon as Red Cross supplies arrive (my 71, January 12, 6 p.m.15). We are maintaining over 200 in hotels at Pamplona at about $2.00 a day and giving material assistance to scores of others in Pamplona prison. When these latter are released upkeep will increase to $2.00 daily. Also maintaining about 25 women and children in Madrid at same rate. Consultate Barcelona maintaining large number of persons, sending relief to over 500 in prisons and giving emergency relief to others for total expense nearly $500 daily. Consulate Bilbao maintaining about 50 at $2.00 daily. Total expense relief program therefore approximately $10,000 weekly and increasing.

Impossible to obtain exact current figures on numbers of persons in these categories as estimated several hundred still unlocated in prisons and several hundred others believed in hiding. It is estimated that from five to seven hundred a week are still crossing frontier. We are, of course, hopeful of evacuating most of these persons to North Africa when the Regime there opens its doors and the Spanish Government agrees to evacuation in larger numbers than at present.

3. Colonel Malaise, our liaison with French High Commission, is screening. Estimated that about 75% would pass test.

4. This will depend on number crossing border and facilities for release from detention and evacuation to North Africa. It is believed Joint Distribution Committee would take care of large percentage of those inadmissible to North Africa. Quakers and Red Cross might

15 Not printed.
also help. If latter aid can be enlisted there will be no indefinite responsibility on our part.

5. See above.

6. About 2 months barring large scale transportation costs to North Africa.

7. British prepared to give generous help as in past. They are now spending $25,000 a month in caring for 800 refugees or average of more than $1.00 per man daily. Refugee governments take care of their own nationals with British help.

Pending allotment of sum requested I should like prompt authorization to continue expenditures at approximately present rate. I cannot over-emphasize relation of this whole problem to our war effort and desirability of not requiring the British to bear the principal burden for relieving French especially since North African campaign under our direction.

Hayes

840.48 Refugees/3559

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 Embassy's Aide-Mémoire of January 11, 1943 in regard to the desire of the British Government, in case of an emergency in Spain and Portugal, to evacuate British subjects and approved Allied nationals to French North Africa. The United States authorities in North Africa have been consulted in regard to this matter and have stated that, in the event of an emergency, they will be prepared to receive these refugees. They believe that it would be preferable that the refugees be evacuated to Morocco rather than to Algeria, though it might be necessary to alter this recommendation in case the emergency should extend to the Spanish zone of Morocco.

Washington, January 30, 1943.

852.48/1420: Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Spain (Hayes)

Washington, February 5, 1943—9 p.m.

255. Your 224, January 28. Special allotment of $100,000 from President's Emergency Fund has been secured for relief of refugees of American and French nationality in accordance with general procedure suggested in your recent messages on this subject. You are authorized to draw on Department up to this amount, charging OFR
No. 1. Draw separate draft; render separate account in such detail as may be found practicable. Since you are temporarily assuming care of French refugees as governmental responsibility, such assistance should be provided those in need regardless of race or religion.

Essential that Lehman, Director of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation, be provided with periodic reports on expenditures from this allocation, methods of relief administration, size of problem, numbers being sent to North Africa, and other pertinent details. No assurance any further sums will be available but if you contemplate request of any further sum, it is essential that Department be advised in sufficient detail and far enough in advance to permit careful consideration of proposal.

HULL

840.48 Refugees/3482

The Secretary of State to the Polish Ambassador (Ciechanowski)

WASHINGTON, February 5, 1943.

EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to refer to the preliminary conversations which you have carried on with officials of this Department relative to the arrangements being made between the Polish and Mexican Governments to receive in Mexico a substantial number of Polish refugees from the Middle Eastern area.

It is understood, in this connection, that the Mexican Government has agreed in principle to receive for the duration of the war up to a maximum of 28,000 Polish refugees from the Middle Eastern area. While it is further understood that the final details regarding the probable number of such refugees to be sent to Mexico have not been settled and that no definite detailed plan has so far been worked out for the reception and care of these persons in Mexico, there are set forth below the arrangements which the United States Government is willing to make in order to facilitate the transportation and care of these Polish nationals from the Middle Eastern area:

1. The United States Government will place to the account of the Polish Government the sum of three million dollars for the purpose of transporting and caring for these Polish refugees in Mexico. It is believed that this sum will be sufficient to meet the necessary expenses involved during the first year of the proposed plan since it is understood that the number of Polish refugees to be sent to Mexico during that period will in all probability be between three and five thousand. In the event that, on the basis of experience gained in handling the first groups of Polish refugees in Mexico, it is learned that further sums are needed or additional controls are advisable, the matter will again be discussed.

2. The release of funds from this account for the use of the Polish Government in connection with the transportation to and the care of
these refugees in Mexico would be based on specific estimates of quarterly requirements drawn up by the Polish authorities which would be submitted for approval to the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations.

3. While the expenses for the care and transportation of these Polish refugees arriving in the United States would be covered by the Polish Government from such funds, the Office of Relief and Rehabilitation Operations would cooperate with the Polish officials and with officials of the State Department for the reception and transportation of these refugees to Mexico.

4. The Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations will make arrangements to assign an experienced Relief Administrator to the United States Embassy in Mexico City for the purpose of advising and assisting in the plan for the reception, care and location of these refugees. The Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations will also provide such additional American personnel as may be required to assist the Polish Government in the technical supervision of this work.

5. In order to assist in this work the Polish Government should employ such additional personnel as the American Advisor shall recommend for the purpose of administering the project. The salaries of such additional personnel shall be met by the Polish Government from the above-mentioned funds provided by the United States Government.

6. It is clearly understood that the arrangements between the Mexican and Polish Governments concerning the conditions for the entry into Mexico and the subsequent repatriation of these Polish refugees are entirely matters between these Governments, the United States Government assuming no responsibility in respect thereto.

It would be appreciated if you could confirm whether the above stipulations are satisfactory to the Polish Government.

Accept [etc.]

Cordell Hull

852.48/1426: Telegram

The Ambassador in Spain (Hayes) to the Secretary of State

Madrid, February 15, 1943—10 p. m.
[Received February 16—12:07 p.m.]

379. The Foreign Minister 38 informed me this morning that, in the absence of unforeseen developments, all French refugees will be allowed to continue their journey through Spain, on the theory that France is now non-belligerent. The Spanish Red Cross has been designated to assist in their evacuation.

I urge again that these refugees not be denied entry into North Africa. Any further screening necessary in North Africa should be

38 Gen. Francisco Gómez Jordana.
done by the North African authorities. My 350, February 11, 9 p.m. 17
Repeated to Algiers for Murphy. 18

 Hayes

840.48 Refugees/3615

The Polish Ambassador (Ciechanowski) to the Secretary of State

738/SZ-t/14

[WASHINGTON,] February 22, 1943.

Sir: I have the honor to refer to your note of February 5, 1943, concerning the arrangements which the United States Government is willing to make in order to facilitate the transportation and care of Polish refugees to be evacuated to Mexico from the Middle Eastern area, and to inform you that I am instructed by my Government to say that they accept with gratitude the stipulations contained in the above-mentioned note. These stipulations are as follows:

[Here follow the six stipulations contained in note of February 5 to the Polish Ambassador, printed on page 259.]

Accept [etc.]

J. CIECHANOWSKI

852.48/1434 : Telegram

The Ambassador in Spain (Hayes) to the Secretary of State

Madrid, February 28, 1943—9 p. m.

[Received March 1—1:35 a.m.]

469. French refugee problem continues to grow despite Spanish Government's decision in principle to release French nationals as number now crossing frontier far exceed number who can be released and evacuated with present facilities. We are working with Colonel Malaise on a program of large scale evacuation to North Africa and it is expected that over a thousand will leave during the coming week but influx of refugees from France continues at an estimated rate of from 150 to 500 daily with indications of further increases. Recently arrived refugees report that further large numbers are preparing to leave France prompted by German labor mobilization there and by reports of general release of French refugees in Spain and there are prospects of a drastic increase as the snows recede. Vast majority of refugees appear to be males of military age anxious to reach North Africa to fight and many are highly qualified military men.

Pending preparation of more detailed figures on expenditures for relief (which include cash and/or material assistance to over 1500

17 Not printed.
18 Robert D. Murphy, Personal Representative of President Roosevelt in North Africa.
It is estimated that our funds as well as those available to Colonel Malaise for refugee relief will be exhausted before end of March and it is highly important that arrangements be made well in advance of that time which will make possible the continuance of this work on the present scale. As previously discussed I consider it very desirable that the primary responsibility for the care of French refugees in Spain be turned over at earliest possible date to the French North African regime and its representatives in Spain who could then continue the work with our assistance. Such an arrangement would, however, still leave with us responsibility for the care of lesser number of refugees of declared American nationality who are not yet eligible for release except in special categories.

Department's 302, February 11, my 401, February 17, midnight.¹³

HAYES

852.48/1434: Telegram

The Acting Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Spain (Hayes)

WASHINGTON, March 5, 1943—11 a. m.

494. Your 469 February 28, 9:00 p. m. We understand from Murphy and Hoehler, Lehman representative in North Africa, that French authorities there state they have sent 25 million francs to you and are considering possibility of assuming further responsibility for supplying food stuffs. If this information correct we assume that this will meet problem of French nationals for considerable period.

With regard to remaining problem of smaller number of refugees of declared American nationality, we request that you submit to us by March 15 your estimate as to amount of additional funds you desire and further details on numbers involved and arrangements proposed there for care. There is no assurance that additional funds can be procured here but if we have your request and substantiation by March 15 will explore possibilities.

WELLES

840.48 Refugees/3642: Telegram

The Ambassador in Spain (Hayes) to the Secretary of State

MADRID, March 6, 1943—10 p. m. [Received 11:30 p. m.]

541. This morning Spanish Government suddenly cancelled permission for 1400 French refugees to depart from Cadiz on two French ships to be sent for purpose. Our information is that decision fol-

¹³ Neither printed.
allowed violent protest by German Ambassador acting under instructions from Berlin. Ambassador said to have threatened to torpedo refugee ships and to have said Spaniards must stop letting French out.

While the German attitude is explainable on the basis of Germany's natural reluctance to lose the thousands of able-bodied French workers now crossing into Spain and reluctance at seeing them reach North Africa, we must not discount possibility that démarche is only a part of general diplomatic offensive to bring Spain into the war on Axis side or exact other military concessions from Spain.

Reports of new German troop concentrations in Southwest France have been spread freely in Spain for several weeks (such concentrations amount to two divisions according to our best information).

A High Spanish official is quoted as having said that a German diplomatic offensive in Spain began yesterday and that refugee matter is merely a pretext.

Despite foregoing Foreign Office seems still disposed to release French refugees and has asked North African representatives to endeavor to obtain Portugal's consent to transit through that country.

Repeated to Algiers, Lisbon and Tangier.

Hayes

852.48/1439: Telegram

The Ambassador in Spain (Hayes) to the Secretary of State

Madrid, March 8, 1943—6 p. m.
[Received March 9—10:20 a.m.]

546. I called on the Foreign Minister this morning to discuss the present status of the steadily increasing number of French refugees in Spain. I said I had understood that Spain had agreed to treat them as non-belligerents and allow their passage through the country. Colonel Malaise had arranged with the Foreign Office for the evacuation of some 1400 refugees who were to leave various places of concentration today for Cadiz and embark there onto French ships. On Saturday Malaise had suddenly been told that authorization had been canceled due to German pressure on the Foreign Office. I inquired what the present status of the refugees was and what the Foreign Office's policy toward them was.

General Jordana assured me that there was no change in Spain's basic policy. The Government was anxious to have these refugees leave Spain. It was a question of ways and means. There was no thought of returning them to camps or prisons or interning them. It was true that strenuous representations had been made and that he had given way because the Government figuratively did not have a leg to stand on. The non-belligerent status of Frenchmen was of
course a fiction since they are on their way to a battle zone and many, perhaps a majority, will participate in the war. The Minister had hoped we would work fast enough so that at least this first contingent could get out before German pressure became too strong. However, representations had come sooner than he had expected.

The problem now was to find some other way to get them out. The Minister wished to return to his earlier suggestion that they leave via Portugal. He had called the Portuguese Ambassador on Saturday to request them to arrange this but he was out of town over the weekend. He would call him again and requested that I also see him.

I told the Foreign Minister that the delay in evacuating this first group took place principally in the Government Departments concerned. However, I did not want to embarrass the Spanish Government but rather wanted to continue to cooperate.

I appreciated his renewed assurances that the refugees could leave. I knew that the Portuguese Ambassador was away, but that he had now returned and I would endeavor also to see him.

Jordana expressed his appreciation and said that he thought arrangements could be made for the refugees to go to Lisbon from which port there was communication with Casablanca.

In explaining further why he had given way to pressure, Jordana said there had in fact been a threat to sink the refugee ships. He was fearful the threat would be carried out and that a dangerous incident might result. He feared for instance that the ships might be sunk in Spanish territorial waters or that some persons or countries might believe that they had been sunk with Spanish connivance. He referred also to the sinking on February 24th of the Spanish vessel Monte Iguelde off the coast of Brazil. He obviously had in mind the possibility the Germans might sink other Spanish ships.

I expressed the hope that there would be no further pressure, as for example, of a military nature from the same source. Jordana said there had been no other pressure to date and said, “I can assure you Spain will resist pressure in any case in which we are in the right.”

I thanked him for his reiterated assurance.

While the failure to evacuate this first large group through Cadiz is disappointing and annoying, I am hopeful that arrangements can be made to evacuate French refugees via Portugal as General Jordana suggested initially. If this proves not feasible, I shall explore other means.

Jordana was in excellent spirits this morning and his apparent determination to seek the means for evacuating the French refugees leads me to accept this statement that there is no other pressure on Spain at the present time, and to believe that Spain will resist any military pressure which Germany may exert in the future.
Meanwhile the British Embassy, at the instance of the military authorities at Gibraltar where the two French ships, Sidibrahim and Gouverneur General Lepine, have been waiting to proceed to Cadiz to embark the refugees, has expressed fear that the Axis might procure the legal arrest of these ships. The British Embassy said it was considered undesirable, therefore, that the ships should proceed to Cadiz unless the Spanish Government will guarantee that they will not be hindered by any means whatsoever, including legal process, from leaving again.

Whether this means the Gibraltar authorities would detain the French ships until such guarantees are obtained, I do not know. However, if arrangements are made to evacuate the refugees from Portugal by French steamer, the same problem will probably arise in that country. If the refugees are to leave by Portuguese steamer the problem should not arise.

Gibraltar has requested assurances also that adequate security examination will be held either in North Africa or in Gibraltar itself. I have assured the British Embassy that adequate security examinations being held in North Africa.

Repeated to Algiers and Lisbon; copy by mail to Tangier.

Hayes

840.48 Refugees/3673

The Ambassador in Mexico (Messersmith) to the Secretary of State

No. 8175

MEXICO, March 10, 1943.

[Received March 15.]

Sir: I have the honor to refer to my despatch No. 8108 of March 8, 1943 reporting on my conversations with the Foreign Minister and the Undersecretary concerning the admission of Polish refugees into Mexico from Iran via India and a West Coast port of the United States.

This morning the Polish Minister, Dr. Wladyslaw Neuman, who has only recently presented his credentials called and I outlined to him the rather unfortunate situation which has developed here due principally to the lack of an organization to receive the first batch of refugees. I told him of my conversations at the Foreign Office and emphasized the preoccupation of the Mexican Government as well as my Government that no arrangements have so far been made for the selection of a site where these people may reside, much less for their housing or provisioning. I told him that I was loath to interfere

20 Not printed.
21 H. E. quiel Padilla.
22 Jaime Torres Bodet.
in this matter but that following my conversations in Washington and my knowledge of the situation here, I felt I had an obligation since my Government has assumed some measure of responsibility in agreeing to financing the maintenance of these refugees. I said that I had reported to the Department fully on this matter and had recommended that a committee be composed of a Mexican citizen, a Polish citizen and an American citizen (possibly an officer of this Embassy) to work out the details looking forward to the reception of the refugees.

I found the Minister understanding and himself deploping the lack of organization. He attributed this to the departure of his predecessor and his recent arrival. I was somewhat relieved when he told me that it was his understanding that the first group of refugees had not yet left Iran and that therefore there was time to effect some sort of an organization and to carry on the conversations which must be preliminary to any definitive arrangements. He told me that immediately after presenting his letters of credence he had while calling on the Minister of Gobernación as a matter of courtesy mentioned this matter to him. He found that Mr. Alemán had no knowledge whatsoever of the expected arrival of these refugees but that after consulting with his undersecretary, the Minister of Gobernación said that it might be possible to place the refugees in either Guanajuato or Querétaro. The Polish Minister said that Guanajuato might be the better of the two places because Señor Ernesto Hidalgo, formerly chief clerk of the Foreign Office, who conducted the negotiations preliminary to the signing of the agreement between General Sikorsky, and the Mexican Government concerning these refugees is now a candidate for Governor of that State. The Polish Minister expressed himself as believing he would be the next Governor.

The Minister explained that on leaving my office he was going directly to the Ministry of Gobernación to speak with Mr. Alemán and that he would keep me closely informed of the results of conversations he may have there as well as with other officials of the Mexican Government.

I desire to emphasize that I will be very appreciative if the Department will give me the benefit of its precise instructions as soon as possible.

Respectfully yours,

G. S. Messersmith

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23 Miguel Alemán.
24 Exchange of notes between Polish Prime Minister Sikorski and Mexican Foreign Secretary Padilla regarding the admission of Polish refugees to Mexico, December 30, 1942, transmitted to the Department by the Ambassador in Mexico in his despatch No. 6270, December 31, 1942 (840.48 Refugees/3503). For texts of the notes exchanged, see Memoria de la Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, 1942-1943 (Mexico, D.F., 1943), pp. 457-460.
The Acting Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Spain (Hayes)

WASHINGTON, March 11, 1943—11 a.m.

548. Your 541, March 6, 10 p.m. The Department feels this may offer grounds for protest and desires you to take whatever action of the sort you may deem advisable. Please keep the Department currently and promptly informed.

Welles

The Ambassador in Spain (Hayes) to the Secretary of State

MADRID, March 11 [10?], 1943—midnight.
[Received March 11—4:32 p.m.]

576. Department’s 494, March 5, 1 [11] a.m. Colonel Malaise states that although 25,000,000 francs have been voted for relief of French refugees in Spain there are no immediate prospects of any substantial portion of peseta proceeds becoming available to him here and at present he is not even receiving enough to pay off back indebtedness. Moreover, recent cancellation by Spanish Government of permission for 1400 refugees to leave Spain (my 541, March 6) together with continuing influx of refugees from France is resulting in a steady increase in the number of persons to be cared for. The practical result of these factors is that number of French refugees looking to us for assistance is increasing rather than decreasing and will continue to do so until French representatives here can be effectively supplied with adequate peseta funds or until large scale evacuations can be arranged.

Until such time, therefore, as French North African representatives in Spain may be in a position actually to take over financing of relief to their nationals and in view of increasing scale on which such relief must be administered, it is estimated that Embassy will need at least $100,000 a month for refugee relief, starting from March 15, on which date it appears that present funds will be virtually exhausted.

According to best present estimates this amount will be spent approximately as follows: Subsistence allowance to 1,225 persons in Miranda and in prisons at 5 pesetas a day, totaling 183,750 pesetas monthly; supplementary food to 650 in Miranda at 120 pesetas a month, totaling 78,000 pesetas; maintenance of 1,100 persons in pensions at 25 pesetas a day, totaling 825,000 pesetas monthly. Grand total 1,086,750 pesetas monthly or $99,246.58 at rate of 10.95. Small reductions in expenditures which may be occasioned in near future.
by availability of Red Cross food will be balanced by increase in numbers involved.

The declared Americans, numbering from 200 to 250, are included in the above figures and it is estimated that about $10,000 a month will be expended for their care.

In explanation of number of persons maintained in pensions it should be stated that they were removed from imprisonment at our request because of severe overcrowding and abominably unsanitary conditions in northern prisons, and in an attempt to forestall a threatened typhus epidemic which could have reached disastrous proportions.

It is of utmost importance that we receive prompt information as to availability of funds and assurance that arrangements will be made to permit uninterrupted continuance of this program. We clearly recognize extreme desirability of transferring this responsibility to its proper place in hands of French North African regime and have worked with this constantly in mind but it appears that, unless other means can be devised of making funds available to their representatives here, the financial burden may remain on our shoulders for some time to come. Meanwhile we are continuing to seek a workable formula for large scale evacuation of these persons to North Africa.

HAYES

852.48/1441 : Telegram
The Acting Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Spain (Hayes)

WASHINGTON, March 13, 1943—9 p. m.

577. Reference 576, March 11 [102]. Since it appears from Malaise's statement that dollars are needed to buy the pesetas desired for the French refugees, it is suggested that the French African administration provide the necessary dollars out of their funds in the United States. For your information, the Giraud administration has approximately $50,000,000 in accounts here. Treasury is prepared to issue the requisite licenses for this purpose. Malaise need simply request the Foreign Exchange Institute in Spain to furnish pesetas against dollars to be transferred from the French African accounts here to the Institute account here.

If Malaise should have any difficulty in buying $500,000 worth of pesetas from the Institute against dollars, you are authorized to take appropriate steps to support his request.

We are anxious to effect the arrangements outlined above in preference to securing further appropriation of American funds for this

purpose. We will advise you respecting funds for declared Americans after receipt of information concerning above proposal. If arrangements can be made for French North African regime to assume financial responsibility for French refugees as indicated above, we are agreeable to your taking whatever steps necessary to assist in the administration of such relief and authorize use of McDonald’s services for that purpose.

WELLES

852.48/1449a: Telegram

The Acting Secretary of State to the Consul General at Algiers (Wiley)

WASHINGTON, March 13, 1943—9 p. m.

487. For Murphy. American Embassy Madrid has requested allocation of $100,000 per month of American funds for relief of refugees of French nationality in Spain. This request is predicated on statement from Madrid that although 25,000,000 francs have been voted by French North African regime for relief of French refugees in Spain there are no immediate prospects of any substantial portion of peseta proceeds becoming available to Malaise and at present he is not even receiving enough to pay off back indebtedness.

The following telegram has been dispatched to Madrid in reply:

[Here follows text of telegram No. 577, March 13, 9 p. m., to the Ambassador in Spain, printed supra.]

Please indicate to the French that it is difficult for us to assume further financial responsibility at present and that it would be desirable for them to follow the procedure proposed in the telegram to Madrid.

WELLES

852.48/1444: Telegram

The Ambassador in Spain (Hayes) to the Secretary of State

MADRID, March 13, 1943—10 p. m.

[Received March 14—3:45 p.m.]

608. My 576, March 10, midnight. Rapidly increasing proportions of refugee relief problem make it extremely difficult even approximately to estimate future needs but it now appears that Embassy requirements for next 30 days will exceed $150,000.

HAYES

26 Charles McDonald, official representative of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations at the American Embassy in Spain, formerly with the American Red Cross.
The Ambassador in Spain (Hayes) to the Secretary of State

Madrid, March 15, 1943—midnight.
[Received March 16—10:15 a.m.]

626. Although a report from a neutral diplomatic official just returned from France indicates that Germany has greatly strengthened her border patrols in an effort to keep Frenchmen from entering Spain clandestinely they continue to enter at rate of several hundred per day.

Portuguese Ambassador told me this morning upon his return from Lisbon that Salazar 27 is entirely agreeable to Jordana’s suggestion that French refugees be allowed to proceed through Portugal in transit to North Africa. He said Portugal has always followed a policy of letting refugees through and if the Germans complained they would be told that Spain hitherto had not followed such a policy and he regarded Jordana’s evident willingness to allow Frenchmen to depart as a very helpful sign of Spain’s changing attitude which Portugal wanted to support.

He said Salazar would like refugees to pass through Portugal without stopping any longer than absolutely necessary. It made no difference through what port they departed but he suggested Lagos would be most convenient because of shorter distance and adequate rail communication. The Ambassador has been authorized to grant group visas and would like arrangements for transit to be made in Madrid at least for the present because he would like to keep in close touch himself and keep the matter out of Lisbon for the time being.

He recommends greatest haste in arrangements. It is immaterial whether British or French ships call for refugees. He would prefer that refugees leave in lots of 200 to 300 although I doubt he would object to 1400 leaving at once if reasons for this were made clear to him. He has pointed out limited hotel facilities at Lagos and I assume he does not [expect] it to be too ostentatious.

I later discussed matter with British Ambassador who said he would urge London promptly to facilitate use of French ships for this purpose. If two French ships scheduled to call at Cadiz are still in Gibraltar, I recommend they proceed promptly to Lagos or Lisbon when Malaise requests them. If they have departed I request other arrangements be made promptly upon Malaise’s request. My 546, March 8, 6 p.m.

Repeated to Algiers for Murphy and Lisbon; copy by mail to Tangier.

Hayes

27 Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, Portuguese Prime Minister.
The Consul General at Algiers (Wiley) to the Secretary of State

ALGIERS, March 20, 1943—4 p. m.
[Received 9:17 p. m.]

437. From Murphy. Madrid’s 626, March 15 to Department and Department’s 457, March 13, 9 p. m. and 475, March 17, 10 p. m. Following is my No. 40, March 20, 3 p. m. to Madrid in reply to Madrid’s 626 to Department:

“From Murphy. Your 32, March 15, midnight. Informed by High Command French refugee ship has left Gibraltar. French say March 31 is earliest date they can send vessel to Lagos to embark preferably minimum of 1,000 passengers. British Navy are endeavoring arrange earlier trip.

French financial authorities have been informed of procedure for acquiring pesetas against dollars transferred from account of Bank of Algiers to Instituto and they have telegraphed Malaise and French-American Banking Corporation in New York to consummate initial transaction for $100,000. Further sums will be transferred when necessary.

Department and Lisbon informed.”

[Murphy]

WILEY

The following telegram has been sent [to Madrid]:

41. March 20, midnight. From Murphy. My number 40, March 20, 3 p. m. The French Admiralty has agreed to send two French ships, the Gouverneur General Lepine and the Sidibrahim, to Lagos, Portugal to embark the 1500 French refugees now in Spain and whose passage through Portugal has been approved. The two vessels, which will fly the British flag, will arrive Lagos about March 28.

Arrangements are also under way to permit the sending of two other ships the Jabe Laurez, a French vessel, and the Rangitata, a British vessel, to Lagos about April 2 to embark further contingent of approximately the same number of refugees.

The French authorities believe there are approximately 14,000 French refugees now in Spain. Please confirm this estimate.

Repeated to Lisbon and Department. [Murphy.]

WILEY

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28 Telegram No. 475 not printed; it indicated that in reply to Department’s telegram to Madrid, quoted in telegram No. 457 to the Consul General at Algiers, the Ambassador in Spain had replied that Spanish Foreign Exchange Institute approved arrangement and had urged an immediate transfer of $500,000 from French funds in New York to the Institute’s account with the National City Bank (852.48/1440).
852.48/1451 : Telegram

The Ambassador in Spain (Hayes) to the Secretary of State

MADRID, March 22, 1943—10 p.m.

[Received 11:55 p.m.]

679. The following telegram has been sent to Algiers.

40. March 22, 10 p.m. For Murphy. Your No. 40, March 20, 3 p.m. French financial authorities should be informed $100,000 will be insufficient to cover even immediate needs and initial amount should be increased by at least another $150,000. Cost of refugee relief continues to rise and pending evacuation arrangements will involve large additional expenditures. Urgent necessity of making funds immediately available should be stressed as both French and American funds completely exhausted. Repeated to Department.

Hayes

840.48 Refugees/3701 : Telegram

The Ambassador in Mexico (Messersmith) to the Secretary of State

MEXICO, March 24, 1943—10 a.m.

[Received 2:50 p.m.]

289. For Lehman. At my suggestion British and Polish Ministers and I had a meeting with the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs yesterday and I fortunately had your last letter. In view of difficulties in making arrangements it is helpful to know that no refugees will probably arrive before middle June. All were in agreement that if we could start with 500 instead of a large number it would be most helpful. We are awaiting arrival of Kelly before committee will visit possible sites, and I have informed the committee Kelly will be here for a meeting to be held first Monday in April. Am writing fully immediately. Please assure that arrangements are made for Kelly to arrive here for above-mentioned meeting.

Messersmith

852.48/1455 : Telegram

The Ambassador in Spain (Hayes) to the Secretary of State

MADRID, March 24, 1943—noon.

[Received March 25—10:12 a.m.]

709. Inasmuch as French funds have not yet been made available here and in view of complete exhaustion of our own funds as predicted we have been placed in the embarrassing and highly undesirable position of being unable to meet continuing obligations incident to refugee

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39 Charles Bateman and Władysław Neuman, respectively.
40 Not found in Department files.
41 Eric P. Kelly, in charge of the refugee camp at León.
relief operations. Despite agreement of French to take over expenses of care of their own nationals it should be pointed out that we are still conducting the relief program and therefore looked to by Spanish and refugees alike as responsible for the support of this program and any onus resulting from the failure to meet obligations promptly is bound to fall on us.

It is urgently necessary that funds be made immediately available to French for care of French refugees bearing in mind that over $100,000 will be required to cover unpaid past obligations alone.

Funds are also urgently needed for our own account to cover care of declared Americans and expenses incident to relief operations in general. For these purposes are [we?] request the sum of $100,000 which should cover past obligations as well as future obligations for several months. This estimate assumes the necessity of no further expenditures on behalf of French refugees as such.

Repeated to Algiers.

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852.48/1453 : Telegram

The Ambassador in Spain (Hayes) to the Secretary of State

MADRID, March 24, 1943—10 p.m.
[Received March 24—9:50 p.m.]

704. My 626, March 15 midnight. Portuguese Ambassador, Madrid, in agreement with Salazar has urgently asked that our Minister in Lisbon request Salazar requesting Portugal to grant transit to refugees departing from Spain with Spanish consent. I have communicated this request to Mr. Fish who I believe would like instructions from the Department.

I should appreciate it if the Department would immediately authorize Mr. Fish to address such a letter to Salazar, omitting references to nationality, destination and age of refugees.

Repeated to Lisbon.

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852.48/1453 : Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Portugal (Fish)

WASHINGTON, March 25, 1943—2 p.m.

501. Madrid’s 704, March 24 repeated to you. You are requested to address a letter to Salazar concerning the transit of refugees from Spain in accordance with Ambassador Hayes’ suggestion.

Repeat to Madrid.

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88 Bert Fish.
852.48/1456: Telegram

The Minister in Portugal (Fish) to the Secretary of State

LISBON, March 25, 1943—7 p. m.
[Received 11:30 p. m.]

652. Reference to Madrid's 704, March 24 to Department. After receiving the communication from Ambassador Hayes requesting me to address a letter to Salazar asking Portugal to grant transit to French refugees departing from Spain with Spanish consent I first established contact with Salazar through his secretary and was given to understand that it would be sufficient to assure the passage of the initial groups of French refugees through Portugal if I were simply to address to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs a note stating that the Legation would appreciate any assistance which the Portuguese Government could give in this matter. Such a communication was accordingly delivered to the Foreign Office today. Salazar did not appear to have any knowledge of any such understanding as that implied by the request of the Portuguese Ambassador at Madrid or of any particular agreed formula for my communication to him. This being the case I saw nothing to be gained by acting precisely within the terms of Ambassador Hayes' request and I trust that the action I have taken will be sufficient to make possible the cooperation of the Portuguese authorities with respect to at least the first four shiploads of refugees.

Repeated to Madrid.

FISH

852.48/1457: Telegram

The Ambassador in Spain (Hayes) to the Secretary of State

MADRID, March 26, 1943—8 p. m.
[Received 11:17 p. m.]

728. The following telegram has been sent to Algiers.

49. March 26, 8 p. m. For Murphy. Portuguese Ambassador informed directly by Salazar he is agreeable to evacuation of French through Portugal. Salazar strongly recommends Vila Real port of embarkation. Ambassador says it is a river port, secure and can handle ships up to 5,000 tons. Ambassador would like evacuation of first group of up to 1,500 completed before evacuation of next group undertaken. Repeated to Department and Lisbon.

HAYES
FORCED EMIGRATION 275

852.48/1461 : Telegram

The Ambassador in Spain (Hayes) to the Secretary of State

MADRID, March 27, 1943—8 p. m.

[Received 11:04 p. m.]

740. The following telegram has been sent to Bern:

March 27, 8 p. m. Spain has now closed border to French refugees. For purposes of comparison will you please inform me whether Swiss permit refugees to cross into Switzerland and what treatment given those who cross clandestinely? In particular, are they turned back into France?
Repeated to Department and Algiers for Murphy.

Hayes

852.48/1458 : Telegram

The Minister in Portugal (Fish) to the Secretary of State

LISBON, March 27, 1943—9 p. m.

[Received 9:30 p. m.]

