SVERIGES AMBASSAD
WASHINGTON

1998-04-15

Delges (inkl. bilagor)
Elm, UMK
von Dardel
Carl Persson
Magnusson, Riga
Hellquist, EC2
Olsson, EI-ESEK
Berger, p.t. Stockholm
Amb Moskva
p 98-04-23
a.a.

Ambassadrådet Lage Olson
Utrikesdepartementet (UD-EI-ESEK)

STOCKHOLM

INK. UTRIKESDEP.
DNR 105/002
20
AVD. P | GRUPP 2 | MAL EU1

Dokument om Raoul Wallenberg
2 bil u.s.o.

Broder,

I anslutning till meddelande i annan ordning, får jag härmed insända handligar som vi erhållit dels från Trumanbiblioteket, dels från FDR biblioteket i New York.

Mycket synes vara material som tidigare avhemligats av State, men eftersom vi inte har redan insända dokument tillgängliga här, gör vi ingen sortering.

Med vänlig hälsning
Ingegerd
Peter

Peter Tejler

Adress
1501 M Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20005
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(202) 467-2600

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E-mail
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http://www.swedenemb.org

[From Truman Papers - WH Central Files]

Bil. 1

January 5, 1948

Respectfully referred to the

Department of State.

MATTHEW J. CONNELLY
Secretary to the President

Bertil Von Friesen
Raoul Wallenberg-Aktionen
Post Box 42012
Stockholm 42
Sweden

Registered letter to the President dated 12/22/47.

The writer states that prior to January 31, 1948, the Nobel Committee of the Norwegian Storting must receive the official proposals for the candidates of the 1948 Nobel Peace Prize. He nominates the Swedish Secretary of Legation, Raoul Wallenberg as a candidate. This nomination is also supported by Anders Orne, Ture Nerman, Lise Meitner, Ellen Hagen and Vilhelm Lundstedt, who have formed an investigating committee. The writer asks the President to lend his support to the above nomination.
Enc. - booklet published by the Swedish Raoul Wallenberg Committee and the Swedish Association of Peace and Arbitration, on Raoul Wallenberg's life and activity.

acs

73/27/47

167 Miscel.

March 24, 1947

Respectfully referred to the officials of the Department of State for attention.

WILLIAM D. HASSETT
Secretary to the President

Letter to the Pres., undated, from-

Mr. Guy von Dardel,
% Onderdonk,
815 North Tioga Ave.,
Ithaca, N. Y.

Requests aid in ascertaining whereabouts of brother, Raoul Wallenberg, a Swedish citizen who went to Hungary in July 1944 as representative of Pres. Roosevelt's War Refugee Board and who has been missing since Soviet Foreign Office declared him to be under Russian protection in 1946.

x 226 Miscel.
x 58
x 220 Miscel.

hs

x Gen. File because this was during Roosevelt Admin; also cross card 23 Misc (present number) RVS

DR. AXEL FROHN
3426 N. GEORGE MASON DRIVE
ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA 22207

(703) 533-1454

Ray
Randy

01 APR 1994

[CIA "Personality File" on Raoul Wallenberg sent to us by Axel Frohn]

March 28, 1994

Mr. Raymond H. Geselbracht
Harry S. Truman Library
U.S. Highway 24 and Delaware Street
Independence, Missouri 64050

Dear Mr. Geselbracht:

Thank you very much for your letter of February 18, 1994 and the enclosed copies of materials on Raoul Wallenberg.

In December 1993 or January 1994 the CIA released its "Personality File" on Raoul Wallenberg. When I talked to Mr. Sowell on the telephone early in February 1994, I had browsed through this file and vaguely remembered a reference to materials at the Truman Library. Meanwhile I had a chance to study the CIA materials more carefully and was able to locate the source, I was referring to. It is not an actual CIA document but the clipping of a newspaper article by Sven Strömberg. I believe Strömberg did the research for his article in 1978. He obviously worked at the Truman Library, the National Archives, the Roosevelt Library, the Department of State, and the CIA. I had an opportunity to double-check his State Department sources and got the impression that Strömberg researched his article very well.

I enclose a copy of Strömberg's article on The Wallenberg Case: Censored Archives Support Guesses on Espionage, which may be of interest to you. Should this article enable you to locate additional material on Wallenberg at the Truman Library I would be very grateful if you could provide me with copies or let me know.

Thank you very much for your help in this matter.

Sincerely,

Axel Frohn

State Dept
WRB

...ter" in archer alog-

papers Herschel Johnson to Sweden, 1941-46), Bx. 12 folders]

...ers, 1929-53: 1) Corr. File (1-12), 2) Speech File (13-14), 3) Time File (14) 5) Press File (15)
4) Brazilian President File (14)
6) UN Docs. (16-31)

NA, RG 263, Records of the CIA, Directorate of Operations, Personality Files, Raoul Wallenberg

Dagens Nyheter - March 21, 1979

The Wallenberg Case - Article by Sven Strömberg

Censored archives support guesses on espionage

After Raoul Wallenberg disappeared in January 1945 in connection with the Russian invasion of Hungary his fate has been brought up repeatedly in the U.S. The amount of documents that have been de-classified is large but behind the wings there are still documents that are classified, entire pages have been crossed out in some of the material. This might be the proof that Raoul Wallenberg did not only work for the protection of the Jewish refugees. The frequently discussed espionage theory is close at hand.

It was at the initiative of the then American Minister to Stockholm, Hershel Johnson, that Wallenberg was commissioned to the Swedish Legation in Budapest and his efforts to help Jewish refugees was also financed with American money.

This was money that had been collected via Jewish organizations and chanelled through a special refugee bureau - WRB - War Refugee Board.

When it comes to the American efforts to assist Sweden in its search for Raoul Wallenberg immediately after he disappeared they were almost moving. Hershel Johnson in particular brought up his case several times, and he was backed up by several leading politicians - e.g. Secretary of State Edward Stettinius and Secretary of Finance Henry Morgenthau. The latter was strongly involved and wanted to be kept personally informed about the development.

Hershel Johnson managed after a request to the Department of State to have Secretary of State Edward Stettinius on April 9, 1945 request to the U.S. Embassy in Moscow to give the Swedish Legation there" every support possible in its appeal to the Russian Government for assistance to determine Wallenberg's fate". In the telegram a special reference is made to the particular American interest in Wallenberg's activities in Hungary.

The American Ambassador to Moscow, Averell Harriman, reported to the Department of State in a cable dated April 12 that the Swedish Legation had no reason to believe that the Russians were not doing everything they could to find out what had happened to Wallenberg. The Legation did not find it desireable that the Americans made a request re Wallenberg to the Soviet Foreign Office.

These offers for help - which Sweden thus officially rejected - have been commented several times before. But after having studied the entire picture - when the authorities in the U.S. has released the material - the Swedish unwillingness to accept American support on this matter seems completely unforgivable.

The Raoul Wallenberg case might never have been a mystery if the U.S. had been allowed to intervene at this point in time. The American engagement was both strong and passionate. It was the actions by Swedish politicians and officials who caused Wallenberg's long suffereings - this is the

sad truth and this truth has to be repeated once again. Especially now when the enormous heap of Swedish Wallenberg papers - suitably cleaned- are expected to be released for the MFA shortly.

The American interest in Wallenberg has cooled off over the years. In a letter to Stig Ramel, head of the Nobel Foundation, written in 1974 by Henry Kissinger in answer to a request on account of Wallenberg's mother it says:

Dear Mr. Ramel:

Thank you for your letter of February 20, 1974 in which you on account of Mrs. Maj von Dardel request certain information regarding Raoul Wallenberg's fate. Let me first say that I deeply sympathize with Mrs. von Dardel's efforts to once and for all find out what has happened to her son. It is indeed tragic that his case still has not been solved after so many years after the end of World War II. I am furthermore completely aware of the humanitarian actions of Mr. Wallenberg in saving so many people from the Nazi concentration camps.

In reply to your and the Swedish Government's request our archives have been scrutenized in order to determine if the U.S. Government disposes over information that can shed additional light on Mr. Wallenberg's case. Unfortunately, these efforts did not provide any such information which also the Swedish Government will be informed of. I regret that my answer is not more encouraging.

Sincerely,
Henry A. Kissinger.

And in this spirit the official and so far available American treatment of Raoul Wallenberg's disappearance ends. But in the wings there is still material which is highly classified. In my research here entire documents have been withheld with reference to that they are too sensitive - and it did not help to appeal to higher authorities either - and also pages or parts of certain pages in the available material was omitted or crossed out for the same reason.

This might be the proof that Raoul Wallenberg was not only working to protect and liberate Jewish refugees. The often discussed spy theory is close at hand The American organization Office of Strategic Studies, which preceeded CIA, was in its most active period in the mid-1940's, and it needed agents not least in the Balkan States for its activities. Raoul Wallenberg was with his background (for example academic studies in the U.S. and his position at the Swedish Legation in Budapest a perfect candidate for this. It is also when statements about Wallenber's tasks as a spy are commented in the now released documents from the Department of State in Washington that the authorities decided to censor the material.

In a confidential dispatch from Stockholm to State Department on February 25, 1957 (two days after the USSR spoke up and declared that Wallenberg was dead) the Swedish reactions to the reply were summerized. In a comment to these a large portion of the text was erased. It comes after the following introduction:

Revs. Date 2/16/94

"A general explanation to why Wallenberg was liquidated by the Russians is that they believed that he was an American spy. Rudolph Philipp, Secretary in the Wallenberg Committee - a group of prominent Swedish citizens - at one time maintained that Wallenberg was on a secret mission for President Roosevelt. Many Swedish officials have pointed out to me that Wallenberg was a close friend of the former American Minister Herschel Johnson and that it was he who picked Wallenberg for his dangerous mission. Be as it may, so far there are no concrete evidence to the effect that Wallenberg was involved in any espionage activities or that he was sent out on secret missions for a foreign power.

Here the text stops abruptly and two pages have been left blank before the report is signed off by the then First Secretary Joseph Sweeney. At a later occasion - in February 1965 - four entire pages have been eliminated from a report from the Stockholm Embassy to Washington re Wallenberg.

Raoul Wallenberg is registered in more or less extensive files in at least five archives in the U.S. today: National Archives in Washington has completely open files about him dating from 1945 and up to 1950; The Roosevelt museum in the little town of Hyde Park in N.Y. State also has quite a lot of material; as has the Truman archives. In addition to this the Department of State has followed up the case very carefully and some documents can also be found at CIA in Langley, Va.

In September 1965 State Department put together a list of documents they had on this matter. The list was sent to Stockholm to be studied by the Embassy, which was authorized to show selected parts to the Swedish Government. This was done by order of Secretary of State Dean Rusk.

The list is classified and will not automatically be released after a certain time period. But in the copy that was now obtained at least 37 titles of various documents dating from March 1945 to May 1959 were listed. The American Ambassador decided after having given the matter some thought not to let the Swedish Government see the collection of documents. No explanation for this was given.

A mysterious box is also mentioned in the documentation. The box was asked for for the first time by Hershel Johnson. He cabled Washington and asked for help to find it. Raoul Wallenberg had a large wooden box at the Swedish Legation in Budapest. It was placed near the entrance to a bomb shelter. In the box Wallenberg kept a number of documents about the Jewish situation and the rescue operations he led in Hungary. They were priceless, according to Johnson.

He suggested that every conceivable efforts be taken by the American representation in Budapest to rescue the box. The American concern about his box was apparent. And when information came in September 1945 that the Russians had confiscated XXXXXXXX all of Wallenberg's documents and notes in a special cable from Dean Acheson to the U.S. Embassy in Moscow this can very well be interpreted as that these documents contained most compromising information about the U.S. and Wallenberg.

It is remarkable that the Raoul Wallenberg affair at all was given such a detailed attention in Washington at this late date. This indicates a permanent interest within the Department of State and that a great deal remains to be said about this matter.

Against the background of this and the amount of material there is in U.S. archives about Raoul Wallenberg and his connections with WRB (War Refugee Board - President Roosevelt's large aid program for Jewish refugees in Europe) makes it even more regrettable that the official Sweden did not try harder to get help from the U.S.

Thorough studies in various archives (National Archives, Washington State Department Archives, ditto. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York, and others) show that Wallenberg's work and disappearance as well as the efforts from Swedish authorities to determine his situation was carefully followed up in the U.S.

In the beginning of Raoul Wallenberg's absence, the U.S. offered to help in the search for him by using pressure in Moscow, but Sweden did not wish to take the U.S. up on the offer. The interest in Wallenberg was then at its peak and the case was carefully followed up by several secretaries in Roosevelt's cabinet.

It is thus completely conceivable that a joint Swedish-American diplomatic project could have been worked out to once and for all determine what had happened to Raoul Wallenberg.

The Department of State certainly had the interest and this interest might have been revived after Kissinger's resignation and the restored Swedish American relations.

Now it seems as if the case - in spite of a reawakened interest because of witnesses testifying that Wallenberg still was alive in 1975 - will be placed in the historic files through the Government's decision to release the Swedish Wallenberg archives.

The MFA says that the efforts to create full knowledge about Wallenberg's fate are to be continued, but every new request to the Soviet authorities get the same answer and follow the same vain pattern.

It should not be this way. With more of an effort the collective American Wallenberg picture should have been used to initiate a cooperation with the Americans.

The Freedom of Information Act is an excellent instrument for research in the U.S. By requesting in writing to study classified documents, otherwise highly confidential material can become available. It is up to each and everyone to make such research in American archives, and it is also this method that was applied to obtain the information in this article.

In the same way it can now also be shown how Mrs. Maj von Dardel carried on her fight all alone in the U.S. with letters and calls. She was the person behind the final persuation of the U.S. to intervene - which they would have done had it not been for Mr. Kissinger.

FDR Biblioteket Bil 2
(Hyde Park)

Raoul Wallenberg Committee of the United States
245 Park Avenue, 38th Floor
New York, N.Y. 10167

Telephone: (212) 272-7790

The Committe will be glad to receive inquiries from anyone interested in Raoul Wallenberg.

RHP
8-27-90

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

: OF THE
E DIRECTOR

August 31, 1944

TO: Secretary Morgenthau

FROM: J. W. Pehle

I am sure you will be interested in the attached excerpts from two ~~confidential~~ letters I have recently received from Iver C. Olsen, our representative in Stockholm.

J W Pehle

EXCERPTS FROM LETTER OF AUGUST 10, 1944, FROM IVER C. OLSEN, WAR REFUGEE BOARD REPRESENTATIVE IN STOCKHOLM.

"With the longer nights now arriving, my Baltic operations are beginning to show results, although they are very difficult. As I cabled you, I lost my man Vokietaitis, which upset me very much, and had a most serious effect on our Lithuanian operations, to say nothing of losing our best source of Baltic intelligence. He had shipped into Lithuania to complete all the rescue arrangements personally, and the first hint of bad news came when he or anyone else failed to show up at the appointed place when the boat went after him the following week. The same thing happened when the boat went the next week, and it was on the third trip that the evacuees reported he had been captured and shot by the Germans. He was a hell of a fine, fearless fellow and the most skillful operator I had. There are several things I could do to try and rescue him, but I am afraid to do it in case (a) he is simply caught behind the lines for the time being, in which case anything I did to stir things up would only focus attention on the fact that he is over there, or (b) he is in a German prison, in which case anything I did might blow the story he has told the Germans, and get him shot straightaway. Consequently, all I can do just now is to keep the boat going, with the hope he will show up. There is a tremendous number of political, religious and racial refugees hiding in the Lithuanian woods in the greatest possible peril, and these next two weeks are about all we have to work on.

"The Estonians are doing very well, and I'm damned pleased with them. They are excellently organized with very good technicians and equipment, including radio, and know their business. Through secret arrangements with the General Staff, which avoided a few score years of imprisonment for espionage, I spent several hours at their operations base in restricted territory on the Baltic coast, and must say I was impressed. They have already gotten about 100 people out of Estonia, and through their excellent organization have made it possible for 2 or 3 hundred others to get out on boats - not ours. I have been getting a list of the persons gotten out and without question they are people who are much wanted by the Germans. Those who are not politically compromised with the Germans are intellectuals who are certainly worth saving. As a rule, however, most of them have had very active connections with the recently organized Estonian National Committee which not long ago declared war on both Russia and Germany. This has somewhat complicated the picture, but I have continued operations on the basis that these persons are most seriously compromised with the Germans - over 700 of them have already been arrested and/or shot by the S.S. and Gestapo. The Estonian operation looks like it will last the longest, which hardly can be more than a month.