Following telegram has been sent to Algiers:

34. March 27, 9 p. m. For Murphy. Re Madrid's 49, March 26th to you. According to British Ambassador here British Admiralty still maintains that it is safer to bring the ships to Lisbon than to Vila Real. From a conversation which the Ambassador had at the Foreign Office this morning it developed that Salazar is most reluctant to have the refugees come through Lisbon and that insistence on Lisbon as the embarkation point may jeopardize the entire action.
I fear that it will be difficult to convince the Portuguese that it is safer to bring these vessels around Cape Sagres and up to Lisbon at an estimated added distance of at least 500 miles than to bring them to Vila Real, whereby they would remain within the close radius of Gibraltar.
The facts are transmitted in the event that you may wish to discuss this matter with the competent British authorities.
Repeated to Madrid and Department.

Fish

852.48/1464 : Telegram

The Ambassador in Spain (Hayes) to the Secretary of State

MADRID, March 29, 1943—11 p. m.

[Received March 30—12:44 p.m.]

757. Department's 577, March 13. My 679, March 22. Foreign Exchange Institute has received authorization to pay proceeds $100,000 to French. In view of extensive past obligations, high rate of continuing expenses and pending plans for large scale evacuations, however, it is urgently requested that entire amount of $500,000 be made available at earliest possible moment.
Repeated to Algiers.

Hayes
The Ambassador in Spain (Hayes) to the Secretary of State

Madrid, March 29, 1943—midnight.
[Received March 30—12:54 p.m.]

758. I delivered the following note to the Foreign Minister this morning:

"I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the Ministry's *note verbale* number 182 of March 25, 1943 stating that the Spanish Government has ordered the complete closing of the Pyrenees frontier to those persons not in possession of legal documentation. I have transmitted the contents of this note to my Government.*

This Embassy has been assured by the Foreign Office on a number of occasions that the Spanish Government would not return refugees of belligerent or occupied countries to the countries of their origin or to territory occupied by the enemy without their consent. I should like to be able to inform my Government promptly that this policy of the Spanish Government has not been modified in any degree.

I avail myself of this occasion to renew to Your Excellency the assurances of my highest consideration."

My 734, March 27, 11 a.m. repeated to Algiers for Murphy.

Hayes

The Ambassador in Spain (Hayes) to the Secretary of State

Madrid, March 29, 1943—midnight.
[Received March 30—8:38 p.m.]

760. I told Foreign Minister today I had received his note of March 25 and had communicated it to my Government. I had considerable misgivings concerning the impression it would create, and before communicating further on the subject I wished more information (my 741, March 27, 9 p.m.*).

I asked whether it meant Spain was going to abandon its policy of declining to return refugees to places of origin or enemy-occupied territory without their consent. He said this had not been determined yet. The purpose of the note was to declare Spain's policy of doing its utmost to close the border. No decision had been made as to what would be done with refugees who succeeded in crossing.

He wanted to discuss possible cooperation on our part in this growing problem. So long as small numbers of refugees had crossed the border Spain had not been disturbed. However they have entered in ever

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*Transmitted in the Ambassador's telegram No. 734, March 27, 11 a.m., not printed.

*Not printed; it stated that so far there was no indication that the Spanish Government had withdrawn its permission for large numbers of French refugees to leave Spain via Portugal (852.48/1459).
FORCED EMIGRATION

increasing numbers. Reports have reached him that regular organizations exist in France for effecting wholesale immigration of French into Spain. He has heard also that persons connected with our Embassy are actively engaged in the traffic.

I said the latter report was not true. No one connected with the Embassy or working for the United States Government is engaged in this traffic. I pointed out Tunisian campaign so far advanced these French would arrive in North Africa too late to be of any military value. Meanwhile we contemplated military action within France at which time it would be to our interest to have able-bodied Frenchmen there to cooperate with us.

I said it was clear that French, threatened with slavery under their enemies, were trying to escape. It was only natural that they should.

Minister said it was a game several could play. He feared Germans and Italians might enter Spain as refugees, establish themselves in certain ports, and at the appropriate time don uniforms. In this connection he said he wished to state more emphatically than ever before that Spain, including the Caudillo, is really resolved to resist any possible Axis aggression.

Minister assured me closing of border does not affect arrangements for evacuating French already in Spain. I asked if this assurance applied to other agencies of the Government and he said it did.

I questioned him further concerning treatment of refugees who managed to cross the border. He said decision concerning them would be made later, that Spain is trying to patrol its side of the border and exerting pressure on the French to patrol their side.

I said we had learned from Barcelona that Seguridad has actually returned certain persons to France, and were threatening to return a declared American citizen. I pointed out that if American soldiers succeeded in escaping into Spain and were returned to France we would consider this an unfriendly act and I could not answer for the consequences. He said he understood this perfectly and that Seguridad had been told escaped prisoners should not be interfered with.

With reference to French refugees, I referred again to previous assurances from the Foreign Ministry that refugees would not be returned to Axis or Axis-occupied territory. I said that any reversal of this policy would have a very unhappy effect on the outside and I hoped he would give the latter his very earnest consideration. He said he would.

Meanwhile, I have been informed that orders to return refugees to France have been rescinded in both the Barcelona and Pamplona areas, and that 200 refugees arrived in Pamplona yesterday.

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*Gen. Francisco Franco, Spanish Chief of State.

*General Directorate of Security, under the Spanish Ministry of the Interior, principal agency for maintaining the internal security of the Spanish State.
The British Ambassador this morning made representations similar to mine. Jordana told him no refugees would be sent back unless and until we are advised. I shall also endeavor to enlist cooperation of Papal Nuncio and of other American representatives in urging Foreign Office not to return refugees to France.

Repeated to Algiers for Murphy.

Hayes

852.48/1466: Telegram

The Ambassador in Spain (Hayes) to the Secretary of State

Madrid, March 30, 1943—noon.
[Received 9:48 p.m.]

766. Portuguese Ambassador informs me that Salazar has not yet received necessary note from our Government formally requesting Portugal to grant transit to refugees departing from Spain with Spanish consent and that informal representations made by Mr. Fish as reported in his 652, March 25, 7 p.m. are not sufficient. I had informed the Department in my 704, March 24, 10 p.m. of the nature and form of the note desired by Salazar and of my belief that Mr. Fish would like instructions accordingly from the Department.

With Spain, the British and the French cooperating and with Portugal prepared to cooperate as soon as Salazar received desired note only the lack of instructions from the Department to Lisbon stands in the way of starting large scale exodus of refugees from the peninsula. Such instruction is most urgently requested.

Repeated to Lisbon.

Hayes

852.48/1455: Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Spain (Hayes)

Washington, March 31, 1943—5 p.m.

729. Your 709, March 24, noon. An additional allotment of $100,000 from the President’s Emergency Fund has been obtained for expenditure in accordance with provisions set forth in Department’s 255 of February 5, 9 p.m. concerning original allotment. These American funds are to be expended for the particular purposes enumerated in your 709 March 24. We understand that this sum will be sufficient for your needs for several months. You are authorized to draw a separate draft on the Department for this amount charging 19–112/30006/014 Emergency Fund for the President, National De-
fense, 1942 and 1943,—Allocation No. 42/3–98 (OFR–1). A separate account, supported by such details as you may find it practicable to present, should be rendered and this telegram cited.

You are being informed by a separate telegram of the transfer of $250,000 of French North African funds to Malaise for French refugees.

HULL

852.48/1464 : Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Spain (Hayes)

WASHINGTON, March 31, 1943—6 p. m.

730. Your 757, March 29. You will be advised today by separate telegram of the allocation of $100,000 of American funds for refugee relief.

The French North African authorities have now authorized the French American Banking Corporation in New York to make two transfers—one for $100,000 and the other for $150,000—to the account of the Spanish Foreign Exchange Institute for use by Malaise in the care of French refugees in Spain. It is our understanding that the first of these transfers has already been effected and that the second will be cleared within the next day or so. We are also informed that the French authorities intend to authorize the transfer of an additional $250,000 within the next few days. When this has been effected, the full sum of half a million dollars appropriated by the French for the refugees in Spain will have been transferred to Malaise.

Is the projected evacuation of refugees to Portugal now proceeding satisfactorily? Have you any reason to believe that, if the majority of the French refugees now in Spain should be evacuated, the Spaniards might be inclined to reopen their northern border to admit additional French refugees?

HULL

852.48/1458 : Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Consul General at Algiers (Wiley)

WASHINGTON, March 31, 1943—8 p. m.

602. For Murphy. Lisbon’s 34, March 27 to you. Have any vessels left or are they leaving in the near future to pick up French refugees in Portugal? Is there any reason why Portuguese request that the vessels call at Vila Real rather than at Lisbon cannot be granted?

HULL
852.48/1458: Telegram

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

WASHINGTON, March 31, 1943—9 p.m.

2006. It is understood that the British Admiralty desires that ships which are being sent from North Africa to Portugal to pick up French refugees being evacuated from Spain should call at Lisbon. The Portuguese Government strongly prefers that they call at Vila Real which is 500 miles closer to North Africa. Our Legation in Lisbon states that Salazar is most reluctant to have the refugees come through Lisbon and that insistence on Lisbon as the embarkation point may jeopardize the entire action. Please take this matter up with the appropriate British authorities and report as soon as possible.

HULL

852.48/1458: Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Portugal (Fish)

WASHINGTON, March 31, 1943—11 p.m.

550. Your 34, March 27 to Murphy repeated to Department. The Department is taking this matter up both in London and in Algiers. Are French refugees actually arriving in Portugal now?

Repeat to Madrid as Department’s 742.

HULL

852.48/1470: Telegram

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

LONDON, April 1, 1943—5 p.m.

[Received April 1—1:10 p.m.]

2316. Department’s 2006, March 31, 9 p.m. The Foreign Office likewise has information that the Portuguese Government would greatly prefer embarkation of the French refugees from a south coast port and not from Lisbon. The Foreign Office states, however, that there must be some misunderstanding on the Department’s part with respect to the attitude of the British Admiralty. I am told that since the latter have to provide escort vessels they are perhaps even more anxious than the Portuguese that the French vessels sent to pick up the refugees should come to a southern Portuguese port as near as possible to North Africa. Unfortunately, the Foreign Office says, both the Portuguese Minister of Marine and the British Naval Attaché
at Lisbon have confirmed that Vila Real is impracticable for ships of more than about 14 feet draught and cannot therefore take the French ships to be employed in the evacuation.

The Foreign Office further tells me that while the Portuguese Government have not so far as it is aware raised final objection to Lisbon the British Ambassador there has suggested to Admiral Cunningham, Commander in Chief, Mediterranean, the port of Setubal as a possible alternative. The latter is about 25 miles south of Lisbon where the departure, the Foreign Office believes, could be arranged less ostentatiously than from Lisbon. It has not yet learned the view of Admiral Cunningham on this suggestion. The Foreign Office feels that in view of the urgency of the matter it would be more convenient to leave the arrangements to Admiral Cunningham in consultation with the authorities in North Africa and the British Ambassadors at Lisbon and Madrid; that reference to London at each stage would only complicate matters and cause unnecessary delay. Mack 37 asks me to assure the Department, however, that the British authorities concerned are fully aware of the importance attached to the early evacuation of these French refugees as well as the evacuation of “many other refugees of other Allied Nationalities who have been even longer in Spain”.

 Matthews

852.48/1472 : Telegram

The Ambassador in Spain (Hayes) to the Secretary of State

MADRID, April 1, 1943—midnight.
[Received April 2—11:15 a.m.]

793. So far as we know all local orders to return newly arrived refugees to France have been canceled. Confidentially informed Foreign Office has sent German Embassy note placing responsibility for keeping refugees from crossing border on the Germans. In reply to German claim that refugees are extraditable Foreign Office maintained since Germany carrying on total war refugees entitled to treatment as escaped prisoners of war.

Thus while it appears refugees reaching Spain will not be returned I have received no assurance that new arrivals will be allowed to continue their journey to other countries.

Your 730, March 31, 6 p.m., repeated to Algiers.

Hayes

37 W. H. B. Mack, Counsellor in the British Foreign Office.
The Ambassador in Spain (Hayes) to the Secretary of State

MADRID, April 2, 1943—noon.  
[Received 8:04 p.m.]

797. Following telegram has been sent to Lisbon.

43. April 2, noon. Portuguese Ambassador says Salazar aware of letter you wrote but would like a formal note in terms set forth in my letter of March 24 and would like note delivered to him. Salazar would appreciate it if you would do so promptly under authorization contained in Department's 549, March 31, 7 p.m.38 Repeated to Department.

Hayes

The Minister in Portugal (Fisch) to the Secretary of State

LISBON, April 3, 1943—noon.  
[Received 2:28 p.m.]

745. Department's 550, March 3 [31], 1 [11] p.m. There have as yet been no organized transports of French refugees into Portugal. Individuals occasionally manage to cross the border illegally usually with assistance of de Gaullists. In this case they are usually sent to England.

The port question is apparently still unsettled. The British now maintain that Vila Real is not deep enough for the vessel concerned. Meanwhile we understand that the French were diverting the vessels at this time for some other purpose with the idea of making them available later. In view of this situation, the British Naval Attaché here has proposed to the Admiralty that April 17 be fixed as the date of arrival of the first two vessels at a Portuguese port.

The British Ambassador said yesterday that he understood that this Legation will be expected to take responsibility for the care of these refugees while on Portuguese territory. The Portuguese have said nothing to me about this and I have hesitated to ask them in view of the indications in Ambassador Hayes' telegram 626, March 15, to Department that it was desirable to keep negotiations on these matters out of Lisbon and in the hands of the Portuguese Ambassador at Madrid. If it is true that this Legation is to be charged with the care of the refugees on Portuguese territory I should appreciate early instructions to this effect and I must also recommend that the Department arrange for an immediate initial allotment $25,000 for this purpose. Until we know the port to which refugees must proceed we

38 Not printed; it requested that necessary note be presented to Salazar without delay (852.48/1466).
can not make any estimate of expenses. We might require funds however at any time and any unused amount can always be returned.

The Legation is investigating the question of organization of this relief action as among the various agencies represented here and I shall telegraph the conclusions shortly.

Repeated to Madrid.

FISH

852.48/1473 : Telegram

The Consul General at Algiers (Wiley) to the Secretary of State

ALGIERS, April 3, 1943—7 p. m.
[Received April 4—3:47 a.m.]

551. [From Murphy.] Your 602, March 31, 8 p. m. Following is my reply to Madrid’s 49, March 26, 8 p. m.:

“From Murphy. Your 49, March 26, 8 p. m. only decoded today. British naval staff has been informed by British Naval Attaché, Lisbon, that Vila Real impracticable for vessels of more than 14 feet draft. It is tentatively arranged to embark refugees probably at Setubal on April 17th in two ships having accommodations for approximately 1200 persons.

Repeated to Department and Lisbon.”

Repeating is repeated to Lisbon as answer to its 34, March 27, 9 p. m. [Murphy.]

WILEY

840.48 Refugees/3733a : Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Sweden (Johnson)

WASHINGTON, April 5, 1943—11 p. m.

403. The Department has been informed that the Swedish Government has under consideration a plan for the admission into Sweden of a number of Polish Jewish children. This Government is interested in any possibility for the alleviation of the condition of these unfortunate people. You are authorized in your discretion to make informal inquiries of the Swedish Government in regard to the status of this matter.

HULL

852.48/1473 : Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Spain (Hayes)

WASHINGTON, April 5, 1943—midnight.

775. Refer Murphy’s reply of April 3 to your 49, March 26. Please consult Legation, Lisbon and thereafter report whether or not arrange-
ments proposed by Algiers are satisfactory and approximately 1200 refugees may be expected to embark April 17.

HULL

S52.48/1477: Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Spain (Hayes)

WASHINGTON, April 6, 1943—5 p. m.

777. Your 804, April 2, 10 p. m. 39 Concerning the conversation mentioned between a member of the British Embassy and Assistant Secretary Long, for your confidential information there is quoted below paraphrase of memorandum of that conversation held on March 24.

"The urgency of the refugee problem in Spain was presented to me by Sir Ronald Campbell, 40 who wanted immediate action for the evacuation of all refugees from Spain and the establishment of an internment camp in North Africa in which to put them. My reply was that that suggestion could not be accepted; that it was not practical from the viewpoint of being feasible; nor was it possible from the political viewpoint. I stated that because of the political entity of French North Africa we would not be in a position to establish an internment camp there under conditions now existing.

"He felt there should be immediate action of an intergovernmental nature.

"He did not seem to be entirely advised as to the steps already being taken in this matter, with the exception that he knew the British Embassy in Madrid was being of assistance financially and otherwise. I brought to his attention the plans for evacuation of 1400 persons for which vessels were being provided by the British Government; that 160 had already been transferred; that on March 28 and April 2 there would be further repatriation; that refugees had been removed from Miranda; that our Embassy had been active and had made funds available, as had private individuals; that General Eisenhower had chosen persons he could use in Africa; and that by agreement with the British Government 1000 were going to Palestine. I told him that as of March 24 there were but 10,000 refugees, 7500 of whom were French, and that after the completion of the evacuations now planned there would be left but a few thousand who would not be in immediate danger and that the preliminary conference between the American and British Governments soon to be held 42 would probably consider their welfare. I told him that we felt such matters should be taken up by that conference and recommendations made by it to the Intergovernmental Committee on Political Refugees."

HULL

39 Not printed.
40 British Minister.
41 Bermuda Conference to Consider the Refugee Problem, April 19–28, 1943; see pp. 134 ff.
The Ambassador in Mexico (Messersmith) to the Secretary of State

No. 9002

MEXICO, April 6, 1943.
[Received April 10.]

SIR: With reference to previous correspondence in connection with the proposed settlement of Polish refugees in Mexico, I have the honor to transmit herewith a copy of a memorandum drawn up in the Embassy following a meeting on April 5, at the Foreign Office which I attended and during the course of which arrangements were made for representatives of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and of the Interior to communicate with the Governor of Guanajuato with respect to the possibility of locating the refugees in that State.

Respectfully yours,

GEORGE S. MESSERSMITH

[Enclosure]

Memorandum by the Second Secretary of Embassy in Mexico
(O'Donoghue)

CONFERENCE

Present: The Ambassador
British Minister
Polish Minister
Señor Manuel Tello, Oficial Mayor
Counselor of Polish Legation
Lic. Aguilar Alvarez, Foreign Office
Representative of Gobernación
Mr. Cheetham, British Legation
Mr. Kelly
Mr. O'Donoghue

A Conference in connection with the Polish Refugee question was held at the Foreign Office at 11 a. m. on April 5, the above-named individuals being present. Señor Tello opened the discussion by stating that he had been instructed by the Foreign Minister to say that Mexico welcomed this opportunity to engage in a humanitarian enterprise such as the locating of Polish refugees in Mexico, and that to this end he thought it would be helpful to have some information as to the number of refugees who might be coming in the first group, and what the group would be composed of.

The Ambassador then said that he understood 500 Polish refugees are now at Bombay and ready to sail for the United States and that a further group of between 1,000 and 1,500 were presently in Iran and ready to leave that country for India upon the receipt of instructions to do so. Mr. Messersmith said that the question of transport-
ing these individuals to the United States was one which he believed was in the hands of the army, using army transports; that these vessels had to make hurried voyages back to the United States and he believed that if they were transporting refugees they would like to take as many as the ships could carry; that is up to approximately 2,000 refugees per vessel. However, he had no definite information as to the number which might be coming on the first trip.

Señor Tello then said that the Ministry of Gobernación had selected the State of Guanajuato as the site for the location of the refugees and he suggested, therefore, that a representative from the Foreign Office and from Gobernación should proceed immediately, or as soon as an appointment could be arranged, to Guanajuato to interview the Governor, and to ascertain from him where he proposed to settle the refugees.

The British Minister here broke in to say that he thought the entire Committee should immediately proceed to Guanajuato since it was a question of urgency more especially as “five months have been wasted” since the matter was first broached to the Mexican Government; that these refugees would shortly be arriving here and numerous plans and possibly much construction work would have to be undertaken. He added that in a conversation which he, the Ambassador and the Polish Minister had had with the Undersecretary of State not long since, the Undersecretary said that the sites had already been selected by the Governor.

Señor Tello then said that that had been his impression also, but that he had just learned that actually the Governor had nothing particular in mind, and he thought therefore that it would be best to send the representatives of the Foreign Office and the Ministry of the Interior to Guanajuato to confer with the Governor and when the several sites had been determined upon, to send for the other members of the Committee, consisting of representatives of the Polish and British Legations and the Embassy.

The representative of Gobernación said that he would be glad to get in touch with the Governor immediately and if the Governor could receive him and the representative of the Foreign Office tomorrow, they would immediately proceed to Guanajuato. He went on to state that the Ministry of Gobernación had had considerable experience in locating large refugee groups particularly some 15,000 Spanish refugees and that once the site had been selected, plans regarding the building and construction repairs would not be too difficult.

The Ambassador then said that he understood that there were in Guanajuato several large haciendas on each of which several hundred
refugees might be comfortably placed and where there were already standing buildings which would need only a minimum amount of repair in order to be habitable, and he hoped that perhaps something like this could be found and that it would be best, if it did not turn out to be feasible to place the first group of refugees in one center, that they could be placed with the minimum degree of separation. He also felt that for purposes of morale and health that it would be best if such sites as were determined upon should also have a small amount of land—say from 8 to 10 hectares—where the refugees could do a certain amount of garden planting and also raise chickens and other food products which would not only give them something to do, but which would also keep down expenses. The Ambassador also stressed that it was not the intention of this group of refugees to engage in any employment in competition with Mexicans, but that such work as they might undertake would be solely in connection with the refugee center.

The representative of Gobernación agreed with the Ambassador respecting the necessity for the refugees to have a certain amount of ground and added that it would also be helpful if he could have some indication as to the nature of accommodation which should be provided for them.

In reply to this latter question the Polish Minister said that he understood that the great majority of these refugees were of the peasant type; that even though they have undergone considerable hardships to date, this did not mean that the Polish Government wished them to have any special accommodations provided; if simple middle class accommodations and facilities are available, they would be more than satisfied.

After certain further general discussion the meeting adjourned at noon, it having been decided that the representative of Gobernación would immediately endeavor to telephone to the Governor of Guanajuato to arrange an appointment with him, after which he would communicate with Señor Tello when the representatives of Relaciones and Gobernación would go to Guanajuato where the other members of the Committee would presumably join them some two days later. It seemed to be the opinion that all things being equal, the non-Mexican members of the Committee would go to Guanajuato on or about April 8th.

Mexico, April 5, 1943.

Sidney E. O'Donoghue
852.48/1489 : Telegram

The Ambassador in Spain (Hayes) to the Secretary of State

MADRID, April 8, 1943—1 p.m.

[Received April 8—12:35 p.m.]

844. My 793, April 1, midnight. Foreign Office has given oral assurances refugees who succeed in entering Spain will not be returned to France.

Repeated to Algiers for Murphy.

Hayes

852.48/1491 : Telegram

The Ambassador in Spain (Hayes) to the Secretary of State

MADRID, April 8, 1943—5 p.m.

[Received 10:27 p.m.]

849. Department’s 775, April 5, midnight. British Embassy Lisbon has telegraphed London and Madrid that Chargé called yesterday on Secretary General who informed him that Salazar agreed on April 17 as evacuation date but insisted Setubal be used. It is understanding of British Embassy Madrid that although British would greatly prefer evacuation thru Lisbon (they now allege rail connection with Setubal unsatisfactory although as a matter of fact they have nothing to do with rail transportation of these refugees) they are prepared to accept Setubal which they suggested originally as compromise proposal. We are still basing our arrangements on arrival evacuation ships at Setubal 17th and hope for prompt confirmation that Portuguese and British are in agreement not only on date but on port.

Repeated to London, Lisbon and Algiers for Murphy.

Hayes

852.48/1492 : Telegram

The Minister in Portugal (Fish) to the Secretary of State

LISBON, April 9, 1943—1 p.m.

[Received 1:20 p.m.]

793. My 752, April 3, 6 p.m.42 I have today received a note from the Foreign Office referring to my previous communication concerning the departure of refugees from Spain and stating that the transit through Portugal of the refugees who are at present in Spain and who desire to embark in Portuguese ports is authorized. The note goes on to specify that the refugees should be divided into as many groups as there are vessels assigned to remove them, that each group

42 Not printed.
should not exceed the capacity of the respective vessel and that entries of each group should only take place when the date of departure has been fixed. It is further specified that the refugees once on Portuguese territory may not postpone their embarkation on pretext of illness or any other motive.

Repeated to Madrid.

FISH

840.48 Refugees/3748 : Telegram

The Minister in Sweden (Johnson) to the Secretary of State

STOCKHOLM, April 13, 1943—8 p. m.
[Received April 13—7:02 p. m.]

1182. I spoke briefly with Boheman 43 today on subject matter Department's 403, April 5, 11 p. m., and my 1118, April 9, 12 noon. 44 Question involving Polish Jewish children is now being explored by Swedish officials and I understand is to be taken up at Cabinet today. Boheman told me, however, that Swedish Government has so far been unsuccessful in every endeavor to secure German consent for admission of Jews to Sweden. Only exceptions have been of certain individuals whose admission has been secured he said by unpleasant ways including even payment of money. Any Jew he said could be got out of Germany if enough money was paid. Germans have flatly refused Swedish offer to receive all Jews from Norway and he mentioned another instance of request for Jews from Holland being turned down. Boheman does not believe that Germans will consent to Polish Jewish children coming to Sweden.

Legation will telegraph as Swedish Government decision is known regarding specific question Polish Jewish children.

JOHNSON

840.48 Refugees/3744 : Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Mexico (Messersmith)

WASHINGTON, April 15, 1943—6 p. m.

573. Have heard from appropriate people that the movement referred to in despatch 9002 45 may start about 25th of this month and naturally to culminate in about 30 days. Have not yet received answer from Bombay in regard to number, types and conditions of people. Our best guess here 500 to a thousand. Am telegraphing again asking that this information be sent immediately. In meantime it would seem wise for you to discuss with committee and for

43 E. C. Boheman, Swedish Minister for Foreign Affairs.
44 Latter not printed.
45 Dated April 6, p. 285.
it to determine whether without further information it would be possible for a group of this number to be admitted into Mexico irrespective of the fact that when it is available it will be telegraphed you immediately. Will appreciate advice on results of Guanajuato survey. As soon as we receive more information will communicate with you further.

HULL

840.48 Refugees/3868

The British Embassy to the Department of State

AIDE-MÉMOIRE

His Majesty's Ambassador at Madrid learned in the last week in March that the Spanish Government had closed the Pyrenean frontier to refugees and that foreigners entering Spain clandestinely were to be sent back to France where they would be handed over to the German authorities.

Subsequently the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs, while maintaining that closure of the frontier was necessary, informed Sir Samuel Hoare \(^4\) that the Spanish Government had not given instructions to the frontier authorities to surrender refugees and escaping prisoners. The United States Ambassador at Madrid is understood to have obtained an assurance that the closing of the frontier would not compromise the exit of prisoners and refugees already in Spain.

His Majesty's Government later learned that the instructions to the Spanish frontier authorities to hand over refugees to the Germans had been rescinded, but understand that the frontier remains officially closed in spite of the protests of the United States and British Ambassadors.

Accordingly the Prime Minister made strong representations to the Spanish Ambassador in London on the subject on April 7th, and a short account of the conversation is attached. His Majesty's Government hope that the United States Government will make representations on similar lines to the Spanish Ambassador in Washington.

WASHINGTON, April 16, 1943.

[Enclosure]

Memorandum of a Conversation Between the British Prime Minister (Churchill) and the Spanish Ambassador (Tormes)

The Prime Minister said we hoped for friendly relations with Spain and that we wished to see Spain peaceful and prosperous but that if

\(^4\) British Ambassador in Spain.
the Spanish Government went to the length of preventing these unfortunate people seeking safety from the horror of Nazi domination, and if they went further and committed the offence of actually handing them back to German authorities, that was a thing which would be the destruction of good relations.

The Spanish Ambassador said that his Government were very apprehensive of the embarrassment to which they might be exposed by the mass of influential refugees helped by Foreign Embassies from France. The Prime Minister pointed out that it was for the Germans to regulate this and to patrol their side of the frontier. If they could not do this effectively it was certainly not up to the Spanish to reject these unfortunate people and there could not be reprisals by the Germans for accepting them.

840.48 Refugees/3757: Telegram

The Ambassador in Mexico (Messersmith) to the Secretary of State

MEXICO, April 19, 1943—2 p.m.
[Received 9:50 p.m.]

382. Department’s 573, April 15, 6 p.m. regarding Polish refugees. Kelly and O’Donoghue have just returned from survey in Guanajuato in company with representatives Mexican Government and British and Polish Legations. O’Donoghue and Kelly report as follows: They found one large hacienda, Santa Rosa, which is in good condition and which, with certain amount of unavoidable reconstruction, would be capable of housing up to 1,000 persons. Hacienda is located 20 minutes from León, population over 100,000, with year round communication. This is the only property capable of being made ready in limited time available to receive large group of refugees. Rental would be 1,000 pesos monthly, payable 1 year in advance, and option has been given thereon up to May 14.

In view of urgent necessity to get work under way immediately and to conclude contracts for purchase of necessary equipment such as beds, blankets, et cetera, on the basis of 1,000 refugees, it is recommended $100,000 be made available immediately to the competent Polish authorities. It is understood the Polish Ambassador in Washington will make request for this amount.

Wiesiolowski, Counselor of the Polish Legation here, is ideally suited to handle the preliminary phases in connection with project but Embassy understands he is seriously handicapped by fact that despite repeated requests for assistance Polish Legation is presently staffed only by the Minister and himself. It is therefore practically impossible for Wiesiolowski to absent himself from the Capital for any
length of time in order to complete arrangements for setting up camp at Santa Rosa. It is recommended that an assistant be assigned to Legation in Mexico as well as one other person experienced in handling large groups of refugees. It is further suggested that Polish Ambassador in Washington be advised of above and of existing emergency. Complete report re Guanajuato survey will be forwarded by air mail.

Messersmith

840.48 Refugees/3839

The British Embassy to the Department of State

AIDE-MÉMOIRE

On the 29th of March, Mr. William Strang ⁴⁷ handed to Mr. Dunn ⁴⁸ the draft text of the instructions sent to His Majesty’s Ambassador at Ankara and to His Majesty’s Minister at Berne with the purpose of arranging with the Turkish and Bulgarian Governments (the latter by way of the Swiss Government) for the evacuation to Turkey from Bulgaria of 30,000 Jews who were, it was understood, to be deported to Poland.

The State Department will no doubt have received from the United States Ambassador at Ankara a telegram to the effect that it is the agreed view of the United States and British Ambassadors that there is no prospect whatever of persuading the Turks to agree to receive the 30,000 Bulgarian Jews, and that the only possible solution of the problem would be to arrange for their transport to some other destination.

The State Department are also aware of the attitude of the Swiss Government who feel unable to make to the Bulgarian Government an official communication requesting that no obstacle be placed on the departure of the 30,000 Jews from Bulgaria.

In the meantime, representations have been made to the Ambassador in writing by Dr. Weizmann,⁴⁹ and to the British Secretary of State verbally by Rabbi Wise ⁵⁰ and Judge Proskauer ⁵¹ in favour of the Jews in Bulgaria. His Majesty’s Ambassador has been instructed to reply to these representations by calling attention in the first place to the fact that practical arrangements are under way for the evacuation of 4500 Jewish children and 500 accompanying adults from Bulgaria, and suggesting that the communication to the Bulgarian Government of a further scheme before this first scheme is completed

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⁴⁷ Acting Assistant Under Secretary of State in the British Foreign Office.
⁴⁸ James C. Dunn, Adviser on Political Relations, Department of State.
⁴⁹ Chaim Weizmann, President, Jewish Agency for Palestine.
⁵⁰ Stephen S. Wise, President, World Jewish Congress.
⁵¹ Judge Joseph M. Proskauer, President, American Jewish Committee.
might give the Bulgarian Government an excuse to delay the present operation while considering the more ambitious proposal. Lord Halifax is also authorised to draw the attention of the Jewish representatives to the improbability of the Bulgarian authorities agreeing to the issue of exit permits to any man of military age.

Lord Halifax would finally propose to quote to the Jewish representatives an extract from a speech by Viscount Cranborne in the House of Lords on March 23rd in which he said "The capacity of Great Britain and of her Colonial territories to maintain vast quantities of refugees is dependent and must be dependent in war-time on two vital and inter-related considerations. Those are shipping and food. Already our resources are greatly stretched".

WASHINGTON, April 19, 1943.

840.48 Refugees/3761 : Telegram

The Minister in Sweden (Johnson) to the Secretary of State

STOCKHOLM, April 20, 1943—midnight.

[Received April 21—10:47 a.m.]

1281. Mr. Adler-Rudel who is returning to London tomorrow has had conferences this week with Boheman and Secretary of Social Welfare Moller. Boheman's attitude he claims is much more cooperative than before Cabinet meeting last Thursday, he presumes because of instructions from Prime Minister as Acting Foreign Minister.

Boheman now claims Sweden will do what it can without prodding from American and British Governments, as he previously had suggested might be necessary (see Legation's 1285, April 17, 2 p.m.55).

Boheman suggested instead of attempting to bring children only from Polish area that Germans might be more likely to permit them to be evacuated from the Low Countries and other western areas. Adler-Rudel says that if children can be evacuated from anywhere he will not urge concentration on any particular area but he considers that physical condition of children in Polish area to be worse than elsewhere. Social Welfare Minister Moller claimed that Sweden would be unable to finance feeding, housing and other expenses for children in Sweden, consequently should this scheme prove effective Adler-Rudel will attempt to obtain funds in Great Britain and America. He feels much encouraged by attitude of Boheman and Cabinet but there is a very long road to follow before any real results can be obtained.

JOHNSON

54 British Ambassador in the United States.
56 Representative of Jewish Agency for Palestine in London.
57 Missing from Department files.
402. Reference O'Donoghue telephone conversation of today with Carrigan. Embassy is of the opinion that it will be possible to accommodate in Mexico, more particularly at Santa Rosa Hacienda, up to 2,000 Polish refugees to arrive in the first group. Considerable difficulties, however, will have to be overcome and it is not anticipated that conditions will be overly comfortable for the first few weeks after arrival. However, within next 3 months accommodations should be sufficient.

It will be necessary to get under way immediately and it is therefore recommended that the sum of $150,000 be made available immediately to Polish authorities. As soon as it can be done quarterly estimates will be submitted but in meantime money must be made available in order to get enterprise.

MESSERSMITH

WASHINGTON, April 23, 1943—6:10 p.m.

A—1577. Referring your 402, April 22, 7 p.m. You are authorized to draw draft for $150,000 and, in your discretion, to pay this immediately, in whole or in part, to the Polish Legation to be expended incident to the settlement of Polish refugees. Amounts advanced, either in dollars or in the equivalent pesos, may be advanced against the receipt of the appropriate officer of the Polish Legation, and the Department would appreciate a periodic report from you of additional monies which may be necessary for this purpose, accompanied by a report indicating that in your opinion the monies have been expended for the purpose for which intended.

The Department would like the receipt of tentative estimates broken down into objective classification, if practicable, as you have been previously instructed and in addition if accounting data could be obtained from the Polish Legation showing the actual disbursements made it is desired for the record. It is suggested that the Embassy or Mr. Kelly, or both, might assist the Polish Legation in rendering a reasonable accounting of these funds until such time as provision can be made for an appropriate accounting staff to be attached to the

66 John W. Carrigan, of the Division of the American Republics.
Polish Legation. Items in your accounts should be charged to Appropriation 19–112/30006.014, and of course no accounting responsibility will be assumed by the Embassy with reference to the disbursements made by the Polish Legation other than in an advisory capacity, nor should any indication be communicated at this time with reference to the proposed assignment or detail of an auditor or accountant by the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations.

Hull

851R.00/463a: Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Consul General at Algiers (Wiley)

WASHINGTON, April 28, 1943—7 p.m.

774. For Murphy.57 Please present the following matter to General Eisenhower with the request that he consult General Giraud also and that we be advised as quickly as may be practical of the decision.

The American and British Governments are meeting in Bermuda58 to discuss ways and means for saving refugees, a number of whom have found their way out of German military jurisdiction and some of whom are now in Spain. The delegates at Bermuda are impressed with the thought that Spain is the only effective channel of escape for these unfortunates who remain in Western Europe composed of various nationalities. They feel it is of supreme importance that this channel be kept open as the consequences of closure would be that the admission of additional refugees would be prevented by the Spanish Government; that the Allies would be deprived of persons who are useful to them in North Africa; and that world opinion would come to the conclusion that we were not making any serious effort to deal with that problem if something were not done about the situation in Spain. There are six or seven thousand persons of this category in Spain who are not of French nationality but who are largely Jewish, and of either enemy nationality or are stateless persons. The proposal is that they be transported to North Africa because of the scarcity of shipping for long journeys and the proximity of that region to their present residence. Further, that they be assembled there in a camp to be built, if necessary, the site of which would be selected by the military authorities there, and with the consent and approval of the French authorities. The camp would be either under military authority or be under the jurisdiction of the British who have offered to make available personnel for that purpose. To keep them in Spain would prevent the advent into Spain of additional persons. Provision for the number mentioned in Africa would be for purposes-

57 Robert D. Murphy, Personal Representative of President Roosevelt in North Africa.
58 See pp. 134 ff.
of a temporary domicile until another place could be found to which to move them and with the assumption that persons later arriving in Spain might fill their places in such a camp in Africa after the persons there had been moved to other jurisdictions.

We are advising the Bermuda conference that the matter involves consultation with the military authorities and approval by the French authorities in North Africa and that they are being consulted.

The Department will appreciate receiving a reply as promptly as possible considering that the conferees in Bermuda will be entering the second week of what was expected to be a short conference.

For your confidential information the Department is consulting the Joint Chiefs here and any final decision as it might affect the North African military effort must await receipt of their advices.

HULL

The Joint Chiefs of Staff to the Secretary of State\textsuperscript{58a}

\textit{[Washington,] April 26, 1943.}

\textbf{Dear Mr. Secretary:} The United States Chiefs of Staff have given careful consideration to your letter of April 23\textsuperscript{58b} with regard to removing refugees from Spain and also to the British proposals regarding this subject which were enclosed.

There are some political and humanitarian aspects of the questions presented upon which the State Department is best qualified to formulate United States policy. The Chiefs of Staff, therefore, confine their comments to the military aspects.

The immediate proposal is to transport some 3,000 to 5,000 refugees, largely Jewish and of enemy nationality or stateless, to North Africa. There they are to be either completely free or interned in a rest camp under British control. The British memorandum indicates that there are now 45,000 such refugees\textsuperscript{58c} in Spain and that it would be desirable to remove all of them. It is reasonable to expect, therefore, that there will be similar proposals to transport increased increments of refugees to North Africa in the future.

The United States Chiefs of Staff are of the opinion that acceptance of the British proposal would have the following results:

(a) It would require the utilization of personnel shipping capacity which is urgently needed for military purposes.

(b) It would require a constant utilization of cargo shipping in order to feed and supply the refugees after their arrival in North Africa. At the present time the cargo shipping available is not suffi-

\textsuperscript{58a} Copy of letter obtained from the Department of Defense.

\textsuperscript{58b} Not printed.

\textsuperscript{58c} Should read "4-5,000 such refugees."
cien to meet the military needs in Africa as well as those of an already
strained civilian economy.

(c) It would put an added and unwarranted administrative respon-
sibility on the Supreme Commander in North Africa.

(d) The influx of a considerable group of Jewish refugees to North
Africa might cause such resentment on the part of the Arab popula-
tion as to necessitate military action to maintain order.

For the above reasons the United States Chiefs of Staff strongly
urge that the British proposal be rejected.

Sincerely yours,

For the Joint Chiefs of Staff:

WILLIAM D. LEAHY
Admiral, U.S. Navy
Chief of Staff to the
Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy

851R.00/488: Telegram

The Consul General at Algiers (Wiley) to the Secretary of State

ALGIERS, April 28, 1943—4 p. m.
[Received April 29—6 p. m.]

729. From Murphy. Your 774, April 23, 7 p. m. The question of
the transfer of refugees from Spain to French North Africa has been
the subject of several discussions in which the Commander-in-Chief
of the Naval Forces in the Mediterranean and the Chief of Staff have
participated. The Department knows that there are at present ap-
proximately 15,000 French refugees in Spain, including many officers,
specialists, engineers, and others whose services in the war effort are
of urgent interest. These include many of the Jewish faith.

Allied and naval authorities are experiencing difficulty in supply-
ing the necessary shipping and escort vessels to transport these per-
sons to North Africa. It is expected that the first group of approxi-
mately 1,400 will depart shortly via Portugal. If these French
refugees can be removed from Spain, such action would go far to
relieve the pressure under which the Spanish Government is now
resting. It would also ease the lot of the six or seven thousand persons
of various nationalities mentioned in the Department’s telegram under
reference. Unfortunately, publicity, for obvious reasons, cannot be
given to the effort being made to transport refugees from Spain be-
cause of possible Axis reaction.

With respect to specific questions asked in the present telegram,
undoubtedly the local French authorities will be glad to cooperate
whenever they may have succeeded in transferring from Spain the
large number of French refugees now hoping to proceed here whose
number is being daily augmented by a steady flow over the Franco-
Spanish frontier. Arrival of refugees in this area, where there exists
an acute shortage of building material, clothing, medical supplies,
foodstuffs, and approximately everything necessary for their welfare,
should be accompanied by importation of these necessitites. In any
event it should clearly be understood that these refugees would be
concentrated in North Africa only as a temporary measure pending
eventual transport elsewhere. [Murphy.]

WILEY

851R.00/490: Telegram

The Consul General at Algiers (Wiley) to the Secretary of State

ALGIERS, April 30, 1943—6 p. m.
[Received May 1—12: 27 p. m.]

758. From Murphy. Your 792, April 26, 1 p. m. I discussed this
matter with General Giraud who expressed the desire to cooperate
with us in every way practicable. He emphasized the considerations
presented in my 729, April 28, 5 [4] p. m., regarding the urgent neces-
sity to solve the problem presented by approximately 15,000 French
refugees in Spain.

Mogador offers certain advantages, but several sites might be
considered.

With the necessity of dealing first with the problem of French
refugees in Spain in the light of the acute shipping problem in-
volved, there seems little possibility of dealing with the question of
these additional refugees for some months to come. [Murphy.]

WILEY

840.48 Refugees/4111a

The Department of State to the British Embassy

The aide-mémoire of the British Embassy dated April 16, 1943, in
regard to the action of the Spanish Government in closing the
Pyrenean frontier to refugees, has been given careful consideration.

This matter has been brought to the attention of the Spanish Ambas-
sador, who has stated in reply that his Government is giving
refuge to the persons entering Spain through the Pyrenees and is not
returning them to Germany or delivering any of them to German
influences. He added that he was in every way sympathetic and that

60 Not printed; it requested that Mr. Murphy ask General Eisenhower to seek
the consent of General Giraud to the suggestion made in Department’s telegram
No. 774, p. 295, and asked if Mogador would be a practical solution (851R.00/
497a). 60 Juan Francisco de Cárdenas.
on his return to Spain next week he would present the matter orally to his Government and would urge it to continue the practice which it has instituted and to render every assistance to the refugees.

WASHINGTON, May 5, 1943.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff to the Secretary of State 60a

[WASHINGTON,] May 7, 1943.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: At the meeting of the Combined Chiefs of Staff on April 30th the British Chiefs of Staff presented their views to the United States Chiefs of Staff regarding the removal of Axis refugees in Spain to North Africa. The British views are presented in C.C.S. 204, copy of which is attached hereto.61

At that time the United States Chiefs of Staff informed the British of the views which they had expressed to you in their letter of April 26th but agreed to reconsider their decision.

The matter was again considered by the Joint Chiefs of Staff at their meeting on May 4th and they decided to adhere to the views expressed in their previous letter to you. The British Chiefs of Staff have been so informed.

Sincerely yours,

For the Joint Chiefs of Staff:

WILLIAM D. LEAHY
Admiral, U.S. Navy
Chief of Staff to the
Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy

852.48/1528: Telegram
The Consul General at Algiers (Wiley) to the Secretary of State

ALGIERS, May 9, 1943—4 p. m.

[Received 7:29 p.m.]

834. From Murphy from Bernstein 62 for Morgenthau. 63 Reference Madrid’s 1099, April 30 to Department. 61 French request transfer additional $300,000 to Malaise at Madrid for expenses maintenance and evacuation to North Africa of French refugees in Spain. Approval of transfer is recommended as it is continuation of program for which transfer of funds was previously approved.

60a Copy of letter obtained from the Department of Defense.
61 Not printed.
62 Presumably Edward M. Bernstein, Assistant Director of the Division of Monetary Research, Treasury Department.
63 Henry Morgenthau, Jr., Secretary of the Treasury.
French also request transfer of $200,000 to Madrid for support of French schools in Spain which have rallied to Giraud and are opposing Vichy control. We have no additional information concerning the merits of this latter request.

To Department. Repeated to Madrid. [Bernstein, Murphy.]

WASHINGTON, May 11, 1943—11 a.m.

898. For Murphy. British Embassy has presented to the Department a note stating that a total of 700 refugees consisting of 300 Poles proceeding from Spain via Portugal and 400 British and so-called French and Polish Canadians proceeding direct from Spain are expected momentarily in Gibraltar and that an additional 370 “Canadians” of mixed nationalities and nearly 300 Poles will be free to leave Madrid or Miranda as soon as transport can be arranged. The Governor of Gibraltar reports that there will be no further shipping from Gibraltar to the UK for about a month and that in view of limited accommodation on the Rock it is doubtful whether even the first contingent of “Canadians” referred to above can be received there. These persons are all intended for service in the armed forces operating with the British. The British point out the importance of not interrupting the flow of refugees through Spain and urge that those above mentioned, in view of the shortage of shipping from the Iberian Peninsula to the UK, be permitted to come to North Africa in transit to the UK. The total number they believe would not exceed 500 at any one time.

The Department is inclined to recommend concurrence in this proposal provided that representatives of the British Government in North Africa assume full responsibility for these refugees during their stay there and providing they have identification and travel documents of a character which will ensure their admission into the UK. The War Department is agreeable subject to the above conditions. Department also feels that they should not be given precedence over other refugees intended to help the military effort and suggests the possibility that they might be evacuated in smaller groups along with larger groups of the other refugees. However, practical con-

* Repeated on the same date as No. 1062 to the Ambassador in Spain, as No. 821 to the Minister in Portugal, and as No. 2986 to the Ambassador in the United Kingdom.

* British aide-mémoire, dated May 7, 1943, not printed.
siderations would govern this if approval is given to the policy involved. Unless you perceive objection thereto please take this matter up with General Eisenhower and the French authorities and endeavor to obtain their approval.

Repeated to Madrid, Lisbon and London.

Hull

852.48/1532: Telegram

The Ambassador in Spain (Hayes) to the Secretary of State

Madrid, May 13, 1943—11 p. m.  
[Received May 14—10:49 a.m.]

1267. Your 1062, May 11, 11 a.m. I agree that the flow of refugees should not be interrupted but should rather be speeded up. British Embassy policy is to divest itself of all responsibility for care of refugees. It still has in mind desirability of a refugee camp for all nationalities in North Africa. (Your 777, April 6, 5 p.m., which seems not to have been repeated to Algiers.)

It now wishes to turn over to the North African representation the care of the bulk of declared Canadians not eligible to release as such and therefore not eligible to be evacuated to Gibraltar. This would increase financial burden on North African representation in the amount of some 2 million pesetas a month.

Because of the proximity of Gibraltar and of British naval control over this area, the British enjoy special facilities for getting out refugees in whom they are interested including those of other than French nationality and Frenchmen who have declared themselves Canadians and are eligible for release as such.

We evacuated our first large group of French refugees declared as such via Setubal, April 30. Since then Malaise has been unable to obtain shipping from the British for further evacuations although Spanish and Portuguese Governments prepared to facilitate evacuation.

It is damaging to prestige and morale of French who have declared themselves as such for other nationalities and Frenchmen who under British auspices have declared themselves of other nationalities to be evacuated while declared French are unable to leave because of British failure to supply shipping. It is also of course very expensive for North African authorities to maintain them here and burdensome on French representation as well as on this Embassy.

Whether refugees now under British auspices, whatever their declared nationality, are allowed to go to North Africa would appear

*See footnote 64, p. 300.*
from our point of view to be a matter for decision of North African authorities but they should not be evacuated at cost of having declared French in Spain.

Repeated Algiers, London and Lisbon.

Hayes

852.48/1533: Telegram

The Ambassador in Spain (Hayes) to the Secretary of State

MADRID, undated.

[Received May 14, 1943—1:42 p.m.]

1268. The following telegram has been sent to Algiers.

14. May 13, midnight. For Murphy. Your 834, May 9, 4 p.m. to Department. Full amount of $500,000 requested by French here and referred to in my 107, April 30, 7 p.m., is needed for refugee relief and it is desired by them that funds granted for support of loyal French institutions in Spain be in addition to this.

With regard to merits of request for funds for latter purpose I consider it important that North African representation be in position to carry on support of these institutions which occupy significant place in life of French community in Spain and which are important centers for education and dissemination of French culture. Otherwise it will be most difficult to keep them out of hands of Vichy Government who strongly desire to retain control.

Hayes

852.48/1532b: Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in the United Kingdom (Winant)\textsuperscript{a}

WASHINGTON, May 15, 1943—9 p.m.

3118. The American and British Governments and the French authorities in North Africa have been much interested to provide for the passage out of Spain into Africa of refugees. These refugees seem to consist of three categories:

(a) French citizens desiring to proceed to North Africa to join the war effort there,

(b) Stateless persons who are refugees from political, racial and religious persecution fortunate enough to have escaped into Spain,

(c) About 1500 or more declared Canadian citizens of former other nationality who would be forwarded from a port in North Africa in British bottoms to England to join various elements of the fighting forces.

\textsuperscript{a} The same on the same date as No. 943 to the Consul General at Algiers, as No. 1106 to the Ambassador in Spain, and as No. 856 to the Minister in Portugal.
The Department considers that this refugee movement should be viewed as a whole and considers that it would be unfortunate if exclusive priority were insisted upon by any of the authorities concerned for a group in which they are particularly interested. If there should develop an insistence upon the evacuation of one of the categories mentioned in preference to another category there might develop a rigidity which would tend to defeat the whole movement. Such a development the United States Government would view with apprehension for its effect would be twofold. First, it would interfere with the flow of fighting men both to North Africa and to the forces operating under British command, and second, it would tend to have a very discouraging effect upon the whole movement to protect and preserve those refugees of political, racial and religious persecution whose fate is the concern of the civilized world.

With these thoughts in mind the Department expresses the hope to its representatives concerned with these movements that they do whatever they may be able to secure the onward movement of these persons out of Spain through Portugal and to Africa. For this purpose it is essential that there be ships available. Several vessels were used as recently as April 30 to transport refugees from Portugal to North Africa. It seems that these vessels could still be used. If they could be continued for 60 or 90 days all of the persons mentioned could be evacuated. The cooperation of the naval authorities who control the use of the vessels on that run and the cooperation of the Portuguese and Spanish Governments to permit the movement of persons to board those vessels are necessary for the whole movement of refugees depends upon the use of either those particular vessels or similar tonnage. It is the Department’s hope that its representatives will be able to secure the cooperation of the appropriate authorities and have vessels continue this movement and hopes that the same vessels may be still available and continue to be made available. At the same time it is felt that an insistence upon the prior evacuation of any particular category might develop in such a way as to defeat the whole purpose.

These matters are called to your attention and you are requested to continue to work out the problem as expeditiously as possible.

This same telegram has been sent to Algiers, Madrid and Lisbon.

Hull

840.48 Refugees/3814a: Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Switzerland (Harrison)

WASHINGTON, May 18, 1943—11 a.m.

1182. The British Government is endeavoring to complete arrangements for the evacuation of 4,000 children and 500 adults from Bul-
garia to Palestine. In the near future the British Minister at Bern will approach the Swiss authorities in regard to arrangements with the Bulgarian Government for the selection of the individuals to be evacuated.

In view of the American interest in this humanitarian plan you are instructed to consult with the British Minister and to associate this Government with the approach to the Swiss authorities.

HULL

840.48 Refugees/3797 : Telegram

The Consul General at Algiers (Wiley) to the Secretary of State

Algiers, May 18, 1943—6 p. m.
[Received May 19—12:54 p. m.]

914. From Murphy. Department’s 898, May 11, 11 a. m. The French authorities have agreed to permit the entry of allied nationals and to harbor them at the shelter in Casablanca until they can be sent to their final destination. Facilities available at Casablanca will permit the entry of groups of 150 at one time at approximately 10-day intervals but the French ask that one group be cleared before the next arrives. They will assume responsibility for them while in North Africa.

It will, however, be difficult to provide transportation for them to the United Kingdom. Consequently it is doubtful whether large numbers can be handled by a regular service.

Macmillan 65 has informed London of the foregoing arrangement with the French. [Murphy.]

WILEY

840.48 Refugees/3799 : Telegram

The Minister in Sweden (Johnson) to the Secretary of State

Stockholm, May 19, 1943—5 p. m.
[Received 8:14 p. m.]

1610. British Minister 69 has sent me a memorandum in which he says he discussed with Adler-Rudel before latter left and with Boheman subsequently question of asylum in Sweden for about 20,000 Jewish children from German-occupied countries (see Legation’s 1235, April 17, 2 p. m.; 1281, April 20, midnight, and references mentioned). Boheman stated it would greatly assist Swedish Government in proceeding with this problem if it could have assurances from

69 V. A. L. Mallet.
70 Missing from Department files.
British and American Governments that arrangements would be made to remove children from Sweden as soon as possible after war. Adler-Rudel told Mallet it would be of assistance if British and American Governments could permit additional foodstuffs to enter Sweden through Gothenburg to help support these children. Adler-Rudel also referred to the fact that Swedish Government was not prepared to bear whole financial responsibility. Mallet mentions decisions of Bermuda Conference which recommend, in principle, that British and American and other Allied Governments should give a joint undertaking to neutral governments that maintenance and eventual removal of refugees would be guaranteed. It was pointed out to him, however, that Allied Governments could hardly bind themselves to give any assurance to removal of these children to places outside Europe since to do so would amount to acquiescence in German Government’s Judenrein[?] policy.

Mallet is accordingly instructed to inform Boheman confidentially that decision of Swedish Government to approach German Government concerning asylum for 20,000 Jewish children is considered a human gesture highly appreciated by British Government; that British Government will give sympathetic consideration to question of allowing additional foodstuffs through Gothenburg to support children, but with respect to request that assurances be given concerning their removal after war British Minister can only say that this will no doubt be part of international problem at that time, and that British Government cannot now bind itself to a particular ultimate destination for them inside or outside Europe.

British Minister states that he wishes me to be fully conversant with situation before making confidential memorandum to Boheman along above lines. He adds that when he makes this communication he will take opportunity to find out why Swedish Government which has shown generous attitude to refugees in past now seems concerned with financial responsibility in this particular plan. Mallet’s memorandum also referred to decision at Bermuda Conference.

JOHNSON

840.48 Refugees/3817a: Airgram

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Mexico (Messersmith)

WASHINGTON, May 21, 1943—5:30 p.m.

A-1766. The U.S. Immigration Service is planning to provide a train at shipside on the West Coast for the Polish refugees to trans-

See telegram No. 2631, April 26, 3 p.m., to the Ambassador in the United Kingdom, p. 165.

port them through to Mexico City and incidentally to provide medical care for them en route. The Immigration Service has suggested the desirability of your arranging with the Mexican Immigration Service for their reception at the border in order to facilitate the arrival of the train in Mexico City without delay.

HULL

The Consul General at Algiers (Wiley) to the Secretary of State

ALGIERS, May 23, 1943—3 p. m.
[Received 9:20 p. m.]

950. From Murphy. Department’s 948, May 15, 9 p. m. There is complete agreement here between the French, British, and ourselves that the flow of refugees from Spain should not be interrupted and arrangements are under way with the British Naval Command to insure a regular but limited service to Portuguese ports. The next vessel is scheduled to leave Setubal May 24.

The French authorities naturally prefer to receive refugees of French nationality, although as stated in my 914, May 18, 6 p. m., they have agreed to permit the entry of Allied nationals in small groups and to shelter them until arrangements can be made for their transportation abroad. Arrangements to receive large numbers are pending decision regarding the establishment of the refugee center (see my 729, April 28, 5 [4] p. m., and Department’s 774, April 23, 7 p. m.).

Our figures, however, indicate that, in addition to the six or seven thousand persons of various nationalities mentioned in Department’s 774, the number of refugees alone in Spain exceeds 15,000 including the alleged “Canadians” of French nationality. Recent arrivals, however, consider this estimate is far too low. Consequently a considerable shipping problem is involved which will require consultation with the Combined Chiefs of Staff and probably a directive from them if further facilities are to be made available.

To Department, repeated to London, Lisbon and Madrid. [Murphy.]

WILEY

The Minister in Switzerland (Harrison) to the Secretary of State

BERN, May 24, 1943—7 p. m.
[Received May 25—9:05 a. m.]

3169. Department’s 1182, May 18. British Legation informs me that present status of this matter is as follows:

See footnote 67, p. 302.
Presumably upper [under?] German pressure Bulgarian Government has lately adopted stiffer attitude. Minister of Interior has intimated to Swiss Chargé d’Affaires at Sofia that Bulgarian Government has decided to close Turkish-Bulgarian frontier to all Jews. Chargé d’Affaires reporting this development to Swiss Government on May 18 added that it is impossible to take further steps to evacuate Jews from Bulgaria to Palestine.

This was reported to F. O. by British Legation on May 21. I was told that I would be advised of British Government’s reaction. Will report further.

HARRISON

852.48/1558

Memorandum by the Under Secretary of State (Welles) to the Assistant Secretary of State (Long)

[WASHINGTON,] May 27, 1943.

Mr. Long: Lord Halifax, who is leaving town this evening for a week, called me on the telephone. He told me that on May 22, in a conversation he had had with the Secretary, he had asked urgently, in the name of his Government, for a reply from us with regard to the question of the construction of the proposed camps in North Africa for refugees from Spain. He told me that the Secretary had replied that the matter was before the President for the latter’s decision and that he would do his best to expedite a reply. Will you see what can be done to get the necessary answer to the British Government? Lord Halifax requested that when we had an answer we inform Sir Ronald Campbell, since he himself will not be back until the week after next.

SUMNER WELLES

852.48/1540: Telegram

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

LONDON, May 29, 1943—6 p.m.  
[Received May 30—1:30 a.m.]

3683. We have now received the promised memorandum from Strang at the Foreign Office with reference to the problem of providing passage out of Spain for the several categories of refugees referred to in the Department’s telegram No. 3118, May 15, 9 p.m. and
Embassy's 3425, May 18, 6 p. m. Referring to our letter on the question Strang writes:

"You drew particular attention to the opinion of the State Department that this refugee question should be considered as a whole and that it would be unwise to insist upon exclusive priority for any particular group of refugees. I can assure you that His Majesty's Government share the State Department's anxiety to see the whole refugee question in Spain liquidated as soon as possible. Hitherto, however, it has been unavoidable that certain categories of refugees and internees should be evacuated before the others. For instance, it has always been more easy to secure Spanish agreement to the release for internees of British nationality including of course Canadians, than for internees of any other European nationality, and we have naturally concentrated on securing their rapid passage through Spain. Amongst those of British nationality who have been released have been included many of Allied nationality who have registered themselves on reaching Spanish territory as being British subjects and who have been accepted as such by the Spanish authorities. Apart from this the Spanish authorities have been willing to agree to the release of a number of Netherlands and Belgian internees on the pretext that they were proceeding to territories overseas under Netherlands or Belgian sovereignty. It has also been possible from time to time to secure the release of other Allied nationals for whom destinations could be found, principally in the fighting forces. Certain categories of internees have also been allowed to proceed via Gibraltar but the numbers of these are clearly limited by the fact that Gibraltar is primarily a military fortress.

Since the beginning of the North African operations and the completion of the German occupation of France by far greater number of refugees entering Spain have been of French nationality and Jews either stateless or of enemy nationality. As regards the French quite a number who registered themselves as Canadians have been allowed to depart while others registered as Frenchmen have until fairly recently been held by Spanish authorities who have been afraid owing to German pressure to grant them exit visas. Their reluctance has now been overcome and it is understood that the Spanish authorities are ready to grant visas freely for the evacuation of Frenchmen via Portugal. In this work of evacuating Frenchmen, I understand that the representatives of General de Gaulle and General Giraud in Madrid work in close contact in spite of the allegations made by their respective headquarters in London and Algiers, and it is to be hoped that as soon as there is agreement between the two Generals the two French organizations in Madrid will be merged.

There remains the question of disposing of all those refugees who cannot for one reason or another come to this country or the United States or other Allied territory, or who owing to age, sex or sickness cannot join the Allied fighting forces. These persons include Allied nationals, stateless persons and Jews of a number of nationalities.

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74 Latter not printed.
75 Gen. Charles de Gaulle, President of the French National Committee in London.
His Majesty’s Government share the anxiety of the State Department to arrange for their departure from Spain as soon as possible but the question of a destination has hitherto prevented any appreciable progress being made. The only practicable proposal so far as His Majesty’s Government can see is that of establishing a refugee camp in French North Africa which was put forward at the Bermuda Conference. Despite the anxiety of the State Department and His Majesty’s Government to see this camp established the competent military authorities in Washington and No. Africa have refused their assent. Until this is settled I can see no hope of a radical solution of the problem created by this category of refugee.

As regards the immediate future, the principal problem is to arrange for the earliest convenient evacuation of Frenchmen via Portugal. I understand that for this purpose the French authorities in North Africa are willing to make available one or two ships which they maintain for their own use. If, therefore, the Spanish and Portuguese Governments continue to allow Frenchmen to be evacuated through Portugal, it should only be a question of arranging a series of evacuations through some appropriate Portuguese port. For this purpose, we should hope that our naval authorities would from time to time be able to provide the necessary escorts.

The above explanation will I hope have shown that there is no divergence of policy between the State Department and ourselves on this question. In practice, however, it has been impossible to avoid some degree of differentiation in the handling of different categories of internees.

We hope, however, that circumstances are now rendering this less necessary than in the past and, if the objections still held in military circles at Washington to the establishment of refugee camps in North Africa can be overcome, the refugee problem in Spain should soon be reduced to easily manageable proportions.”

Repeated to Madrid, Lisbon and Algiers.

Winant

840.48 Refugees/3880

Memorandum of Conversation, by the Assistant Secretary of State (Long)

[Washington,] June 4, 1943.

Sir Ronald came in this morning at his request and asked for an answer, if possible, to the inquiry made to the Secretary of State by Lord Halifax and subsequently referred to by Sir Ronald in a conversation with Mr. Welles and which was the subject of a memorandum from Mr. Welles. 77

I told Sir Ronald that perhaps Lord Halifax had received from his Government information which indicated to him that arrangements of a definitive character had been made for the reception of

77 Dated May 27, p. 307.
refugees in North Africa when that was not exactly the case. I then proceeded to explain that while the French authorities had agreed in principle and while the American Joint Chiefs of Staff had disagreed, and while the matter had been brought to the attention of the White House, it was all related to the general subject of refugees, which had been the reason for the Bermuda Conference. This Conference had reported and recommended the convocation of the Executive Committee of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees. Before we attended that Committee meeting or specifically sponsored its convocation, the American Government had felt that the American delegate ought to have certain definite authority. The matter had been referred to the President during the visit of the Prime Minister.  

We have now been informed that the President discussed the matter with Mr. Churchill but that Mr. Churchill had stated that it would be necessary for him to consult his authorities in London before he could give a definitive answer and go along with the President. The President had not yet heard from Mr. Churchill. Consequently, while the matter had been referred “across the street” by us, it had been referred “across the ocean” by Mr. Churchill and we were still waiting to hear from England. 

I went on to express the deep interest we had and to review the situation as it existed in Spain, stating that we would be very glad to see that whole situation picked up by the Intergovernmental Executive Committee and carried forward.

I also told Sir Ronald of a very interesting telegram which had been brought to our attention from Rabbi Perlzweig which possibly his Government had also had access to and which indicated a change of policy and possibly of mind of some of the gentlemen who had been very active, and which further indicated that they were convinced that no very real results could be obtained in the movement for the evacuation of Jewish people from territory held by the enemy. Their new point of view seemed to be realistic and in line with the beliefs of our two Governments as indicated at Bermuda.

B[RECKINRIDGE] L[ONG]

840.48 Refugees/3881a : Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Consul General at Algiers (Wiley)

WASHINGTON, June 9, 1943—midnight.

1103. For Murphy and Hoehler from Lehman. Department is considering the question of establishing a refugee camp in North
Africa for the reception of stateless refugees, enemy aliens, allied nationals and Jews of various nationalities who are now in Spain. Matter is entirely in exploratory state but if agreement should be reached with War Department and French officials it is probable that we would be asked to operate such a camp as purely American project. Present thought is that a new camp should be developed rather than using one of previous internment camp sites. It is estimated that approximately 1,000 men and women would be housed in such a camp at any given time.

Would like your judgment on following points:

1. Would it be feasible for our staff to operate such a camp as direct American project with necessary guards provided by the Army or French?
2. Would present Lend-Lease supplies allotted to you be available for construction and subsequent supply to such a camp?
3. Would special supplies in addition to those now being sent to North Africa be necessary for this purpose?
4. What cash funds would be required for camp construction?
5. What do you estimate continuing cash expenditure would be for operation of camp of this character over and above probable Lend-Lease supplies available for this purpose?
6. How many American staff members would be needed for operation and could they be made available from your present staff in North Africa?