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"The Latvian operation is not going very well, although it is just now starting to show a few results. This is due in large part to the fact that there are very few Latvians in Sweden, as a result of which it has been impossible to recruit thoroughly competent crews to carry out the operations. Also, I continue to be very uncertain of Salnais, both as to his point of view and ability, which situation I have made quite clear to him with the hope that he would make every effort to show me that I was 100 percent wrong. We can expect some results, but they will not be remarkable. The Latvian show will also, in all probability, be washed up in a couple of weeks or so.

"With the Finnish situation looking quite optimistic, I am not pushing our program in that area any more, except that I got a promise from the Swedish Foreign Office that whenever they undertake to evacuate the Swedes from Finland (they have made very complete plans), they would include in their transportation plans the evacuation of the Finnish Jews. Heretofore, however, I have had some hot going on the Finnish program, and temporarily had almost the entire Jewish community in Sweden mad at me. The truth of the matter was that they were dragging their heels in the most unconscionable way, on one pretext or another. The following is for your information only, but it is only too true that the Swedish Jews don't want any more Jews in Sweden. They are very comfortably situated here, have no anti-semetic problems, and are very much afraid that an influx of Jews will not only be a burden to them, but will create a Jewish problem in Sweden. Consequently, you will find them very interested in Jewish rescue and relief operations, so long as they do not involve bringing them into Sweden. For example, the fact that thousands of Jews got out of Denmark was due to a boldly conceived and executed plan of the Swedish Socialstyrelsen - the Swedish Jews were most apathetic. In the case of the Norwegian Jews, they were even frigid, since all these were of the poorer classes. They consider themselves a sort of Jewish aristocracy and they do not want it watered down. No more striking example could be found than the fact that a year or so ago about thirty Jewish children, orphans, arrived from Central Europe - finally were taken into Christian homes. The Swedish Jews did not want to be bothered. This was again illustrated in connection with my recent cables regarding the possibility of getting some Jewish children out of Finland - less than fifty. The local community did not want to take any steps until full guarantees of American financial support were supplied. There should have been five hundred comfortable Jewish homes here available without a moment's hesitation for these children on a temporary basis. Their disinterest may be further suggested by the fact that not to this date has a representative of the Jewish community ever been down to the pier to receive any of the evacuees from Finland as they dribbled in. All of this has been done by Filseth of my office, including getting them through immigration, customs, the Socialstyrelsen, and then to camp. Only Filseth has been to the

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camp to see how they are getting along.

"Another headache has been the Wolbe group, genuinely well meaning but the most hopelessly helpless group that I have worked with. All they can talk about is Shanghai and Ecuadorian passports, despite my assurances that the War Refugee Board is exploring all possible bets in that connection, and that their big task is to devise something that will help in Lithuania. Wolbe's comprehension of the urgency of this problem perhaps best may be suggested by the fact that the day after he received $10,000 for Lithuanian rescue operations he went off on a month's vacation and I haven't seen him since. This vacation item, by the way, is something that the Swedes take very seriously, and is no laughing matter if you are trying to get something done during that period.

"The Hungarian situation looks much better, although I do not believe that rescue or evacuation operations will be of any consequence, at least those requiring German transit visas. It looks like the old game of the Germans permitting their satellites to make a fine variety of gestures for the record, but clamping down themselves at whatever point they become involved. However, the situation is much better inside Hungary wherever the Hungarian authorities have contact, but the trouble is that in too many places the Germans have control and the Jews are simply disappearing. I talked with a chap from Hungary yesterday who had tried to find some Jewish families. He said that the Jews are moved from camp to camp until trace of them is lost. He said an awful lot of young Jewish children, particularly girls 14 and 15, are being stolen on the streets and completely disappear. As you know, anybody has authority over them. The Jews are so terrified that they now are simply hiding in their homes. He believed that if the Jews weren't so terrified, the best thing they could do would be to take off their yellow stars en masse, which would cause so much confusion, particularly because of the air-raids around Budapest, that many of them could escape out into the country where they could be hidden. He said that about 80 percent of the Hungarian metropolitan population are quite unmoved by the Jewish persecutions, and simply shrug their shoulders. The others are too frightened to help. In the country, however, things are much better.

"I get the impression indirectly that the Swedish Foreign Office is somewhat uneasy about Wallenberg's activities in Budapest, and perhaps feel that he has jumped in with too big a splash. They would prefer, of course, to approach the Jewish problem in the finest traditions of European diplomacy, which wouldn't help too much. On the other hand, there is much to be said for moving around quietly on this type of work. In any case, I feel that Wallenberg is working like hell and doing some good, which is the measure. In a week or so the Swedish Red Cross is sending three men delegates to Budapest to construct camps for

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the Jews, which I think is the most tangible thing that can be done for the moment. I have a stake in this program. I have also arranged with Count Bernadotte that the Swedish Red Cross handle all negotiations with Kleist and Boening with regard to the evacuation to Sweden of approximately 4,500 Jews in Germany with South American visas. It is understood that Berlin has agreed in principle to the idea, but the nature of the proposition involved will not be available for a few days. I certainly hope that it is something that can be considered, since it would be a substantial accomplishment, but am rather dubious.

"It seems to me that I must have run down a thousand or so straw possibilities in trying to obtain concrete results, and wish that more of them could have panned out. You might be interested in one of them, which I did not report for certain reasons. As you know, Goering's first wife (her second marriage) was the Swedish Countess von Rosen, through which marriage Goering acquired a step-son, now a strapping, nice chap of about 25, who is the apple of his eye. This step-son, who lives in Sweden (Swedish citizen, of course) visits Goering periodically and, in fact, has his own flat in Goering's home. It is also a well-known fact, even told to me by Jews who knew Goering personally, that Goering has been greatly opposed to the Jewish persecutions but has not been strong enough to stop them. Consequently, just before this step-son went to visit Goering in the latter part of June, I had him over to my flat and had a very strong talk with him. I pointed out that Goering would soon be on trial for his life and, after Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Warsaw, etc., he would not exactly have many people on the other side of the fence who will testify as to his beautiful soul. I suggested that both from the point of view of his own Swedish humanitarian instincts, as well as his affection for his step-father, he should urge him in the strongest possible manner to do what he could to ease Jewish persecutions in the Balkans, Poland, Thereiedstadt, and elsewhere, and to urge him to take steps that would permit young children and old people to get out of Europe. This chap seemed very impressed and said that he would press the matter with Goering to the best of his ability. I haven't seen him since, but without anything to base it on, I believe that some good has been done.

"I am keeping very careful records of the funds you have sent me to be used in my discretion, and am now thankful that I have them. I will be able to account for all of them, and I have receipts for virtually the full amount. This is also true with respect to my Baltic operations, where I have been able to get excellent accounting and receipts against a large proportion of the expenditures. Out of the funds which you have placed at my disposal the following are the more important outlays, actual and proposed:

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(A) Wallenberg left in a hell of a hurry with no instructions and no funds for preliminary expenditures, such as purchase of easily carried barter articles for Hungarian relief. I placed 10,000 kronor at his disposal. In order to channel it through an organization so I could get a good receipt, I gave it to his Aunt, Countess Bonde, who is head of the "Committee for Aid to Belgian Children," earmarked for "Special Hungarian Relief Activities."

(B) On the basis of several urgent requests that Chief Rabbi Ehrenpreis received from Bucharest for relief funds, I gave the Executive Committee for Relief of European Jews 25,000 kronor. They were able to get about 12,000,000 lei for this, which will do a lot of good. The need of Rumanian Jews for food and clothing is really desperate and it would be impossible to do enough. Excellent channels are available from Sweden.

(C) I am trying to get 25,000 to Wallenberg through intermediaries who are in a position to obtain favorable pengo rates on a satisfactory basis.

(D) I turned over 2,000 kronor to Mrs. Andersen for "special translating work and other services" with which she hired a Latvian fishing boat to go over and pick up 20 anti-Nazis in hiding. This seemed a very cheap gamble and I will know the outcome in a few days.

(E) I informed Count Bernadotte that the War Refugee Board was very interested in the proposal of constructing camps for Hungarian Jews, and that we would donate 50,000 kronor to further the program when all details were worked out. They were most appreciative and it will help push early action.

(F) I have told Mr. Cedergren's Committee, "Hjalp Krigeis Offer," that I would place at their disposal a special fund of 5,000 kronor which can be used to send food packages to families in concentration camps of refugees here in Sweden who are penniless and have no means of sending packages. This will be a strong morale boost both to these people and their families."

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EXCERPTS FROM LETTER OF AUGUST 14, 1944, FROM IVER C. OLSEN, WAR REFUGEE BOARD REPRESENTATIVE IN STOCKHOLM.

"Since writing the foregoing letter, I had lunch with the First Secretary of the Swedish Legation in Budapest, who is here for a short while. He is a fine chap and had many interesting comments to make. He said Wallenberg is working very hard and doing everything possible, which items he has also emphasized to the Foreign Office. He considers the situation in Hungary far from settled but he is confident that the Hungarian Government will continue to ease the Jewish situation so long as control is in their hands and not in German hands. This is, however, the big question. He is very skeptical as to the possibility of bringing to Sweden the 2,000 odd Jews who, up to now, have been issued Swedish papers. He stated that both the Hungarians and the Germans had agreed to provide transit visas (actually the German Legation in Budapest gave him personally the official assurances), but later the Germans said these must be a quid pro quo, which was that the rest of the Hungarian Jews of working age must be delivered to German labor camps. This chap is positive that the only real constructive move to be made just now is to get as many Jews as possible into Swedish camps, and then extend the Swedish protection to as many others as possible. I thoroughly agree and that is why I am so anxious to press the Swedish Red Cross in this matter. He also indicated, and please keep this as personal, that we should not take without a grain of salt the hopeful enthusiasm of the I.R.C. man there, who apparently drinks a lot and has delusions of grandeur, but very little in the way of practical judgment in approaching the problem.

"He said that even he did not believe some of the atrocities until he himself was an eye-witness. He went over to a brick factory where they had over 10,000 Jews herded in an area so small that they were forced to stand up closely packed together for five days, old people and young children alike, without any sanitary facilities. He saw them himself standing there, and also being loaded into box cars, eighty (he said eighty were counted out very carefully) into each car, after which the doors were nailed shut. He said many died just standing in the brick factory. He also said that young girls of 14 and 15 were being stolen on the streets, taken into other areas where they had "war whore" tatooed on their arms. Some of them, young Hungarian Jewesses of good family, had been observed as far away as Hamburg. He lamented very much the total lack of

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courage among the Hungarian Jews, since they could do so much to help themselves even when they knew it was only a matter of a short time before they would be killed. He said it was very difficult to escape into Rumania or Yugoslavia because the country was too open and the Jews are too terrified. He mentioned that all Hungarian Jews escaping into Rumania are greeted with open arms by the Rumanian authorities, sign long statements as to how badly the Hungarians treated them, and how well the Rumanians greeted them. The Rumanians will produce these after the war."

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~~280 pp.~~ Electrostats

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HISTORY OF THE WAR REFUGEE BOARD WITH SELECTED DOCUMENTS

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Germans upon anyone assisting persons in these groups. Other funds made available to certain officials of the Norwegian Legation in Stockholm were used to supply urgently needed medicines, clothing, equipment, and food to Norwegian Home Front groups for a project related to the safeguarding of the Norwegian youths and students hiding in the forests and for the maintenance of facilities for their rescue should their lives become endangered. Pastors of the Norwegian Lutheran Church in Sweden were supplied with funds for a dual program, the first part involving arrangements for more or less penniless Norwegian refugees in Sweden to send food parcels back to relatives in Norway, the second part consisting of operations for transmitting Norwegian kroner into Norway through the underground for the relief of persons in the more isolated Norwegian parishes. 1/

In November 1944 the Board received reports from Stockholm concerning the appalling situation of the Norwegian civil population, particularly that north of Narvik. The Germans as they moved southward had followed a scorched-earth policy, destroying everything in the northern regions, and thousands of Norwegians faced starvation. The situation was so desperate that the Swedish Government had approached the Germans for permission to evacuate sick and aged women and children to Sweden. 2/ American Relief for Norway funds were placed at the disposal of competent groups to help in relieving the desperate situation in the northern districts.

In April 1945 the Board facilitated arrangements for the remittance of $1,000 to Sweden by the Methodist Committee for Overseas Relief, to be used for the relief of Norwegian Methodists in Northern Norway. 3/

Operations in Hungary and the Balkans. As a result of the willingness of the Swedish Foreign Office to assign an attaché to its Legation in Budapest for the exclusive purpose of undertaking action in behalf of Hungarian Jews, a very constructive program of operations in Hungary was initiated from Sweden. 4/ Raoul Wallenberg, a Swedish businessman possessed of great energy and resourcefulness and sincerely concerned with the urgency of the problem, was chosen for the post. When the desperate nature of the situation of Jews in Hungary became apparent, the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee was licensed to send $100,000 to Sweden, and this money was made available by Representative Olsen to Mr. Wallenberg for rescue and relief operations in Hungary.

1/ Cable No. 4548 from Stockholm dated November 7, 1944, comprising document 113.
2/ Cables No. 4746 and 4800 from Stockholm dated November 20 and 22, 1944.
3/ Cable No. 627 to Stockholm dated April 5, 1945.
4/ See Rescue from Hungary.

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Representative Olsen paid high tribute to the work done by Mr. Wallenberg and his associates. In his final report to the Board he stated: "Sufficient facts now appear at hand to support the conclusion that Hungarian rescue and relief actions initiated by the War Refugee Board from Sweden were the keystones of the most productive steps taken in that area, and paved the way for saving the lives of perhaps 100,000 Jews. The work of Raoul Wallenberg, actively supported by Minister Danielsson and his staff of the Swedish Legation in Budapest, was nothing short of brilliant--to say nothing of being highly courageous. This group pioneered the program of constant and relentlessly increasing pressure on the Hungarian Government in behalf of the Jews, at the cost of seriously jeopardizing their own personal safety. Minister Danielsson informed Minister Johnson . . . that during their last weeks as officials in Budapest, Raoul Wallenberg had to hide in a different house every night, he was so hotly hunted by the Hungarian Fascists and the Germans. The program of issuing Swedish protective passports, of sheltering Jews in Swedish protected dwellings, and similar other activities in itself brought approximately 20,000 Jews under the safety of Swedish protection . . . This program set a pattern which soon was followed by the Swiss, Portuguese and the International Red Cross, and in the end produced a combined program which probably afforded the greatest relief and protection to Jews in any European country." 1/

In January 1945 Mr. Wallenberg disappeared. Some time later he was reported to have been murdered.

Efforts were made by Board Representative Olsen to further rescue and relief measures in the Balkan countries. Indirect and unofficial pressure was brought to bear on the Rumanian Legation in Stockholm concerning the policy of the Rumanian Government towards the Jews. Negotiations were also begun with respect to transport facilities for the evacuation of Jews from Rumania to Turkey, but these were suspended in view of similar negotiations under way in Turkey. 2/ Informal pressure was also exerted on the Bulgarian Minister in Stockholm for a relaxation of Jewish persecutions. 3/ Board funds were made available by Representative Olsen for urgently needed relief operations for Jews in both Rumania and Bulgaria.

Licenses Obtained for Private Organizations. In May 1944 Board Representative Olsen advised the Board of discussions held with the Chief Rabbi of Sweden, who was described as directing the

1/ Letter from Board Representative Olsen to Executive Director O'Dwyer dated June 15, 1945; see also Cable No. 891 from Stockholm dated March 7, 1945, comprising document 114.
2/ See Rescue from Rumania and Rescue to and through Turkey.
3/ See Rescue from Bulgaria.

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II G. RESCUE PROGRAMS: RESCUE FROM HUNGARY

Prior to Germany's military occupation of Hungary in March 1944, Hungary was the only refuge for Jews in Axis Europe. Although anti-Jewish laws had been on the Hungarian statute books since as early as 1938, their enforcement and the condition of the Jews in Hungary were such as to invite the clandestine immigration of tens of thousands of Jews from Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania. The Jewish population of Hungary was thus swelled to more than 800,000. The refugees were cared for by the native Jewish population, who tried to see to it that no large numbers of newcomers congregated in any one place. The movement was so large, however, that it was undoubtedly known of and condoned by Hungarian authorities.

During the first month of the Board's existence, the clandestine movement of Jews from Poland and Czechoslovakia was still under way and the Board facilitated the efforts of private agencies to increase the traffic to Hungary as a place of relative safety.1/ In connection with these efforts to enable persons to flee to Hungary and, later, to escape from Hungary and the Balkans to safety elsewhere, substantial amounts of money were remitted by private American organizations, particularly to Switzerland and to Sweden, under appropriate Treasury licenses, to finance the operations involved.2/

In the early days of the Board's existence Hungary also served as an important source of food for the International Red Cross and other relief organizations to distribute to persecuted groups in concentration camps in German-controlled areas. On the Board's recommendation, Treasury licenses were issued to permit the purchase of Hungarian foodstuffs for such purposes.3/

There were, however, lapses in the Hungarian Government's passive attitude. It was reported that during 1941, for example, a substantial number of Jews from Poland and Hungarian-born Jews of

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1/ See also Approaches to Germany and the Satellites To Halt Persecution for an account of early efforts of the Board to stem persecution and deportations in Hungary.

2/ See especially Rescue to and through Switzerland, Rescue to and through Sweden, Rescue from Rumania, and Rescue from Czechoslovakia.

3/ See Relief Programs: Projects of Private Organizations (American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee).

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Polish origin but of uncertain nationality were rounded up, some being deported to Poland and others detained in concentration camps. It was also reported that in December 1943 the Germans began to press Hungary to adopt a stricter anti-Jewish policy. Late in February 1944 word reached the Board that Hungary was yielding to German pressure to deport foreign Jews and to close its borders to refugees from Poland and elsewhere.

Early Measures and Attempts To Get Facts. The Board's intense interest in getting the facts of the Hungarian situation was communicated at an early date to the neutral European governments and to various public and private agencies. Early in March 1944 the Board also asked key United States Missions abroad to communicate to Hungarian and other satellite authorities, through channels known to be available, a message expressing this Government's disapproval of continued collaboration in such persecution and warning them of the consequences that would follow.1/

On March 19, 1944, however, the German military occupied Hungary and the following days witnessed the creation of a Nazi puppet government, one of whose avowed purposes was to make Hungary Judenrein. Five days later President Roosevelt publicly condemned the Nazi policy of exterminating Jews and other civilian populations, referring particularly to Hungary and warning that all those who took any part in such persecutions would be punished for their crimes. With the cooperation of the Office of War Information, this statement and others condemning the Nazi atrocities, along with various appeals to Hungarians "of good will" to oppose the Nazi persecutions, were repeatedly broadcast to Axis Europe. The British and Soviet Governments were urged by the Board to cooperate in this psychological warfare program, as a result of which the British, in particular, helped materially to expand the radio coverage of messages directed to the continent.2/

Cooperation of International Red Cross Solicited. On the theory that the presence of foreigners in official or unofficial capacities would have a deterrent effect, the Board, late in March 1944, addressed a request to the International Red Cross to send effective representation to Hungary in order to protect the well-being of groups there facing persecution.3/ In response to this request, the Red Cross declined to send any such special delegation on the ground that such a mission might be considered as inconsistent with its traditional functions.4/

1/ See Approaches to Germany and the Satellites To Halt Persecutions: Appeals through Neutral Countries.
2/ See Psychological Warfare Programs: Statements and Informational Campaigns Inspired by the Board.
3/ Cable No. 1023 to Bern dated March 27, 1944, comprising document 160.
4/ Cable No. 2312 from Bern dated April 13, 1944.

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At the Board's instigation, however, the Ankara representative of the International Red Cross spoke with German Ambassador von Papen in Ankara, who was said to have agreed to recommend to the German Government that restraint be exercised in its treatment of the Jews in Hungary. 1/

In response to another request addressed to the International Red Cross for whatever information could be obtained concerning the Jewish situation in Hungary, arrangements were made for relaying to the Board the substance of reports received from the Budapest representative of the Red Cross concerning Hungarian developments. 2/

Cooperation of Vatican Also Sought. On March 24, 1944, the Board sent a copy of the statement issued by President Roosevelt to the Apostolic Delegate in Washington and asked him to urge that the Holy See take action toward influencing the people and Governments of Hungary and Rumania to protect the Jewish population of those countries. In accordance with this request, the Holy See instructed its representatives in Hungary and Rumania to do everything possible for the relief of victims of Axis persecution in those countries. In June 1944 these instructions were followed by a personal appeal from the Pope to Hungarian Regent Horthy, calling for tolerance in the treatment of minority groups in Hungary, to which the Regent was said to have responded favorably. 3/ A stirring statement by Archbishop Spellman of New York likewise proved helpful in connection with the Board's campaign to halt the persecution of Jews and other minorities in Hungary. 4/

Second Warning Addressed to Hungarian Authorities. Meanwhile reports continued to arrive indicating that German pressure on Hungary was being intensified. In April 1944 a second informal warning was therefore sent to Hungarian authorities through the United States Legation at Lisbon, reiterating that any action to inflict new and further persecutions or to continue existing persecutions directed against foreign or native Jews, or any further deportations, would be considered by this Government with the greatest disfavor and would be taken into account at the end of the war. 5/

1/ Cable No. 596 from Ankara dated April 4, 1944, comprising document 161.

2/ Cable No. 895 from Ankara dated May 18, 1944.

3/ See Approaches to Germany and the Satellites To Halt Persecution: Appeals through the Vatican.

4/ See Psychological Warfare Programs: Statements and Informational Campaigns Inspired by the Board.

5/ See Approaches to Germany and the Satellites To Halt Persecution: Appeals through Neutral Countries.

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Attempts to Increase Flow of Refugees through Yugoslavia. In view of the rising tide of persecution, all avenues for escape were explored. The most promising clandestine route at the time appeared to be through that portion of Yugoslav territory occupied by the Partisan forces of Marshal Tito. Consequently, one of the Board's representatives discussed at length the feasibility of such an escape route with representatives of Marshal Tito as well as with British and United States military authorities in Italy. As a result of this discussion and of approaches made to Marshal Tito by the British, a promise of Partisan support in rescuing Hungarian Jews was obtained. In addition, the Board made arrangements for the sending of private funds to Italy to facilitate rescue operations through Yugoslav territory and across the Adriatic to southern Italy. 1/

Emigration through Turkey to Palestine. The possibility of escape through emigration was also explored and proved more productive. Since there was reason to believe that persons with Turkish transit visas and Palestine immigration certificates would be able to obtain Rumanian and Bulgarian transit visas, the Turkish Government was prevailed upon to facilitate the departure of Jews from Hungary by issuing Turkish transit visas in considerable numbers. Rumanian authorities later set up a new bureau to facilitate the emigration of Jews, and through the efforts of the Board private funds were made available to finance the evacuation from Rumanian ports of large numbers of endangered persons bound for Palestine by way of Turkey. Largely as the result of personal intervention on the part of Ambassador Steinhardt in Ankara, the Turkish Government provided transportation facilities to the Syrian border for those reaching Turkey in this manner. 2/

The Board meanwhile extended its facilities fully for the transmission of applications for Palestine certificates to persons in Hungary. Efforts in this direction, however, received a severe set-back early in 1944. Ambassador Steinhardt, noting that no Jewish refugees had arrived from Hungary during the latter part of April 1944, invited the attention of the Turkish Foreign Office to this fact and inquired as to whether the Turkish Consul in Budapest was for any reason withholding the granting of Turkish visas. As a result of this inquiry, Ambassador Steinhardt learned that the Turk Consul at Budapest had sent the Foreign Office word that every Jew who entered the Turkish Consulate in Budapest for the purpose of applying for a Turkish visa had been arrested as soon as he left and transported to an unknown destination. 3/

The Board later suggested that the Turks be asked to allow refugees to enter Turkey without transit visas, but Ambassador

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1/ See Rescue to and through Italy.
2/ See Rescue from Rumania and Rescue to and through Turkey.
3/ Cable No. 794 from Ankara dated May 2, 1944, comprising document 162.

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Steinhardt felt that obtaining Turkish concurrence on this proposition would be virtually impossible.1/

Special Efforts To Obtain Releases. While pursuing its efforts to influence Hungarian authorities by official and unofficial pressure and to aid in the escape of Jews from Hungary, the Board did not neglect the possibility of enlisting the self-interest of individual German and Hungarian officials in a position to alleviate the fate of Jews. For example, in April of 1944, in cooperation with a private agency, steps were taken to establish contact with an individual in Bratislava who was reported to have been successful in arresting the deportation of Jews from Slovakia. An intermediary in Switzerland was asked to explore with him the possibility of arranging for evacuations from Hungary to neutral countries or for holding up deportations or permitting the sending of relief to those detained. A second effort along such lines was made three months later with the assistance of a prominent Hungarian in this country.2/

Still another less conventional possibility of rescue was explored. On various occasions, upon learning the names of certain individuals in Hungary who might be able to assist in the temporary hiding of Jews in that country, the Board cabled these names to Stockholm and Bern for transmission to members of the underground in Hungary, for whatever use could be made of them.

German-Inspired Proposals To Save the Jews of Hungary. On the other hand, various proposals were received through neutral countries suggesting certain concessions by the Allied Governments in return for a cessation on the part of the Germans of the Hungarian deportations and slaughter. Most, if not all, of these propositions were felt to be of dubious reliability. Nevertheless, it was the Board's policy to avoid outright rejection of any of the proposals, however fantastic, as a means of stalling for time and in the hope that some valid and acceptable proposal might be received. It eventually became clear, however, that the Germans were willing to let the Jews go only on totally unacceptable terms, that is, in exchange for such articles as trucks, tractors, machine tools, and similar material to support the German war effort.

Protection Provided by Means of Latin American Documents. One of the most successful steps taken to insure the safety of Jews in Hungary was the extension to Hungary of this Government's

1/ Cable No. 1010 from Ankara dated June 5, 1944, comprising document 163.
2/ See Special Negotiations.

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emphatic demand that persons in German-controlled territory holding documents issued in the name of any American republic, or otherwise claiming the nationality of an American republic, be accorded all the rights and privileges of such nationals unless and until the government whose nationality was claimed denied the validity of such documents or claims. 1/

Hungarian Deportations Begun. Despite these early efforts of the Board, a communication received early in May 1944 from the United States Embassy in London, based on information obtained from London representatives of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, confirmed previous reports that the deportation of Jews from Hungary and territories under its control had begun. By that time some 24,000 persons had been deported from Sub-Carpatho Russia, in addition to the general deportation of Polish refugees seized by the Hungarian police. 2/ This report was rapidly followed by word from other sources that the deportation of Jews from Hungary was being pursued relentlessly and with attendant brutalities.

Efforts Made To Obtain Further Information. In cables to the various neutral European capitals the Board on May 23, 1944, indicated this Government's grave concern over these developments. United States Missions were asked to request the authorities of the various governments to which they were accredited to obtain as soon as possible detailed information from their missions in Budapest concerning the treatment of Jews in Hungary. 3/

Expansion of Diplomatic and Consular Staffs Urged. Since it was felt that the lives of some 800,000 persons in Hungary might well depend on the restraint resulting from the mere presence in that country of the largest possible number of foreign observers, these same United States Missions were asked to make representations designed to induce the various governments to which they were accredited to take immediate steps to expand their respective diplomatic and consular staffs in Hungary and to distribute such personnel as widely as possible throughout the country. It was hoped that such diplomatic and consular representatives would be able to persuade individuals and officials to desist from further barbarisms. 4/

1/ See Rescue through Protective Measures: Recognition of Latin American Passports.

2/ Cable No. 3641 from London dated May 4, 1944.

3/ Cable No. 1786 to Bern dated May 23, 1944, comprising document 164. repeated on the same date to Lisbon, Madrid, Ankara, Stockholm, and Vatican City.

4/ Cable No. 1805 to Bern dated May 25, 1944, comprising document 165; repeated on the same date to Lisbon, Ankara, and Stockholm; repeated on the following day to Madrid.

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Sweden Complied with Board's Request. The Swedish Foreign Office, complying with the Board's request, appointed as its Special Attaché to the Swedish Legation at Budapest Raoul Wallenberg, a prominent Swedish businessman, who was instructed to follow and report on the situation in Hungary, particularly the persecution of Jews and other minority groups.1/

The Board was invited to make suggestions as to the activities of the new attaché and his staff, in response to which a proposed program was promptly outlined and forwarded to Stockholm.2/ Arrangements were made to communicate through the Swedish Foreign Office with Mr. Wallenberg when he reached Budapest. It was thus possible for the Board to keep reliably and currently informed, via diplomatic channels, on developments in Hungary. Since it was felt that money and favorable post-war considerations might motivate action impeding, relaxing, or slowing down the tempo of persecution and might help permit escapes, the new attaché was urged by the Board to ascertain in just what quarters such inducements might be effective.

Board Representative Olsen in Stockholm meanwhile was instructed to lend every possible assistance to the Swedish attaché. The Board also arranged to place at the disposal of Representative Olsen substantial funds provided by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, which were later used by Mr. Wallenberg to accomplish seemingly impossible feats of rescue and relief in Hungary against overwhelming odds.3/

Shortly after the arrival in Budapest of the new Swedish attaché and his staff, several thousand persons were placed under effective Swedish protection.4/ Food and other relief supplies

1/ Cable No. 2231 from Stockholm dated June 21, 1944, comprising document 166. See Rescue to and through Sweden; see also Cable No. 1010 to Stockholm dated May 25, 1944, and Cable No. 2069 from Stockholm dated June 9, 1944.

2/ Cable No. 1353 to Stockholm dated July 7, 1944; comprising document 167; see also Cable No. 1349 to Stockholm dated July 6, 1944.

3/ See Rescue to and through Sweden. Mutually congratulatory letters were later exchanged by Mr. Wallenberg and the Board; see letter from Board Representative Olsen dated November 14, 1944, comprising document 168, and letter to Minister Johnson in Stockholm dated December 6, 1944, comprising document 169.

4/ Cable No. 2779 from Stockholm dated July 25, 1944; see also Cable No. 3811 from Stockholm dated September 22, 1944, and Cable No. 891 from Stockholm dated March 7, 1945.

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were later acquired in Hungary for needy Jewish groups, both within and outside newly established Swedish houses of protection. 1/

Proposal To Enlarge Neutral Personnel Unsuccessful in Other Quarters. Switzerland was never persuaded to increase its diplomatic personnel in Hungary. 2/

Ambassador Hayes meanwhile informed the Board that although the Spanish Foreign Office had, at his request, agreed to instruct Spanish diplomatic personnel in Budapest to be as active there as possible, in the hope that their presence might have a deterring effect on the Germans, he felt it useless to suggest that additional personnel be sent to Hungary, especially since such action would be against Spain's policy of minimizing its connections with the Hungarian regime. 3/

Minister Norweb pointed out that as a result of having made fairly strong representations, following the invasion of Hungary, seeking to persuade the Portuguese Government not to recognize the puppet government in Budapest, he felt that it would be inappropriate for him to approach the Portuguese Government at that time with respect to enlarging the Portuguese mission in Hungary. Even aside from this consideration, Minister Norweb voiced grave doubts that the Germans would allow any such increase at that time. 4/

Hungarian-Turkish relations were virtually non-existent at that time, according to a cable from Ambassador Steinhardt. This strain was said to have resulted from the Turkish Government's having materially reduced the shipment of strategic materials to Hungary, at the request of the Allies. The Turkish Government therefore felt that it was in no position to ask the Hungarian Government for permission to expand the Turkish diplomatic force in Hungary. Moreover, Turkish authorities were convinced that such request would be refused. 5/

Renewed Appeal to Red Cross Successful. As of May 1944 the International Red Cross had only one representative in Hungary, and this representative had gone to Budapest not as a Red Cross delegate but in his capacity as Director of the Swiss Chamber of Commerce in Hungary since it had been feared that his going in the former capacity would have delayed his receipt of a German visa. Under date of May 25, 1944, the Board therefore asked that Board Representative McClelland again appeal to the Red Cross, along somewhat the same lines as those on which neutral governments were being approached, in the hope that the Red Cross would reconsider its previous decision not to send a special delegation to Hungary. Emphasis was placed upon the Board's conviction that the persistent

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1/ Cable No. 3884 from Stockholm dated September 26, 1944.
2/ Cable No. 4045 from Bern dated June 24, 1944.
3/ Cable No. 1943 from Madrid dated June 1, 1944.
4/ Cable No. 1671 from Lisbon dated June 1, 1944.
5/ Cable No. 977 from Ankara dated May 29, 1944.