If plan materializes we would prefer to have camp operated by personnel on our payroll and not by private agency personnel loaned to us.

Please treat this matter in strictest confidence. You will readily appreciate the very undesirable repercussions which would follow should the project become public and be found impossible of accomplishment. [Lehman.]

Hull

840.48 Refugees/3887 : Telegram
The Consul General at Algiers (Wiley) to the Secretary of State
Algiers, June 14, 1943—10 a. m.
[Received 3: 46 p. m.]

1096. For Lehman from Murphy, from Hoehler. Reference to the Department's number 1130 [1103]. Staff agrees that it might be desirable to set up colony here for miscellaneous refugees now in Spain.
Discussed with Royce.\textsuperscript{50} Will discuss with French and Army and give you definite reply later. Supplies in subsistence reserve and army stores available would in our opinion meet food and clothing needs. Would attempt to add some subsistence farm and self-help features to colony. Maintenance costs 1 year for 1000 people over and above available supplies would approximate $100,000. Staff for operation would approximate $25,000 more. Sending estimated construction costs and more definite operating costs with a later wire. [Murphy and Hoehler.]

\textit{The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Mexico (Messersmith)}

\textbf{WASHINGTON, June 17, 1943—4 p. m.}

970. In January the Mexican Embassy informed the Department that the Mexican Government wished to assist the Spanish Republican internees in North Africa and would be pleased to receive in Mexico those who wished to emigrate there and to pay the costs of their transportation. Acting upon this advice the Department took the matter up with the American military authorities in North Africa and with the French. Both were eager to facilitate the movement as removing a possible source of unrest behind the Allied lines and the War Department agreed for this reason to transport the refugees free of charge to a US port from which they would proceed to Mexico. The refugees were canvassed and approximately 2,000, of whom more than one-half are believed to be women and children, expressed a desire to come to Mexico.

In April, however, the Mexican Government began to raise difficulties, suggesting first that it should send a representative to North Africa to screen the proposed immigrants and then intimating that it did not have sufficient funds to finance the movement, even though this Government’s offer to provide ocean transportation gratis left only the cost of rail transport from the US port to the Mexican border to be covered. Incidentally, the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, a private group in this country, has offered to pay some and possibly all of these rail transport costs. The Mexican Embassy in Washington at the Department’s request has repeatedly asked the Mexican Government to decide finally whether or not it will accept these refugees but no decision has yet been received here.

Meanwhile our representatives in Algiers report that the internment camps in which these and other refugees in North Africa were de-
tained have been closed and that the Spaniards who wish to proceed to Mexico, being unwilling for this reason to accept work contracts, are without funds, without work and living in crowded quarters. The War Department urges strongly that the matter be decided without further delay.

You are requested to take this matter up with the appropriate Mexican authorities and to urge that a definite decision be reached at once so that the refugees may either be shipped forthwith to Mexico or, if this is not to be authorized, may be informed that they will have to accept other arrangements for their disposition.

Hull

840.48 Refugees/4036

Memorandum of Conversation, by the Secretary of State

[Washington,] June 17, 1943.

The British Ambassador called at his request. He brought up the question of establishing a camp in North Africa for refugees and inquired about the nature of this Government’s reply to the British. He said that Mr. Churchill denied that he and the President discussed the Jewish refugee and relief questions generally, and that, therefore, the British Government is awaiting a reply from us.

I stated that there must be some mistake in recollection for the reason that the President told the State Department that he would have the conference with Mr. Churchill on this subject, and that the latter said that he must first return home and have a conference with the appropriate officials and, after doing so, would report back to the President. I added that we would check this matter and see what had actually transpired. I said that I thought the question of a communication from us in regard to establishing a camp for refugees in North Africa was contained in our memorandum80a on the entire Jewish question which was placed in the hands of the President, but I could not be absolutely sure and that therefore I would check on the matter.

852.99/10733

The Mexican Embassy to the Department of State

Memorandum

Reference is made to the various communications of Mr. Charles W. Yost, Assistant Chief, Division of European Affairs, of the Depart-

80a See letter of May 7 to President Roosevelt, p. 176.
ment of State, to Secretary Anzorena, of this Embassy, on the Spanish Republican refugees in North Africa.

As confirmation of the information transmitted verbally by Secretary Anzorena to Messrs. Laurence Duggan and Charles W. Yost, the Embassy now advises having received the following data from Mexico:

A Committee has been organized in Mexico, D. F., to study the various aspects of the plan of receiving the Spanish Republican refugees from North Africa. Mr. Felix F. Palavicini, an Official of the Secretaría de Gobernación, both [sic] representing the Mexican Government, and Messrs. Ginés Langa Tremiño and Jerónimo Gamariz Latorre, Spaniards now residing in Mexico, form the Committee.

The Mexican Government is willing to consider the entry of those Spanish Republicans whose immigration may be deemed as favoring the national economy; preference to be given to farmers, fishermen, specialized mechanics, etc. Mr. Alejandro Quijano has offered that the Mexican Association of the Red Cross and the International Red Cross would gladly cooperate.

The Committee in due time, would take up with the Secretaría de Gobernación the question of the issuance of permits and the manner of issuance of necessary documents. As to transportation, the Mexican Government would avail itself of the offer of the United States Government, which is appreciated, of the United States War Department bearing the full cost of transporting the refugees across the ocean. Other offers as the one by the Joint Antifascist Refugee Committee may materialize into the bearing of rail transportation costs from the port of debarkation to the Mexican border.

As reported to Messrs. Duggan and Yost, the Committee has requested that "U.S. Consulates in Algiers, Casablanca and Tunis urgently formulate a list of the Spanish refugees and their families who wish to go to Mexico, preference being given to farmers, fishermen, mechanics, specialized workers and persons who may easily adapt themselves to the economy of Mexico"; the Committee suggests that U.S. Consulates engage the assistance, as advisers, of Messrs. Salvador García Muñoz and Lorenzo Carbonell Santacruz, in Oran, José Alonso Mallol and Antonio Pérez Torreblanca, in Casablanca, and Julián Sánchez Eroftalbe and Ildefonso Torregorsa García, in Tunis. It was pointed out in the communication received from Mexico that these data were urgently needed with a view to examining at once the feasibility of the refugees in question being admitted into Mexico.

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Adviser on Political Relations.
The information furnished by Mr. Yost in his letter of June 16, 1943,\textsuperscript{82} was immediately transmitted to Mexico, on that date. The reply dated the 18th was received on the 19th, stating that, in order to decide on the entry of the refugees, it was indispensable that the data requested be furnished.

WASHINGTON, June 21, 1943.

\textbf{Telegram}

\textit{The Consul General at Algiers (Wiley) to the Secretary of State}

\textbf{Algiers, June 21, 1943.}

[Received June 23—3:38 a.m.]

1132. Your 978, May 21, 10 p. m.\textsuperscript{83} Following is the text of a statement which we propose to release to the press correspondents here at noon local time Thursday, June 24:

"The Joint Commission for Political Prisoners and Refugees reported today that according to its records all persons who were interned in concentration camps, incorporated into work companies or whose residence was confined to restricted areas in French North and West Africa before November 8, 1942 have now been liberated.

This Commission was set up in January, under the joint chairmanship of the United States and British Consuls General in Algiers, to assist in the release, relief and repatriation of these prisoners and refugees. The liberation has proceeded in orderly manner over the past few months, as swiftly as military security investigations and the making of arrangements for maintenance of internees after their release would permit. Today's report marked the climax of months of effort, involving close cooperation between British, American and French authorities, for the solution of a complex problem.

Special local assistance in the manifold details pertaining to the gradual liquidation of the internment camps was provided by a field party of the Commission, which visited the camps several times. The field party included representatives of the United States and British Consuls General, the French High Command, the Public Welfare and Relief Division of the North African Economic Board (this division is the operating agency in North Africa of the United States Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations) and the International Red Cross.

The Commission also reported that all those who were released from work companies on February 12, 1943, given the status of civilian

\textsuperscript{82} Presumably Mr. Yost's letter of June 11, to the Third Secretary of the Mexican Embassy in which he stated that since the North African authorities desired to close on June 15 all of the internment camps in that area except those devoted to Axis internees, the question of how to dispose of the approximately 2,000 Spanish Republicans who desired to accept the Mexican Government's invitation to proceed to Mexico was of the greatest urgency, and that he would appreciate anything that could be done to expedite a final decision by the Mexican Government (840.48 Refugees/3500a).

\textsuperscript{83} Not printed.
workers at current wage rates, employed by the Mediterranean Niger Railway or the coal mines of Kenedaa, and whose residence was restricted to the area in which they worked, have been given complete liberty to leave this region and accept work where they wish. With the exception of a few individuals who, of their own free will, signed contracts with one or the other of these companies and prefer to remain, all the former internees and members of work companies have left this region.

The former internees, members of work companies and persons in forced residence have all been provided with useful occupations of their own choice. A large number have signed contracts for work as civilian employees with the American Armed Forces. They are employed in various capacities, are paid at current wage rates for the types of work they do and are not organized in any military formations. Another large group have joined the British pioneer battalions, a noncombatant labor unit of the British Army, in which they receive the pay, rations and quarters of British soldiers. A considerable number have been absorbed into local industry in employment of their own choice.

The situation of the Spanish Republican refugees who have signified their desire to proceed to Mexico presented a serious problem since the internment camps and work companies have been totally liquidated and definite arrangements regarding their departure for Mexico have not been completed. This problem was resolved through the excellent cooperation of the American Army which agreed to employ them under work contracts with the understanding that the contracts would terminate when arrangements were made for their transportation to Mexico.

In addition to assisting in the liberation of all persons from internment camps and work companies, the Joint Commission for Political Prisoners and Refugees obtained from the French authorities an agreement that on the presentation of a contract of employment either with the American Army or private industry, identity and ration cards would be immediately issued. This provision is especially important, since it legalizes the civil status not only of persons released from internment camps, but also of a large number of internees who at one time or another had escaped from camps and were in constant danger of being either returned to the camps or sent to prison. The identity cards are being issued with a minimum of red tape, at reduced rates, and, in the case of destitute persons gratis.

Released internees who were unable to work on account of advanced age or physical disabilities are being cared for by the Public Welfare and Relief Division of NAEB with funds contributed by private sources. Special rehabilitation camps are being developed for them. This division also has provided clothing, food and funds to relieve the immediate needs of persons released from camps who arrived at Casablanca, Oran and Algiers to begin work. Many of them were given assistance in finding living accommodations.

During the visits to internment camps the field party of the Joint Commission for Political Prisoners and Refugees also visited prisons in which political prisoners were confined. There are now in prison approximately 200 foreign refugees who, although they have been duly sentenced by courts, should be considered as political prisoners
since the offenses consist chiefly of infractions of discipline in internment camps or political demonstrations involving violence. The greater part of these prisoners are Spanish Republican refugees. The French authorities agreed to liberate from prisons all Spanish Republican refugees for the purpose of proceeding to Mexico. The Joint Commission suggested, however, that these prisoners should be liberated and allowed to make their own dispositions. Dr. Jules Abadie, former Secretary of the Interior and now Commissioner of National Education, Justice and Public Health, has given an assurance that an amnesty will be granted to these prisoners after their cases have been examined in regard to military security. The granting of these amnesties has been delayed by the temporary confusion resulting from the transition from the high command to the French Committee of National Liberation, but is expected soon. [”]

WILEY

840.48 Refugees/4029

Memorandum by Mr. R. Borden Reams of the Division of European Affairs to the Secretary of State

[WASHINGTON,] June 22, 1943.

Mr. Secretary: With reference to the Secretary’s memorandum of conversation with the British Ambassador, Lord Halifax, dated June 17, 1943 in regard to the establishment of a refugee camp in North Africa, there is attached a memorandum ¹⁴ which the Secretary may wish to hand to Lord Halifax when he calls at the Department.

The following information in regard to this matter is submitted for the Secretary’s information.

The Bermuda Conference recognized that one of the most pressing problems in connection with refugees was concerned with the evacuation of the refugees now in Spain from that country. It was further agreed that the place to which they would be evacuated must necessarily be as close as possible to Spain since shipping facilities are limited by the demands of the war. The British delegation proposed formally that a camp should be established in North Africa for the reception of that part of the refugees having no government of their own. The total number of stateless and enemy refugees now in Spain is estimated to be between 5,000 and 6,000 persons. The American delegation opposed this suggestion on the grounds of military necessity. However the recommendations were transmitted to the Department of State and were supported by the American delegation so far as the Department is concerned. During the discussions which ensued at Bermuda it was made clear that approval of this plan, if possible, could only be made on the basis of a temporary refuge and that a place

¹⁴ Copy not found in Department files.
of permanent refuge must be found for these people by the Inter-
governmental Committee.

The Department of State has worked earnestly in order to secure
the assent of the interested authorities to the establishment of a tem-
porary place of refuge in North Africa. It is contemplated that this
camp should be located in a part of North Africa removed from the
scene of active military operations. Some spot near Mogador was
suggested as a possibility. The assent in principle of General Eisen-
hower and Giraud have been obtained. However, the Joint Chiefs of
Staff have refused up to now to give their consent. The matter was
presented by the Secretary to the President in a letter dated May 7,
1943. The President was informed that "temporary refuge in North
Africa is not approved by the Joint Chiefs of Staff" and was asked
"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 com-
manders in that area? This would approve the recommendations of
the Bermuda Conference to save as many as quickly as possible, pro-
viding them with temporary asylum in Africa and obtaining commit-
ments for their post-war return to their home countries." The Presi-
dent replied: "I agree that North Africa may be used as a depot for
those refugees but not as 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 num-
ers of Jews there. That would be extremely unwise."

On June 5, 1943 Governor Lehman's office was requested to ascertain
whether it would be able to operate any place of refuge which might
be established in North Africa for the care of these refugees. It is
understood that investigations are now being carried out in regard
to this matter.

While the President's reply to the Secretary's letter would appear
to give authority for the establishment of a temporary place of refuge
on a limited basis it might be well to further clarify this situation.
It is not known whether a further approach on the basis of the Presi-
dent's reply to the Joint Chiefs of Staff is necessary. It is assumed
that the President's point that large numbers of Jews should not be
sent to North Africa is not applicable in this present case. The total
number of stateless and enemy refugees in Spain does not exceed
6,000. Not all of these people will be able to leave Spain even though
transportation can be arranged and not all of those who can go will
be Jewish. It is not possible at the present time to state definitely

85 Ante, p. 176.
86 Memorandum dated May 14, p. 179.
the number of Jewish people who could be evacuated from Spain but several thousand such persons will hardly be considered as excessive in number.

840.48 Refugees/3912

Memorandum of Conversation, by the Under Secretary of State (Welles)

[WASHINGTON,] June 24, 1943.

The British Ambassador called to see me this morning at my request. I raised with the Ambassador the need for action in getting Jewish refugees out of Bulgaria. I said that the Jewish organizations in this country were very fearful that if further delay took place none of these refugees would be permitted to leave Bulgaria and that I felt that in such event the United Nations could very properly be held responsible for the situation which would then develop. The Ambassador said that he had spoken with Mr. Myron Taylor recently concerning this matter and asked if any definite word had yet been received with regard to the construction of concentration camps in North Africa for refugees from Europe. I reminded the Ambassador that there seemed to be some discrepancy of views as to what the status of this situation was since the President had given Mr. Churchill a memorandum on the subject which the latter had said he would discuss with his Cabinet in London, whereas Mr. Churchill apparently was maintaining that the President had not discussed the matter with him at all. The Ambassador asked if I would at least ascertain whether our highest military authorities were agreeable to the construction of these concentration camps in North Africa. I said I would be glad to confirm my understanding of this situation.

S[UMNER] W[ELLES]

840.48 Refugees/4009

Memorandum by the Assistant Secretary of State (Long) to the Secretary of State

[WASHINGTON,] June 29, 1943.

Mr. Secretary: The rescue of European Jewry was a subject of the Bermuda Conference. The fate of Jews as such was not considered separately from the fate of other persons who are persecuted because of religious, racial or political sentiments, but the Jews constitute the larger proportion of them and the Conference considered their situation in Europe as well as efforts to extricate them.

It was considered that we could not negotiate with the Government of Germany on any account during the war so that the Jews within
the jurisdiction of the German military authorities could not be helped unless they should escape from that jurisdiction.

Escape has been made by six or eight thousand of them into Spain across the Pyrenees. The Bermuda Conference recommended that steps be taken to move them from Spain so that others might be moved into Spain from France who would in turn be extricated.

The agency to do this work was to be the Executive Committee of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees. Without waiting for that Committee to commence operations the United States Government in collaboration with the French authorities in North Africa and the British Maritime authorities agreed to the movement of refugees out of Spain. This movement is proceeding gradually and some three thousand have already been moved into Africa. Many of the Jews are of French nationality and have been moved into Africa, but the stateless Jews and Jews of enemy nationality have not yet been moved. However, the pressure upon them by the Spanish Government has been alleviated by reason of the fact that the Spanish Government realizes there is being made a serious effort to move all the refugees in its jurisdiction to other places.

We have recently sent to London a memorandum of the conversation had by Mr. Myron Taylor with the British Ambassador on the subject of getting in operation the Executive Committee of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees. A copy of the telegram is attached. 87

There has not yet been located a place for permanent refuge. The word "permanent" means for the duration of the war. The Mediterranean is not yet open for passage East, and shipping is not available because of the demands of the military authorities.

At the suggestion of the Bermuda Conference we agreed to move 4500 children and 500 elders out of Bulgaria by ship or through Turkey to Palestine where England agreed to make visas available. We agreed with England to pay half of the costs and we actually set aside $300,000 out of which was to be paid the American share. The Turkish Government refused to permit them to transit Turkey by land along the line of the railroad and stated that their people looked upon them as Bulgars irrespective of their religion and would not permit it. An effort was then made to charter two vessels and it looked as if the charter had been arranged. We instructed the American Ambassador at Ankara to render all possible assistance. The British Government undertook to arrange the charter of Rumanian vessels using Turkey as an intermediary. The negotiations conducted by the Turkish Government fell through. Turkey agreed to permit them to traverse Turkish territory as far as Istanbul and to be there loaded, but the Rumanian Government withheld the vessels and the Bulgarian Gov-

87 Telegram No. 3870, June 25, 1 p. m., p. 190.
government subsequently closed its frontiers and transferred these persons to the interior of Bulgaria.

The United States and British Governments have not yet come to an agreement on the question of the Intergovernmental Committee though every effort has been made by the Department to arrive at an agreement.

You will recall the President discussed the matter with the Prime Minister of Great Britain and has been awaiting information from him, which as far as we are advised has not been received.

The question of the rescue of persons outside the jurisdiction of Germany is one thing. There are very few Jews in places of probable danger such as their precarious position in Spain. All the other Jews who need help are within the confines of Germany or occupied territory but there is no help that we can give them short of military destruction of German armies and the liberation of all the oppressed peoples under its jurisdiction. We are bending every effort in that direction. It is quite improbable that Germany would permit the departure of Jews even if we could bring ourselves to the point of negotiating with the enemy during the course of the conflict.

B[reckinridge] L[ong]

840.48 Refugees/40364

The British Embassy to the Department of State

Text of a telegram received from the Foreign Office on June 30th

Following is text of a message sent by the Prime Minister to the President on June 30th.

Personal and Most Secret.

Begins,

The need for assistance of refugees, in particular Jewish refugees, has not grown less since we discussed the question and all possible outlets need to be kept open. Of these the most practical still is North Africa, and I hope the difficulties over the proposed refugee camp there have now been cleared up, and that an early practical decision is now possible. Our immediate facilities for helping victims of Hitler’s anti-Jewish drive are so limited at present that the opening of the small camp proposed for the purpose of removing some of them to safety seems all the more incumbent on us, and I should be grateful if you could let me know whether it has been found possible to bring the scheme into operation. General Giraud has given the project his general approval.
The Ambassador in Mexico (Messersmith) to the Secretary of State

MEXICO, July 2, 1943.
[Received July 3—1:40 a.m.]

665. Seven hundred six Polish refugees arrived Leon 3 p.m., July 1. Only two cases minor illness. All group in excellent spirits and pleased with reception accorded them in the United States and Mexico as well as with food and quarters provided.

MesserSmith

Memorandum by the Assistant Secretary of State (Long) to President Roosevelt

WASHINGTON, July 5, 1943.

Attached is a proposed draft of a message for you to send to the Prime Minister in response to his 339.

I believe I can confidently state that funds which have been made available out of your funds are still available in sufficient quantity to defray our share of the cost of rail transportation out of Spain and our share of the sea transportation from Portugal to the west coast of North Africa. So I shall not have to trouble you on that account.

However, it seems that the cost of maintenance of these persons in Africa will have to be arranged. It probably can be done partly through Lend Lease and partly through the use of military cots and tents supplied by the Army. There are certain other costs of an administrative nature and probably extending to certain items of maintenance which may have to be defrayed. Governor Lehman will be in charge of these phases of the operation and will continue in charge at least until the refugees can be removed from their place of temporary residence in Africa to some more permanent place of settlement. There are between 5,000 and 6,000 of these refugees with probably more to come. While the total bill for maintenance is indeterminable Governor Lehman feels that he should be assured of a sum which for different items and over an indefinite period may run to five hundred thousand dollars of United States funds.

In order to institute this program a few authorizations are necessary:

1. To ask Mr. Murphy to obtain from Generals Eisenhower and Giraud a definite location;

"Marginal note: "Myron Taylor agrees over phone. B. L."

June 30, p. 321.
2. To Lend Lease to supply necessary items of food and supplies;
3. To the Army to supply tents, cots and pertinent equipment;
4. To allot to Governor Lehman $500,000, or as much thereof as may be necessary, to meet other administrative and maintenance costs.

The British will assume an equal part of the total cost.

In this connection there should be noted that the project to open a temporary residence on the Atlantic coast of North Africa (which is the subject matter of the Prime Minister's cable but which is only one phase of this whole program) has been approved in principle by Generals Eisenhower and Giraud, by the Bermuda Conference and the Combined Chiefs of Staff \(^{59a}\) and by the Department of State, but the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff have withheld their agreement.

The proposed telegram to the Prime Minister is based on the assumption that you will care to proceed with this broad policy and to authorize the directives necessary to its implementation.

[Annex]

*Draft of Proposed Message to the British Prime Minister*

This refers to your 339, June 30, 1943, regarding provision for refugees in North Africa.

I will set out the elements of the problem as I understand them:

1. There are at present an estimated five or six thousand stateless or enemy-nationality refugees in Spain to be moved, largely of the Jewish race.

2. I am asking Generals Eisenhower and Giraud to designate Mogador or some other place in French North Africa as a place of temporary residence for these refugees and others who may be able to escape from Axis territory into Spain. They have already agreed in principle to the establishment of such a place of temporary residence.

3. I will arrange for the transportation of these refugees by land from Spain to the selected port in Portugal for their embarkation.
4. You will arrange for their sea transportation from Portugal to a port in North Africa.

5. I will request the American military authorities to make available cots and tents in sufficient number to meet the emergency needs of the refugees arriving at the temporary place of residence.

6. I will also arrange that preparations will be begun immediately for a temporary reception center of more substantial character where

\(^{59a}\) The statement that the Combined Chiefs of Staff had agreed in principle was incorrect. The differing views of the British Chiefs of Staff and the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff had been transmitted to the Department of State on May 7, 1943. See letter of that date, p. 290.
the refugees can be housed and cared for until subsequent arrangements are made for their disposition which should be at the earliest possible moment.

7. The costs of the refugees' transportation from Spain and their maintenance in the place of temporary residence until such time as a more permanent settlement is agreed upon will be borne equally by our two Governments.

8. The work of administration for the refugees at the temporary place of residence will be the responsibility of the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations under Governor Lehman, with representatives of your Government cooperating and assisting.

9. I am in complete accord with the thought of the French military authorities in that area that both for political and military reasons it is essential to transfer the refugees, after their arrival at the temporary place of residence, to a place of more permanent settlement for the duration. In this connection the Department of State has just been informed by your Embassy here in response to conversations Lord Halifax has had with Mr. Myron Taylor that certain places, among them Tripolitania, Cyrenaica and Madagascar, are under active discussion and it appears not impossible that sites may be available there for the refugees. It is also my understanding that a limited number of the refugees may be admitted into Palestine.

10. The subsequent transportation of the refugees from the temporary place of residence to places of more permanent settlement and their continued care thereafter would be provided under the auspices and jurisdiction of the Executive Committee of the Intergovernmental Committee, the costs thereof to be underwritten jointly by the British and American Governments.

I trust that you will let me know at the earliest convenient moment that we are in complete accord when I shall issue the necessary directives to complement those which you will issue.

840.48 Refugees/4938%

Memorandum by President Roosevelt to the Secretary of State

WASHINGTON, July 9, 1943.

I thank you for your memorandum number 308 of July 5th,\(^{30}\) by which you have forwarded to me a recommended message to the Prime Minister in response to his 339.

I have sent the message and I request that you initiate the measures listed in the fourth paragraph of your memorandum.

F[ranklin] D. R[oosevelt]

\(^{30}\) Ante, p. 322.
Following sent by Prime Minister to President on July 10th No. 357.

I am most grateful to you for your number 308. I am in complete accord with your suggestions, which will provide a solution for our difficulties in Spain. As soon as I hear from you that you have issued the directives to Generals Eisenhower and Giraud and to American Ambassador in Madrid and Lisbon, I will give complementary instructions to our authorities.

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LISBON, July 15, 1943—1 p. m.

[Received 5:30 p.m.]

1557. The Portuguese Government has suddenly and without giving sufficient reason for its action refused to grant further visas to French refugees wishing to proceed from the Spanish border to transit Portugal and embark at Setubal.

On July 9 at the request of our Embassy at Madrid the Legation addressed the usual note to the Foreign Office here requesting visas for 1,500 French refugees for whom arrangements had been made to arrive at the Portuguese Spanish frontier the night of July 15.

On the afternoon of July 12 Crocker was called to the Foreign Office and informed that visas for only 484 could be granted. Upon inquiring as to the reason for this figure he was informed that as the Foreign Office records showed that to date 2,516 French refugees had already passed through Portugal and that the Legation's original note of March 24 last mentioned the number 3,000, the Portuguese Government would be able to grant visas for only the difference. At the time of the original exchange of notes on the subject no mention was made of any limitation as to numbers. The number 3,000 referred to was merely a statement of the number of French refugees which it was hoped to send through in the first groups for whom four ships were allocated. This number was later reduced to 758 by reason of the inability of the railroads to handle such a large number and for other reasons.

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Transmitted to the Secretary of State by the British Ambassador in note dated July 13, 1943.

For draft text, see p. 323.

Edward S. Crocker, American Consul at Lisbon.
Copies of the Legation's note of March 24 and of the Portuguese Government's reply thereto of April 8 were transmitted with our despatch 913 of April 9.\footnote{Not printed.}

Having been unable to move the Portuguese Government from its position, the Legation referred the matter to Madrid which approached the Portuguese Ambassador there and apparently as a result of his intervention with Dr. Salazar\footnote{Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, Portuguese Prime Minister.} the Foreign Office called the Legation at 11:30 last night and stated that 760 visas would be granted which would permit those refugees who had already engrafted at Barcelona to proceed as scheduled, but it was explained that no further visas would be granted unless a new agreement were reached.

In view of Dr. Salazar's long established principle on humanitarian grounds of permitting passage through Portugal of refugees of all sorts and conditions, the Legation is at a loss to explain the reason for this volte-face on the part of Portuguese Government. The following considerations are however advanced:

1. Possible German pressure.
2. The desire of Dr. Salazar, in view of recent military developments in the Mediterranean, to bring pressure to bear upon the Spaniards in the hope that they may be forced to agree to ship French refugees directly to North Africa instead of through Portugal.
3. The remote possibility of sabotaging action by the Foreign Office here which is resentful of the Portuguese Ambassador at Madrid's practice of dealing directly by telephone with Dr. Salazar.

Repeated to Madrid.

\[\text{Fish}\]

840.48 Refugees/4016: Telegram

_The Minister in Portugal (Fish) to the Secretary of State_

LISBON, July 16, 1943—5 p. m.  
[Received July 16—4:25 p. m.]

1865. Following is a translation of a note received last night from the Foreign Office:

"Number 55. The Ministry for Foreign Affairs presents its compliments to the American Legation and with reference to the latter's _note verbale_ of the 9th instant has the honor to state the following:

When in March last the British and American Government addressed themselves to the Portuguese Government requesting facilities for passage through Portugal of refugees who were in Spain, the Portuguese Government hastened to give assent to the request, but of course within the terms in which the request was made, that is, up to the maximum limit of about 3000, which had been expressly fixed in
the American note verbale of March 24. No other interpretation could be given to the acquiescence given in the note verbale of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of April 8 addressed to the American Legation, for in granting a request the authorization solicited is given and not an unlimited and permanent authorization which would exceed what was requested.

We have always worked on that basis. Therefore on examining the request recently made for the transit of refugees, the official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs entrusted with that service observed that the numbers exceeded the balance remaining to be filled to reach the figure of 3000 originally indicated and, therefore, he could not order the visas to be granted without the Government's authorization.

According to the information received from Madrid, the number of refugees for whom a train has already been prepared in Spain (Barcelona) is still higher than that on which Lisbon figured since it [amounts to 780 in excess of the 3000] \(^{63a}\) which had originally been fixed.

The Portuguese Government does not want to fail to give proof of its goodwill and to avoid upsetting arrangements of material nature already made even though made without previously consulting it and therefore it once more condescends to authorize the coming of the 780 refugees who in Barcelona are awaiting the order or signal to leave; it must however, be understood that any future authorization for the transit of refugees can only be granted after the question in its general aspects shall have been the subject of a new examination and general discussion between the Portuguese Government and the organization believed competent to deal with it.

It would be impossible and very inconvenient if when requests such as the one set forth in the American note of the 9th instant are being made of the Portuguese Government and even before an answer has been received from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Portugal, the organization entrusted in Spain with the material execution of the plan should continue to carry out arrangements as though assent has already been given thus placing the Portuguese Government in the alternative of either creating harmful difficulties if it refuses what is asked or else to grant it under pressure of a consideration which is not indifferent to its spirit of goodwill.

Lisbon, July 15, 1943.”

FISH

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840.48 Refugees/4017: Telegram

*The Minister in Portugal (Fish) to the Secretary of State*

LISBON, July 16, 1943—6 p. m.

[Received 11:10 p. m.]

1566. Legation's 1557, July 15, and 1565, July 16. French refugees. The British Embassy has reported the action of the Portuguese Government to London and has been in communication with Madrid.

\(^{63a}\) Correction made on basis of information given by Foreign Ministry to Embassy in Lisbon as quoted in despatch No. 483, May 23, 1960 (023.1/5–2360).
We are informed that Sir Samuel Hoare made vigorous representations to the Portuguese Ambassador at Madrid who is alleged to have admitted that the action of the Portuguese Government in stopping the transit of French refugees at this time was for the purpose of bringing pressure to bear on the French in connection with the shipment of phosphates from North Africa. While there may be some truth in this it seems extraordinary in view of the fact that the first shipment of phosphates has already reached Portugal. However, in view of the increasing seriousness of the grain shortage here it is possible that the Portuguese may wish to use the refugee question as a lever in connection with their desire also to obtain badly needed cereals from the French. Please see our 134 Cross 3018, July 14.

In view of the Mediterranean area it occurs to us that the time is favorable to press the Spaniards for a revival of the original plan to evacuate the refugees directly from Spain to North Africa thus bypassing Portugal.

Repeated to Madrid and Algiers.

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840.48 Refugees/4014: Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Portugal (Fish)

WASHINGTON, July 17, 1943—10 p. m.

1221. Your 1557, July 15, 1 p. m., and 1565, July 16, 5 p. m. Please express to Dr. Salazar our regret for this evident misunderstanding but explain that we are deeply concerned for the continuing transit of these groups and hope that he will grant his approval in principle, with the understanding that our missions in Madrid and Lisbon will do their utmost to see that the Portuguese Government is provided timely and accurate information on these movements in future. Report by cable Portuguese reaction, keeping Madrid informed.

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840.48 Refugees/4050: Telegram

The Ambassador in Spain (Hayes) to the Secretary of State

MADRID, July 21, 1943—noon.

[Received 3:44 p.m.]

1896. Portuguese Ambassador assures me his Government has no intention to stop transit of refugees. He regrets interference with the last convoy which happened because officials familiar with the matter were all absent from Lisbon and representations had been

* Not printed.
made to a protocol officer who adhered narrowly to literal meaning of the record.