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reports concerning systematic mass extermination of Jews in Hungary made immediate enlargement of the Red Cross delegation in Budapest and throughout Hungary, especially in the localities in which Jews were being concentrated, an elementary humanitarian obligation.1/

As a result of the Board's repeated requests, the Red Cross eventually enlarged its representation in Hungary.2/

Approach Proposed to Hungarian Minister in Ankara. In line with its determination to pursue every possible means of halting the Hungarian persecutions, the Board early in June 1944 advanced to Ambassador Steinhardt still another proposal. This time it was suggested that the Hungarian Minister in Ankara be approached in an effort to restrain the Hungarian Government in its persecution of Jews.3/ Ambassador Steinhardt, however, felt that such action would be of no use whatever, in view of what he described as the well-known pro-Nazi attitude of the Hungarian Minister and his staff.4/

Increased Persecutions Noted. Meanwhile, according to reliable information which reached the Board from Bern toward the end of May 1944, steps being taken in Hungary were unmistakable preliminaries to further mass deportation and extermination of the Jewish population, especially in the Carpatho-Russian and Maramaros regions.5/ The number of persons immediately involved was said to be about 200,000, with all signs pointing to the extension of such actions to the Jewish population in Hungary proper.

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

1/ Cable No. 1806 to Bern dated May 25, 1944, comprising document170; see also Cable No. 3731 from Bern dated June 11, 1944, and Cable No. 2103 to Bern dated June 19, 1944.
2/ Cable No. 4896 from Bern dated July 29, 1944, comprising document 171.
3/ Cable No. 499 to Ankara dated June 2, 1944.
4/ Cable No. 1010 from Ankara dated June 5, 1944.
5/ See, for example, Cable No. 3346 from Bern dated May 25, 1944, comprising document 172.

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In June 1944 Board Representative McClelland reported that there no longer remained any doubt that the majority of the Jewish population east of the Danube, especially in eastern, northern, and northeastern Hungary, had been deported to Poland. Figures received from various reliable independent sources indicated that at least 335,000 Jews had already been deported from Sub-Carpathian and Ruthenian areas, from Transylvania, and from the Tisz region; some 350,000 Jews remained in Budapest and environs.

Prior to the deportations there were said to have been two weeks to a month of brutal concentration, during which thousands of Jews were crowded together in primitive quarters without sufficient food, clothing, or water and without respect to health, sex, or age. Hungarian gendarmes were said to have carried out this action. The names of individuals in the Hungarian Government who were said to bear the major responsibility for these persecutions were also forwarded.1/

Swedish Reports on Conditions in Hungary. Official reports on the situation in Hungary were not lacking. The Swedish Foreign Office, in particular, materially aided the development of the Board's program by constantly making available to Minister Johnson and Board Representative Olsen, in strict confidence, the substance of various official reports received from Swedish diplomatic personnel in Hungary. On June 17, 1944, for example, Minister Johnson relayed to the Board from Stockholm the principal features of a summary of conditions in Hungary prepared by the Swedish Foreign Office on the basis of information received from the Swedish Minister in Hungary. The substance of this official report substantiated word previously received concerning cruelty, torture, murders, and suicides.2/

The Board later received from Stockholm a translation of a detailed memorandum furnished by the Swedish Foreign Office with respect to the discriminatory regulations that had been applied in Hungary to all Jews, whether Jewish or Christian by religion. (In this connection it was estimated that 35 percent of the Jews in Budapest were Christian.)

The Swedish memorandum stated unequivocally that the lives of the bulk of Hungarian Jews were in danger. Hungary was reported to have obtained permission from German authorities to

1/ Cable No. 4041 from Bern dated June 24, 1944, comprising document 173; see also Cable No. 4170 from Bern dated June 30, 1944.

2/ Cable No. 2187 from Stockholm dated June 17, 1944, comprising document 174.

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retain 150,000 male Jews between the ages of 21 and 50 for compulsory military labor in the country's defense; the remaining 900,000 Jews were being transferred to German territory. This transfer was said to have gone on daily in sealed freight cars holding 70 persons each, without sanitary arrangements and with only whatever food each person carried. Estimates of the number of persons already sent to Germany in this manner varied between 20,000 and 100,000. The purpose of this transportation, it was stated, appeared to be partly to furnish labor for Germany and partly, in the case of children and the aged, to furnish hostages of a sort or protection against bombing if they were quartered near war industries.1/

Shortly after transmitting the substance of this memorandum, Minister Johnson was advised by a spokesman of the Foreign Office that information later received from Budapest indicated the treatment of Jews was so terrible as to defy description. Of the total number of Jews in Hungary originally, it was estimated that not more than 400,000 remained and these were mostly in Budapest. The others - of whom there were conservatively well over 600,000 - were said to have been either deported to Germany or killed. Evidence reaching the Swedish Foreign Office supported previous reports that large numbers of Jews were being killed en masse by means of a gas chamber across the Hungarian frontier in Poland.2/

The Swedish Legation in Budapest, acting through Attache Wallenberg and his limited staff, had attempted, in particular, to aid persons in Hungary having Swedish connections. Communication between the Swedish Legation and persons in Hungary holding protective papers issued by the Legation, however, became virtually impossible. Letters to such persons were returned as undeliverable. Only in rare instances could personal visits by the Legation's staff be undertaken, and these accomplished little. Letters and notes addressed to military officials or to the Hungarian Foreign Ministry by the Swedes were politely received, but replies were practically never forthcoming.

One example cited was the case of Jews holding Swedish passports. Hungarian authorities, instead of agreeing to leave such persons at liberty until they could proceed to Sweden, as was done in the case of other Swedish subjects, declared that after July 1, 1944, all alien Jews were to be interned. Oral inquiries addressed to the Hungarian Foreign Ministry elicited only vague replies. Vague replies were also received in connection with inquiries concerning the possibility of interning such persons in special camps to be maintained and administered by Sweden.3/

1/ Dispatch No. 3593 from Stockholm dated June 26, 1944, comprising document 175.

2/ Cable No. 2412 from Stockholm dated July 1, 1944.

3/ Cables No. 2510 and 2511 from Stockholm, both dated July 7, 1944.

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Information Obtained from Swiss Government. The Swiss government was likewise cooperative in relaying to the Board information it received concerning the situation in Hungary. A Swiss spokesman stated that, while no exact figures were obtainable, reports to the Swiss Foreign Office indicated that as of July 1944 some 250,000 deportations from Hungary had already occurred. It was further indicated, in strictest confidence, that the Swiss Government was facilitating communication between interested groups in Switzerland and Jewish organizations in Hungary. Moreover, the Swiss Minister in Budapest was under instructions to leave the Hungarian Government in no doubt as to the attitude of the Swiss Government and the Swiss people with regard to these persecutions. A similar message had been conveyed to the Hungarian Chargé d'Affaires in Bern.1/

United States Note Delivered to Hungarian Authorities. On June 16, 1944, in an effort to confront Hungarian authorities with their responsibility for the infamous treatment visited upon the Jews, Minister Harrison at the Board's request delivered to the Swiss Foreign Office for transmission to the Hungarian Government a note inquiring into the intentions of Hungary with respect to the future treatment of Jews and reiterating the grave view which this Government took regarding the persecution of Jews and other minorities.2/ The Swiss communicated this note verbatim to Hungarian officials on June 27, 1944.3/ It was not until August 1944 that a reply was received.4/

Military Measures Held Impracticable. Although the Board at the outset, in response to a British query, had declared that military measures were not contemplated as an essential part of the Board's rescue and relief program, the tragic turn of events in Hungary gave rise to renewed suggestions that some sort of military operations be undertaken. Because of the immensity of the catastrophe being visited upon the Jews of Hungary, the Board gave serious consideration to all rescue proposals advanced. Thus on June 29, 1944, the Board addressed a memorandum to Assistant Secretary of War McCloy, directing his attention to the recommendations relayed by Board Representative McClelland from Bern concerning the proposal of various agencies that vital sections of the railway lines being used for the deporation of

1/ Cable No. 4506 from Bern dated July 14, 1944, comprising document 176.
2/ Cable No. 3843 from Bern dated June 16, 1944, comprising document 177.
3/ Cable No. 4260 from Bern dated July 5, 1944.
4/ Cable No. 5040 from Bern dated August 5, 1944, comprising document 178. See page 159.

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Jews from Hungary to Poland be bombed for the purpose of forestalling or hindering German extermination operations.1/

The War Department in turn advised the Board that it was of the opinion that the suggested bombing was impracticable, since it could only be executed "by the diversion of considerable air support essential to the success of our forces now engaged in decisive operations" and would in any case be of doubtful efficacy.2/

Various other proposals along these lines were received by the Board. It was suggested that concentration and extermination centers be bombed in order that the resultant confusion might enable some of the persons held to escape and hide. It was also proposed that weapons be dropped by parachute during such bombings and that parachute troops be used to bring about disorganization and escape. These particular proposals were not referred to the War Department because the Board did not feel justified in asking at that stage of the war that any measures be undertaken involving the diversion or sacrifice of American troops.

One private organization urged that the Board ask the War Department to make transport planes available to a neutral power to be used to facilitate the evacuation of Hungarian Jews. This request was not referred to the War Department, however, because it seemed clear that the Germans would not consider granting safe-conduct to such planes inasmuch as they had refused to grant safe-conduct to ships carrying Jewish refugees from Rumania to Turkey. Moreover, the Board felt in this case also that it would not be proper at that time to ask the War Department to divert military equipment to non-military purposes.

There was also the recurrent proposal that Hungarian rescue operations be undertaken by means of small vessels sailing down the Danube.3/ After careful investigation of this proposal, it was learned that such operations were not feasible because of the heavy mining of the waters of the Danube by Allied air forces.4/ A Swiss request that safe-conduct be granted for such voyages was therefore denied by both the United States and Great Britain.5/

1/ Memorandum to Assistant Secretary of War McCloy dated June 29, 1944, comprising document 179.
2/ Letter from Assistant Secretary of War McCloy dated July 4, 1944, comprising document 180.
3/ See, for example, Cable No. 5820 from Bern dated September 5, 1944.
4/ Cable No. 7394 from London dated September 8, 1944.
5/ Cable No. 3498 to Bern dated October 13, 1944.

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Appeal Addressed to Hungary by King of Sweden. Early in July 1944 the Board learned that, as a result of the petitioning of Jewish groups in Sweden, the King of Sweden had addressed a strong personal appeal to the Hungarian Government appealing to it "in Humanity's name" to do what it could to stop the massacre of defenseless persons.1/

International Red Cross Appeal to Hungarian Regent. A little later in July the Swiss Foreign Office revealed that it had transmitted a direct appeal from President Huber of the International Red Cross to Hungarian Regent Horthy. This appeal was in line with the promise obtained by the Board with respect to enlargement of the Red Cross delegation in Hungary.2/ It enumerated known facts concerning the anti-Jewish persecutions and sought permission to send a special mission to Hungary to be present at deportations in order to assist people with medicines and food and to exercise some control over the ultimate fate of the deportees.3/

According to an International Red Cross communique published on July 18, 1944, Hungarian authorities, in response to this appeal, gave official assurances that the deportation of Jews had ceased. The Red Cross, according to this statement, had been authorized to furnish relief to Jewish internees in Hungary and to aid in the evacuation of all Jewish children under 10 years of age who were in possession of visas to receptive countries; moreover, all Jews in Hungary holding Palestine certificates were to be permitted to leave for Palestine.4/

Substantial relief was later provided by the Red Cross in Hungary, in line with this authorization. Several thousand children were housed and fed, along with many mothers who feared separation from their children. A considerable amount of the private funds which the Board had arranged to have sent abroad for relief purposes was spent by the Red Cross in connection with these activities in Hungary.

The Horthy Proposal. Later in July 1944 a letter was received from the Washington Delegate of the International Red Cross confirming the fact that the Hungarian Government had indicated

1/ Cable No. 2412 from Stockholm dated July 1, 1944.
2/ Cable No. 3731 from Bern dated June 11, 1944.
3/ Cables No. 4324 and 4506 from Bern dated July 7 and 14, 1944, the latter comprising document 176.
4/ Cable No. 4896 from Bern dated July 29, 1944, comprising document 171.

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its willingness to make possible the emigration of certain categories of Jews. The proposal failed, however, to elaborate on what categories of Jews would be permitted to leave Hungary. 1/

Despite the vague nature of the Hungarian "offer", it seemed imperative to reply to it as soon as possible and to stress that this Government's acceptance was not limited to any special category of Jews but embraced all who might be permitted to leave. Since the inquiry received through the Red Cross had been addressed to the United Kingdom as well as to the United States, an exchange of views with Great Britain was undertaken through Ambassador Winant in London. 2/

After a series of proposals and counterproposals, the British advised the Board that they were prepared to join in a public statement announcing the Horthy proposal, the terms of its acceptance by the United States, and Britain's readiness to "cooperate" to the extent of British resources in the fulfillment of the commitment made by this Government. This proposal was not acceptable to the Board; accordingly, this Government's reply, which had been held up for several days pending receipt of the British response, was delivered to the Red Cross through Minister Harrison in Bern on August 11, 1944, without British support. Public statement concerning this Government's action, however, was withheld pending further discussion with the British.

The reply transmitted by Minister Harrison reiterated the assurances given by this Government that it would arrange for the care of all Jews permitted to leave Hungary for neutral or United Nations' territory and would find temporary havens for such people. 3/ These assurances were likewise communicated to the governments of the neutral European countries, which were requested to permit the entry of Jews reaching their borders from Hungary. 4/

Joint Declaration Issued by the United States and Great Britain. On August 16, 1944, the Board was advised that the British had finally agreed to join the United States in accepting the Horthy offer. 5/ On August 17 the following joint statement was issued by the two Government: 6/

1/ Letter from the Washington Delegate of the International Committee of the Red Cross dated July 25, 1944, comprising document 181.

2/ Cable No. 5948 to London dated July 28, 1944, comprising document 182.

3/ Cables No. 2657 and 2715 to Bern dated August 2 and 7, 1944, comprising documents 183 and 184.

4/ Cable No. 1501 to Stockholm dated July 28, 1944, comprising document 185 ; repeated on the same date to Lisbon, Madrid, and Ankara; repeated to Bern on August 1, 1944.

5/ Cable No. 6609 from London dated August 16, 1944, comprising document 186.

6/ Department of State Press Release No. 366 dated August 17, 1944.

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

Visa Programs Developed to Effectuate Declaration. Broad measures were developed to effectuate this joint declaration. Even before the Hungarian negotiations, the Board had undertaken to work out with the State Department a visa program in favor of victims of enemy persecution so related to United States citizens and to alien residents of the United States as to be entitled to nonquota or preference visas, as well as persons to whom United States visas had previously been issued or authorized. In August 1944 the Board's efforts in this direction attained final State Department approval.1/

Havens Promised for Child Refugees. As another step to meet the demands of the Hungarian situation, United States consular officers in Switzerland, Spain, and Portugal, on August 21, 1944, were authorized to issue visas to refugee children arriving in those countries from Hungary. Previous instructions concerning the 5,000 United States visas made available in March 1944 for refugee children from France were appropriately amended. 2/

1/ See Rescue through Protective Measures: United States Visas.
2/ Cable No. 2877 to Bern dated August 21, 1944, comprising document 187 ; see also Cable No. 2324 to Madrid of the same date.

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Earlier arrangements made by the Board for havens in Ireland and in Latin American countries for refugee children from France were, with the approval of such countries, extended to cover Jewish children from Hungary.1/ The governments agreeing to the extension of this principle were Eire,2/ the Dominican Republic,3/ Honduras,4/ Nicaragua,5/ and Paraguay.6/. Ecuador agreed to accept 300 European children,7/ and Brazil indicated its willingness to receive 500 Jewish refugee children from Hungary.8/

In addition to these commitments, both Sweden and Switzerland made offers of asylum for Jewish children from Hungary. The Swiss offer included sanctuary for 5,000 expectant mothers and children.9/ While it was not anticipated that the number of children actually evacuated in this manner would be large, appropriate officials were advised that this Government, either singly or in cooperation with the British, would guarantee the costs of maintaining those evacuated and would also seek to accomplish their ultimate removal from Sweden and Switzerland at an early date.10/

Spanish Efforts Reported. Meanwhile, arrangements were made for the granting of Spanish visas for Tangier in Morocco to 500

1/ Circular airgram to Canberra, Ottawa, Dublin, and various Latin American republics dated August 12, 1944, comprising document 188; see also Cable No. 680 to Quito dated August 10, 1944.
2/ Cable No. 131 from Dublin dated August 15, 1944, comprising document 189.
3/ Dispatch No. 294 from Ciudad Trujillo dated September 5, 1944, comprising document 190.
4/ Cable No. 257 from Tegucigalpa dated August 15, 1944, comprising document 191.
5/ Cable No. 538 from Managua dated August 28, 1944, comprising document 192.
6/ Cable No. 503 from Asuncion dated September 5, 1944, comprising document 193.
7/ Cable No. 908 from Quito dated September 15, 1944, comprising document 194.
8/ Cable No. 7393 from London dated September 8, 1944, comprising document 195.
9/ Cable No. 4506 from Bern dated July 14, 1944, comprising document 176.
10/ See Rescue to and through Switzerland.

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Jewish children in Hungary and 70 accompanying adults.1/ Although it proved impossible to arrange transportation to Tangier, these visas enabled their bearers to remain assembled in Budapest in special buildings under Spanish protection and Internation Red Cross supervision.

In response to representations made by Ambassador Hayes, Spanish diplomatic and consular personnel in areas under German occupation or control, including Hungary, also were instructed to render any other assistance possible to Jews and other persons in imminent danger of persecution or death, regardless of nationality. These efforts were responsible for the saving of many lives.

Portuguese Visas Issued to Axis Victims. Portuguese authorities likewise cooperated by agreeing in principle to permit the entry of Jewish refugees reaching their borders from Hungary and by so informing the Hungarian Government. A number of Portuguese visas were, in fact, issued to endangered persons still in Hungary, on the basis of which Hungarian exit visas were obtained, but the Germans refused to permit the holders of these documents to leave. Some of the persons so affected were accorded asylum in the Portuguese Legation in Hungary.2/

In September 1944 the Venezuelan Government authorized its Legation in Lisbon to visa the passports of Jewish refugees, especially children, traveling to the American continent, even though such persons might not be proceeding to Venezuelan territory.3/ Although the Board had hoped that this action might influence the Portuguese Government to grant large numbers of transit visas to Jews in Hungary and other German-controlled territory, 4/ it developed that the Venezuelan authorization had stipulated that each case had to be confirmed by the Foreign Office in Caracas. In view of the delay inherent in this requirement, Portuguese action along the desired lines appeared unlikely and no such request for transit visas was advanced.5/

Hungarian Reply to United States Inquiry. The attitude of the Hungarian authorities during the period after their July offer showed various internal contradictions. The Hungarian Government had, as indicated, granted exit visas to the holders of visas for

1/ Dispatch No. 2791 from Madrid dated July 25, 1944, and Cable No. 3044 from Madrid dated September 5, 1944.
2/ Cables No. 2560 and 2594 from Lisbon dated August 19 and August 22, 1944.
3/ Airgram No. A-708 from Caracas dated August 22, 1944.
4/ Cable No. 2408 to Lisbon dated September 3, 1944.
5/ Cable No. 3062 from Lisbon dated October 4, 1944.

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certain neutral destinations. There were other reports from neutral, Vatican, and International Red Cross sources that the deportations had been temporarily halted and that the Red Cross was being afforded an opportunity to supervise the treatment accorded remaining Jews.

On the other hand, the Hungarian Government attempted to justify its persecution of the Jews, as illustrated by the Hungarian reply to the inquiry of this Government, concerning Hungarian intentions with respect to the future treatment of Jews, which the Swiss had transmitted to Hungary in June 1944. The reply, received in August 1944,1/ stated that military events on the eastern front and the approach of the Soviet armies made it necessary to mobilize fully all military, material, and moral forces of the country for defense purposes. This meant eliminating "everything that would undermine or diminish the country's resisting power. As defeatist propaganda and agitation of Jews — as in 1918 — became more and more perceptible in this decisive phase of the war and in order to prevent repetition of tragic events of 1918-1919 the /Hungarian/ government was obliged to eliminate on increased scale influence of Jews. They were consequently separated from rest of population and put to more useful work - either in country itself or abroad." The message added that if individual cases of injustice occurred, they were due to subordinate rather than top authorities.

The reply then listed certain concessions which had been granted to Jews in preceding weeks at the instance of "foreign organizations (International Red Cross and War Refugee Board.)" These concessions included temporary suspension of the deportation of Jews /including those of non-Hungarian citizenship 2/ / for work abroad; authorization for the emigration of Jews to Sweden, Switzerland, Palestine, and other countries; and authority for the International Red Cross to arrange for the emigration of Jewish children under 10 years of age to Palestine.

The Hungarian reply concluded by stating that the "departures" of Jews for work abroad would take place under humanitarian conditions, with the Hungarian Red Cross being permitted to exercise control. Permission would also be given for the sending of food parcels to persons in concentration camps through the Red Cross.1/

1/ Cable No. 5040 from Bern dated August 5, 1944 comprising document 178.
2/ Cable No. 5068 from Bern dated August 7, 1944.

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Exception Taken to Hungarian Response. The limited assurances contained in the Hungarian note served only to prompt the Board to ask that Minister Harrison inform Hungarian authorities, through the Swiss, that although this Government had taken note of the Hungarian communication, it did not accept the reasoning involved and reserved the right to return at a later date "to the purported facts" related therein. 1/ Thus, in a message conveyed to the Hungarian Government by the Swiss Minister at Budapest on September 6, 1944, this Government's warning with respect to Jewish persecutions was reiterated. Permission to emigrate freely and for International Red Cross supervision of treatment and living conditions was urged as a minimum concession for all categories of Jews. 2/

Note Addressed to International Red Cross. Taking advantage of the opening afforded by the Hungarian Government's statement to the effect that future deportees for labor service in Germany would be accorded the right of supervision by Hungarian Red Cross representatives, Minister Harrison and Board Representative McClelland in August 1944, at the Board's request 3/, urged the International Red Cross to get in touch with Hungarian authorities and the Hungarian Red Cross at once in the hope that supervision might be established over all camps to which Jews from Hungary had been deported in the past. The Board felt that the establishment of such supervision was urgent because of the possibility that the 400,000 Jews already said to have been deported might suffer extermination unless such supervision were undertaken at the earliest possible moment. 2/

The Board subsequently learned that the International Red Cross was not anxious to extend supervision to the Hungarian deportations, this attitude being dictated by the fear that such action would be interpreted as participation in or approval of deportations. A proposal had been submitted to Hungarian authorities, however, seeking extension of Red Cross protection to Jews confined in camps and houses in Hungary. 4/

1/ Cable No. 2900 to Bern dated August 23, 1944, comprising document 196.

2/ Cable No. 6524 from Bern dated September 30, 1944, comprising document 197.

3/ Cable No. 2853 to Bern dated August 19, 1944, comprising document 198.

4/ Cable No. 5796 from Bern dated September 3, 1944, comprising document 199.

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Board Representative McClelland in turn was asked to convey to the Red Cross the Board's conviction that fear of misinterpretation should not be allowed to stand in the way if supervision of deportations could alleviate the sufferings of deportees; moreover, it was felt that the very presence of that organization's observers might have a salutary effect beyond the mere humanization of treatment of deportees. 1/

The International Red Cross delegation in Hungary was later sufficiently expanded to permit some measure of supervision over many of the concentration and labor camps established in Hungary.

Statement Requested of Hungarians. Referring to the statement in the Hungarian note to the effect that Jews deported from Hungary had been "placed at the disposal of the German Government as workers," this Government early in September 1944 requested through Swiss channels that, in view of the well-known policy of the Germans with respect to Jews, Hungarian authorities furnish a statement of measures being taken by them to insure humane treatment of Jews placed at Germany's disposal. 2/

In a note addressed to the Swiss Legation in response to this request, the Hungarian Foreign Office stated that a Workers' Supervisory Office had been established by the Hungarian Legation at Berlin. The jurisdiction of this office, it was declared, extended "to every male and female worker of Hungarian nationality, regardless of religion or race." The Hungarian note went on to declare that definite cessation of the "transfer of Jews of Jewish faith for labor service abroad" had been ordered in August 1944 and that no Jews had been put at the disposal of the German Government after that time. The readiness of the Hungarian Government to authorize the emigration of all categories of Jews and to permit International Red Cross visits to Hungarian Jews working in Germany was reiterated. 3/

United States Meanwhile Protested Hungarian Complicity. According to reports received by the Board, including stories appearing in the Hungarian press, the Hungarian general population had not sympathized with the brutal anti-Jewish measures employed by the Nazis. Many Hungarians had sided openly with the persecuted Jews and had tried to aid them by furnishing food and clothing.

1/ Cable No. 3255 to Bern dated September 21, 1944.
2/ Cable No. 6524 from Bern dated September 30, 1944, comprising document 197.
3/ Cable No. 6913 from Bern dated October 18, 1944, comprising document 200.

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According to one newspaper account, the mass attempt on the part of the general public to get food and clothing to Jews in concentration areas had been an "incomprehensible phenomenon," as a result of which Hungarian authorities had been "forced to take the necessary police measures to cut off such Jews from all contact with the population." 1/

Other reports reaching the Board made increasingly and unmistakably clear the major part which the Hungarian police played in the Hungarian arrests and deportations. 2/ In view of persistent Hungarian denials of the complicity of Hungarian officials in the commission of atrocities, the Board on August 25, 1944, had asked Minister Harrison and Board Representative McClelland to request the Swiss Government to bring certain reports of Hungarian participation in atrocities to the attention of the appropriate Hungarian authorities. 3/

Minister Harrison discussed this matter with a ranking Swiss official, who took the position that the Swiss could not request their Legation in Budapest to present the matter to the Hungarian authorities without information concerning the time and place of the reported events and the nationality of the Jews involved. 4/

In response to this position the Board promptly cabled all available details appropriate for use by the Swiss in transmitting the proposed message. 5/

Delivery of the protest was finally accomplished on October 11, 1944. 6/

1/ Cable No. 3346 from Bern dated May 25, 1944, comprising document 172 ; see also Cable No. 5397 from Bern dated August 19, 1944.

2/ Cable No. 3242 from Stockholm dated August 22, 1944, comprising document 201.

3/ Cable No. 2933 to Bern dated August 25, 1944, comprising document 202.

4/ Cables No. 5888 and 6445 from Bern dated September 7 and September 28, 1944.

5/ Cable No. 3404 to Bern dated October 3, 1944, comprising document 203.

6/ Cable No. 7048 from Bern dated October 24, 1944, comprising document 204.

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Escapes Made into Rumania. During the summer of 1944, particularly in the period following the suspension of deportations, there was a small but steady stream of clandestine Jewish emigration from Hungary into Rumania. While these underground operations were expensive, requiring a substantial amount of the funds, which the Board had arranged to have sent to Switzerland, in order to obtain the collaboration of minor Rumanian and Hungarian officials and to pay transportation and maintenance costs, administrative personnel, and false paper "passeurs," they yielded positive results. 1/ By means of this organized underground movement an estimated 3,500 to 4,000 persons succeeded in reaching Rumanian soil. 2/ Several hundred of these refugees were later enabled to proceed to Palestine via Turkish boats sailing from Constanza. 3/

After the arrival of the first of these refugees in Rumania, the German Minister to Rumania was said to have brought pressure to bear on the Rumanian Government to enact a decree to the effect that anyone escaping across the Rumanian border would immediately be executed by the Rumanians. Despite the later enactment of an official Rumanian edict along these lines, the Rumanian Government made little effort toward enforcement but instead was reported to have requested Jewish organizations in Rumania to arrange for the evacuation of the refugees arriving from Hungary at the earliest possible moment. 4/

According to other reports, the Rumanian Government made Rumanian passports available to Jews in Hungary and took special measures to help them get into Rumania. Board Representative Olsen in Stockholm was further advised by the Rumanian Minister to Sweden that the decree ordering Hungarian Jews to be shot at the Rumanian border had been issued for the purpose of preventing mass flights, which it was felt would greatly endanger their lives. Rumanian border guards, it was asserted, had been privately instructed to shoot no one and not a single person had been shot fleeing across the border. 5/

Slovak Maquis Aided in Hungarian Rescues. Through Board Representative McClelland arrangements were made whereby the Czechoslovak resistance movement aided in rescuing Jews from Hungarian-dominated territories by helping them reach Slovakia, to be en-

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1/ Cable No. 5343 from Bern dated August 17, 1944.
2/ Dispatch No. 808 from Ankara dated October 4, 1944, comprising a summary report from Board Representative Hirschmann to the Board.
3/ See Rescue from Rumania and Rescue to and through Turkey.
4/ Cable No. 1343 from Ankara dated July 22, 1944.
5/ Cable No. 3153 from Stockholm dated August 18, 1944; see also Cable No. 4257 from Bern dated July 5, 1944, and Cable No. 1546 from Ankara dated August 23, 1944.

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rolled in the Slovak Maquis or to be hidden. Following discussions with the Czechoslovak Minister at Geneva, Minister Harrison endorsed certain operations for which funds had been requested, and Board Representative McClelland made a contribution of $10,000 from special Board funds to the account in Switzerland of the Czech resistance movement. 1/

Escapes Made to Yugoslav Territory. Private funds which the Board had arranged to have sent to Bari, Italy, and Partisan support earlier obtained by Board Representative Ackermann eventually enabled several thousand persons to reach safety during the summer of 1944 by fleeing across the Yugoslav-Hungarian border to Partisan territory. During July and August alone some 7,000 Jews were evacuated from southern Hungary over this route. Men in the group capable of bearing arms were enrolled in the Partisan forces, while women, children, and men physically unfit for military service were removed to the interior. Because the latter were living in extremely primitive conditions, Board Representative McClelland aided in shipping medical and sanitary supplies from Switzerland for the relief of these refugees. 2/

Hungarian Promises Proved Meaningless. Despite the Hungarian "offer" and the broad steps taken by the Board to give meaning to the response of this Government and the British, practically no Jews were evacuated from Hungary except as the result of such relatively small-scale clandestine operations as those aided by the Rumanian, Slovak, and Yugoslav underground movements. There were indications that, for a while, the Jews who had not been deported found themselves in a somewhat better position, a development that was undoubtedly due to the combined pressure of this Government and its Allies, of neutral governments, and of the Vatican, as well as to the necessity of utilizing all available manpower for the defense of Hungary against Allied advances. One such indication came from the Apostolic Nuncio in Budapest through the Vatican, the improved situation being attributed to the removal from power of officials responsible for previous atrocities. 3/

There followed, however, an evident tendency on the part of the Hungarian Government to stand solely on its statement of good intentions while passively submitting to German pressure for further deportations of Jews, including Hungarian nationals. Information furnished by the International Red Cross confirmed the fact

1/ Cable No. 4666 from Bern dated July 21, 1944; see also Rescue to and through Switzerland.
2/ Cable No. 6619 from Bern dated October 5, 1944, comprising document 205; see also Rescue to and through Switzerland.
3/ Letter from the Apostolic Delegate to the Board dated September 25, 1944, comprising document 206.

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that Hungarian officials were not always able to "resist" arbitrary action on the part of the Germans. Red Cross delegations were by that time at work in Hungary and were thus able to exercise some moral influence wherever the opportunity occurred. 1/

As for emigration, German authorities, under various pretexts, refused to grant the Jews in Hungary permission to leave the country or to travel through German territory to adjoining neutral countries. 2/ On September 12, 1944, the International Red Cross reported that, as the result of this attitude, emigration from Hungary toward Rumania and Bulgaria was absolutely impossible. From Ankara Board Representative Hirschmann confirmed this report, adding that all rail communications and civilian movements between Hungary and the Balkan countries had ended. The possibility of evacuations had been further narrowed as a result of the advance of Soviet armies into Transylvania and the Rumanian and Bulgarian declarations of war on Germany. 3/

Emigration toward the neutral countries that were accessible likewise met with serious obstacles, despite the Hungarian assurances. Of the 7,000 to 8,000 persons in Hungary for whom Palestine certificates had been issued, a group of 2,000 such holders (all who could immediately be found) were assembled for emigration shortly after the Horthy "offer". To enable their early departure, a collective passport was issued by the Swiss Legation at Budapest. Despite these preparations, the Germans denied the group exit permits and transit visas. Substantial groups of Hungarian Jews holding Latin American passports who had been granted Swedish and Spanish entry visas were likewise denied permission to leave. 4/ At first, the Germans were said to have declared that their friendship with the Arabs made it impossible for them to permit Jews to emigrate unless assurances were obtained that they would not go to Palestine. Later, assurances were reportedly demanded that all Jews permitted to emigrate would go to Britain or America. 5/

1/ Cable No. 6713 from Bern dated October 9, 1944.
2/ See, for example, Cable No. 1546 from Ankara dated August 23, 1944, comprising document 207.
3/ Cable No. 1767 from Ankara dated September 19, 1944.
4/ See Rescue through Protective Measures: Recognition of Latin American Passports.
5/ Cable No. 6276 from Bern dated September 22, 1944, comprising document 208.