Ambassador agrees it would be desirable for Legation, Lisbon, to send another note requesting agreement in principle to transit of refugees, but omitting any reference to numbers. We understand from you this already done. He requests following procedure be followed: Each time French in Madrid know about when they want a group to go and size of group they should inform Embassy, Madrid, which should inform Legation, Lisbon, which should request visas and other facilities. When Legation learns visas authorized he requests it notify Embassy which should notify him informally.

Ambassador points out Foreign Office divided into two sections one handling diplomatic and commercial matters with which Clarac has contact and the other handling consular matters. Refugees come under the latter section. Clarac probably has no regular contact with that section and for that reason Ambassador thinks it preferable for our Embassy and Legation to continue to make requests on refugees.

Sent to Lisbon. Repeated to Algiers and Department.

Hayes

840.48 Refugees/4068 : Airgram

The Ambassador in Mexico (Messersmith) to the Secretary of State

Mexico, July 23, 1943—11 a. m.
[Received July 24—4 p. m.]

A—1699. Reference previous correspondence in connection with settlement of Polish refugees in Mexico. The British Minister in Mexico just telephoned me to inquire if he could not come in to see me together with our Polish colleague to discuss with me the bringing to Mexico of a further group of 4,000 Polish refugees within the next 2 months. He said that he had been instructed by the Foreign Office to take this matter up with the Mexican authorities.

I told the British Minister that while I would of course be glad to see him, I had no instructions from my Government as to any other groups of Polish refugees coming here and therefore any discussion which we might have would be fruitless, in as much as I was not prepared to join in any approach to the Mexican Foreign Office without direct instructions from the Department. The British Minister said that in view of this he would present the matter again to his Government.

\footnote{A. Clarac, French Consul General at Tetuan.}
I have just received a memorandum from Mr. Eric P. Kelly, in charge of the refugee camp at León, wherein he states: "I have had to get sharp about the demand on the part of employed refugees for pay and realize that the whole thing stems back to India where they were promised heaven knows what before they sailed. It must be understood with all new groups that no money is to be earned here. When one spends some $50,000 to $75,000 fixing up Santa Rosa, furnishing homes and feeding the people, setting up schools and trying to give modest compensation, one does not relish sour reception of the possibilities."

When Mr. Kelly speaks of "employed refugees," he means those refugees who have been put to work on the project and who are being paid a nominal wage. It is of course out of the question to think of placing these people in employment in competition with Mexican nationals. However, I understand that some of the refugees now in León had been engaged in small businesses in India and only gave these up on the assurance that they would be permitted to engage in gainful employment in Mexico. I cannot too strongly emphasize that it must be understood by all refugees coming to Mexico that they do so under the terms of the agreement between Foreign Minister Padilla and the late General Sikorski,98 which automatically prevents their being employed privately in Mexico or entering into business here.

The experience gained in the construction of Santa Rosa indicates that we must go slowly and not endeavor to bring in any large groups of refugees within as short a space of time as that of the last group. Santa Rosa, after 2 months of intensive work and effort, is only now ready for the refugees to be lodged there. It would take at least from 4 to 6 months' advance preparation to make ready further centers for the large group of refugees to which the British Minister referred. If it is absolutely indispensable that these refugees be brought here, then I must insist on at least 4 to 6 months' advance notice.

I should appreciate the Department's observations with regard to the above.

MESSERSMITH

840.48 Refugees/4083a : Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Mexico (Messersmith)

WASHINGTON, July 24, 1943—4 p.m.

1185. In view of need for preparation in the event Navy will be in a position to transport second group of Poles from India, will you

98 Exchange of notes regarding the admission of Polish refugees to Mexico, December 30, 1942, transmitted to the Department by its Ambassador in Mexico in his despatch No. 6270, dated December 31, 1942, not printed (840.48 Refugees/-3508). Gen. Władysław Sikorski, Prime Minister of the Polish Government in Exile at London, was killed in an airplane accident near Gibraltar, July 4, 1943.
kindly advise us when it will be possible to arrange for reception of such a group.

We have no definite information about transportation, but there is possibility an arrangement can be made similar to one just completed.

Hull

840.48 Refugees/4082 : Telegram

The Ambassador in Mexico (Messersmith) to the Secretary of State

Mexico, July 27, 1943—noon.
[Received July 28—4:50 p.m.]

748. Department’s 1185, July 24. With minimum 2 months’ notice 500 to 1,000 additional refugees could be accomplished [accommodated?] in Colonia Santa Rosa.

For additional large groups it would be necessary to establish new centers and we would require 5 to 6 months’ advance notification.

Messersmith

840.48 Refugees/4079 : Telegram

The Chargé in Portugal (Crocker) to the Secretary of State

Lisbon, July 27, 1943—5 p.m.
[Received 10 p.m.]

Following telegram has been sent to Algiers:

1. We have learned that arrangements are in progress looking toward the shipment of 1500 refugees via Portugal on August 1, and that vessels have been allocated therefor.
2. The Legation cannot sufficiently emphasize that should word of such contemplated arrangements reach the ears of the Portuguese Government before a new agreement has been reached in principle with respect to the question of the transit through and embarkation in Portugal of such refugees it would constitute a serious hindrance to the conclusion of such an agreement.
3. Despite the opinion apparently held elsewhere that the Portuguese may be attempting to link the question of French refugees to that of phosphates we are loath to believe and do not believe that Salazar has any such connection in mind. Our considered belief is (and this view is supported by the British Embassy here and by Clarac) that the Portuguese Government in some manner had become disgruntled over the way in which the refugee shipments were being handled and that either the groups were becoming too large or that sufficient advance notice was not being given them the result being in their eyes that they were being constantly confronted with a series of faits accomplis and that the granting of group visas had become merely a pro forma of [pro forma or?] rubber stamp performance.
4. The negotiations for a new agreement will have to be handled
delicately and with due respect for the sensibilities of the Portuguese.
We urge therefore that the Legation be not hampered in its efforts by
any premature action elsewhere or by undue pressure for haste. The
British Ambassador is calling upon the Foreign Office this afternoon
and is supporting our representations.
5. We are following this question with the utmost care.98a
Repeated to Department and Madrid.

CROCKER

840.48 Refugees/4100b: Telegram
The Secretary of State to the Consul General at Algiers (Wiley) 99

WASHINGTON, July 27, 1943—6 p. m.

1383. For Murphy. Reference Department’s 774, April 23, 7 p. m.,
and your 750 [758], April 30, 6 p. m., regarding refugees in Spain.
The President after discussion with Mr. Churchill directs that you
ask General Eisenhower and the French North African authorities to
designate a place in French North Africa as a place of temporary
residence for those refugees of enemy nationality or stateless at present
in Spain whose numbers are still estimated to be around 6,000 at
present. It is unlikely that this entire group would arrive at one
time. Quarters should be located immediately for approximately
1,500 with the understanding that additional space for the entire
number may be required at a later date. We understand from Royce
and Hoehler that this entire question was discussed with General
Hughes 1 some weeks ago. The staff of the Office of Foreign Relief
and Rehabilitation Operations has presumably been exploring pos-
sible sites in Morocco and may have useful suggestions. The care of
the refugees at such temporary place of residence will be the respon-
sibility of that Office under Governor Lehman, with representatives
of the British Government cooperating and assisting. The President
is directing the Secretary of War to issue instructions to the Army
authorities concerned to cooperate fully with that Office in that con-
nection with the thought that it may be necessary for the Army among
other things to provide cots and tents and other equipment required
for the immediate care of the refugees and the requisitioning or con-
struction of buildings for their better housing.

98a In despatch No. 1200, July 29, the Chargé enclosed a translation of a Portu-
guese note of July 27 and reported that “an agreement has now been reached
with the Portuguese Government which will permit the resumption of the transit
through and embarkation in Portugal of French refugees arriving from Spain”
(840.48 Refugees/4118).
99 Marginal note: “OK FDR”.
1 Gen. Everett S. Hughes, Deputy Theater Commander, North Africa.
The land transportation in Spain of these refugees to the selected port of embarkation will be arranged by the American and British Embassies and Legations in Spain and Portugal. Sea transportation will be arranged by the British Government. The costs of the refugees' transportation and their maintenance in the place of temporary residence will be borne equally by the British and American Governments.

The President informed Mr. Churchill that he is in complete accord with the thought of the French military authorities in North Africa that both for political and military reasons it is essential to transfer the refugees, after their arrival at the temporary place of residence, to a place of more permanent settlement for the duration of the war. To avoid the implication that the United States is conducting a concentration camp for these refugees it is contemplated that they should be given some freedom of movement and that those who are qualified to help meet the labor shortage in French North Africa should be granted permits to work temporarily while awaiting transfer elsewhere.

The subsequent transportation of the refugees from the temporary place of residence to places of more permanent settlement and their continued care thereafter will be matters to which the Executive Committee of the Intergovernment[al] Committee on Refugees, of which this Government is a member, will attend.

Hull

840.48 Refugees/4068 : Airgram

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Mexico (Messersmith)

WASHINGTON, July 28, 1943— 2 p. m.

A—2216. Reference your A—1699, July 23, 1943, 11:00 a.m. and previous correspondence in connection with settlement of Polish refugees in Mexico.

The Department realizes, of course, the problems which invariably arise when refugees seek employment in the country of refuge. Nevertheless the Department is somewhat at a loss to understand the statement in your airgram under reference that the agreement between Foreign Minister Padilla and the late General Sikorski “automatically prevents their being employed privately in Mexico or entering into business here.”

Article 5 in Padilla’s note, consented to by General Sikorski, reads as follows:

“5. The Polish Legation has received instructions to cooperate fully with the Government of Mexico to the effect that the Polish citizens

* See p. 324, paragraph numbered 9.
received here be distributed throughout appropriate zones, in order that the various groups may select their own representatives—who will cooperate with the respective Mexican officials—and who will particularly achieve the establishment of those immigrants who may be able to engage in various activities beneficial to the agricultural and industrial economy of Mexico without competing with Mexican citizens; a matter which shall be subject in every respect to the determination of the corresponding authorities of that country.”

This certainly contemplates the entry of Polish immigrants into non-competitive activities.

A possible method of approach would be to suggest to the Polish Legation that it initiate discussions with the competent Mexican officials with a view to ascertaining those lines of endeavor in which openings for these immigrants can be had. On the basis of such studies, further measures may be planned.

Neither OFRO 8 nor the Polish Embassy is aware of any promises made to these refugees of the kind you mention, and any further information you may be able to get for us in that regard would be useful.

The Department suggests that you inform the British Minister that we consider the entry of further groups of Polish refugees into Mexico to be a matter for discussion between the Polish Legation and the Government of Mexico. As you are aware, at the time of the Sikorski-Padilla correspondence, the Polish Government indicated that they hoped to bring over a total of approximately 3,000 refugees during the first year; but their agreement with the Mexican Government contemplated a total number of 25,000 refugees. We would not think it wise to actively assist in arranging transport for additional immigrants, however, until some clarification is achieved on the question of employment possibilities in Mexico.

Hull

840.48 Refugees/4104b : Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Consul General at Algiers (Wiley)

WASHINGTON, July 29, 1943—10 p. m.

1400. For Fryer 4 from Lehman. The President and Mr. Churchill have now personally agreed upon a plan of providing temporary reception and care in North Africa of enemy nationality and stateless refugees presently in Spain. These refugees will remain in North Africa until arrangements for their more permanent care elsewhere can be made by the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees.

8 Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations.
4 E. Reeseman Fryer, Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations; on staff of Robert D. Murphy, Chief Civil Affairs Officer at Algiers.
Responsibility for care and maintenance in North Africa has been placed upon our office with agreement that the British Government will provide some personnel to assist in operation under our direction. A special allotment of $500,000 has been made for this project with the understanding that the British will share expenses and provide a similar amount if this total is needed. Details of joint financing have not yet been worked out but presumably we will meet initial expenses and British will reimburse us.

Murphy has been directed to secure designation of site for temporary residence from Eisenhower and French North African authorities. He has been advised that Hoehler discussed this question with General Hughes and that you may have suggestions as to possible site.

Plans for care in North Africa include provision that refugees should be given some freedom of movement and that those who are qualified to help meet the labor shortage in French North Africa should be granted permits to work temporarily while awaiting transfer elsewhere.

President has written the Secretary of War in part as follows: “I desire you to issue instructions to the Army authorities concerned to cooperate fully with the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations in that office’s responsibility for the reception and care of the refugees upon their arrival in French North Africa. This may entail, among other things, the provision of cots and tents and other equipment required for the immediate care of the refugees and the requisitioning or construction of buildings for their better housing.”

We understand from Hoehler and Royce that new construction difficult and that use of existing structures in or near Casablanca probably best solution of housing problem.

We now believe that original plans should be made for reception of about 1500 although it is possible that first movement may be of smaller number.

So far as practicable maintenance supplies should be provided from your present stockpiles or current Lend-Lease shipments. Cash funds now allotted can be used, of course, for purchase there of essential maintenance supplies not otherwise available, as well as housing, etc.

Discuss project with Murphy and advise us as quickly as possible of plans which you propose including probable cost, personnel required and proposed plan of operation. Also indicate date when first refugees could be received and number which you believe could probably be handled in first group. [Lehman.]
The Ambassador in Mexico (Messersmith) to the Director of the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations (Lehman)\(^5\)

MEXICO, July 29, 1943.

DEAR GOVERNOR LEHMAN: I have received the Department’s Airgram 2216 of July 28, 1943, with reference to my A-1699 of July 23, 11 a.m., in connection with the settlement of Polish refugees in Mexico. I note that the Department is somewhat at a loss to understand the statement in my airgram that the agreement between Foreign Minister Padilla and the late General Sikorski “automatically prevents their (the Polish refugees) being employed privately in Mexico or entering into business here.”

In my despatch number 8587 of March 24, 1943,\(^6\) I reported a meeting which, in company with my British and Polish Colleagues, I had had on March 23 with Dr. Torres Bodet, the Undersecretary for Foreign Affairs. During the course of this meeting, the Undersecretary made a very clear and definite statement as to the obligations of the Mexican Government under the exchange of notes between Licenciado Padilla and General Sikorski. With respect to the possibility of the refugees’ working in Mexico, he said: “Whether it would be possible for these refugees to engage in some useful work during their stay in Mexico would depend on circumstances as they developed. He made it clear that the Mexican Government had not assumed any obligation that the refugees would be permitted to work and also that it had not taken any decision that they could not work. He emphasized that public opinion could easily be aroused in this matter and that the Mexican Government had made it clear that the refugees could not compete with Mexican labor. Just what could be done, so far as work was concerned, would depend upon developments.”

In this same despatch I stated: “It is my opinion that it will be useless to think in terms of these refugees being absorbed, even temporarily, in any number in the Mexican economy. To endeavor to do so will arouse difficulties with labor and in other quarters here.”

In conversations which I have had with the Mexican Foreign Minister and in conversations which members of my staff have had with officials of the Foreign Office and of the Ministry of the Interior, the very definite impression has been obtained that so far as these officials are concerned the economic activities of the Polish refugees in Mexico will be restricted to such activities as may be useful and proper in com-

\(^5\) Copy transmitted to the Department by the Ambassador in Mexico in his despatch No. 11900, July 31; received August 5.

\(^6\) Not printed.
munity life; that is, that they may engage in raising their own produce, making their own wearing apparel and such other manual work as may improve the conditions of the refugee colonies and their inhabitants. That they may engage in private occupation for gain or in any work in competition with Mexican nationals is out of the question. And, quite frankly, I cannot think of any work in which the refugees might engage which would not be in competition with Mexicans. If there were certain skilled technicians and others of scientific background among the refugees, it is quite possible that their special qualifications might prove of benefit to the Mexican economy; but in the main the male members of the present group at León are artisans and farm laborers, of which type of labor it might almost be said there is an over-abundance in Mexico.

So far as entering into private business is concerned, I can foresee innumerable objections thereto. The Mexican Government already is giving refuge to a large number of Spanish republicans, many of whom are engaged in small businesses throughout Mexico, which has been the source of constant annoyance to the Government and the cause of complaint on the part of the people of the country. I very seriously doubt if permission could be obtained for any of the Polish refugees to set up business in any of the Mexican cities or towns.

Doctor Wiesiłowiski, the Counselor of the Polish Legation, has just returned from León and is to have a meeting with Mr. O’Donoghue, of my staff, this afternoon. During the course of this meeting it is possible that the question of whether the Polish Legation might initiate discussions with the competent Mexican Officials with a view to ascertaining the lines of endeavor in which openings for these refugees can be had may be brought up. I understand, however, that it is the point of view of the Legation that it will not initiate any such discussions but will await the first move from the Mexican authorities.

I am glad to note that you do “not think it wise to actively assist in arranging transport for additional immigrants, however, until some clarification is achieved on the question of employment possibilities in Mexico.” If further transport to Mexico of Polish refugees is contingent upon their being absorbed into the Mexican economy, then I very much fear that the number of such refugees will be extremely reduced if not nonexistent. In view of this, I would suggest that the question of transporting other groups of refugees to Mexico be definitely held in abeyance until such time as we have some definite knowledge as to how the present project at León will work out.

With kindest personal regards, believe me

Cordially and faithfully yours,

George S. Messersmith
The Consul General at Algiers (Wiley) to the Secretary of State

ALGIERS, August 5, 1943—8 p.m.
[Received August 6—1: 30 a.m.]

1974. For Lehman. Your 1383, July 27; and 1400, July 29. (From Murphy from Fryer.) After several conferences staff has decided in light of telegram 1383 of July 27 and 1400, July 29 that it is your desire and that of Department to select first 1500 refugees on basis of their acceptability as immigrants to countries other than North Africa. On this assumption propose that all screening of refugees be done in Spain and that following three qualifications be essential for each of first group of 1500: (1) Enemy national or stateless; (2) desire to leave Spain for North Africa; (3) obvious potentiality whether professional, psychological or physical for resettlement outside North Africa. For those who possess all of above qualifications following four categories will govern priority in order named: (1) Prisoners and internees whose release conditional on ability to leave Spain; (2) persons of military age or politically active persons in danger of internment, reincarceration or deportation to country of origin; (3) family units especially where children are involved and single women; (4) holders of immigration visas to other countries. Please inform urgently whether foregoing meets with your approval.

[Garbled group] McDonald, OFR 7 representative in Spain, and what is his status in this operation? Unless you instruct otherwise propose to send Spain Youdin 8 and as much other OFR personnel as may be required to do screening of refugees, and to work in cooperation with other American and British officials.

Army offers fullest cooperation. Colonel Reekie 9 conferring Army in Casa[blanca] concerning selection of place of temporary residence and services to be furnished by Army there. Date arrival and size first contingent will depend largely on your ability to furnish center personnel. Complete budget and personnel requirements will be furnished after Reekie's return from inspection quarters.

As soon as definitive arrangements are concluded with the Army in regard to place of residence matter will be further discussed with French authorities. [Fryer. Murphy.]

WILEY

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7 Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations, Department of State.
8 Richard J. Youdin, officer on duty at OFR at Algiers.
9 Col. Dudley A. Reekie, U.S. Public Health Service; special assistant on staff of Robert D. Murphy, Chief Civil Affairs Officer at Algiers.
FORCED EMIGRATION

WASHINGTON, August 10, 1943—9 p.m.

1475. For Murphy and Fryer from Lehman. Your 1374 August 5. The selection of refugees of enemy nationality or stateless presently in Spain to be cared for temporarily in North Africa at a site to be designated by the Army will be made by the American Embassy in Spain. The American and British Embassies and Legations in Spain and Portugal will arrange land transportation to a Portuguese port from which the British will provide sea transportation to North Africa. It will not be necessary to send personnel from North Africa to Spain. Charles McDonald of OFRRO has been assisting the American Embassy in Spain to administer relief to American and French refugees and will be available to assist in the foregoing arrangements. The determination of a place of more permanent settlement to which the refugees are to be removed from their temporary refuge in North Africa and their transportation to that place when selected are within the competence generally of the Intergovernmental Committee which already has these matters under consideration. For this reason and because it is planned to move all of the above refugees from Spain eventually, the screening which you suggest is not essential. Awaiting your further report after Reekie’s return. Forwarding of instructions from the Department and British Government to American and British missions in Madrid and Lisbon for the organization of their part of the undertaking awaiting designation of site, as requested in Department’s 1383 July 27, and indication as to when you will be ready to receive refugees.

Reference your letter July 2710 about termination of work, assume you will plan to use substantial part of present personnel on this project. [Lehman.]

HULL

ALGIERS, August 11, 1943—2 p.m. [Received 10:54 p.m.]

1397. From Murphy [and] Fryer. My 1374, August 5, 8 p.m. In cooperation army officials have selected Camp Marshal Lyautey for

10 Not found in Department files.
refugee center. Located 10 miles north Casablanca near Fedala on site overlooking Atlantic. Buildings are of semi-permanent construction. Water is pumped from city mains with hypochlorinator attached to 25,000-gallon storage tank. Sewage treatment and disposal plant designed for 15,000 persons. Electric power provided by 15 kw Diesel plant. Camp has recreational facilities, shower baths, warehouse and mess facilities. Is ideal in every respect and will require minimum expenditure funds to adapt it for refugee use. Will accommodate 2,000 refugees if [in] semi-permanent buildings and capable of expansion to six or eight thousand by use of tents. Will be completely evacuated by Army this month.

The French authorities have been asked to agree to the designation of this camp as well as to allow the refugees certain freedom of movement and the possibility of obtaining work. Further detailed questions will be arranged as soon as French agreement in principle has been secured. [Murphy and Fryer.]

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840.48 Refugees/4181a : Telegram

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

WASHINGTON, August 12, 1943—5 p. m.

4860. For Riesler 11 and Funkhouser 12 from Stone 13 and Lehman. Some time ago British Embassy here through Noel Hall 14 reported that Swiss Government had responded favorably to a preliminary approach relative to receiving in Switzerland up to 100,000 children from occupied areas for a limited period. British suggested to us that Swiss Government be asked to take responsibility for selecting the children solely on the basis of their need for improved living and food conditions and without reference to political or racial qualifications.

Possibility of a similar scheme for sending children to Sweden has been discussed with the British. Department and Office of Foreign Relief are greatly interested in this plan and also in the special proposal to transfer 20,000 Jewish children from Germany and occupied areas primarily Poland to Sweden for the duration of the war which was initiated by Mr. Adler-Rudel, representative of the World Jewish Congress, and discussed by British Minister in Stockholm with

11 Winfield W. Riesler, economist, acting as special assistant to the Ambassador in the United Kingdom.
12 Richard Funkhouser, Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations.
13 William T. Stone, Assistant Director of the Board of Economic Warfare.
14 Former British Minister in the United States.
Swedish Government and referred to in your telegram 4095 of June 21.\textsuperscript{15} The two Swedish schemes are under active consideration here but no final decision has been taken as yet as to the best means of promoting them.

However, there seems to be no reason why the original Swiss plan should not be pressed. British suggest that negotiations to this end be transferred to London in connection with the forthcoming Anglo-American-Swiss war trade negotiations.\textsuperscript{16} The original British proposal called for permission for Switzerland to import additional foodstuffs, fodder and raw material for clothing to make up for any supplies the Swiss might use for the children but stipulated that the Allied governments must make the necessary arrangements for the acquisition of Swiss francs, which should not be secured against sterling, or against gold under the proposed Anglo-Swiss financial agreement. (It would probably be necessary for us to make a similar stipulation that if the use of Allied dollar balances is necessary to finance these arrangements, the Allied governments must arrange directly with the Swiss for the acquisition of francs against blocked dollars). After agreement with the Swiss Government the latter would be asked to approach the German Government and to assume responsibility for selecting the children and for their transportation to and care in Switzerland and possibly the cost of their maintenance within Switzerland. Costs outside Switzerland could presumably be taken care of by the Allied governments or lend-leased.

You are instructed jointly to discuss this plan with MEW \textsuperscript{17} which is fully familiar with it. OEW \textsuperscript{18} sees no objection to it as outlined above provided the plan for selecting the children is satisfactory. The Department concurs and would like to see the matter pressed as rapidly as possible.

Copies of correspondence with Noel Hall are being sent by air mail.
[Stone and Lehman.]

HULL

840.48 Refugees/4136 : Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Mexico (Messersmith)

WASHINGTON, August 16, 1943—3 p.m.

1325. From Lehman. Reference your A–1811, August 7, 11 a.m.\textsuperscript{15} Wiesiolowski, Counselor Polish Legation Mexico, Szmejko, sent by

\textsuperscript{15} Not printed.
\textsuperscript{16} See vol. II, section under Switzerland entitled "War Trade Agreement between the United States, the United Kingdom, and Switzerland".
\textsuperscript{17} British Ministry of Economic Warfare.
\textsuperscript{18} Office of Economic Warfare.
Minister Social Welfare London to take over direction of camp,²⁰ and Lepkowski, First Secretary Polish Embassy in Washington, have conferred with us at length with the following results:

(1) Polish Government earnestly desires the second contingent of Poles, composed predominantly of children, to come to Mexico.

(2) The Navy is giving favorable consideration to transportation of children, reserving right to determine appropriate number of accompanying adults. Group must be ready early in September if advantage is to be taken of next transport.

(3) Wiesiakowski is going to New York, to return for further conference August 18. Will then go to Chicago to confer with Polish-American Council, possibly returning to Washington for final conference before proceeding to Mexico.

(4) Szmejko will proceed to Mexico to take charge of camp as Wiesiakowski’s assistant within a week.

(5) Decision on Alter ²¹ is held in abeyance by Poles, pending consideration of another candidate.

(6) An educational director, Sobota, is coming with Szmejko.

(7) Poles are to assume administrative responsibility and Kelly to remain as advisor and consultant.

(8) The problems of poor selection, cash allowances, and the growing of food have been thoroughly explored and will be discussed in a later dispatch. [Lehman.]

HULL

840.46 Refugees/4136: Airgram

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Mexico (Messersmith)

WASHINGTON, August 16, 1943—5:30 p.m.

A-2340. Reference our 1325 August 16. We understand that the Poles are now planning to clear formally with the Mexican Government concerning the entry of a second group of refugees in a number not to exceed 750, this group to be composed predominantly of orphaned children now said to be in Karachi. An appropriate proportion of competent adults to act as escorts will accompany the party.

Polish representatives here are making inquiries in India to ascertain definitely that children can be brought from Karachi to Bombay in sufficient time to take advantage of next transport. If present plans eventuate this contingent would arrive Mexico during latter part of October. We anticipate definite word from India and from

²⁰ Polish refugee camp in Mexico.

²¹ Leon Alter; the Polish Minister in Mexico had expressed the desire that the Polish Embassy send Alter, then in New York, to Mexico.
our own navy about the end of this week. Will advise you just as soon as plans appear to be definite.

Hull

840.48 Refugees/4182: Airgram

The Ambassador in Mexico (Messersmith) to the Secretary of State

Mexico, August 19, 1943—11 a.m.
[Received August 21—noon.]

A-1916. Department's airgram 2340, August 16, 5:30 p.m., and related correspondence respecting the possibility of a second group of Polish refugees not to exceed 750 coming to Mexico. It is noted that if present plans eventuate, the contingent will arrive in Mexico during the latter part of October.

While I am personally of the opinion that it would have been advisable to have waited some time in order to see how the first contingent of refugees now at León would work out, I am nevertheless prepared to accept the proposal to send this second contingent provided that they are properly selected at the point of origin and that it be clearly understood by them that the prospects of obtaining employment in Mexico are practically nonexistent. As I have indicated in previous correspondence with the Department, it will be absolutely necessary to have a minimum of 2 months' advance notice in order to prepare additional quarters at Santa Rosa for this second group. It would therefore be appreciated if the Department would advise me in sufficient time prior to the arrival of this group in order that we may get the necessary preparations under way.

I am sending O'Donoghue to León on August 23rd to confer with Mr. Kelly and Polish Legation officials in respect to the possibility of this second group coming to Mexico.

Messersmith

840.48 Refugees/4182: Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Mexico (Messersmith)

Washington, August 26, 1943—11 p.m.

1410. Your A-1916, August 19. Have today heard from Karachi that preparation is being made to send on transport to be in vicinity early in September 387 orphan children between ages 4 and 15, 39 capable adult escorts of whom 30 are teachers. In addition, there will be 60 adults which Navy will use for scullery and special duties, a doctor and approximately 8 nurses. There will be a Polish speaking person in charge of the entire group. As there are not more children in vicinity will send 250 additional adults, making total amount 750.
We are outlining necessary requirements for the selection of the 250 to enable them to fit more easily into the life at Santa Rosa. The Poles have been specifically advised, and our representative in Karachi has been cabled the following conditions which it is imperative that all adults selected for second group must accept: (1) Refugees will live in an especially arranged Polish colony which provides only basic necessities; (2) They will not be free to move from the colony to other parts of Mexico or to proceed to other parts of the Western Hemisphere; (3) They will not be able to secure employment in Mexico or carry on business enterprises; (4) Adults will be able to work only within the colony on necessary operational and agricultural work incident to the maintenance of the colony itself; (5) All Polish refugees will be repatriated to Poland at the conclusion of the war.

As soon as the Navy gives us more definite dates, we will communicate with you, but you can proceed with plans on the assumption that this group will arrive in León the latter part of October.

Hull

840.48 Refugees/4429: Airgram

The Ambassador in Mexico (Messersmith) to the Secretary of State

Mexico, September 1, 1943—11 a.m.

[Received September 3—noon.]

A–2014. Reference is made to the memorandum of August 18, 1943 to Governor Lehman from Mr. Hugh R. Jackson of the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations, in respect to the conversations held with Dr. Wiesiolowski in regard to policy of administration of Polish Refugee Colony at León, Guanajuato, and the possibility of the Polish American Council making cash advances for refugees.

Mr. Kelly, who is now in Mexico, has just received a telegram from the Polish American Council, Inc., 1200 North Ashland, Chicago, Illinois, reading in part as follows:

"Re letter August 17 transferring to you $25,000 License 22933 for Polish refugees Santa Rosa."

It will be recalled from my despatch number 12,615 of August 27, 1943, transmitting a memorandum prepared by Mr. O'Donoghue respecting his recent visit to León, that the suggestion was made that

22 Memorandum not found in Department files.
23 Not printed.
if the Polish American Council is prepared to advance $25,000 monthly
towards the support of the Colony, an amount which would be more
than ample to defray current operating costs, consideration should be
given to creating a sinking fund from the surplus in order eventually
to meet construction and installation costs in so far as possible.

It is not known whether such an idea as that advanced is feasible,
but it is my considered opinion that it should be explored. It is of
course quite possible that the Polish American Council does not intend
to make regular advances of $25,000 monthly. The Department
doubtless has more definite information as to this.

So far as the present remittance of $25,000 to Mr. Kelly is con-
cerned, he does not wish, and I do not believe that he should be forced
to have the responsibility of administering this money on behalf of
the Polish American Council. It is believed that such payments
should be made either directly to the Polish authorities or to the
Treasurer of the United States through the Office of Foreign Relief
and Rehabilitation Operations.

Mr. Kelly is taking no action with respect to the present remittance
and we should appreciate urgent telegraphic instructions from the
Department as to the disposition he should make of the draft in
question.

MESSERSMITH

840.48 Refugees/4424: Telegram

The Vice Consul at Algiers (McBride) to the Secretary of State

ALGIERS, September 1, 1943—6 p. m.
[Received September 2—10: 42 a. m.]

1519. From Murphy. Department’s 1593, August 30, 6 [1] p.m. 24
As stated in Fryer’s and my previous telegram General Eisenhower
has agreed to use of Camp Marshal Lyautey as a site for refugees
from Spain. All physical arrangements necessary to provide for
reception of the first batch have been concluded with military au-
thorities.

I am continuing to urge upon Massigli 25 importance of giving un-
qualified agreement to the proposal. Massigli again informed me
today that he would again ask Moroccan authorities to reply urgently.
The French have agreed in principle but may wish to impose certain
conditions regarding the length of stay, et cetera. [Murphy.]

McBride

24 Not printed; it stated that the Department would be pleased to have a report
on the status of negotiations with French North African authorities for designa-
tion of site for refugees (840. Refugees/4423a).
25 René Massigli, French National Commissioner for Foreign Affairs.
WASHINGTON, September 2, 1943—5 p. m.

5358. The following telegram has been received from Bern and should be referred to the Intergovernmental Refugee Committee.

"De la Sem" states that about 15,000 foreign Jews at present in Italian occupied France are waiting to take refuge in Italy to escape from Germans should these replace Italians as occupants. It is further stated that Italy which is already more or less supporting 14,000 refugee Jews living on Italian soil is willing to receive this fresh contingent of Jews but only in transit for another destination since the country has not the resources to support additional burdens. This is Tittmann’s August 25. The ‘De la Sem’ therefore proposes that with help of a humanitarian organization, such as Red Cross which would supply ships, Jews now in danger in France be permitted by Allies to proceed to North Africa (Tunisia, Algeria or Morocco) when they could be assisted with the funds, already available in United States and Great Britain.