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In line with these reports, the International Red Cross recommended that this Government, in concert with the British, indicate to the Hungarians its willingness to transport a certain number of Hungarian Jews to some haven other than Palestine.1/

In response to this recommendation, Board Representative McClelland was requested to point out to the Red Cross that nothing in the Board's acceptance of the Horthy proposal implied limitation of the Board's interests to Jews possessing Palestine certificates or planning to go to Palestine. It was further suggested that he reiterate this Government's refusal ever to limit its undertakings with respect to the emigration of Jews from Hungary to any specific number or particular category of Jews or to Jews going to any particular country, and that he protest against the attempt of German and Hungarian authorities to introduce such arbitrary limitations. 2/

Further Compulsory Relocation Planned. The seriousness of the Hungarian situation was accentuated in a report from Board Representative McClelland under date of September 15, 1944, to the effect that every able-bodied man and woman among the estimated 200,000 Jews remaining in Hungary was to be placed in compulsory agricultural and industrial work in various parts of the country "in the interest of national defense." Budapest Jews physically unsuited for work apparently were to be placed in two large camps; those too aged or infirm for these camps were to be sent to "Jewish hospitals" in unspecified locations. Board Representative McClelland's informant declared that these camps were to be under military control whereas press reports from Budapest referred to "Red Cross" supervision, without specifying whether such supervision would be by the International or the Hungarian Red Cross. In an attempt to clarify the matter, Board Representative McClelland learned that the International Red Cross had received no details concerning such an arrangement; moreover, continued failure of the Germans to issue transit visas for International Red Cross personnel from Switzerland left the International Red Cross in no position to exercise any effective degree of control over the camps. 3/

Apparent confirmation of these proposed Hungarian actions was contained in word received by the Swiss from their Legation

1/ Cable No. 5579 from Bern dated August 26, 1944, comprising document 209.
2/ Cable No. 3120 to Bern dated September 9, 1944, comprising document 210.
3/ Cable No. 6093 from Bern dated September 15, 1944, comprising document 211.

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in Budapest. It was hinted that Hungarian approval of these measures was for the purpose of protecting the Jews, against whom the Germans might otherwise have taken sudden mass extermination measures without consulting Hungarian authorities. 1/

Formal Protest Made. In view of these reports, Board Representative McClelland was asked to convey to the German authorities through Swiss channels this Government's emphatic protest against the impending deportations. The Board also proposed that the strongest possible unofficial representations be made to appropriate individual German authorities through Swiss and Swedish channels. 2/

Board Representative McClelland, however, recommended that a formal protest along these lines be addressed by this Government to the Hungarians. 3/ Shortly thereafter the Board forwarded a prepared statement to the effect that, in view of the fate of Jews previously removed from other cities to camps similar to those proposed and in view of the approach of winter, this Government had good reason to regard the impending deportations as a further measure of mass extermination. Mass extermination, the message pointed out, could be accomplished either by the methods employed at camps of final destination in Poland or by subjecting large numbers of people to undernourishment, hard physical labor, and unhygienic living conditions in improvised camps. For these reasons, the statement continued, this Government considered it appropriate to remind Hungarian authorities of its determination, as expressed by President Roosevelt in his statement in March 1944 and publicly reaffirmed shortly thereafter by committees of both Houses of Congress, that none participating in these acts of savagery should go unpunished and that all who shared the guilt should share the punishment. The message concluded by stating that allowance was made for the possibility that the plan was inspired by genuinely humanitarian motives, and to the extent that this proved to be the case, the United States would recognize such claims.

Representative McClelland was requested also to employ such unofficial channels as might be available to him for transmission of this message; Board Representative Dexter in Lisbon and Ackermann in Caserta were similarly instructed. 4/

1/ Cable No. 6092 from Bern dated September 15, 1944.
2/ Cable No. 3245 to Bern dated September 20, 1944, and Cable No. 1883 to Stockholm of the same date.
3/ Cable No. 6447 from Bern dated September 28, 1944.
4/ Cable No. 3435 to Bern dated October 6, 1944, comprising document 212; repeated on the same date to Lisbon and Caserta.

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Minister Harrison reported that this message reached the Hungarian Foreign Office through Swiss channels on October 28, 1944. 1/ The substance of the message was also transmitted to Budapest through the Hungarian Legation in Lisbon. Meanwhile, in Italy, Board Representative Ackermann sought Vatican intercession in bringing the matter to the attention of Hungarian authorities. 2/ Through the Apostolic Delegate in Washington, the Board asked that the Holy See also broadcast a public appeal against the impending deportations. 3/

Hungarian Response to This Government's Protest. In a statement delivered by the Hungarians to the Swiss Legation in Budapest on November 8, 1944, in response to this message, the Hungarians took the position that Jewish workers were needed in Hungary's total war mobilization and that the concentration of Jews fit for work was not discriminatory, since it was based on a law of 1939 according to which all physically fit persons, without distinction as to race, nationality, or religion, were subject to military labor service under military discipline. Jewish concentration and work camps, it was alleged, were not punishment camps. The Hungarian statement went on to reiterate that the Hungarian and German Governments had consented to the visit of an International Red Cross delegate to camps where Hungarian Jews were performing labor in Germany, and that the protection of these Jews was appropriately provided for "according to the nature of the work performed." It was claimed that Hungarian actions with respect to Jews were undertaken in the light of the interests of Hungary and that "foreign threats of whatever kind" could not change this principle.

The reply went on to declare that the Hungarian Government intended to treat Jews in a just and humane manner but warned that such treatment would be dependent upon the attitude of the Jews themselves and upon the absence of "further enemy terroristic attacks on the Hungarian civilian population." With respect to passports and other documentation issued by foreign missions in Budapest to Hungarian Jews for their emigration to neutral countries or to Palestine, the reply reiterated that the Hungarian Government was prepared to recognize these papers and to allow the emigration of the Jews concerned "within the framework of the number of visas agreed upon by the German Government for transit through German territory in case normal diplomatic relations with the interested country so permit." 4/

1/ Cable No. 7304 from Bern dated November 3, 1944; see also Cable No. 6793 from Bern dated October 12, 1944.
2/ Cable No. 723 from Caserta dated October 12, 1944.
3/ See Approaches to Germany and the Satellites To Halt Persecution: Appeals through the Vatican.
4/ Cable No. 7973 from Bern dated December 7, 1944, comprising document 213.

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Despite this exchange of notes and despite continued psychological pressure exerted through Office of War Information broadcasts to Hungary, 1/ there was no indication that there had been any change of plans in connection with the impending deportations of Jews for compulsory labor.

Protective Documents Respected. Repeated efforts on the part of the Board, along with the support of Switzerland as the protecting power of the United States, eventually resulted in the exemption from deportation for labor service and from other restrictive measures of large numbers of bearers of certificates issued by Switzerland, including holders of Palestine certificates and Latin American passports. 2/ A new Hungarian regime had assumed office and had promised still other measures to alleviate the position of Jews.

The firm position of the Swedish Government with respect to the treatment of Jews in Hungary holding Swedish protective passports, along with intervention by the King of Sweden, likewise brought assurances that Swedish passports would be respected. 3/

In line with these assurances, official radio broadcasts from Budapest on October 29 and 30, 1944, reversing decisions reflected in earlier October broadcasts, instructed all Hungarian authorities, the army, and the police that protective documents or foreign passports were to be respected. In the future Jewish holders of such documents were not to be sent to compulsory labor service; moreover, foreign consulates and legations and the premises of the International Red Cross were to enjoy the rights of extraterritoriality. 4/

The Papal Nuncio in Hungary was reportedly given similar assurances by the new Hungarian regime, 5/ though German exit and transit visas for persons holding protective foreign passports were still lacking.

Following representations made by the Board through Ambassador Hayes in Madrid, the Spanish Legation in Budapest eventually issued approximately 2,300 letters of protection to endangered Jews, 6/ along with some 700 visas for Morocco, 7/ thereby giving

1/ See Psychological Warfare Programs: Statements and Informational Campaigns Inspired by the Board.
2/ See Rescue through Protective Measures: Recognition of Latin American Passports.
3/ Cable No. 4457 from Stockholm dated November 1, 1944.
4/ Cable No. 7269 from Bern dated November 1, 1944, comprising document 214.
5/ Cable No. 4426 from Stockholm dated October 31, 1944.
6/ Cables No. 3896 and 4028 from Madrid dated November 29 and December 14, 1944.
7/ Dispatch No. 3504 from Madrid dated December 4, 1944.

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them the same form of protection which was operating successfully for the group of 500 children previously assembled at Budapest and making it possible for them to escape internment or deportation.

Throughout the German control of Hungary, however, the actual departure of any group of holders of foreign documents proved impossible. Many false starts were made and the Board's efforts to facilitate obtaining the necessary transit visas were unremitting. In one instance, the Swiss Minister to Hungary reported that German transit visas and all other necessary papers for a group of approximately 7,000 persons had finally been obtained, but lack of rolling stock prevented their evacuation. 1/

Through the intervention of the Swedish Legation, there had been accomplished the gradual release from compulsory labor service of approximately 15,000 Jews. In the case of about 4,500 Jews with special Swedish passports, 2/ it proved possible to accomplish their assignment to special quarters under Swedish protection, where relief and medical attention were provided.

Availability of United States Visas Recalled. Despite the obvious unwillingness of German authorities to permit emigration from Hungary, the Board persevered in its efforts in this direction. On September 30, 1944, upon learning that the Germans had given vague indication that they might reconsider their refusal to permit the emigration of the group of 2,000 Jews holding Palestine certificates, Minister Harrison and Board Representative McClelland were asked to recall to the attention of German and Hungarian authorities, through the Swiss Government and the International Red Cross, the United States visa program developed some time before in favor of children, close relatives of United States citizens and of alien residents in the United States, and of persons to whom visas had previously been issued or authorized. 3/ Nothing was accomplished by this action, however.

Renewed Excesses Indicated. In October 1944, according to radio broadcasts from Budapest intercepted in Istanbul and relayed by the Board's representative in Ankara, Jews were forbidden to leave their homes under any circumstances until further notice, and visits to Jewish homes by non-Jews were prohibited. From these and other statements broadcast by Hungarian officials, 4/ as well as from reports received from Bern, 5/ it was apparent that renewed excesses were imminent.

1/ Cable No. 7716 from Bern dated November 24, 1944.
2/ Cable No. 4720 from Stockholm dated November 18, 1944.
3/ Cable No. 3378 to Bern dated September 30, 1944
4/ Cable No. 1998 from Ankara dated October 19, 1944.
5/ Cables No. 7045 and 7093 from Bern dated October 24 and 25, 1944.

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The gravity of the situation was further apparent in word received from the International Red Cross delegate in Budapest later in October. According to this report, a total of 50,000 men were being deported to Germany, ostensibly as labor; all aged and all sick persons, including children, were being concentrated in a ghetto in Budapest; and all remaining able-bodied men and women were being employed in the construction of fortifications in the vicinity of Budapest. An energetic protest against these actions was lodged by the International Red Cross delegate with the Hungarian authorities. 1/

A report from Swedish Attache Wallenberg in Budapest likewise described extremely unfavorable developments, such as the issuance of an order for all Jews to be used as labor on defense works and the cancellation of all special privileges for any groups previously exempted from anti-Jewish regulations. Several thousand new murders were reported. The Swedish attache's Jewish staff employed in relief activities disappeared completely on October 17, 1944; he finally succeeded in locating all but 10 of them. Under a plan subsequently worked out with the Hungarian Foreign Minister, the staff members recovered were moved to specially protected homes. 2/ The Swedish Government continued to make strong representations to Hungarian authorities with respect to the treatment of Jews, and at one point serious consideration was given to withdrawal of the entire Swedish Mission.

Forced Marches to Germany Begun. Through the Swedish Foreign Office the Board next learned that early in November 1944, following the alleged finding of arms and munitions in certain Jewish homes, the Hungarian Arrow Cross party took over the Government, and Hungarian Jews became the object of increased terrorism. Several hundred murders occurred and wholesale arrests were made. Even Jews under Swedish protection were arrested. 3/ Other reports including word received from delegates of the International Red Cross in Hungary, confirmed the fact that deportations for labor in Germany were proceeding actively, the deportees being forced to travel on foot because of lack of rolling stock. 4/

According to one report from private sources, 25,000 persons, roughly 70 percent women and 30 percent men, were brutally assembled in a tile factory on the outskirts of the city by Arrow Cross party members between November 8 and 19, 1944, and were forced to set out on foot from Budapest. Children as young as 10 were included, and adults ranging up to 80 years of age. They

1/ Cable No. 7088 from Bern dated October 25, 1944.
2/ Cable No. 4416 from Stockholm dated October 30, 1944.
3/ Cable No. 4598 from Stockholm dated November 10, 1944.
4/ See, for example, Cable No. 4057 from Lisbon dated November 24, 1944, and Cables No. 2271 and 2337 from Ankara dated November 29 and December 9, 1944.

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were sent out in groups of from 2,000 to 2,500 per day along the main highway from Budapest and were expected to cover 20 to 30 kilometers daily. The food they were given and the supplies they were allowed to carry with them were totally inadequate, so that 15 to 20 percent of the deportees died or fell out from complete exhaustion along the way. Of those who reached a destination 109 kilometers from Budapest, 80 percent could scarcely be considered capable of physical labor.

In addition to deportations conducted by the Arrow Cross another 13,000 Jews, the majority men, were said to have been sent to Austria on foot by an S.S. group in Budapest. 1/

Information received from the Swedish Legation in Budapest indicated that about 40,000 persons were involved in the forced marches to Germany. Cold and rainy weather prevailed during these marches, and since the deportees had to sleep under rain covers and in the open, many of them died. Mr. Wallenberg himself saw seven persons who had died one day and seven who had died the day before. The Secretary of the Portuguese Legation reported having seen 42 dead persons along the line of march; others related similar experiences. When any of the marchers could no longer manage to walk, they were shot. At the border, the deportees were taken over by an S.S. officer and those who survived the march and the beatings were put at hard labor on border fortifications.

For a short time, until it was forbidden, deportees in the columns marching to the border were given certain foods and medicines. Intervention in one form or another resulted in the return of several thousand persons from places where Jews were loaded for deportation, but forcible measures threatened by the Germans interrupted this practice.

In contrast to the treatment accorded Jewish deportees, comparatively good conditions prevailed in the houses in which Jews were held as wards of Sweden. Those held were vaccinated against typhus, paratyphus, and cholera, as were the staff members of the Legation engaged in helping Axis victims. Following the events of October 1944, Swedish activities in Hungary were further expanded; by December, employees totaled 335, in addition to about 40 physicians, house governors, and the like. 2/

1/ Cable No. 7971 from Bern dated December 6, 1944.
2/ Cable No. 5235 from Stockholm dated December 22, 1944, comprising document 215.

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Red Cross Letters Provided Protection. As another consequence of the ominous events of October, the International Red Cross was persuaded to give out hundreds of special letters of protection to persons in Hungary whose safety was threatened. 1/

Protection Afforded Palestine Certificate Holders. Through the efforts of the British as well as of the Board's representatives abroad, lists of persons in Hungary for whom Palestine immigration certificates had been authorized (about 20,000 families were involved) were transmitted to the Swiss Legation in Budapest, which, as the protecting power, sought to protect these persons and accomplish the necessary measures to enable their emigration to Palestine. After the Swiss Legation had undertaken numerous representations in favor of these persons, the Hungarian and German Governments in November 1944 finally declared themselves ready to authorize the emigration of about 7,800 Jews holding Palestine certificates, but arbitrarily denied the right of Switzerland to accord protection to the other Jews authorized to enter Palestine.

These 7,800 persons, freed from labor service, were immediately assembled by the Swiss in about 25 buildings, which were placed under the protection of the Swiss Legation.

As had been the case in connection with persons whom the Swedish Legation was housing and otherwise seeking to protect, there were forced entrances to these houses by members of the Arrow Cross party; on various occasions identity documents issued by the Legation and even the individuals themselves were taken away. 2/

The actual emigration of these Palestine certificate holders under Swiss protection was apparently never accomplished while hostilities continued, despite unremitting efforts on the part of the War Refugee Board and interested governments and organizations. Two large groups of persons for whom Palestine certificates were said to have been promised, composed largely of Hungarians who had been held in camps in Germany proper, however, were evacuated to Switzerland toward the end of 1944 and in early 1945, 3/ and plans were later made for the onward movement to Palestine, via Italy, of some 700 of these persons. 4/

1/ Letter from Board Representative McClelland to Executive Director Pehle dated November 11, 1944, and enclosures.
2/ Dispatch No. 10437 from Bern dated January 3, 1945.
3/ See Rescue to and through Switzerland.
4/ See Emergency Refugee Camps and Settlement: Palestine.

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Fall of Hungary to Soviet Armies. Soviet armies reaching Hungary in November and December 1944 promptly took over the administration of this German satellite, thereby effectively ending one of the most brutal of all periods of organized persecution of minority groups on racial and religious grounds.

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WRB Rpts Vol 2

DOCUMENT

114

DCG-1142
Distribution of true reading only by special arrangement. ([redacted] W)

Stockholm
DATED: March 7, 1945
REC'D: 8:26 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.
891, March 7, 7 p.m.

THIS IS OUR 130 FOR WAR REFUGEE BOARD

One of Sweden's leading newspapers, DAGENS NYHETER, of March 6, contains a front page interview with a Hungarian Jew who recently escaped to Sweden. He pays tremendous tribute to Swedish relief and rescue activities for Hungarian Jews, particularly that of Raoul Wallenberg, and states "Budapest Jews were saved by the Swedes."

The article describes one instance in which an hour's urgent conference by Wallenberg with Szalasy personally caused the latter to reinstate the validity of Swedish protective passports. It mentions that Wallenberg quartered 5000 Jews in so-called Swedish houses and one evening, when an armed patrol entered this area to remove some of the inhabitants to labor camps, Wallenberg met the patrol and, after advising it that it was trespassing on Swedish territory, informed the group that it could not trespass further without first shooting him, adding "none leaves this place as long as I live." Later the same evening Wallenberg was advised that 11 persons with Swedish passports had been arrested by the Gestapo and had been loaded on a labor train destined for Vienna. It states that Wallenberg raced to the railway station but the train had departed. Wallenberg then chased the train until it stopped at station just short of the German border and he managed to remove these 11 persons from the train.

The article pays remarkable tribute to Wallenberg's courage and day and night effort to help the Jews, despite the fact that there was a constant object of personal attack and anonymous threats of bodily harm. The article will be forwarded in the next pouch.

JOHNSON

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DOCUMENT

166

DMH-502
Distribution of true reading
only by special arrangement
([redacted] W)

Stockholm
DATED June 21, 1944
REC'D 2:50 p.m.

Secretary of State
Washington
U. S. Urgent
2231, June 21, 1 p.m.

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

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

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

JOHNSON

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DOCUMENT

167

TELEGRAM SENT

([redacted] WN)

July 7, 1944

AMLEGATION,
STOCKHOLM.

1353

The War Refugee Board cable 41 below is for Johnson and Olsen.

Bohm, Anderson and Polen Hjalpen reports received. Reference your 2231, 2344, and 2360 of June 21, 27 and 28, your 31, 39 and 40 to War Refugee Board. While it is difficult to attempt precisely to outline program from here, the following general approach is suggested:

Since money and favorable post-war consideration may motivate action impeding, relaxing or slowing down tempo of persecution and facilitate escapes and concealments, it should be ascertained in what quarters such inducements may be effective. In this connection, contact should be established, at discretion, with appropriate persons mentioned in Department's 1246 of June 23 and such others as may become known. If circumstances warrant funds will be made available at neutral bank for post-war use or in part in local currency now, procured against blocked counter-value here or in neutral bank. For latter purpose local funds may be procurable from appropriate persons mentioned in Department's 1246 such as (c) in first group and such others as may become known. Whenever a concrete proposal based on financial arrangements of substantial character or on favorable post-war consideration is broached, the matter should be referred to the Board for clearance, which will require evidence of effectiveness and good faith in the meantime. In order to care for less substantial transactions a fund of $50,000 will be placed at Olsen's disposal which may be used in his discretion in addition to the fund already available to him for discretionary use.

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

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geographical situation and absence of real occupation to shelter refugees if they can reach that area. In addition, Board believes that Roman Catholic clergy and Nuncio may be helpful both in action and with advice.

Further in connection with lower official and unofficial channels the following list of persons, secured from same sources as list given in Department's 1246 may be useful: In or near Budapest: (a) Dezso Vilmanyi, said to be former official in the Police Headquarters in Budapest, in 1939 transferred to the Police Department in the Ministry of Interior, in charge of passport matters and to have granted many persons passports for consideration. Also said to have ingratiated himself with the Arrowcross Party and was counted among their fellow travelers by them, but that Jews could always count on his favors if they met his terms, in cash; (b) Zoltan Timke, said to be Chief Prosecutor, Superior Court of Hungary, a chauvinist and reactionary, but opposed to the Nazis. It is said that he can be depended on to help Jews of reactionary and financial-commercial background; (c) Colonel Denes Deak-Horvath, said to be wealthy, independent, and politically unaffiliated. It is said that he is Chairman of Barcs Farmers' Granary Cooperative, General Manager of Hungarian Food Supply Co. It is also said that since 1940, he has been one of the leaders of the action protecting Polish refugees in Hungary and that he was fined for violation of the anti-Jewish laws. He is also said to have close connections with certain members of the present Hungarian government through which he may render useful services to our cause, notably with Anthony Kunder, the present minister of commerce; (d) Rezse Koszeghy, said to be 49 years of age, a native of Hungary of German-Swabian descent, and a former official of the National Bank of Hungary who is now general manager of a textile and fur concern. Said to be trustworthy as assistant and go between and to have a student son in Switzerland. Said to have good contact with rank and file in government officers; (e) Dr. Jeno Bozoky, said to be a lawyer who for a number of years very skilfully played the role of an ardent Nazi and anti-Semite, with the objective of helping distressed or endangered Jews and liberals.

With reference to high official channels exploration may be made of the possibility, suggested by pages 29 and following of Bohm's report, of evacuation of Jews and persons similarly situated belonging to specific groups such as (a) holders of Palestine certificates, (b) holders of visas for entry into neutral countries, (c) persons to whom the issuance of visas for entry into an American republic is authorized provided they appear personally therefor before a consular officer in a neutral country, (d) persons holding passports or consular documents issued in the names of American republics, or who are under the protection of a neutral country as indicated by Bohm at page 26, (e) women and children, (f) aged and infirm men, and (g) parents, husbands, wives, children, etc., of American citizens.

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You should advise Wallenberg of the foregoing to the extent that you deem advisable and inform him that the same constitutes a general outline of a program which the Board believes can be pursued. While he cannot, of course, act as the Board's representative, nor purport to act in its name, he can, whenever advisable, indicate that as a Swede he is free to communicate with Stockholm where a representative of the Board is stationed. He may thus express his willingness to lay before the Board's representative specific proposals if in any particular case he should deem so doing to be advisable, or if by reason of the nature of the proposal Olsen's or the Board's approval is necessary. Wallenberg should have with him copies of the President's Statement of March 24, Department's 502 of March 24, the Statement of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Department's 1311 of July 1, the Statement of June 28, and Archbishop Spellman's statement, Department's 1283 of June 29. These he might on proper occasions call to the attention of appropriate persons, expressing the view, having just come from outside German-controlled territory, that there is no question of American determination to see to it that those who share the guilt will be punished, but that helpful conduct now may result in more favorable consideration than actions heretofore might warrant.

Wallenberg should consult with the representative of the International Red Cross and impress upon him the urgent need of increasing Intercross representation in Hungary and intercession in an effort to secure permission to visit and inspect concentration camps, ghettos and other places of detention. Wallenberg might undertake also to see whether such permission might be granted him and his colleagues. To the extent that you deem it advisable you may call Wallenberg's attention to Bohm's suggestions so that he may undertake to determine their feasibility and whether they offer channels through which effective measures can be taken. Please express to the Foreign Office and to Wallenberg the Board's sincere appreciation for their wholehearted cooperation. The Board is aware of Sweden's great concern and active measures of assistance for the victims of Nazi persecution and is confident that through cooperation such as has been evidenced in this and other instances, further lives will be saved.

HULL

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LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

848/ICO/MET

Stockholm, Sweden
November 14, 1944

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

Dear Mr. Pehle:

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

Sincerely yours,

(Signed)
IVER C. OLSEN

Iver C. Olsen
Special Attache for
War Refugee Board

Enclosure - 1

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COPY
Koniglich
Schwedische Gesandtschaft

W./F. Budapest, 12th Okt. 1944.

Mr. Olssen,
Strandvägen 7
Stockholm.

Dear Mr. Olssen,

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

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

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

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

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

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

Yours faithfully

(Signed)
R. WALLENBERG

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DOCUMENT

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

WAR REFUGEE BOARD

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

169

December 6, 1944

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

My dear Mr. Minister:

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

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

Sincerely yours,

(Signed)
J. W. PEHLE

J. W. Pehle
Executive Director

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

Enclosure

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COPY

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

December 6, 1944

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

My dear Mr. Wallenberg:

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

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

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

Very truly yours,

(Signed)
J. W. PEHLE

J. W. Pehle
Executive Director

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The following day the Delegate replied:

It is a pleasure to inform you that I have already sent a communication to His Eminence, the Cardinal Secretary of State, invoking every possible assistance by the Holy See, through its diplomatic representatives, the Bishops and clergy, that the lot of these unfortunates may be rendered less difficult.

I am confident that the Holy Father personally, and the agencies of the Holy See will cooperate to the utmost in the humanitarian cause.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

> According to all reliable information unmistakably steps are being taken preparatory to massive deportation and extermination of the Jewish population especially in Carpatho-Russian and Maramaros regions. The number of people immediately involved is about 200,000 and the action shows every sign of being extended to the Jewish population in Hungary proper.
>
> This action has all the namelessly tragic and brutal earmarks of similar actions carried out in Poland by the Nazis and their henchmen. It is being most savagely taken in northeastern Hungary.....
>
> For all reliable reports - and this is even reflected in the Hungarian press especially in the provinces - the Hungarian population have not sympathized with such brutal anti-Jewish measures. On the contrary they have openly sided with the persecuted Jews and have continually attempted to aid these wretched souls by bringing them food and clothing.
>
> On the other hand the Hungarian authorities have taken severe measures to isolate such concentration camps and to cut off all assistance from outside.....
>
> The lot of these Jews in such improvised "camps" is wretched. Such cattle markets, tile factories and wood yards are almost completely devoid of sanitary facilities and in many instances thousands of men women children old and sick people are forced to live in the open under conditions of frightful crowding and promiscuity. They were permitted to take nothing with them in the way of blankets or covers and it becomes tragically obvious that a great many will die of exposure disease and slow starvation even before they are jammed 80 to 100 to a wagon into cattle cars for deportation.....
>
> It is my urgent suggestion, in close collaboration with the War Refugee Board representative here, that the Government of the USSR be prevailed upon in regard to the purpose of the occupation of Hungary by the Nazis, to associate itself with the declaration of March 24 by President Roosevelt (Eden March 31). Since the Soviet armies are standing on the frontiers of Hungary and the fear of the Russians in the hearts of a large number of "collaborators" in Hungary is mortal, a declaration by the Soviet Union would have all the more weight.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

> the personal appeal of the Holy Father to Regent Horthy has led the latter to assume a more determined attitude of opposition to the racial laws. Likewise the members of the Catholic Hierarchy were encouraged to carry on a more intense activity in favor of victims of racial laws.
>
> It seems that the Government of Hungary has now given assurance to His Eminence, Cardinal Seredi, Primate of Hungary, that deportations of Jewish people will cease. The Apostolic Nunciature adds that in fact the whole racial situation is somewhat improved.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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such groups and private rescue agencies.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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250,000 Jews had been deported from Hungary.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Please keep Department and Board advised.

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

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

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

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

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

The Swiss government was asked to advise Germany and Hungary that

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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on August 24 to the American legation at Bern:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Later the same day, the legation reported:

> .....during the past fornight we have received reports..... that the Government of Hungary is planning to take the dispositions given below with respect to about 200,000 Jewish individuals remaining in Hungary, in Budapest mainly.
>
> Every physically able bodied man and woman will be placed in compulsory work in agriculture and industry in various parts of the nation in the interests of national defense.
>
> As early as August 24, preparations were being made to establish two large camps having a combined capacity of 120,000 individuals for all Jews from Budapest who were not suited for work from a physical standpoint.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

LSLesser: BAkzin:dmc 10/9/44

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Efforts to Increase Protection to Jews of Hungary

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Intensification of Psychological Warfare Program

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

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

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

Operations from Sweden

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

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

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

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

Operations from Switzerland

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Military Operations

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

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

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

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

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

Hungarian Responsiveness to Our Inquiries and the Resulting Offers

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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DEC 6 1944

My dear Mr. Minister:

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

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

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) J. W. Pehle

J. W. Pehle
Executive Director

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

Enclosure.

FH:hd 12/4/44

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DEC 6 1944

My dear Mr. Wallenberg:

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

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

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

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. W. Pehle

J. W. Pehle
Executive Director

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

EBT:FH:hd 12/1/44

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EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
WAR REFUGEE BOARD

To:
(1) Mrs. Pehle (Room) (Bldg.)
(2) [redacted] 2030 (Room) (Bldg.)
(3) [redacted] 2410 (Room) (Bldg.)
(4) [redacted] 2418 (Room) (Bldg.)
(5) Mr. Thompson 2314
(6) Hodel 2430

We must be working with the State Dept at some point

From: JA 11/28 (Date)
(Room) (Bldg.)

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848/ICO/MET

Stockholm, Sweden
November 14, 1944

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

Dear Mr. Pehle:

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

Sincerely yours,

Iver C. Olsen
Special Attaché for
War Refugee Board

Enclosure - 1

C O P Y

Königlich
Schwedische Gesandtschaft

Budapest, 12th Okt. 1944.

W./F.

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

Dear Mr. Olssen,

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

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

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

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

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

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

Yours faithfully

(signed) R. Wallenberg

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[From Truman Papers - WH Central Files]

Bil. 1

January 5, 1948

Respectfully referred to the

Department of State.

MATTHEW J. CONNELLY
Secretary to the President

Bertil Von Friesen
Raoul Wallenberg-Aktionen
Post Box 42012
Stockholm 42
Sweden

Registered letter to the President dated 12/22/47.

The writer states that prior to January 31, 1948, the Nobel Committee of the Norwegian Storting must receive the official proposals for the candidates of the 1948 Nobel Peace Prize. He nominates the Swedish Secretary of Legation, Raoul Wallenberg as a candidate. This nomination is also supported by Anders Orne, Ture Nerman, Lise Meitner, Ellen Hagen and Vilhelm Lundstedt, who have formed an investigating committee. The writer asks the President to lend his support to the above nomination.
Enc. - booklet published by the Swedish Raoul Wallenberg Committee and the Swedish Association of Peace and Arbitration, on Raoul Wallenberg's life and activity.

acs

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

INCOMING TELEGRAM

DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS

[redacted]

~~BE-444~~
Distribution of true reading only by special arrangement. ([redacted] W)

[redacted]

For security reasons the text of this message must be closely guarded.

Stockholm
Dated June 12, 1944
Rec'd 11 a.m.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
JUN 13 1944

CONTROL COPY

Secretary of State

Washington

2098, June 12, 9 a.m.

FOR WAR REFUGEE BOARD

Contract made with Wilhelm Bohm pursuant to instructions WRB number 1010 (Department's No. 950 of May 19) Contract was made through channels already established in Legation which appear to better, rather than worsen although latter was advised and is himself in contact with Bohm.