"Matter is stated to be extremely urgent for the Jews in France and probably for those in Italian occupied Greece as well.

"The ‘De la Sem’ also hopes that eventually the 14,000 foreign Jews now residing in Italy may be evacuated to North Africa in same manner.

"My British colleague has reported foregoing proposal by telegram to London."

The Department hopes it will be possible for the Committee to assist these refugees now in danger in France and Italy.

Hull

WASHINGTON, September 4, 1943—5:55 p. m.

A–2473. Your A–2014 September 1st. We do not understand that Polish American Council is prepared to advance $25,000 monthly toward the support of Santa Rosa Colony. Both Wiesiolowski and Szmejko have recently been to Chicago for discussions with this organization in line with Jackson’s memorandum of August 18. Polish American Council representative is coming to Washington end of

[A Jewish agency in Italy.

Harold H. Tittmann, Jr., assistant to the Personal Representative of the President to Pope Pius XII.]
next week for clarification as to what they are prepared to do in assistance of Santa Rosa project.

We agree that expenditure of present remittance of $25,000 should be the responsibility of Polish representatives rather than Mr. Kelly. We think it important, however, that Kelly exercise policy supervision over expenditure of private funds as well as public funds. We suggest that Kelly hold present remittance but take no action toward its disposition until we instruct you further after meeting with Polish American Council.

HULL

840.48 Refugees/4479: Telegram

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

WASHINGTON, September 6, 1943—10 p. m.

5436. For Riefler and Funkhouser from Stone and Lehman. Department’s no. 4860, August 12, 1943. In view of reference to Inter-governmental committee of plan to bring 20,000 Jewish children from occupied areas to Sweden for the duration, there seems no reason why efforts should not now be made to institute a general child feeding plan in Sweden similar to that suggested to the Swiss government. British Embassy here reports that MEW has tentatively presented the matter to the Swedish Government and that a reply is expected shortly.

Such a plan should in principle apply to children from occupied areas selected solely on the basis of need regardless of racial or religious affiliation and if possible should not be confined to Norwegian children. Difficulties may arise if Germans refuse to permit Jewish children to be included or if they agree only on the basis that Jewish children who may be included must not be returned to Germany after they are restored to health. This in turn may create for the Swedish Government the same difficulty on a smaller scale as that which stands in the way of the plan for permanent evacuation of 20,000 Jewish children. British assert that they have expressed their readiness to the Swedes to cooperate in any such plan whether it involves a permanent removal or return and replacement after a restoration of health or a combination of the two. Department believes our policy should be equally broad.

You are instructed to familiarize yourself with the terms of past discussions with the Swedes and upon the reply of the latter to recommend a further course of action. [Stone and Lehman.]

HULL
The Ambassador in Spain (Hayes) to the Secretary of State

MADRID, September 7, 1943—4 p.m.  
[Received September 10—7:10 a.m.]

2463. Winant informed me in telegram September 3 that Department had approved an arrangement for selection in Spain of refugees to be sent to North Africa agreed upon at conference held in London between representatives of Foreign Office, OFRRO and Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees. He said committee would consist of representatives of American and British Embassies in Madrid, with Patrick Malin, Vice Director of Inter-Governmental Committee, and that I was to designate chairman. He said a memo of the understanding was being sent to me by airmail.

I am, of course, most sympathetic with efforts being made to assist stateless and former enemy refugees in Spain and am anxious to help in such efforts to the greatest possible extent.

The proposal to set up an inter-governmental selection committee in Spain is new to me and I have received no indication of the proposed status of such a committee vis-à-vis the Spanish Government or Spanish Red Cross and no indication that the subject has ever been discussed with either of these.

I assume, of course, that nothing will be done to carry out the arrangement until I have received the memo which is being sent and until I have had an opportunity to study it and to offer my suggestions.

Repeated to London, Algiers for Murphy and to Lisbon by mail.

Hayes

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

WASHINGTON, September 8, 1943—8 p. m.

5494. Reference Department's 5558, September 2, 1943 the following telegram has been received from Lisbon quoting Tittmann's 169, August 30:

"De la Sem (a Jewish agency in Italy) reports Italian Government prepared to provide steamships Vulcania, Saturnia, Delfino and Giulio Cesare which are capable of transporting approximately 30,000 Jews from Italy to North Africa in three voyages. Expenses would be $5500 per day while under navigating plus insurance, fuel, lubricants and food to be borne by Jewish organization in the United States. Fuel and lubricants to be furnished by British Government
against reimbursements. Color and personnel of ships which recently returned from East Africa with Italian repatriates have already been agreed upon by British and American Governments. Early action should be taken while ships are still in condition to accommodate refugees."

The Department desires to commend the above to the appropriate consideration of the Intergovernmental Refugee Committee.

Hull,

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840.48 Refugees/4449: Telegram

The Minister in Switzerland (Harrison) to the Secretary of State

Bern, September 9, 1943—4 p. m.
[Received 5:30 p. m.]

5590. From Tittmann 179, September 6. My 169 August 30 from Lisbon. Following from sure source.

a. Italian Government has authorized all French and foreign Jews residing in France in the zone over which it will not have control to transfer their residence to the zone of the Alpes Maritimes Department over which it will still have control. The Italian military authorities are in every way facilitating travel of those persons and their establishment in the new district. Some categories of Jews are provided with Italian police escort who have orders to prevent by force any opposition to their transfer.

b. Italian Government would have been willing to accept without conditions or guarantees the above-mentioned Jews as it did in the case of previous 14,000 from the Balkans were it not for the fact that the localities to which it would have been possible to send them are already occupied by Italian citizens evacuated from the bombed areas. The purpose of the “De la Sem” proposals is to relieve the Italian Government of this fresh burden and to avoid the possibility that the Jews might be deported in spite of the manifest wishes of the Italians.

c. A long delay in carrying out the proposals would compromise the desired results.

d. The “De la Sem” suggests that Osborne and myself be authorized to contact the Italian Government (which I am told is only too willing to collaborate) with a view to solving the problem at the earliest possible moment. [Tittmann.]

Harrison

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Sir Francis Osborne, British Minister to the Holy See.
The British Chargé (Campbell) to the Secretary of State

Ref: 608/14/43

WASHINGTON, September 9, 1943.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I write to let you know that His Majesty's Government recently decided that in future all Jews, whether adults or children, who may succeed in escaping to Turkey from enemy-controlled territory since the closing of the Bulgarian-Turkish frontier in May last, will be eligible (after a preliminary security check in Turkey) for onward transport to Palestine, where they will be placed in camps, go through a further security check and if found satisfactory will be gradually released as legal immigrants into Palestine against the current half-yearly immigration quotas. By "onward transport" is meant such transport by sea or rail as may be arranged by His Majesty's Government in cooperation with the appropriate diplomatic mission.

This policy will also apply to Jews who manage to escape to other neutral countries, but where they have escaped to countries in which they are safe they will normally remain there. Thus the Jews at present in Mauritius, Cyprus and Spain would remain there (unless, as is hoped, arrangements can be made in the case of Spain to remove them for the duration of hostilities to Allied territory in North Africa) and only in very special cases and for very special reasons would authority be given for any onward transport to Palestine.

The numbers to be admitted under these new proposals will not entail any increase in the total number of immigrants permissible for the period ending the 31st March, 1944.

I have been asked to emphasize the confidential nature of this letter, as secrecy is essential in the interests of the refugees themselves and His Majesty's Government intend to make no public announcement of the policy described above. They are, however, informing the Jewish Agency for Palestine in confidence of what is proposed.

I am writing a similar letter to Mr. Myron Taylor.

Very sincerely yours

R. I. CAMPBELL

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

LONDON, September 9, 1943.

[Received September 9—11:47 p.m.]

5982. Having made an unsuccessful effort to convene a meeting of the Executive Committee (which apparently cannot meet before Sep-
Forced Emigration

September 30) the Director of the Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees called an informal meeting in his office this afternoon at which the Embassy and Foreign Office were represented and the Director and Vice Director attended. With the entire agreement of the Vice Director, the Director presented the following personal joint suggestions for the consideration of the Department and Foreign Office:

"The messages from the Department of State conveyed through the American Embassy raise two questions which are closely related, namely (1) the safety of foreign refugees in Italy itself and (2) the safety of foreign refugees in the portions of southern France hitherto occupied by the Italians. The unconditional surrender of Italy has changed the position in some respects. It would seem to have changed it for the better insofar as (1) direct and open negotiations can now take place between the Allied authorities and the Italian authorities, (2) it is definitely in the interests of the Italian authorities to do all they can to meet the wishes of the Allies, (3) one may expect, although one cannot assume, that the territory occupied by the Allies in Italy will expand in the near future, (4) the prospects of Switzerland having access to countries other than those occupied by the enemy are definitely improved although the date at which there will be a common frontier between Switzerland and Italian territory occupied by the Allies, depending as it does, on the progress of military operations, is still uncertain. Nonetheless, the direction which the war is now taking does open up prospects of Switzerland ceasing to be a country completely surrounded by Axis countries and, therefore, unable to get people out except by the consent of the Axis authorities. This may well have an important influence on the attitude of the Swiss authorities towards giving asylum to refugees.

On the other hand, the unconditional surrender may well complicate the situation because (1) it may be anticipated that the Germans [Germany] will take over control of as much of Italy as she can, (2) she will certainly take control of the departments of France hitherto occupied by the Italians. The Italian authorities will no longer operate in those departments. On the above analysis the means of helping refugees in Italy would seem to be the following: (a) Encouragement by the Allies of the Italian authorities, amounting to pressure if necessary, to give such protection to the refugees as is possible to help their concealment by the population by their passage to areas where they would be safe. (b) Encouragement Swiss Government to give asylum to all refugees from Italy who are able to cross the frontier. The encouragement to the Swiss Government to be really effective must include (1) an assurance regarding food supplies, (2) an assurance that she will be relieved as soon as possible of the refugees she may receive. The second is far more important than the first. The assurance might take the form that so soon as possible the Allies will take back into Italy any refugees therefrom whom Switzerland now takes. It is suggested that this assurance should be confined to returning the refugees to Italy and not their transfer elsewhere because (1) the very few places elsewhere to which they could be transported will be required for other refugees, (2) the return to Italy would be comparatively simple so far as transport is
concerned, (3) the final settlement of the refugees in question is likely to be more easy if they return to Italy and are not dispersed elsewhere. (c) There was the possibility of escape by sea of refugees from Italy to other places e.g. Spain, North Africa and Cyprus. Having regard to the military operations now in progress and the flight of the Italian ships from Italian ports in order to escape the Germans, this does not now seem to be a possible means of escape, [on] organised lines, although a few may have got away on Italian ships or may be able to get away within the next day or two. The safety of the ships and not of the refugees must obviously be the dominant consideration, and unless there are ports not under control by the Germans, which is improbable, nothing can be done.

With regard to the refugees in southern France, it must be assumed that if this has not already happened, there will be full German control within a few days. The Italians will not be able to organise the removal of refugees from there into Italy and it seems unlikely that many will wish to cross the frontier into the portions of Italy strongly occupied by the Germans. For those who do cross the Italian frontier what has been said in the previous paragraph will apply.

The remaining means of escape is into Switzerland. Here again, approaches to the Swiss Government should be accompanied by assurances regarding food relief and the removal of the refugees. As regards the latter, a distinction may be made between children and others. In the summer and autumn of 1942 when there was still a prospect of the Vichy Government allowing children to leave Vichy France, various governments offered to give asylum. The Government of the United States, for instance, generously agreed to take 5,000, the age limits being 16 for children of Allied nationality and 14 for children of enemy origin. The offer by the United States was later extended to children who were able to escape into Spain. If the United States were willing to extend it to children who may now be able to escape from the southern departments of France to Switzerland, an assurance could be given to Switzerland that such children would be removed when communications allowed. Approaches on the same lines could be made if necessary to other governments concerned but the number, unfortunately, is likely to be so small that the offer, if made, by the United States would probably not involve liability of more than a few hundred. For adults, the assurance would have to be, in present circumstances, on more general lines. Here again, the number is likely to be so small that I think an assurance could be safely given, remembering that when Italy is occupied it should be possible within reasonable time to open a camp there, if facilities in North Africa and elsewhere did not suffice. The above suggestions are, of course, contingent on and subject to military considerations."

The Director made it clear that reference to refugees in Italy is intended to be limited to foreign refugees in Italy. He expressed appreciation of the Department’s having referred suggested projects to the Intergovernmental Committee, explained that on account of the urgency of the situation and the impossibility of a prompt meet-
ing of the Executive Committee he was following the procedure of submitting his suggestions as above for consideration by the American and British Governments. In conversation he attached particular importance to the desirability of the guarantees proposed by him to be given by the British and American Governments to the Swiss Government.

WINANT

840.48 Refugees/4492 : Telegram

The Ambassador in Spain (Hayes) to the Secretary of State

MADRID, September 20, 1943—5 p. m.
[Received September 22—11 a. m.]

2674. My 2463, September 7, 4 p. m. Memorandum mentioned in London’s telegram September 3, 8 p. m., has just been received and I offer following observations:

1. As indicated in my 2275 of August 24, 1 p. m.

29 total number of refugees without nationality and of former enemy nationality now in Spain who would be eligible for evacuation as planned probably does not exceed vicinity of 1500, which fact would appear to greatly narrow latitude of selection and render superfluous formation of special inter-governmental selection committee.

[2.] I recommend instead, and British Embassy concurs, the list of prospective evacuees be prepared by David Blicken’s staff, Madrid representative of American charitable organizations, whose office is only agency here in possession of required information concerning such refugees, and that lists then be submitted to American and British Embassies, and if considered desirable Military Attachés, for security check.

3. Recommendations of interested organizations as to criteria for priority of selection could be communicated to Blicken staff for his guidance if considered necessary. Foreign Office London has already suggested to British Embassy here that special consideration be given to those refugees who have valid permits to enter other countries, those who can assist in camp construction and those with special humanitarian claims.

4. I have as yet made no formal approach to Spanish Government in this matter but feel that it should be fully informed of plan before concrete steps are taken here.

Repeated to London, Algiers for Murphy and Lisbon by courier.

Hayes

29 Not printed.
The Secretary of State to the Consul General at Algiers (Wiley)

WASHINGTON, September 21, 1943—6 p. m.

1722. For Murphy. Your 1819 September 1. You are requested to make urgent representation to the French for prompt agreement to the plan of providing temporary asylum at Camp Marshal Lyautey to stateless and enemy nationality refugees now in Spain and at expense of British and American governments. The long delay in acceptance of this plan is not understood by us. It is imperative that we have final approval before selection and preparation of refugees in Spain can begin and necessary staff can be recruited here for the administration of the project.

Hull

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

WASHINGTON, September 21, 1943—10 p. m.

5797. Reference your telegram of September 3 to Madrid and latter's no. 2463, September 7, 4 p. m. to Department repeated to you, regarding committee for selection in Spain of refugees to be sent to North Africa. It is assumed of course that the Ambassador at Madrid has received your memorandum and has had opportunity to study it and to offer his suggestions. The Ambassador at Madrid will have had to consider whether the delicate arrangements with the Spanish and Portuguese Governments for the evacuation of the refugees in question will be endangered by the setting up in Spain of a committee as proposed and also the possibility whether too discriminate a selection of the refugees in Spain, except of subversive elements, would defeat the objectives of relieving Spain of the care of the refugees and providing a channel for further escapes of such refugees from Axis territory.

Repeated to Madrid.

Hull

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Spain (Hayes)

WASHINGTON, September 24, 1943—8 p. m.

2022. Your 2674, September 20, 5 p. m. Department concurs in your recommendations contained therein. Murphy has not yet ob-
tained unqualified agreement of French authorities for use of Camp Marshal Lyautey. Until that is obtained and movement of refugees can begin, it would not seem to be advisable to take up matter with Spanish Government. That should be done, of course, as soon as the French agreement is obtained and before concrete steps are taken for the evacuation of the refugees from Spain.

Please repeat to London, Algiers and Lisbon.

HULL

840.48 Refugees/4462: Telegram

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

WASHINGTON, September 24, 1943—9 p. m.

5885. Your 5982, September 9. Considering the military situation in Italy at the present time, it would not seem to be possible for the Italian Government to take steps to ensure the safety of the refugees in question. There therefore remains only the possibility, unless the refugees should be able to succeed in escaping into Spain which seems very unlikely under present circumstances, of their crossing into Switzerland. Before proceeding to take up with the various agencies concerned here the Director’s proposals for facilitating the refugees’ entry into and maintenance in Switzerland, it would seem to us to be advisable to obtain beforehand a definition of the Swiss Government’s attitude toward the proposed reception of the refugees and a statement of the conditions under which it would be willing to receive and maintain the refugees pending such further disposition of them as may subsequently be made by the Intergovernmental Committee. Toward that end we suggest that the British Government instruct its Minister at Bern to approach the Swiss Government at the same time informing us when we will instruct our Minister there to join with his British colleague in the approach. If the British will be willing to act in the immediate future this Government will be prepared to do so simultaneously.

HULL

840.48 Refugees/4329

The Acting Secretary of State to the British Chargé (Campbell)

WASHINGTON, September 28, 1943.

My Dear Mr. Chargé d’Affaires: I have received your letter of September 9, 1943 in regard to the decision of your Government to
accept for onward transport to Palestine all Jews who may succeed in escaping to Turkey from enemy-controlled territory.

I assume that the British Ambassador at Ankara will be informed of this decision and hope that it will be possible for him to communicate it informally to the American Embassy at Ankara. Such action would be of great assistance in connection with our joint efforts to relieve the sufferings of these unfortunate people.

Sincerely yours,

A. A. BERLE, JR.

840.49 Refugees/4512 : Telegram

The Ambassador in Spain (Hayes) to the Secretary of State

MADRID, undated.

[Received September 28, 1943—5:06 p. m.]

2760. The following telegram has been sent to Algiers.

377, September 27, 10 a. m. (For Murphy.) Embassy has today been informed by Foreign Office that Spanish Government has granted authorization for direct evacuation of French refugees from Spain via Spanish ports and in French ships and, although certain details remain to be worked out, we are initiating arrangements for first convoy at once. Although no port is specifically mentioned by Foreign Office, we are assuming that Algeciras or Cadiz will be acceptable.

In so far as arrangements here are concerned, decisions regarding dates of departure will in all probability be determined primarily by availability of rail accommodations for transportation of refugees to port of embarkation and I should like to be informed as to how much advance notice is required by French and British authorities at Algiers for arrangement of necessary shipping facilities for each group.

Repeated to Department, London and by courier, Lisbon.

Hayes

840.49 Refugees/4542 : Telegram

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

WASHINGTON, September 29, 1943.

6009. Dr. Nahum Goldmann of the World Jewish Congress has approached the Department with a proposal to provide food, clothing, and medicine to remnant groups of surviving Jews who may be specifically located in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and other parts of Central Europe.
Dr. Goldmann proposed that the International Red Cross be the agent to reach these groups and gave the impression that the International Red Cross had expressed willingness to do so. He asked if the American Government could make some contribution in money to allow the International Red Cross to buy in Europe medicines and concentrated foods which it could use as opportunities developed. He stated that the Jewish people in this country could raise privately approximately $2,000,000. He thought the total program depending on developments might run to perhaps $10,000,000.

Dr. Goldmann was informed that the Executive Committee in London of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees had been established by this Government and the other member Governments of the Intergovernmental Committee as the agency to act upon proposals of this character. We had agreed with the British Government that we would jointly underwrite the cost of specific projects to help refugees in Europe in a situation such as he described. We would be very glad to bring his proposal to the attention of the Executive Committee and the British Government through our London Embassy and would under our particular arrangement with the British Government be prepared to share with Great Britain the cost of specific projects approved by the Executive Committee (procedure, of course, would follow the understanding we and the British have reached with the Executive Committee relating to prior consultation with us before a project is sanctioned or an expenditure incurred thereon). We would also be glad to recommend to the consideration of the Executive Committee the possibility of accepting the International Red Cross as the agency (in territories occupied by the enemy) to be employed to carry out approved projects and that the Committee favorably consider such particular projects as the International Red Cross might recommend as practical for the assistance of the remnant groups in question.

You are requested to bring this matter appropriately to the attention of the Executive Committee on or before its next meeting and advise the Department of any action taken by the Committee regarding it.

You may bear in mind for possible use in discussing this proposal that the adoption of the program on a project basis would obviate the necessity of seeking large overall sums of official funds.

The foregoing is subject to the general proviso that the German Government obtain no benefit from the execution of any project.

Berle
840.48 Refugees/4517: Telegram

The Consul General at Algiers (Wiley) to the Secretary of State

ALGIERS, September 29, 1943—11 p. m.
[Received September 30—2:17 a.m.]

1662. For Lehman from Fryer. Dutch Consul Casablanca has made informal inquiry concerning use of Marechal Lyautey refugee center to house 1500 Dutch refugees for a period of 30 days.

These refugees are now in Spain. They would be despatched to Casablanca and held there pending Dutch-made arrangements for transportation. We view this project favorably if it will not conflict with Washington-London plans for housing stateless refugees. We assume Dutch will make formal inquiry in Washington and wish to assure you that we can assume all responsibility for taking care of these refugees if you are formally approached by the Dutch and if you approve. We assume that Dutch Government would reimburse the United States Government for expenditures made in its behalf. Should this be brought to your attention formally Dutch Government should advise you of measures it will take in Spain to screen refugees for security purposes in order that this information may be transmitted to G-2 section of HQ. We are advised by Dutch Consul that the French have approved this project. [Fryer.]

WILEY

840.48 Refugees/4522: Telegram

The Minister in Sweden (Johnson) to the Secretary of State

STOCKHOLM, September 30, 1943—10 p. m.
[Received October 1—8:24 a.m.]

3149. Foreign Office states it learned yesterday from what is considered authentic sources that Germans plan to send Silohous [sic] and Jews from Denmark to Reich. Only newspaper item covering this today was short reference in editorial in Svenska Dagbladet which said that recent Danish refugees coming to Sweden believe that by this threat Germans are trying to blackmail King and Danish Parliament to establish legal government.

Foreign Office has instructed its Minister in Berlin today to approach German Government and state that if this transfer were put into effect it would have very unfortunate effect on public opinion in Sweden. Minister is instructed to state Swedish Government is prepared to receive these Jews in Sweden and if German Government fears they might exercise influence of political nature Swedish Gov-
ernment is prepared to intern them. Foreign Office has asked for immediate reply and hopes to have something today.

JOHNSON

740.00114 European War 1939/4351 : Telegram

The Minister in Switzerland (Harrison) to the Secretary of State

BERN, September 30, 1943.
[Received September 30—8:40 p. m.]

6103. Legation’s 5937, September 23.39 Federal Councillor von Steiger, head Federal Department Justice and Police, informed Swiss Parliament September 29 that 21,860 refugees from Italy including 960 escaped POWs arrived Switzerland since September 17. Total refugees from all countries now 57,734. Previously arrivals averaged 30 daily now 300. Despite rumors no border incidents occurred.

Three weeks’ quarantine imposed especially as safeguard against typhus although no cases yet noted. Barracks with capacity 5,000 order costing 3 million francs. Army supplied 20,000 blankets, also underclothes, socks. Italians to be used construction work, woodcutting, road building, quarries where most useful.

Military considerations require removal from southern frontier cantons of recent arrivals from Italy as soon as possible. From legal point of view distinction must be made between military internees whose status is defined in international law, political refugees to whom right of asylum is extended under certain rules and panicky civilians who have no reason to remain here. Right of asylum and Swiss humanitarian ideals will continue to motivate Swiss authorities who must also be mindful of dictates of national safety and practical possibilities.

HARRISON

840.48 Refugees/4537 : Telegram

The Consul General at Algiers (Wiley) to the Secretary of State

ALGIERS, October 4, 1943—2 p. m.
[Received October 4—1:59 a. m.]

1700. From Murphy. My 1632, September 23, 10 p. m.50 I have today received the French [reply] to the proposal for the establishment of temporary asylum for stateless refugees at Camp Marshal Lyautey. The Committee accepts the proposal which places the

*Not printed.
responsibility for housing, maintenance and transport of the refugees on the British and American Governments as the second replacement center of the Atlantic base section at Fedhala with the understanding the [that] not more than 2,000 individuals will be admitted at the same time into Morocco.

Certain additional conditions are imposed as follows:

1. Inasmuch as nationals of enemy states domiciled in Morocco and of mobilization age are interned, unless they have served in the Foreign Legion or have a relative in the Allied [garbled group] or have rendered exceptional services to France, it is difficult for the French authorities to afford more favorable treatment to other stateless individual or nationals of enemy powers just entering the territory. The Committee consequently considers that the refugees cannot be allowed to establish themselves outside of the camp or to accept work unless they come within the foregoing categories. In the case of those desirous of obtaining work, records must be communicated to the Residency General before authorization may be obtained.

2. Since the town of Fedhala is situated upon the coast and close to Casablanca, it may be considered necessary [for] security reasons to transfer the refugees to another locality. Should this be the case the Committee would give adequate notice to the American and British Governments who would be requested to assume expenses of any new installation.

3. Inasmuch as the French Government is responsible for the maintenance of order and security within the Protectorate, the French administration must exercise police control of the future reception center. This will be undertaken by the security services in Morocco who will assume charge of the surveillance of refugees in association with the personnel operating the camp. If the foregoing provisions should be acceptable to the American and British Governments the French committee is prepared to give the necessary instructions to the Resident General.

It appears that whereas the French consent to this proposal has finally [been] achieved the conditions establishing it are such that the French authorities will insist upon taking such security measures as they wish which will in fact prevent any large number of refugees from obtaining work locally.

Sent to Department, repeated to London and Madrid. [Murphy.]

WILEY

840.48 Refugees/4536 : Telegram

The Minister in Sweden (Johnson) to the Secretary of State

STOCKHOLM, October 4, 1943—6 p. m.
[Received 11:45 p. m.]

3196. Chief Political Division Foreign Office says advices from Denmark indicate local German officials there are being very lax in
carrying out instructions for deportation of Jews. Although final figures are unavailable as many who escaped to Sweden do not arrive in populated spots nearly 3,000 have already escaped to Sweden, i.e., nearly half of number intended to be deported. Official mentioned above believes that strong campaign from Sweden has affected local German officials in Denmark so that they fear for their personal safety if carrying out instructions too vigorously.

Swedish Government has followed up its original démarche in Berlin (see Legation’s 3149, September 30, 10 p. m. and 3180, October 2, 10 p. m.) by requesting that in any case Jewish children be sent to Sweden, stating children could not be cause of trouble in Denmark which is alleged cause for deportations.

JOHNSON

840.48 Refugees/4538: Telegram

The Minister in Sweden (Johnson) to the Secretary of State

STOCKHOLM, October 5, 1943—3 p. m.
[Received 11:21 p. m.]

3209. Background action against Jews in Denmark may probably be explained by two considerations: (a) Long desired by more radical Nazis in Berlin and only deferred until now by subordination this question to general German policy of moderation towards Denmark which continued effective until end August; and (b) threat such action undoubtedly used by Germans in September to try and induce Danes cooperate politically (as suggested my 3175, October 2, 4 p. m. See also my 3196, October 4, 6 p. m.). Regarding (a), it is likely that Hitler himself became aware during August political crisis that Jewish problem Denmark had never been “properly solved”.

Action will obviously greatly increase tension Denmark and deepen cleft between Danes and German authorities. Believed that all prospects of another Danish Government may now be dismissed.

Interesting [to] note that Germans thought it advisable accompany their action against Jews by promise release interned Danish soldiers in near future (see my 3195, October 4). This suggests clumsy attempt win back Danish good will.

Fact that over 2500 Jews have succeeded escaping to Sweden in last few days deserves mention and indicates excellent organization Danish underground movement which Legation understands decided fortnight ago do everything possible bring Jews across Oresund.

32 Latter not printed.
33 Not printed.
Clear that action against Jews in Denmark is based purely general Nazi policy, as it is well known that there was no Jewish problem there and all evidence shows that Jews have behaved very well and quietly ever since German occupation began as result their continual dread that this might indeed happen. In other words, German allegations given first item my 3193 are simply not true.

JOHNSON

840.48 Refugees/4462 ; Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Switzerland (Harrison)

WASHINGTON, October 5, 1943—5 p. m.

2436. London’s 5982, September 9, refers to the desire of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees to save as many as possible of those refugees who are fleeing from persecution and impending death at the hands of military autocracy and who recently proceeded or may proceed from Italy and from territory in France previously occupied by Italian troops and now reported occupied by Germans. Distinction is to be made between this class of refugees and those others who should be prosecuted as war criminals for having persecuted or threatened with persecution those presently attempting to escape their jurisdiction. It is especially recommended that encouragement be given to Swiss Government to give asylum to those refugees presently fleeing from persecution and who may be able to cross the frontier.

The Department suggested to Embassy at London in its 5885 that before proceeding to discuss with various agencies concerned the Director’s proposals for facilitating refugees’ entry into and maintenance in Switzerland that we should obtain beforehand definition of Swiss Government’s attitude toward the proposed reception of the refugees and a statement of the conditions under which it would be willing to receive and maintain them pending further disposition as may be subsequently arranged by Intergovernmental Committee. Toward that end British Government is instructing its Minister at Bern to approach Swiss Government after consultation and agreement with you and:

1. Inquire number of refugees in Switzerland before the Italian Armistice.
2. The number of refugees and prisoners, if possible by nationality, admitted after July 25, the date of Mussolini’s fall.
3. What assurances would the Swiss Government need or expect from British and American Governments in order to enable Switzer-

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25 Telegram dated October 4, not printed.
26 Dated September 24, 9 p. m., p. 355.
land to face increased burden and to continue to accept such refugees as may find their way to the Swiss Border.

The telegram further states that “Foreign Office feels that the two Ministers should point out that the furnishing of any supplies to Switzerland at the moment would be very difficult. It feels also that it would perhaps be a good thing for them to say that since Switzerland is the only country of refuge for persons from either Italy or France our two countries are anxious to do anything possible to encourage Switzerland to continue its humanitarian effort with regard to refugees.”

Department has just received your 6103, September 30. You and the British Minister may desire to consider situation in light of information furnished therein and submit recommendations here and to London for different course of action than that proposed above.

Hull

840.48 Refugees/4555 : Airgram
The Ambassador in Mexico (Messersmith) to the Secretary of State

MEXICO, October 7, 1943—11 a.m.
[Received October 9—11 a.m.]

A-2283. Department’s 1661, October 5, 7 p.m. 27 The budget submitted by the Polish Embassy in Washington for the first quarter for refugee expenses at León, which is identical with the budget brought back to the Department by Mr. Kracht, 28 was drawn up by Mr. Kracht in collaboration with Mr. Kelly and may therefore be considered to have the approval of the latter. Likewise, the budget was submitted to officials of the Embassy and no objection was found thereto. Items in the budget which was drawn up the latter part of August naturally did not take into consideration the revision suggested in the letter of September 15. 29

The Polish Minister here is agreeable to the suggestion of drawing up separate budgets for the Polish American Council and National Catholic Welfare Conference, but he states that inasmuch as the responsibility for the project will rest upon Mr. Smezeko, the representative of the Polish Ministry of Social Welfare, he proposes to await the arrival of the latter before taking any action in the matter. This last observation applies also to the question of wage scales.

Smezeko was due to arrive here last Saturday but has not yet put in an appearance. He will doubtless not wish to take any action regarding setting up of budgets for private agencies or in connection

27 Not printed.
28 George V. Kracht, Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations.
29 Not found in Department files.
with wage scales until after he has discussed matter with Polish
Minister and has spent some days at least in investigating conditions
at León.

In the meantime, Kelly at León is proceeding with the necessary
construction work for the reception of the new group due to arrive
by end of October. Such construction costs money and is, in general,
on a cash basis. In a memorandum dated October 4, Kelly stated that
he was out of funds and that the Polish Minister had had to advance
him money for construction expenses from the $25,000 given by the
Polish American Council. This is obviously an undesirable condition
and I recommend therefore that, pending the approval of the budget
submitted by the Polish Embassy, arrangements be made for the
transfer of funds, in the amount of $50,000, to the Embassy to be
advanced to Kelly and the Polish authorities here as needed.49

I should add that Dr. Wiesiolowski has been in hospital for past
two weeks, having suffered a coronary thrombosis, and that I greatly
fear his able assistance and counsel in the project will no longer be
available. His condition is such that he cannot now be bothered with
details of administration, etc.

MESSERSMITH

840.48 Refugees/4550: Telegram

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

LONDON, October 7, 1943—5 p. m.
[Received 10:37 p. m.]

6784. In reference to the proposal for removal of some 20,000 Jew-
ish children from Germany to Sweden (see Department’s telegram
5436, September 6, 10 p. m.) and in reference to the Department’s
having given consideration to this proposal, the Directorate of the
Intergovernmental Committee reports that it is receiving repeated
inquiries from private organizations as to the Department’s decision
in the matter. The Foreign Office also is interested. The question is
raised whether the Department may now wish to consider the de-
sirability of a definite approach to the Swedish Government regardless
of any anticipated possibility of ultimate Swedish or German veto.
The Department’s views are requested.

WINANT

49 In telegram No. 1718, October 13, 1943, 10 p. m., to the Ambassador in Mexico,
an additional $50,000 was authorized in accordance with this recommendation
(840.48 Refugees/4684d).
840.48 Refugees/4557: Telegram

The Minister in Sweden (Johnson) to the Secretary of State

STOCKHOLM, October 9, 1943—6 p.m.  
[Received October 10—2:30 a.m.]

3261. Boheman\(^4\) has just informed that number of Danish refugees now in Sweden has reached 6000, 1800 having arrived within last 24 hours. Of the total number fully 90% are Jews. He said that there are approximately 6000 Jews registered in Denmark as of Hebrew faith. Number of Jews unregistered because of belonging officially to no faith or conversion to Christianity is not known but he does not believe number is great. Germans have not yet made any reply to Swedish démarche (my 3149, September 30, 10 p.m.) and Boheman doubts that any reply will be made. Increase in press articles in Germany attacking Sweden he thinks are in fact directed and constitute a form of reply to Swedish protest. Boheman regrets violence of Swedish press comment and attacks on Germany which he thinks unnecessary and blustery as logical conclusion of such attacks would mean a Swedish declaration of war on Germany which is out of question. He remarked, that in view of fact almost entire Jewish population of Denmark is now in Sweden, objective of Swedish démarche in Berlin has been attained.

JOHNSON

840.48 Refugees/4684a: Telegram

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

WASHINGTON, October 11, 1943—3 p.m.

6316. Your 6784, October 7, 5 p.m. In our study of the proposal for the removal of Jewish children from Germany to Sweden, we have been concerned about the possibility that an approach by the Swedish Government to the German Government for the release of Jewish children alone would result in a rejection of the proposal by the German Government and we have been hopeful that these children could be included in some proposal for the release of children generally from German-held territory. The matter was discussed along these lines at the Department with Thorold of the British Embassy now in London. Nevertheless, we are prepared to give immediate consideration to the proposal as it stands. However, in view of the uncertainty which the Swedish authorities have hitherto shown as to the course of action which they might follow and in light of the

\(^4\) E. C. Boheman, Swedish Minister for Foreign Affairs.
developments with respect to Jews in Denmark, we suggest that confidential inquiry be made of the Swedish Government as to its willingness to take up the matter now with the German Government, and of the assistance it will need of us for the care of the children. Perhaps the inquiry could be made by the Director of the Intergovernmental Committee or we would be willing to have the matter presented jointly by the American and British Ministers at Stockholm.

We feel that a definite statement should be obtained from the Swedish Government before we and the British authorities proceed to make arrangements, including the allocation of funds by the President for our share of the expenditures to be incurred, to put the proposal into execution.

HULL

840.48 Refugees/4684c : Airgram

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

WASHINGTON, October 12, 1943—6 p.m.

A-1391. Department has received following telegram from Dr. Goldmann, World Jewish Congress:

"Am being informed from London that 4000 Jewish refugees and Yugoslavs recently in internments camps Yugoslavia have been freed by Yugoslav partisans and removed to Adriatic island of Rab. Understand food and medical supplies urgently needed as island suffers serious shortage. In view of possibility island being recaptured by Germans most desirable remove refugees soon as possible to safer area. Southern Italy, Sicily or North Africa. May I respectfully request to bring this matter to the attention of authorities North Africa and Sicily asking them to take necessary steps."

Please refer to Executive Committee of the Intergovernmental Committee and if you deem it advisable transmit it to Murphy for Eisenhower.

HULL

840.48 Refugees/4692a : Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Switzerland (Harrison)

WASHINGTON, October 15, 1943—5 p.m.

2537. The reported influx of refugees into Switzerland, both escaped prisoners of war and fleeing civilians, has resulted in pressure in this country on the Government, Amcross, and other private relief organizations to send assistance to them.
In order that proper consideration may be given to this matter, please inform Department by telegraph:

(1) Number and nationality of refugees now estimated to be in Switzerland with separate figures as to escaped prisoners and civilian refugees.

(2) Are escaped prisoners of war interned in camps for the duration and separated from civilians?

(3) Are civilians confined to camps or at liberty?

(4) How are needs of refugees met, that is, by Swiss Government, Swiss Red Cross, private relief agencies, or through combination of these methods?

(5) Is assistance by American relief organizations desired? If so, in what form and amounts? Through what Swiss agencies should such assistance, if desired, be channeled? (Please note that this is not a commitment but merely an inquiry at this stage.)

Hull

840.48 Refugees/4537 : Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Consul General at Algiers (Wiley)

WASHINGTON, October 15, 1943—11 p.m.

1889. For Murphy.

1. We regret exceedingly to learn that the French authorities, according to your 1700, October 4, 2 p.m., (numbered paragraph 1) desire to impose conditions of internment upon the refugees to come from Spain for whose temporary residence in French North Africa we have asked that a site be designated as directed by the President in agreement with Mr. Churchill. We pointed out in our 1333, July 27, 6 p.m., that the implication that the refugees would be placed in a concentration camp had to be avoided. We indicated that they would therefore have to be given some freedom of movement and we cannot recede from that position. Confinement of the refugees in a camp following their evacuation from Spain where, we believe, they enjoyed some liberty, would cause instant and violent press and public criticism of us and of the French authorities. We recall in that connection the public agitation for the liberation of the political internees in North Africa. We were unaware that there are other internees in Morocco, of enemy nationality, domiciled in Morocco, and desire an informative report from you on that subject.

2. You will note from Madrid's 2674, September 20, 5 p.m., to the Department, repeated to you, that security check on the refugees will be undertaken by both the American and British Embassies. Participation of the French authorities in the checking procedure might well be arranged. This checking will, of course, be conducted primarily to eliminate the forwarding to North Africa of any and all
refugees whose entry into North Africa would be undesirable for security reasons. In view thereof we do not see the need for confinement of refugees to a camp if that is in fact contemplated by the French authorities, or for holding them under any other restrictive measures than apply to the general population locally. The reason for placing them in a camp such as Camp Marshal Lyautey, as we see it, is to afford them most conveniently housing and maintenance, the expenditures for which can thus best be controlled in behalf of the British and American Governments who will share the costs.

3. We do not insist that the refugees should be allowed to work outside the camp but we suggest strongly the advisability, from a humanitarian as well as an economic viewpoint, of affording refugees, according to their various qualifications, permission to work.

4. Madrid's 279, September 29, 11 p.m., to the Department,\(^a\) repeated to you, reports that the number of refugees now in Spain of the categories in question is 1600. The condition that the French authorities desire to make that not more than 2000 of these refugees will be admitted at the same time in Morocco is accordingly acceptable to us.

5. We do not understand the reference to the proposed center as “the second replacement center of the Atlantic base section at Fedhala” (see first paragraph of your 1700), and desire clarification and confirmation that Camp Marshal Lyautey is meant. Considering, among other matters, the cost and labor of setting up the center for the refugees, we desire to leave open to future agreement between us, the British and the French authorities, the question of the subsequent transfer of the refugees to another locality, should that arise (see numbered paragraph 2 of your 1700).

6. We are agreeable to the proposal that the French Administration should exercise ordinary police control wherever the refugees may be accommodated, in association with the personnel operating the reception center (see numbered paragraph 3 of your 1700).

7. Please immediately approach the French authorities again and request their consent to the reception of the refugees in accordance with the views expressed above. It is suggested that in doing so you emphasize the important humanitarian contribution which the French authorities will be making in affording temporary asylum for the persecuted, homeless persons for whom it is needed.

We are repeating this to London\(^b\) with request that British Government instruct Macmillan to express to the French authorities its concurrence in our views.

Please repeat to Madrid.

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\(^a\) Not printed.
\(^b\) Telegram No. 6448, same date.
Algeria, October 21, 1943—5 p. m.
[Received October 22—2:27 a. m.]

1811. From Murphy. Department's 1889, October 15, 11 p. m. Department's views concerning the conditions imposed by the French authorities with regard to the plan for temporary residence of refugees from Spain have been communicated to Massigli who has promised to review the situation in light of the Department's observations and to give an early reply. Massigli fully understands our objection to the establishment of a refugee center organized as a concentration camp and equally wishes to avoid any adverse public criticism.

Information regarding the number of other enemy internees in Morocco was also requested.

With regards to paragraph 5 of the Department's telegram under reference, the "second replacement center of the Atlantic base section at Fedhala" is the army designation for Camp Marshal Lyautey.

Information which has reached us from Spain through the Jewish Distribution Committee and other persons dealing with the refugee problem in Spain, however, indicates that the problem of providing temporary refuge in North Africa may have changed materially since the question was first discussed at the Bermuda Conference. We understand that the majority of the refugees are now at liberty in Spain, where they are being supported through the efforts of the J. D. C. and others, and evidence little desire to be removed further from their homelands. The progress of the war has apparently altered their situation and there seems little likelihood that they will be deported to Germany.

Under these circumstances, might it not be desirable before finally determining upon the size of the camp at Fedhala to endeavor to ascertain from the individuals in question how many would wish to proceed to French Morocco under the conditions of the Anglo-American plan? Estimates of the total number of refugees involved have already been reduced from 6,000 to 1,600 of whom a large number are said to have visas for Palestine and would probably wish to proceed direct from Spain or Portugal when conditions of travel permit. In other words, we consider it would be desirable before proceeding further with the scheme to ascertain exactly how many persons would wish to take advantage of the temporary asylum afforded them in French Morocco under the changed conditions in Spain.

Sent to Department, repeated to Madrid and London. [Murphy.]
3106. The following telegram has been sent to Algiers:

429, October 25, 10 p.m. For Murphy. Our 1811, October 21, 5 p.m., to Department. With reference to question raised by you of necessity or desirability of continuing arrangements for removal of stateless refugees from Spain in light of changed conditions here I should like to make following observations:

1. Despite fact that most of these refugees are now at liberty and being supported by American charitable organizations, there is no assurance that they will be allowed to remain at liberty if unable to leave Spain in very near future.

There are in fact signs of increasing annoyance on part of Spanish of their remaining so long in Spain, and it is considered by no means impossible, that many of them may be returned to internment or imprisonment if their stay is perforce prolonged.

2. It is believed that most of these persons would greatly prefer to go to North Africa rather than to remain in Spain if they could be assured of finding there a certain degree of freedom and the right to work. Not many, however, would be anxious merely to exchange a Spanish concentration camp for a French one.

3. Between five and six hundred out of estimated six to seven hundred refugees have Palestine visas but have so far been unable to proceed there. They would, of course, prefer to go directly to Palestine if transportation could be arranged in near future, but if not they would prefer to wait in North Africa if above-mentioned conditions are to obtain.

Repeated to Department and London.

HAYES

840.48 Refugees/4716c: Airgram

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

WASHINGTON, October 26, 1943—10:10 a.m.

A-1444. On August 21, 1943, at Quebec, the Secretary was handed a memorandum by a representative of the British Government "in which it was proposed that in the future approaches to neutral countries concerning refugee questions be made through the Director of

"Correspondence on the conference between President Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill at Quebec in August 1943 is scheduled for publication in a subsequent volume of Foreign Relations."
the Intergovernmental Committee. It was also suggested that any announcement of such a decision should make it clear that the Governments of the United States and Great Britain were not disinterested themselves from these questions but were initiating the proposed procedure for greater efficiency and expedition.

The United States Government agrees to the proposed procedure for approaching neutral governments and has, as you know, already proceeded on this basis with several projects which have come to its attention. It would seem advisable, however, to make an exception for the time being in the case of refugees in Spain where arrangements for their care and evacuation are being made by the representations of the British and United States Governments.

It would not seem proper to make any public announcement of this understanding pending the receipt of replies from the member Governments to the Executive Committee's recommendation for revision of its mandate. Under no circumstances, of course, would our arrangements concerning refugees in Spain be disclosed in a public announcement.

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840.48 Refugees/4711 : Telegram

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

LONDON, October 28, 1943—4 p. m.  
[Received October 28—4 p. m.]

7452. Pursuant to Embassy's 7341, October 25, 4 p. m., 45 we have now received from the Foreign Office a letter dated October 26 which states as follows:

"We concur in the point of view put forward by the State Department and have asked Mr. Macmillan to give Mr. Murphy any support which may be necessary to ensure that the French conditions should be interpreted as liberally as possible. We added that in particular it seemed desirable that all suitable refugees should be allowed to take up some form of employment.

I understand from you that the French authorities have now consented to review the position, and I shall be interested to hear the result, so that the exodus from Spain can begin without any further delay."

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45 Not printed.
The Ambassador in the United Kingdom (Winant) to the Secretary of State

LONDON, October 30, 1943—4 p. m.  
[Received October 30—1:50 p. m.]

7517. Embassy’s 7284, October 22, 7 p. m. The Director has made the exploratory approach to the Swedish Minister and although the Minister shows entire sympathy for the proposal he, nevertheless, states that he does not believe his Government will entertain the idea of approaching the Germans and if it were willing he does not believe there is the slightest chance that the German authorities would agree to release the children. Concerning Sweden’s unwillingness to make the approach he said that recently it had specifically requested the Quisling regime in Norway to allow Norwegian children to go to Sweden to be maintained by the Swedish Government and had encountered a definite refusal. This being the position concerning children from Norway he is confident that his Government will be unwilling to make an approach concerning other children because, first, this would weaken the case as regards Norwegian children for whom it intends to continue its efforts and because second, Sweden could hardly accept a position in which it should be unable to help the children of Norway, a country with which it has close bonds of kinship and sympathy while extending help to children scattered over Germany and occupied areas with whom it does not have the same bonds. The Minister, nevertheless, stated that he is leaving for Stockholm in a few days and consented to put the matter to his Government.

WINANT

840.48 Refugees/4741: Telegram

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

LONDON, November 6, 1943.

[Received November 6—10:35 a. m.]

7713. The Director of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees has proposed that the Vice-Director should immediately visit Italy, presumably by way of North Africa. The Department’s approval is sought as well as the necessary steps with military and civilian authorities concerned to provide requisite facilities. The Em-

* Not printed: it referred to Department’s telegram No. 6316, October 11, 3 p. m., p. 365, and reported the matter had been taken up with the Director of the Intergovernmental Committee (840.48 Refugees/4700).
bassy’s opinion is that refugee matters under consideration here would be greatly benefited by the proposed visits taking place. The Director’s letter making the proposal, dated November 5, follows:

“As we have already told you in personal conversation, we think the time has now come to raise simultaneously with the Foreign Office and the Department of State the question of an immediate visit to Italy by a member of our headquarters staff. Reports about the refugee situation there are now reaching us from various quarters, including information concerning the flight of Yugoslavs and others from the North to the South and inquiries about conditions and proposals for action are continually being presented to us. A prompt visit by the Vice-Director, who is ready to undertake the task, would serve the following vital purposes:

(1) Accurate and impartial, comprehensive and up-to-date factual information would be obtained by a person acquainted with the refugee problem, and representing a body officially and specifically dealing with it. The Office of the Intergovernmental Committee, reorganised as a result of Anglo-American initiative at Bermuda, and publicized as the chief instrumentality of many other nations as well in the refugee field, should be enabled to become quickly the central clearing-house of facts and ideas on the subject. Furthermore early activity by the Intergovernmental Committee in every accessible United Nations or neutral area is a means whereby member governments can demonstrate good faith to persons who may not sufficiently understand the barriers which for the most part prevent current activity on behalf of refugees elsewhere.

(2) First-hand contacts would be made with the authorities—military and civilian, public and private Anglo-American and Italian—who would deal practically with the urgent problems of refugees found in an area liberated by Allied Armies. Such contacts might help those authorities, who are seldom specialists on refugee matters, and who are over-burdened with other duties; certainly, the later and vastly larger work of the Intergovernmental Committee would benefit from having someone at headquarters equipped from the start with direct knowledge of the early sample situation in Italy. While there, he would also be able to prepare for the work of the resident representative, whose appointment in the near future we have previously discussed with you in general terms.

En route to Italy, presumably by way of North Africa the Vice-Director could become briefly acquainted with new developments in situation there, particularly in respect of the proposed camp for refugees now in Spain. After spending a month or two in Italy (Sicily, if necessary), he could stop in North Africa for as much time as had been made desirable by progress with the camp, et cetera.

We should be grateful if you would present our proposal to the proper authorities in the Department of State. If further conversations with yourself or others seem needed, please let us know. Should
the Foreign Office and the Department of State approve of our proposal, we should be glad if they would take the necessary steps with the proper military and civilian authorities in London and Washington, North Africa and Italy, to provide the requisite facilities for the Vice-Director's Mission."

WINANT

840.48 Refugees/4762: Telegram

_The Ambassador in the United Kingdom (Winant) to the Secretary of State_

LONDON, November 11, 1943.
[Received November 11—11:59 p.m.]

7865. By letter dated October 1st we communicated to the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees the substance of Department’s 6009, September 29 and have today received the following reply dated November 10 in which the Director confidentially requests certain information probably in the possession of the United States Treasury:

"May I refer you to your letter of the 1st October with which you conveyed a message from the State Department relating to a proposal put forward by Dr. Goldmann of the World Jewish Congress to provide food, clothing, et cetera to remnant groups of surviving Jews located in Central Europe.

As you know we wrote to the International Red Cross asking it to supply us as soon as possible with as detailed an outline as possible of such particular projects as it might recommend as practical for the assistance of the groups in question. We further suggested that it should limit itself to recommending projects whose nature is such that only lack of funds prevents their being undertaken or extended. We still await a reply.

In the meantime, however, we have received some information regarding the help that is being given, first by Allied Governments to their own nationals including Jews, and secondly by voluntary organizations, mainly Jewish, to Jews in occupied territory. Our information is, however, far from complete and in order to put the case fully before the Executive Committee in due course we should have complete and accurate knowledge of what is being done under existing arrangements insofar as it affects persons coming within the mandate of the Intergovernmental Committee.

We understand that the normal system is for the United States Treasury or the British Treasury as the case may be to grant licenses giving exchange facilities to the Allied Governments or to the organizations as the case may be for the purpose of purchasing food et cetera in certain neutral countries. The food so purchased is then sent, under certain guarantees, for the benefit of the nationals or the Jewish groups respectively in the occupied territory."
We are at present inclined to think that whatever may be the nature of the reply from the International Red Cross, the extension of the existing system may be a contribution towards the problem that has been referred to us. In any case it is a relevant fact about which the Executive Committee will wish to be informed. We shall be grateful therefore if you can obtain from the American Treasury through the State Department information regarding the licences now in force which have been issued for this purpose, the Governments or organizations to which they have been granted and the amount of the exchange facilities to which they relate. This information would be treated as strictly confidential and for the information of the Executive Committee only.

I have written a similar letter to Mr. Randall of the Foreign Office.

WINANT

840.48 Refugees/4770: Telegram

The Consul General at Algiers (Wiley) to the Secretary of State

ALGIERS, November 11, 1943—10 p. m.
[Received November 14—2:30 a. m.]

1977. From Murphy. Translation of reply of November 9 received from French in regard to camp for refugees from Spain at Fedhala, Morocco follows:

The personal representative of President Roosevelt, North Africa by note 36 of October 18 kindly advised the Commissioner for Foreign Affairs of the agreement of the Government of the United States to the proposals of the French Committee concerning the project for accommodating in Morocco certain stateless refugees or nationals of enemy countries who are now held in Spain.

Mr. Murphy has moreover called the attention of the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs to the interest which the American-British Governments attach to it not appearing that these refugees are being submitted to the internment regime of a concentration camp.

The Commissioner for Foreign Affairs has the honor to advise Mr. Murphy that it has never been the intention of the Committee to subject foreign refugees to measures designed to deprive them of liberty. French Committee wishes as do the British and American Governments to assure as generous as possible an asylum to refugees but it has appeared indispensable to take certain precautions with regard to persons whose antecedents are not known and for whom a simple review of the file would not furnish sufficient guarantees.

It is of course understood that the French authorities are prepared after an examination of each particular case to grant permission to work in Morocco to refugees, who can continue their professional work without disadvantage to the economy of the Protectorate. In this connection such refugees will enjoy the right to remain in the area where it will have been possible to obtain employment for them, with the sole reservations of conforming to such controls which may be deemed necessary.
With respect to refugees who will not have been authorized to work and who as a result will have to be cared for at the Fedala [Fedhala] camp, it goes without saying that the French administration, if the occasion arises will grant them facilities to remain away temporarily from the Housing Center, on the condition that they maintain their regular residence at the camp and observe scrupulously the laws and regulations of the country in particular those regarding immigration.

The Commissioner of Foreign Affairs hopes that these decisions, which have been taken with the twofold concern of treating unfortunate foreigners in a humane manner and of safeguarding order and security in the territories under French sovereignty, will meet with the approval of the American and British Governments.

Repeat to Madrid and London. [Murphy.]

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840.48 Refugees/4930a : Telegram

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

WASHINGTON, November 17, 1943.

7287. Will you advise the Department in response to no. 6009, September 29, what action the Intergovernmental Committee may have taken. If no action has been taken please urge that the decision be made favorable to the proposal.

For your information Department has this afternoon conferred with Dr. Goldmann and Rabbi Miller in connection with projects under that program.

Department has committed itself to support an application to the Treasury for the issuance of a license for $250,000 to be held in Switzerland as a contingent reserve for emergency purposes and to be expended for payment for the cost of projects approved by the International Red Cross and authorized by the Intergovernmental Committee and to be expended in case official contributions from the British and American Governments are not available.

Hull

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840.48 Refugees/4786 : Telegram

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

LONDON, November 19, 1943.

[Received November 19—9:52 p.m.]

8095. By letter of November 3rd we made known to the Foreign Office the substance of Department's airgram 1444, October 26th. The
following letter dated November 17 from Randall, Foreign Office Counselor, requests the Department’s agreement to certain suggestions, and the Department’s instructions would be appreciated:

“Thank you for your letter of the 3rd November informing me that the United States Government agree that approaches to neutral countries on refugee matters should be made for reasons of efficiency and expedition, through the Director of the Intergovernmental Committee.

The Foreign Office would like this agreement to be one for procedure in general and they hope that eventually the Intergovernmental Committee will deal with all refugee matters within its mandate. They agree, however, that for the present an exception to this practice should be the arrangements by the United States and His Majesty’s Governments for the care and evacuation of refugees in Spain.

It would also, we would suggest, be advisable that another exception should be the arrangement for the evacuation of refugees from enemy-occupied countries through Turkey in transit to Palestine and other countries of asylum. His Majesty’s Government have now practically completed arrangements with the Turkish Government for journeys of children from Roumania and Hungary through Turkey to Palestine and I think you would agree that it would be inconvenient for the Intergovernmental Committee to deal with this matter at this stage. They would not wish either that the Intergovernmental Committee should deal with matters concerning Greek refugees who escape from Greece to Turkey; when Greece joins the Committee and accepts its recommendations then this can be reconsidered. Lastly, the question of the refugees in Italy is pending, and until we have the Commander-in-Chief’s observations on the suggestion to send Malin to make a report, this matter must, we think, also be reserved.

The Foreign Office consider that it might be an advantage if the United States Government and His Majesty’s Government agree to make the approach jointly to the Director of the Intergovernmental Committee to carry into effect such projects as the two Governments consider practicable for the rescue and care of refugees.

The Foreign Office agree that no public announcement of these arrangements would be proper pending member-governments’ replies to the Executive Committee’s recommendations for the revision of the mandate of the organization, nor in any event should there be any disclosure of arrangements concerning refugees in Spain, except after mutual consultation and taking into account views of United States and British Ambassadors in Madrid.

I should be grateful if you would forward the Foreign Office views on these matters to the State Department and inform me whether they are in agreement with them. If they are, then I would suggest that if you or we are confronted with any refugee problem other than the exceptions I have named we should turn it over to Sir Herbert Emerson, each informing the other that he has done so.”

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

London, November 24, 1943.
[Received November 24—4:11 p.m.]

8211. Algiers repeated to us its telegram 1977, November 11, 10 p.m., and we communicated its substance to the Foreign Office from which we now have the following reply dated today and signed by Randall:

"We have confirmation of the French terms as set out in your letter and in the interests of swift action are prepared to agree generally. If your Government approve, Mr. Murphy and Mr. Macmillan might consult and, when the appropriate moment arrives, tell our respective Embassies in Madrid to put the necessary machinery there in motion. Please let me have your views."

Please instruct.

WINANT

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Spain (Hayes) 47

Washington, November 26, 1943—10 p.m.

2516. Please take action as indicated in following telegram sent to Murphy 48 and keep Department advised for its information of movement of refugees.

"We accept with appreciation the French Committee's offer of the assembly center for refugees at Fedhala as set forth in the letter of November 9 of the French Commissioner of Foreign Affairs quoted in translation in your 1977 November 11, 10 p.m., taking note that the French Committee does not intend to subject the refugees to measures designed to deprive them of liberty.

We are repeating this telegram to the American Ambassador in Madrid asking him to communicate through you with Beckelman of the Lehman organization, who is now en route to North Africa, and arrange with the latter to receive the refugees after concerting with the British Ambassador in Madrid to evacuate them.

We are also repeating this to London with instructions that the proper British authorities be informed and asked to issue such instructions to the British officials concerned to cooperate as may be necessary.

We are also asking Embassy at London to repeat to you Department's 7336 November 19 and Embassy's 7683 November 5 49 regarding British personnel for assembly center."

HULL

47 Similar telegram sent on the same date to the Ambassador in the United Kingdom as telegram No. 7486.
48 Telegram No. 12, November 26, 10 p.m.
49 Neither printed.
FORCED EMIGRATION

840.48 Refugees/4816: Telegram

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

LONDON, November 29, 1943.
[Received November 29—4:30 p.m.]

8328. Upon receiving Department's telegram 7287, 17th, regarding proposal for refugee relief through International Red Cross we wrote Director of Intergovernmental Committee on November 18 and have now received his reply dated November 26 as follows:

"In reference to your letter of November 18 in the matter of a proposal to provide food, clothing and medicine to remnant groups of surviving Jews in central Europe, may I first call your attention to my letter of November 10 dealing with this question. We still await a reply from the International Red Cross Committee in Geneva to the original cabled and written enquiry which went forward in the middle of October; but we are informed by the Committee's delegate in London that last week on his own initiative he cabled asking for speed.

The Director's office appreciates the Department of State's urgent desire that a decision may be made favourable to the proposal, but it is of course necessary—as emphasized in your letter of October 1 by which this matter was referred to us—to present somewhat specific projects for consideration by the Executive Committee of the Intergovernmental Committee. In an effort to combine promptness with definiteness and acting on the basis of recent information, we have now had an additional conference with the International Red Cross Committee's representatives in London and as a result they are cabling to Geneva again along the following lines.

They are asking for a cabled reply to our original enquiry giving such details as are possible concerning particular projects. In addition they are asking the International Red Cross Committee to give urgent consideration to the possibility of a further arrangement whereby funds might be placed at its disposal to enable it to take advantage of opportunities as they arise of meeting emergency needs.

Such an arrangement would, it is being pointed out to the International Red Cross Committee, depend on the fulfillment of three conditions: First, that the German Government obtain no benefit from the execution of any project; second, that there must be assurance of supplies reaching the intended beneficiaries; and third that an account be rendered.

The International Red Cross Committee is being requested after consideration of the above tentative proposal to cable the amount of an initial advance which could be expended during the next 3 months. As soon as a reply from Geneva permits us to do so we shall present the matter for consideration by the Executive Committee—which was informed at its meeting on November 18 of the State Department's original letter of October 1 and the preliminary action taken thereon.

A copy of this letter is being sent to Mr. Randall at the Foreign Office.

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

WASHINGTON, November 30, 1943.

7574. With reference to the arrangement for evacuation of children from Hungary and Rumania through Turkey, mentioned in your 8095, November 19, we have received no information indicating that the Turkish Government is considering a reversal of its original decision. Please keep Department fully advised on such matters. Department concurs in your suggestion concerning Greek refugees escaping into Turkey.

Department agrees that it is advisable for the United States and British Governments to present jointly to the Director of the Inter-governmental Committee such projects as the two Governments consider practicable for the rescue and maintenance of refugees.

A separate message is being sent to you concerning Malin's proposed visit to Italy. ①

HULL

The Vice Consul at Izmir (Johnson) to the Secretary of State

IZMIR, December 1, 1943—9 p. m.
[Received December 2—12:03 p. m.]

58. Germans on Samos have issued proclamation stating population will not be oppressed; also that population must arrange own food problems.

To date about 10,000 island refugees arrived Kusadasi and are being rapidly evacuated to Aleppo as result of excellent cooperation between Turkish, British, Greek authorities.

JOHNSON

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

LONDON, December 2, 1943.
[Received December 2—2:10 p. m.]

8405. Below is quoted a letter dated November 29 from the Foreign Office signed by Randall concerning maintenance of Dodecanesian refugees. Department will note that the question is raised of referring

① Telegram No. 7556, November 30, p. 227.
the matter to the Intergovernmental Committee. In that connection the Director informally tells us that he sees no obstacle thereto in the Greek or Greco-Italian character of the refugees nor in the non-membership of Greece; that the IGC would be ready for the responsibility; but that all should understand that an organization would have to be built up including a field office probably at Cairo. Department may wish to consider possibility of Cairo office in relation with the five offices recently suggested. Embassy has informed Foreign Office that letter is being forwarded to Department and instructions are being requested. Text of November 29 letter follows:

"A problem has arisen in regard to the maintenance of Dodecanesian refugees mainly of Greek origin and including women and children, brought by the military authorities to the Middle East. These people are, of course, Italian subjects and while the British Government, in view of the urgency of the problem, have assumed initial financial responsibility for them, we have asked Mr. Macmillan to notify the Italian Government that they will have to refund any necessary expenditure. We do not know if the Italian Government are prepared to accept this charge or will attempt to dispute it, but obviously we must feel sceptical about their ability to pay.

We should be grateful to know whether your Government would be prepared to share the cost of maintenance of these refugees with the British Government on a 50/50 basis. Or would they favour the question being put up to the Intergovernmental Committee? I have mentioned the question privately to Sir Herbert Emerson. The procedure of approaching the Committee would raise delicate issues because the Greeks, who have not yet joined the Committee, would have to be consulted before this particular class of refugee could be accepted under the Committee's mandate and on the whole we feel it would make for simplicity if the United States Government could see their way to agree to share the cost of maintenance and also to help with supplies.

Our Minister of State in Cairo reports that clothing, with which these refugees will have to be furnished, cannot be provided from local resources. In view of the demands for clothing for refugees in Italy which so far cannot be met, I doubt if Algiers could provide any. I also think it practically certain that the Board of Trade would confirm that there are no supplies of new clothing to be procured from this country. We are, however, asking them about this. If these two sources fail, I can only suggest that the American Red Cross might be asked if they can increase the supplies which they are already generously giving, or the Middle East Supply Centre might be requested to procure clothing for this special purpose.

I should be very grateful for your views on this problem, which has come upon us unexpectedly and is a serious addition to the heavy responsibilities in transport, accommodation and supplies which we have been carrying for the last 18 months over the clearance of the Polish refugees from Persia. I should add that estimates of the numbers which will eventually be involved are about 20,000; the Middle East Refugee and Rehabilitation Administration in Cairo is assuming responsibility for housing in its area of operation, but sup-
plies and maintenance generally would appear to be beyond their present resources. Hence this letter, which I should be glad to supplement with a talk if you wish it."

Bucknell

840.48 Refugees/4861

Memorandum by the Chief of the Visa Division (Travers) to the Assistant Secretary of State (Long)

[WASHINGTON,] December 3, 1943.

Mr. Hayter of the British Embassy called on me yesterday with reference to the six-thousand children who are in France and who Mr. Leavitt \(^{51}\) desires to move to Switzerland. It seems that the Swiss Government is willing to accept these children if they can have a guarantee that the children will be moved after the war. Mr. Leavitt proposed that between one-thousand and three-thousand numbers be used in the Palestine quota and I had previously told Mr. Leavitt that we would recommend that procedure to Mr. Hayter. Mr. Hayter has submitted the matter to London but desires also that the matter be taken up by the Intergovernmental Committee. He asked if we had any objection to the Intergovernmental Committee giving consideration to the movement of these children to other countries as well as Palestine and I told him, of course, we would be glad to save these children and send them to any country where they would be safe.

I mentioned that we could not agree to accept them here after the war as we could not answer for the future especially as there might be a change in the immigration laws. He is taking up the matter with the Intergovernmental Committee and I told him that we agreed with his proposal to do so.

H. K. Travers

840.48 Refugees/4856b: Telegram

The Secretary of State to the American Representative to the French Committee of National Liberation at Algiers (Wilson)

WASHINGTON, December 4, 1943—9 p.m.

64. For Murphy and Gordon \(^{52}\) from Fryer and Latimer. \(^{53}\) In view agreement for establishment refugee center Morocco, cable us authority from AFHQ for transportation from U.S. for one ad-

\(^{51}\) Moses A. Leavitt, Secretary of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee.

\(^{52}\) Paul W. Gordon, Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations; on staff of Robert D. Murphy, Chief Civil Affairs Officer at Algiers.

\(^{53}\) Presumably Murray Latimer, Assistant Director, Liberated Areas Branch, Foreign Economic Administration.
ministrative officer, two nurses, one nutritionist, two stenographers, and one port and transportation officer,—all for refugee center. This personnel will be sent when we receive notice from you. Cable was recently sent British requesting them to furnish initially one doctor, two nurses, one recreational organizer and one person with experience in camp operations. Advise Hoehler when they will be needed.

Beckelman 64 is directed to communicate with Hayes regarding advisability his going to Spain to canvass situation with refugees. In this connection we feel it very desirable refugees should understand fully nature and conditions of center and accept before they leave Spain.

Fryer indicates following steps in completing final arrangements for center:

1. Official designation of Camp Marshal Lyautey and its assignment by Army for purposes refugee center.
2. Confirm arrangements previously made with Army for necessary equipment and supplies and advise us accordingly.
3. Renew arrangements for temporary assignment of automotive and truck transportation. Passenger cars from here for center have been shipped and trucks already purchased and awaiting shipment.

[Fryer and Latimer.]

HULL

840.48 Refugees/4837: Telegram

The American Representative to the French Committee of National Liberation at Algiers (Wilson) to the Secretary of State

ALGIERS, December 6, 1943—8 p. m.
[Received December 7—10:06 a. m.]

103. It was decided at a meeting held today between Beckelman, representatives French Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, office British Minister, Allied and French military security organizations and this office that it would be desirable for Beckelman, reference Department's telegram no. 12, November 26 55 and my 102 today, 56 to proceed to Madrid at an early date to investigate the type of refugees to be evacuated to French North Africa and then return with an advance party of selected refugees who would assist him in organizing the camp at Fedhala to receive main body of refugees as soon as they are accepted and can be transported. Beckelman probably will stop off in Rabat on route to Madrid to discuss details with French Moroccan officials.

Discussion at meeting concerned chiefly form of document of iden-

64 Moses William Beckelman, representative of the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations.
65 See footnote 48, p. 378.
66 Not printed.
tity that will be issued to accepted refugees before they leave Spain. It was tentatively agreed to use a modified form of document similar to that prescribed in the 1938 League of Nations Convention on Stateless Refugees 87 which could be used as a travel document. However, the Intergovernmental Committee may have approved a new form of international certificate, in which event such form might be used.

In course of discussion French authorities emphasized that the Fedhala camp should be considered primarily as a transit site pending the employment of refugees in North Africa or their emigration to points elsewhere.

French authorities also raised question of medical examination of refugees prior to their departure from Spain. Beckelman will explore this question in connection with his plans for American and British personnel for the camp.

It was suggested that a joint French, British, American committee would be formed at Madrid and have charge of screening refugees prior to departure.

Aforementioned meeting took place prior to receipt of Department’s 64, December 4, 9 p.m. Paragraph 2 is construed as granting authority for Beckelman to proceed to Madrid provided Ambassador Hayes perceives no objection. In connection Department’s comment that it is very desirable that refugees should understand fully nature and conditions of center and accept before they leave Spain, it would be useful to Beckelman if he could be informed what plans (if any) have been developed to find ultimate destinations for refugees outside of North Africa, in particular, aged persons, children and those with disabilities which would interfere with or prevent their finding gainful occupations.

Sent to Department, repeated Madrid, Rabat and London for Hoehler.

WILSON

840.48 Refugees/4838 : Telegram

The American Representative to the French Committee of National Liberation at Algiers (Wilson) to the Secretary of State

ALGIERS, December 7, 1943—5 p.m.
[Received December 8—12:44 a.m.]

106. The office of the British Minister has brought to our attention a telegram from the British Foreign Office regarding a joint British-

American statement concerning the refugee camp at Fedhala, Morocco which it is proposed to include in a general public statement on the results of the Bermuda Refugee Conference. Following is the substance of the reply of the office of the British Minister to the Foreign Office.

(1) Because of the extreme sensitiveness which the French [Committee?] is now showing, our American colleagues and ourselves agreed to show the draft statement (quoted in telegram from Foreign Office) to the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs. The French do not object to publicity but put forward an alternative draft which seemed unsatisfactory as it omitted any reference to any American responsibility for the camp or to their payment of cost of maintenance.

(2) The French, with great difficulty, have been persuaded to agree to the following draft. This is substantially their version with the exception of the second sentence which has been added and which the French dislike but are prepared to accept. Statement begins:

"The French Commissariat of Foreign Affairs are in agreement with the Governments of the U.S. and the U.K, has taken appropriate steps to receive in Morocco certain refugees who have escaped from territories occupied by the Axis and at present residing in Spain.

The Committee on its side is providing necessary accommodation while British and American Governments have agreed to share between them cost of maintenance of center, which will be directed by a joint American, British and French staff. Refugees will find temporary assignment there until permanent arrangements can be made for them. With removal of refugees to Morocco and transfer of others to Palestine the greater part of refugees in Spain and Portugal will have been removed to other destinations."

End of statement.

(3) Of course the main object of redraft is to bring out French contribution to plan. The French made following additional points:

(a) In view of Moroccan susceptibilities they would prefer to avoid emphasis on American direction.

(b) They dislike the word "camp" which to the French reader would convey idea of a concentration camp.

(4) We agreed to submit redraft and French comments to Foreign Office but explained that it would not be promised that it would be possible to alter the statement at this stage if the statement is still to be made. We hope, however, that it may be possible to go someway at least to meet the points of the French and of British message to Foreign Office.

Office of British Minister has informed us that British Ambassador in Madrid has objected to any publicity at this time concerning the

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58 See telegram No. 8478, December 5, from the Chargé in the United Kingdom, p. 220.
Fedhala camp on grounds that plan for evacuation of the refugees from Spain might be interfered with through German pressure. Repeated to London, Madrid.

WILSON

84648 Refugees/4762: Telegram

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

WASHINGTON, December 7, 1943—11 p. m.

7745. You may inform the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, in reply to your 7865, November 11, as follows, of operations so far in 1943:

1. Licenses have been issued to the American Red Cross for the export of 148 tons of foodstuffs and 4,850 pounds of clothing to Spain for refugee relief. Export licenses have also been issued to American Red Cross for shipment of $2,958 of medicinals to Switzerland, presumably for refugees. The American Friends Service Committee has been allowed to export approximately 56 tons of new and used clothing to Spain and 10 tons of clothing to Switzerland all for distribution to refugees. No licenses have been issued for the shipment of clothing through the blockade to occupied territory.

2. Department and Treasury have authorized five food package schemes based on Portugal and one on Sweden in the amount of $12,000 monthly for each program subject to the following conditions: (a) the contents of the packages must be confined to foodstuffs indigenous to Portugal, or Sweden as the case may be, and not of a kind imported through the blockade; (b) adequate assurances must be furnished of the receipt of the package by the addressees; and (c) the number, size and contents of the packages must be approved by the American Minister. Licenses for the shipment of packages from Portugal have been issued to: The Belgian Embassy in Washington for Belgium; the Polish American Council for Poland, other than Jewish communities; the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee for Jewish communities in Poland (no funds have been transmitted thus far under this authorization); the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee for Czechoslovakia; and the Netherlands War Relief Center, Inc., for the Netherlands. Norwegian Relief, Inc., has been issued a license for the shipment of packages from Sweden to Norway.

3. Department has occasionally approved exceptional shipments of other food packages under the same restrictions. For example, the
transfer of $100,000 for the purchase of 250 tons of foodstuffs in Turkey for distribution in Trans-Istria was recently authorized.

4. In addition, Department and FEA have periodically approved small shipments of food and medical supplies from within a neutral country to occupied areas for the relief of civilians, particularly women and children. The Governments-in-exile of Belgium, Norway, Yugoslavia, Netherlands, Poland and Czechoslovakia have all made partial use of a credit of £500,000 in Swiss francs made available to them by the British for the purchase of relief supplies in Switzerland. Purchases have been limited to milk and milk products, medical supplies, some meat and ascorbic acid. Department has generally insisted that distribution of such goods be under the control of the International Red Cross.

5. Licenses for export of medical supplies through the blockade totaled over $700,000 in 1943, excluding pharmaceuticals sent to Greece.

6. It must be clearly kept in mind that Greek relief program is exceptional and is considered as completely separate from the food package program in paragraph 2 above.

7. There is no way of determining exactly how many or what percentage of the recipients of the food package programs mentioned above are persons who come within the mandate of the Intergovernmental Committee.

HULL

840.48 Refugees/1838 : Telegram

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

WASHINGTON, December 8, 1943—7 p. m.

7760. Have received Algiers 106, December 7, 5 p. m. Mr. Long’s statement referred only in general way to the place of temporary residence center in Africa and is not out of line with the thought in the French draft.

HULL

59 Foreign Economic Administration.

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

LONDON, December 8, 1943.  
[Received December 8—8:45 p. m.]

8533. Please instruct regarding the following note dated December 3d from Foreign Office, and state whether we should obtain from Foreign Office material mentioned in final sentence:

"We consider that there is a case for handing over to the Intergovernmental Committee the problem presented by civilian refugees, whether Allied or stateless, who have succeeded in escaping to Switzerland. Such a procedure would fall in with our generally agreed policy of lightening the burden imposed upon the Swiss authorities by the abnormal influx of refugees into Switzerland since the Italian armistice. Neither Allied military refugees (escaped prisoners of war) nor military internees in the strict sense (e.g. British and the Polish divisions) should, in our view, fall within the Committee’s sphere of action.

I should be grateful if you would find out the views of the State Department and let me know them. If they agree, then we could cooperate in drawing up the terms of reference to the Director, who would require to know what offers of help had been made to the Swiss Government in connection with refugees, what help was now being given and what were the Swiss requirements, economic, financial and political, stated in response to the joint inquiry by the United States and British Ministers last September. We now have material on all this."

Bucknell

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

WASHINGTON, December 9, 1943—6 p. m.

A—1688. You are requested to transmit to the Director of the Intergovernmental Committee the following information which is contained in telegram No. 7262, November 19, from Bern.61

Mr. Pilet Golaz 62 gave the American Legation at Bern a note dated November 16, which describes the responsibilities and burdens which the influx of refugees has placed on the Swiss Government as follows:

The large number of refugees who have arrived in Switzerland places that country in a more and more exposed position and it assumes

61 Not printed.
62 Marcel Pilet-Golaz, Chief of the Swiss Federal Political Department.
a great responsibility in receiving them. The Federal Council is first of all concerned with strictly maintaining the country’s neutrality and in knowing that this neutrality will be respected by the warring nations in accordance with the assurances which were given in this respect by careful avoidance of all incidents which might compromise it in the eyes of one or another. Many of the refugees in Switzerland, however, are considered unstable and unassimilable.

The refugees realize that Switzerland can only provide temporary shelter for them and that later they must go elsewhere to establish their homes. It would be helpful for the refugees themselves as well as for the Swiss authorities to have assurances that as soon as circumstances permit, they can depart from Switzerland and that the American Government will cooperate in this respect.

Swiss authorities are concerned as regards the proper means of keeping these uprooted elements orderly and quiet. Police control alone is not enough. In order to avoid demoralization they must be kept busy and provided with work. Work can only be provided so long as the stable population is not unemployed. Refugees cannot be employed on public utility works if native labor must be employed in this manner as a means of lessening unemployment among Swiss citizens.

The possibilities available to the Swiss for importing and exporting determines the extent to which Swiss industry can be kept active. If foreign trade is reduced, unemployment will result which will have profound repercussions on the serious problem for Switzerland of receiving and taking care of refugees. The Federal Council would like the United States Government to give sympathetic consideration to this aspect of the question as its importance from a moral and practical standpoint goes beyond the actual costs of providing refugees with food, clothing, housing and other necessities.

The material charges in caring for refugees are considerable. The Swiss Government so far has spent over 100,000,000 francs on behalf of refugees and internees. This does not include gifts by the Swiss people of over 12,500,000 francs as well as clothing, foodstuffs, and loan of buildings and grounds free of charge by individuals or various institutions. Expenses of maintaining refugees are increasing daily and further facilities of a financial nature will certainly be necessary. Nearly 63,000 refugees are being cared for, 30,000 of whom arrived within a few weeks in a completely destitute condition. To provide warm clothing, and blankets for these people the stocks set aside for the needs of the Swiss population as well as the army stocks have had to be used.
Requirements of the large refugee population became more and more of a burden on food supplies which, at the beginning of the fifth year of the war, are evidently very limited. The Federal Council hopes that if the need arises it can make supplementary purchases for this purpose and that the United States Government will consider with sympathy requests which may be presented for licenses to purchase and transport stocks for replacement including foodstuffs and textiles.

HULL

840.48 Refugees/4852: Telegram

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

LONDON, December 9, 1943.
[Received December 9—11:59 p.m.]

8553. We followed out the instructions contained in Department’s 7486, November 26, 10 p.m., in a letter to the Foreign Office dated November 30 and have now received from the Foreign Office the following letter dated December 8:

"Thank you for your letter of 30th November about the proposed camp for refugees at Fedhala.

We have asked our Ambassador at Madrid and also our Resident Minister at Algiers to concert with their United States colleagues in arranging for the transfer and reception of the refugees.

Sir Samuel Hoare informs us that he is supporting the approach to the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs by asking for permission to evacuate the refugees from Malaga. Since the next convoy of French refugees are to leave on December 15, it will not be possible for the ‘stateless’ refugees to leave at least until December 25. We feel, however, that this delay may have the advantage that more time will be given for preparations to be made in North Africa.

Both our Embassies feel that, in view of possible German reactions, publicity would be undesirable before the transfer is over and that any public announcement should, therefore, be postponed for at least 3 weeks."

We are not yet repeating this message to either Madrid or Algiers feeling that the Department may have its own instructions in the matter.

Bucknell

See footnote 47, p. 378.
The First Secretary of the British Embassy (Hayter) to the Chief of the Visa Division (Travers)

WASHINGTON, December 13, 1943.

DEAR MR. TRAVERS: The Foreign Office have been approached by the European Division of the World Jewish Congress on the subject of the Jewish deportees from Roumania at present in Trans-Dniestria. The World Jewish Congress are naturally concerned as to the possibility of deportation of these refugees by the retreating German army. The numbers concerned are said to be between 75,000 and 150,000. The World Jewish Congress have asked that measures be taken to rescue these people, which according to information supplied by their headquarters in New York is a possibility since Antonescu is said to be willing to be conciliatory. The Congress therefore suggest an approach to the Roumanian Government through the latter's representative in Lisbon or Ankara.

The Foreign Office admit that the military and other difficulties in the way of the proposed action are obvious. They would nevertheless like to know whether the United States Government has received a similar approach and have any views on the method of dealing with the question. In particular they enquire whether the United States Government would be prepared to join in any approach to the Soviet Government, or to recommend such an approach to the World Jewish Congress.

I should be very glad to have your views on the above.

Yours sincerely,

W. G. HAYTER

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840.48 Refugees/4874a: Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Spain (Hayes)\(^6\)

WASHINGTON, December 13, 1943—midnight.

2637. The House Committee on Foreign Affairs released on December 10, the text of a statement made before the committee by Assistant Secretary Long, regarding the refugee problem. This statement contained a résumé of action taken by the American Government and by governments associated with it for the rescue and relief of these unfortunate people. Brief mention was made of the transportation to a camp in North Africa of the stateless refugees now in Spain.

HULL

\(^6\) Gen. Ion Antonescu, Rumanian Prime Minister.

\(^6\) The same on the same date to the Ambassador in France as No. 130.
840.48 Refugees/4947: Telegram

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

WASHINGTON, December 16, 1943.

7946. Concerning problem of assisting the large number of refugees who have escaped to Switzerland mentioned in your 8533 December 8, this Government wishes to lighten burden on Swiss as much as possible. We concur with views expressed in note from British Foreign Office. Please collaborate with British in drawing up terms of reference to IGC Director and submit to Department for our information. Regarding offers of help made to Swiss Government, Department has not yet replied to note from Swiss dated November 16, outlining needs of that country as a result of influx of refugees. Reply to Swiss note is being drafted and you will be advised of commitments this Government may make to assist Swiss in caring for refugees. Swiss note paraphrased to London in A-1688 December 9.

HULL

840.48 Refugees/4911

Memorandum by the Chief of the Visa Division (Travers)

[WASHINGTON,] December 17, 1943.

Mr. Hayter, of the British Embassy, called upon me on December 16th and I told him of the telegrams which we have exchanged with Turkey and also efforts to cause the Rumanians to permit the Jews who had been deported to Trans-Dniestria to be returned to Rumania and thus not be caught between the German and Rumanian armies. I mentioned that this had been tentatively agreed to but the Germans had become aware of it and had stopped the movement after four thousand had been approved. I also told him that we were sending a further telegram to Turkey on the matter. I was emphatic that we had had no direct dealings with the Rumanians and that these arrangements were made some time ago.

Concerning any approach to Russia, I said that we certainly had no objections to the British Government approaching the Soviet Government and that we would be prepared to join in such an approach but I personally was in some doubt as to the advisability of it.

HOWARD K. TRAVERS

65 None printed.
66 See telegram No. 1399, December 20, 10 p. m., to the Minister in Sweden, p. 393.
FORCED EMIGRATION

840.48 Refugees/4789: Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Switzerland (Harrison)

WASHINGTON, December 17, 1943—11 p.m.

3159. Reference Legation’s 7262, November 19. Following telegram has been sent to London.

"From Department and FEA. Swiss Federal Council delivered on November 16 a note to U.S. and British Legations in Bern describing the heavy burden imposed on their economy by the refugee problem and indicating that reduction in their exports may cause unemployment which will make even more difficult their aid to refugees.

Department and FEA suggest that the substance of the following communication be presented to the Swiss authorities by the British and U.S. Legations:

'The United States Government is aware of and appreciates greatly the generous reception which the Swiss Government has extended to the large number of refugees who have made their way to Swiss territory. This Government also looks forward to the time when these refugees may be repatriated and will lend its cooperation in every feasible way toward the achievement of this end.

This Government appreciates also the burden upon Swiss resources resulting from the care of these refugees and will be glad to give sympathetic consideration to such proposals as the Swiss Government may wish to make with a view to easing the burden which the care of these refugees has placed on the Swiss economy. The Swiss Government may be assured that the Governments of the United States and United Kingdom will give as favorable consideration as circumstances permit to requests for the purchase and import through the blockade of additional supplies of foodstuffs and textiles to relieve the burden placed on Swiss resources by reason of assistance extended to refugees.

In this connection reference is made to the Department's telegram 2537, October 15, in which mention was made of the sympathetic attitude in this country on the part of various relief organizations and their desire to be of assistance. Funds in substantial amounts, contributed for foreign relief, are available in the United States if the Swiss Government desires to avail itself of this assistance.'

If you and your British colleagues agree, please inform the Legations in Bern."

No action should be taken pursuant to above message until British agreement is communicated to you by Embassy, London.

HULL

840.48 Refugees/4859: Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Sweden (Johnson)

WASHINGTON, December 20, 1943—10 p. m.

1399. Department’s 1194 November 5. The Consulate General at Istanbul reported on November 1 that the Rumanian Government was engaged in repatriating some 65,000 Jews from Transnistria. A

Not printed; it contained translation of a note dated November 16, 1943, from the Swiss Foreign Office.

Not printed.
further report dated December 11 indicated, however, that German
pressure had forced the Rumanian Government to abandon these
plans and reduce the number to be repatriated to 4,000. The Depart-
ment is accordingly sending Istanbul telegraphic instructions as
follows:

“The Department has no information other than that contained in
your 482R98 November 26 and 530R107 December 11 79 regarding the
character and extent of any measures the Rumanian government may
have taken to effect the repatriation of the Rumanian Jews remaining
in Transnistria.

“The Department would like you to continue to utilize every oppor-
tunity to emphasize in suitable quarters the lively interest of the
American Government and people in the fate of those Jews in Trans-
nistria who remain alive today but would face extermination if left
at the mercy of the retreating Nazi armies. You should leave no
doubt as to the depth of the American feeling of revulsion at and
abhorrence of such a disregard of the elemental laws of humanity as
would be represented by the failure of the Rumanian government to
take all measures within its means to prevent further slaughtering of
these unfortunate people.”

You should be guided by the foregoing.

HULL

840.48 Refugees/4901 : Telegram

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

LONDON, December 24, 1943.

[Received December 25—4:48 a.m.]

8975. In connection with difficult problem of necessary limits to
publicity in refugee matters Department may be interested in the fol-
lowing examples of complaints by certain organizations concerned
with refugees against publicity demanded by other organizations
concerned with refugees.

We have been supplied translation purporting to be communication
December 18 from International Red Cross Geneva to London Red
Cross delegates as follows:

“Have just dispatched to you detailed letter concerning action sug-
gested by World Jewish Congress. Press releases that Breckinridge
Long, Assistant Secretary of State, informed Foreign Affairs Com-
mitee of House of Representatives 780 that United States Treasury
were examining desirability first transfer to Switzerland of $250,000
for assistance to Jews on request of Jewish body New York to send
funds to International Red Cross understood to contemplate purchase

79 Neither printed.
780 See footnote 11, p. 228.
food supplies for relief of remnants Jews in Poland and Czechoslovakia. Although we appreciate that our efforts are recognized we consider this publicity regrettable as stated in letter of Malin to Haccins dated October 12. We feel that publicity to our efforts will compromise our slender chances to take action in Germany and occupied territories. Please inform Intergovernmental Committee pointing out that extreme discretion is essential in interest of beneficiaries for whom relief is envisaged."

Intergovernmental Committee Vice Director Malin received letter dated December 22 from Easterman of World Jewish Congress London as follows:

"We are most surprised to read in today's issue of Jewish Telegraphic Agency Bulletin a message from Washington to the effect that Mr. Breckinridge Long, United States Secretary of State, has disclosed to the House Foreign Affairs Committee the scheme for the distribution of relief in Europe through the International Red Cross Committee and the contribution of the British and American Governments of $4,000,000 each. Mr. Long evidently went so far as to disclose that $2,000,000 are to be contributed by an unnamed American Jewish organization. I enclose a copy of the JTA report; no doubt you have a copy of the Bulletin in your office.

It is difficult for us to understand how Mr. Long comes to make public the details of a scheme which it has been strongly impressed upon us must be maintained strictly confidential. It is equally difficult to understand the necessity impelling Mr. Long to make this public statement. We appreciated the necessity for maintaining this confidentiality and we have adhered most strictly to it. We have likewise impressed upon our executive in New York that it was the express desire of the various authorities concerned that no publicity whatever should be given to this scheme, or to the means of financing it. We have reason to believe that our executive in New York have also adhered strictly to the confidential nature of the whole matter.

We can only hope that this disclosure on the part of Mr. Long will not adversely affect the carrying out of this scheme of relief and that the International Red Cross Committee will not be placed in an embarrassing position by reason of his disclosure. We can well appreciate that there is a possibility that these consequences may ensue; if they do, this will be an unfortunate end to what would have been an important measure of bringing aid to thousands of suffering people in Europe and perhaps even saving their lives.

As the scheme has now been made public through the statement of Mr. Long there does not seem to be any reason why we should not now inform our members and constituents and for that matter the Jewish public in this country of the nature of the scheme and how it was proposed to carry it into effect. Before taking any steps in this direction, however, we shall be glad to have an opportunity of discussing the situation with you and I shall be glad to know when it will be convenient for you to do so."
Enclosed with Easterman's letter was extract from Jewish Telegraphic Agency item dated Washington, D.C., December 21 as follows:

"Mr. Breckinridge Long, Assistant Secretary of State, in the course of his testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, declared that the British and American Governments are ready to contribute $4,000,000 each to a $10,000,000 fund for the purchase of food to be dispatched to Jews in the ghettos of Poland and Czechoslovakia, it was revealed here by members of the Foreign Affairs Committee.

The food supplies they said are to be distributed through the International Red Cross. The balance of $2,000,000 will be contributed by an unnamed American Jewish organization."

Any instructions by Department would be useful.

WINANT

840.48 Refugees/4901: Telegram

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

WASHINGTON, December 27, 1943.

8171. Your 8975, 24th. Department has consistently held the opinion expressed by the correspondents of the Intergovernmental Committee as quoted in yours under reference—and still adheres to that opinion.

Mr. Long was requested to appear before the Congressional Committee which had before it resolutions concerning the refugee problem. As a condition precedent he insisted that his testimony be given in executive session and received in confidence by the Committee.

The following is quoted from the record of the proceedings. Mr. Bloom* speaking:

"The Chairman would like to state that I asked Mr. Breckinridge Long, Assistant Secretary of State, to appear before this committee and give us information regarding these two resolutions. The Secretary asked me if we were to be in executive session so that he may be able to give certain testimony that up to now it has been considered advisable to hold strictly confidential, and I informed the Secretary that this committee has always kept its word when we were in executive session, and he would be asked to testify, and everything that he testified to before this committee, will be strictly confidential and not go outside of the committee room until released.

"Mr. Long, you can testify with the assurance that whatever you say here will be in strict confidence.

"Ladies and gentlemen of the committee, I present Mr. Long, Assistant Secretary of State."

*Sol Bloom, Chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs.
Mr. Long speaking:

"Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee, I am glad to come before you, and I asked Mr. Bloom about the executive nature of the session because there are certain things which I think you will appreciate, as we get into them, that are for the time being confidential, and if they were not retained within the confidence of this committee and kept from our enemies, the actions contemplated and the operations would not be possible to be carried forward, and it would react against the interests of the people that we are trying to help and are interested in.

"You have before you these two resolutions. I think that for a full understanding of them, it would be necessary for you to have an idea of what has happened and something of the history of this whole refugee question."

Department is still of the opinion just above quoted.

However, members of the Committee including the sponsor of the resolution during the hearing requested publication. It was printed as a confidential print for use by members of the Committee. Insistent requests for publication continued. After 2 weeks the Department yielded to persistent requests and the Committee published it with the following announcement.

"Notice. Since this hearing was held, during which time the testimony contained herein was given, it has been determined that it need not be held in confidence any longer and it is consequently released for public information.

"By order of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. Sol Bloom, Chairman."

The correspondents of the Intergovernmental Committee probably realize that there is a very large public desire on the part of the people of the United States to assist the persecuted persons and an accompanying desire on their part to know what is being done in behalf of those persons. When agencies of the Government are unable to announce their activities the assumption is made by interested elements of the public that the Government is inactive or negligent or indisposed or not interested and these assumptions become the bases for criticisms and even sometimes for vicious attacks.

If the correspondents of the Intergovernmental Committee would communicate to the persons in the United States on whose account they are acting abroad and suggest to them that they advise their associates and others here to desist in their demands for and indulgence in publicity with its consequent danger to the persons we are all trying to assist it would no doubt be a help to all concerned and would, if the advice were heeded, permit the various agencies to operate in that atmosphere of confidence which the Department considers necessary to the better attainment of the objectives. And that advice might also
be heeded by those here who malign the instrumentalities of relief and impugn the motives of responsible officers.

For your own information you are advised that the Department has been under most severe pressure from persons both within and without the Government through a long succession of months. The continuing silence of the Department, even in the face of violent attacks in important parts of the press, created a situation in which the Department was unable to defend itself and which laid the basis for a gradually expanding belief that the Department was inattentive to humanitarian appeals and callous to the suffering of the Jews under Hitler as well as unresponsive to expressions of deep emotion by their fellow religionists here.

But even in that situation the Department did not initiate any public statement but realized the earnestness of the Committee of the Congress to publish the record of the hearing and accepted its decision.

Hull

840.48 Refugees/4904 : Telegram

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

LONDON, December 27, 1943.
[Received December 27—9:45 a. m.]

8997. In connection with preparations for January 4th meeting the Director of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees hopes Department will instruct regarding questions raised in his following letter to Embassy:

“As you know the question of getting children out of France is being referred to the Intergovernmental Committee by the American and British Governments. It will probably come before the Executive Committee at its next meeting to be held on the 4th January. The actual reference is confined to the possibility of persuading Switzerland to give temporary asylum if the Vichy and German authorities will allow the children to leave France. There is, however, another line which we think should be simultaneously pursued, if the Executive Committee agrees.

When the problem arose during the late summer and autumn of 1942, offers were made by various governments to give asylum to children from Vichy France, if they could be got out. The offers which are relevant to the present situation are those made by your Government, the Dominion Government of Canada and the Government of the Argentine, and further the question of certificates being made available by the Jewish agency for Palestine. We are now ascertaining as a preliminary to the matter being put before the Executive Committee, first, whether these offers still hold good and second, how far the Governments concerned are willing to modify them.
if necessary to meet the present circumstances. Although I have no official information giving the exact terms of the offer made by the Government of the United States, I understand that it was prepared to take 1,000 children from Vichy France, the age limit being 16 years of age for children of non-enemy origin, and 14 years of age for children of enemy origin. There was the further prospect of the number being raised to 5,000 should this be necessary. The arrangements then contemplated were that the children would be got out into Portugal in the first place and thence direct to their countries of asylum. Our view is that we should pursue the direct passage through Portugal as well as the line of persuading Switzerland to receive some of the children. We also think that our efforts should extend to children in the whole of France, and not merely to Vichy France. The success of either method is of course dependent upon the willingness of the French and German authorities to grant exit permits, and the prospects of their doing so are not favourable. We have, however, to make plans on the assumption that there will be a favourable response and have therefore to ascertain what places of asylum are still available. I shall therefore be grateful if you will ascertain from the State Department:

a. Whether the previous offer still holds good. If so how many children does it cover and what are the exact terms of it?

b. If it applied only to children from Vichy France, can it be extended to cover children from the rest of France?

c. Assuming that in addition to getting children out through Portugal the Swiss Government would agree to giving temporary asylum also to some groups, and further assuming that before the end of the war it may be necessary and possible to remove them from Switzerland, would the offer be extended to cover such children and if so would the age limits apply to the date of removal from France or Switzerland respectively?

Since the matter is very urgent I shall be very grateful if you could request an early reply from the State Department. [""

WINANT

840.48 Refugees/4901: Telegram

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

WASHINGTON, December 29, 1943.

8215. According to Easterman’s letter quoted in your 8975, December 24 he proposes to inform the members and constituents of his organization and the Jewish public in Great Britain of the nature of the scheme for distributing relief to Jews in Europe through the International Red Cross Committee and how it was proposed to carry it into effect. We think that Easterman’s attention should be called to the fact that Mr. Long’s testimony as published did not disclose
the confidential details of the scheme and that Easterman and his associates must accept responsibility for such failure of the scheme and tragic results as may follow their public exposure of the confidential details thereof. We refer in this connection to our reply 8171 of December 27 to your 8975.

Hull

840.48 Refugees/4876: Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Spain (Hayes)\textsuperscript{72}

WASHINGTON, December 30, 1943—10 p.m.

2755. Reference is made to screening of refugees discussed in your 3692, December 15.\textsuperscript{73} Department feels that screening, with exception of preliminary security screening, should be kept at a minimum. Since a primary purpose of Fedhala Center is inducement to Spain to receive further refugees, every effort should be made not to contravene Spanish wishes in screening process. Department understands that Spanish authorities may well object to process whereby sick and helpless refugees are left there. It is desirable that screening for health reasons should be limited so as to exclude only those persons having contagious diseases of such nature that their presence would endanger other refugees, and such persons as cannot be given proper medical treatment at Fedhala Center. With respect to persons excluded by such health screening, it may be well to make plans for care and treatment in Spain under the jurisdiction of IGC. Please advise Department this regard indicating probable number to be excluded.

Hull

840.48 Refugees/4951c

The Secretary of State to the Mexican Chargé (Colina)

The Secretary of State presents his compliments to the Chargé d’Affaires ad interim of Mexico and refers to the Embassy’s Memorandum of June 21, 1943 concerning the proposal to permit Spanish-Republican refugees now in North Africa to enter Mexico.

The Secretary of State takes pleasure in informing the Embassy that lists of these refugees, totalling approximately sixteen hundred names, have been received from the American Consulate General at Algiers and have been transmitted to the American Embassy at Mexico, D.F. for submission to the Mexican-Spanish Commission. The name,

\textsuperscript{72} Repeated to Algiers as No. 260, and to London as No. 8241.
\textsuperscript{73} Not printed.
date and place of birth, occupation, and number in family is given for each refugee and each has indicated his willingness to work as an agriculturist. The Department understands that there will be approximately four hundred additional names for consideration by the Commission.

When additional information concerning this project is received by the Department the Embassy will be further informed.

WASHINGTON, December 30, 1943.