This is our No. 27.

Bohm has now supplied what appears to be comprehensive review of situation in Hungary, and has included specific recommendations as to possible relief and rescue programs. Report is in German and involves a substantial translation task. This is however being pushed as rapidly as possible and summary of principal features of report will be cabled as soon as available. Bohm states in his report that the Hungarian Government has made several official declarations to the public that it wishes to protect

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

protect its Jewish population but considers evacuation to neutral countries the only real solution. He considers therefore than an offer by the neutral countries, based on these Efficial Hungarian declarations to supply refuge and assist in the evacuation would at least test since (*)e act if these declarations and be useful psychologically. Bohm is a Leftist and former Minister of War. Very coperative but in extremely delicate health.

Other important contacts have been made with respect to Hungarian problems. These include former Hungarian Minister here who refused to recognize present regime in Hungary resulting from German occupation. Also includes Heinrich Dewahl, director of Manfred - Weiss Stahlwerk, who arrived in Sweden two days before German occpation. Have found Swede who is going to Hungary in very near future on business trip and who appears willing to lend every possible assistance on Hungarian problem. Am having dinner with him on June 11 with Wahl, for purpose of exploring possibilities and to obtain in some measure his aapabilities along those lines. Any instructions which would coordinate approach to Hungarian problem would be helpful.

JOHNSON

(*)Apparent omission

WSB MEV

(War Ref)

ORIGINAL TEXT OF TELEGRAM SENT

RECEIVED
WAR REFUGEE BOARD
WASHINGTON, D.C.

FROM: Secretary of State, Washington

TO: American Legation, Stockholm

DATED: May 25, 1944

NUMBER: 1010

(Copy only)

CONTROL COPY

Attention of Olsen and Minister Johnson

Please represent to the Swedish government that, according to persistent and seemingly authentic reports, systematic mass-extermination of Jews in Hungary has begun. The lives of 800,000 human beings in Hungary may well depend on the restraint that may result from the presence in that country of the largest possible number of foreign observers. To this end, please urge appropriate authorities in the interest of most elementary humanity to take immediate steps to increase to the largest possible extent the numbers of Swedish diplomatic and consular personnel in Hungary and to distribute them as widely as possible throughout the country.

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

Please inform Department forthwith of extent to which Swedish government is cooperating in this matter.

THIS IS WRB STOCKHOLM CABLE NO. 17 .

HULL

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

CABLE TO MINISTER JOHNSON AND OLSEN, STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN

Please represent to the Swedish government that, according to persistent and seemingly authentic reports, systematic mass-extermination of Jews in Hungary has begun. The lives of 800,000 human beings in Hungary may well depend on the restraint that may result from the presence in that country of the largest possible number of foreign observers. To this end, please urge appropriate authorities in the interest of most elementary humanity to take immediate steps to increase to the largest possible extent the numbers of Swedish diplomatic and consular personnel in Hungary and to distribute them as widely as possible throughout the country.

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

Please inform Department forthwith of extent to which Swedish government is cooperating in this matter.

THIS IS WRB STOCKHOLM CABLE NO. 17 .

****

May 22, 1944
11:30 a.m.

Ba. L.S.L.

BAkzin : jp 5/20/44
LSLesser

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

INCOMING TELEGRAM

DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS

DMH-502
Distribution of true reading only be special arrangement
(S[redacted] W)

Stockholm

Dated June 21, 1944

Rec'd 2:50 p.m.

[redacted]

Secretary of State

Washington

The security rating of the text of this message must be closely guarded.

CONTROL COPY

US URGENT

2231, June 21, 1 p.m.

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

Mr. Boheman has informed me that Mr. Raoul Wallenberg will be appointed an Attache to the Swedish Legation at Budapest for the specific purpose of following and reporting on situation with respect to persecution of Jews and minorities. It is likewise intention of Foreign Office to secure if possible an appointment as representative of other Swedish Red Cross for Professor Maltet, a Swede who is now teaching in University of Budapest. Professor Maltet will not be connected with Swedish Legation but will co-operate closely with Wallenberg (my 2069, June 9, 6 p.m.). As Wallenberg's functions in Budapest will be purely official and he has for time of appointment severed all business connections, Boheman does not anticipate any trouble in his securing the necessary visa. He said if the visa is refused the Swedish Government will simply refuse in

turn

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

turn to receive the Hungarian Charge d'Affaires. Mr. Boheman made it clear that Foreign Office and his government are disposed to cooperate as fully as possible in all humanitarian endeavors and the appointment of this Attache is undoubtedly an evidence of official Swedish desire to conform to the wishes expressed in Department's telegram 1010, May 25, 2 p.m.

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

JOHNSON

WTD
EJH

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

MAE-910

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INCOMING TELEGRAM

Stockholm

Dated June 29, 1944

Rec'd 6:35 a.m.

DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS

For security reasons the text of this message must be closely guarded.

CONTROL COPY

Secretary of State,

Washington.

2360, June 28, 9 p.m.

THIS IS NO. 40 FOR WAR REFUGEE BOARD.

Reference is made to our No 31 for War Refugee Board (Legation's 2231, June 21, 4 PM) and our No. 39 for WRB (Legation's 2234, June 27, 11 PM, with respect to cooperation of Swedish Foreign Office in assigning an attache to its legation in Budapest for the purpose of furthering the relief and rescue of refugees.

We should emphasize that the Swedish Foreign Office in making this assignment feels that it has cooperated fully in lending all possible facilities for the furtherance of an American program. It is not likely, however, that it will provide the newly appointed attache with a concrete program; but instead will probably give him rather general instructions which will not be sufficiently specific to enable him to deal promptly and effectively with situations as they develop in Hungary. The newly designated attache, Raoul Wallenberg, feels however that he, in effect, is

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

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effect, is carrying out a humanitarian mission in behalf of the War Refugee Board. Consequently he would like full instructions as to the line of activities he is authorized to carry out and assurances of adequate financial support for these activities so that he will be in a position to develop fully all local possibilities. We are very favorably impressed with Wallenberg's ability to act intelligently and with discretion in carrying out any responsibilities that the WRB may delegate to him and urge strongly that appropriate instructions be forwarded as soon as possible. Arrangements have been made to communicate with him in Budapest through the Swedish Foreign Office and vice versa and it should be possible for us to keep currently informed on developments in Hungary.

JOHNSON

RR

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PARAPHRASE OF TELEGRAM RECEIVED

FROM: The American Legation, Stockholm

TO: The Secretary of State, Washington

DATE: July 1, 1944

NUMBER: 2412 (SECTION ONE)

CONTROL COPY

[redacted]

Boheman has advised me that information just received from Budapest concerning treatment of Jews is so terrible that it is hard to believe and that there are no words to qualify its description. He said that of the total number of Jews in Hungary originally not more than four hundred thousand remain now and these are mostly in Budapest. He also said that the others of whom there were well over six hundred thousand (this is a conservative estimate) have been either deported to Germany to uncertain destinations or killed. According to the evidence, these people are now being killed en masse by the Germans and large numbers are being taken to a place across the Hungarian frontier in Poland where there is an establishment at which gas is used for killing people. It is said by Boheman that these people of all ages, children, women and men, are transported to this isolated spot in box cars packed in like sardines and that upon arrival many are already dead. Those who have survived the trip are stripped naked, given a small square object which resembles a piece of soap and told that at the bath house they must bathe themselves. The "bath house" does in fact look like a big bathing establishment being a large building which has been built by the Germans. Into a large room with a total capacity of two thousand packed together closely

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

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closely the victims are pushed. No regard is given to sex or age and all are completely naked. When the atmosphere of the hall has been heated by this mass of bodies a fine powder is let down over the whole area by opening a contraption in the ceiling. When the heated atmosphere comes in contact with this powder a poisonous gas is formed which kills all occupants of the room. Trucks then take out the bodies, and burning follows. Jews of Hungary have been successful in getting an appeal through to the King of Sweden and I am advised by Boheman that under the signature of the King a telegram has been sent through their Legation to Horthy appealing to him in Humanity's name to do what he can to stop this horrible massacre of a defenseless people and to save the lives of those who are left. It is not known by Boheman whether an opportunity to see Horthy to deliver this message will be given to the Swedish Minister at Budapest. The message will be delivered to the Foreign Office if he is not permitted to see the Regent and it will be published here as soon as the Government of Sweden has received confirmation of its delivery in any form.

JOHNSON

DCR:MPL
7/3/44

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PARAPHRASE OF TELEGRAM RECEIVED

FROM: The American Legation, Stockholm

TO: The Secretary of State, Washington

DATE: July 1, 1944

NUMBER: 2412 (SECTION TWO)

[redacted]

The Hungarian Jews, in spite of all their difficulties, have collected money to the equivalent of 2,000,000 Swedish crowns to be used in aiding the Jews and this has been turned over to the Swedish Legation in Budapest. Wallenberg who is going to the Swedish Legation at Budapest as an attache to handle refugee matters, was highly praised by Boheman who said that if our War Refugee Board could formulate some form of directive for him which the Foreign Office will be glad to transmit, it would be of great help to Wallenberg. There is no doubt in my mind as to the sincerity of Wallenberg's purpose because I have talked to him myself. I was told by Wallenberg that he wanted to be able to help effectively and to save lives and that he was not interested in going to Budapest merely to write reports to be sent to the Foreign Office. He himself is half Jewish, incidentally. I refer in this connection to my number 2360 dated June 28 (number 40 for the War Refugee Board) and to the suggested desirability of the formulation by WRB of some directives for Wallenberg at the earliest possible moment. My number 2271 dated June 23 is referred to also. Provided the source is not (repeat not) revealed there is no objection

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

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jection on the part of Boheman to any publicity use we may desire to make of that portion of the foregoing which deals with the treatment of Jews in Hungary.

I have been advised by Boheman that he is now having copies made of the last reports from Budapest to which reference has been made above and that as soon as they are ready he will turn them over to me. Copies will be forwarded by air pouch and a summary will be given by cable.

JOHNSON

DCR:MPL
7/8/44

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM

July 6, 1944

9 p.m.

DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DIVISION OF
JUL 8 1944
COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS

CONTROL COPY

[redacted]

For security reasons the text of this message must be closely guarded.

AMLEGATION

STOCKHOLM

1349 1319

The following War Refugee Board cable no. 42 is for Johnson and Olsen.

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

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

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

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

President.

President.

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

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

Board expects verbatim text of note and date of Swiss action momentarily. You will be kept advised so that Wallenberg may be in a position at your discretion to note and report any reaction and take advantage thereof if circumstances favorable.

HULL
(GLW)

WRB:MMV:KG S/CR NOE SE NE
7/4/44

CABLE TO MINISTER JOHNSON AT STOCKHOLM AND OLSEN

[redacted]

For your information and guidance as well as Wallenberg's in your discretion there is herewith repeated to you the substance of a message sent by the Board to Amlegation Bern: QUOTE In view of consistent neutral press reports carrying Berlin and Budapest datelines and other information to the effect that the eight hundred thousand Jews in Hungary are being segregated in ghettos and concentrated in camps, there seems little doubt that the pattern heretofore set in Poland and repeated elsewhere is again being followed. In an effort to develop means to forestall the effectuation of the ultimate ends of such program, that is mass-executions either before or after deportation, consideration has been given to the advisability of requesting the Swiss Government to address an inquiry on behalf of this Government to appropriate authorities in Hungary asking them to state their intentions with respect to the future treatment to be accorded to Jews in ghettos and concentration camps and specifically whether they contemplate forced deportations to Poland or elsewhere or the imposition of discriminatory reductions in food rations, or the adoption other measures which like those mentioned will be tantamount to mass-execution. At the same time, the Swiss government would be requested to remind the same authorities of the grave view that this Government takes with respect to the persecution of Jews and other minorities and of the determination of this Government to see to it that all those who share the responsibility for such acts are dealt with in accordance with the President's statement of March 24, 1944. Also at the same time the fact of this Government's request of the Swiss Government and the nature thereof would be given the widest possible publicity in Hungary through broadcasts in the Hungarian language and such other means as may be practicable. UNQUOTE

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

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By R. H. SEP 1 [illegible] 72

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

Board expects verbatim text of note and date of Swiss action momentarily. You will be kept advised so that Wallenberg may be in a position at your discretion to note and report any reaction and take advantage thereof if circumstances favorable.

THIS IS WRB STOCKHOLM CABLE NO. 42

1:40 p.m.
July 3, 1944

Miss Chauncey (for the Sec'y) Abrahamson, Cohn, DuBois, Friedman, Hodel, Laughlin, Lesser, Mann, Stewart, Central Files, Cable Control Files

y.s.l.
LSLesser:als 7/1/44

War Refugee Board
July 7, 1944. (Mr. Pehle)

TELEGRAM SENT

War Refugee Board

AMLEGATION,

STOCKHOLM.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
JUL 26 1944
DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS & RECORDS

TO BE SENT IN [redacted] "W"

CONTROL COPY

1353

The War Refugee Board cable 41 below is for Johnson and Olsen.

Bohm, Andersen and Polen Hjalpen reports received. Reference your 2231, 2344 and 2360 of June 21, 27 and 28, your 31, 39 and 40 to War Refugee Board. While it is difficult to attempt precisely to outline program from here, the following general approach is suggested:

Since money and favorable post-war consideration may motivate action impeding, relaxing or slowing down tempo of persecution and facilitate escapes and concealments, it should be ascertained in what quarters such inducements may be effective. In this connection, contact should be established, at discretion, with appropriate persons mentioned in Department's 1246 of June 23 and such others as may become known. If circumstances warrant funds will be made available at neutral bank for post-war use or in part in local currency now, procured against blocked counter-value here or in neutral bank. For latter purpose local funds may be procurable from appropriate persons mentioned in Department's 1246 such as (6) in first group and such others as may become known. Whenever a concrete proposal based on financial arrangements of a substantial character or on favorable post-war consideration is broached, the matter should be referred to the Board for clearance, which will require evidence of effectiveness and good faith in the meantime. In order to care for less substantial transactions a fund of $50,000 will be placed at Olsen's disposal which may be used in his discretion in addition to the fund already available to him for discretionary use.

The problem may be dealt with on various levels such as high official, low official and unofficial, central and local. In connection with unofficial channels an informed source suggests that ships and barges going down the Danube are generally empty and may afford a means of escape for a limited number of refugees in the guise of seamen or otherwise. Same source suggests that skippers can be approached on financial basis and crews through

so-

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

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so-called communist channels. Board is also advised that railroad line from Budapest to Mohacs, said to be about ten miles from partisan-controlled Yugoslav territory, might afford similar opportunities if contacts made with trainmen through what are termed communict channels. Board further advised that Transylvanian Unitarian Church, socialist and partisan groups may be in a position because of geographical situation and absence of real occupation to shelter refugees if they can reach that area. In addition, Board believes that Roman Catholic clergy and Nuncio may be helpful both in action and with advice.

Further in connection with lower official and unofficial channels the following list of persons, secured from same sources as list given in Department's 1246 may be useful: In or near Budapest: (a) Dezso Vilmanyi, said to be former official in the Police Headquarters in Budapest, in 1939 transferred to the Police Department in the Ministry of Interior, in charge of passport matters and to have granted many persons passports for consideration. Also said to have ingratiated himself with the Arrowcross Party and was counted among their fellow travelers by them, but that Jews could always count on his favors if they met his terms, in cash; (b) Zoltan Timko, said to be Chief Prosecutor, Superior Court of Hungary, a chauvinist and reactionary, but opposed to the Nazis. It is said that he can be depended on to help Jews of reactionary and financial-commercial background; (c) Colonel Denes Deak-Horvath, said to be wealthy, independent, and politically unaffiliated. It is said that he is Chairman of Barcs Farmers' Granary Cooperative, General Manager of Hungarian Food Supply Co. It is also said that since 1940, he has been one of the leaders of the action protecting Polish refugees in Hungary and that he was fined for violation of the anti-Jewish laws. He is also said to have close connections with certain members of the present Hungarian government through which he may render useful services to our cause, notably with Anthony Kunder, the present minister of commerce; (d) Rezso Koszeghy, said to be 49 years of age, a native of Hungary of German-Swabian descent, and a former official of the National Bank of Hungary who is now general manager of a textile and fur concern. Said to be trustworthy as assistant and go between and to have a student son in Switzerland. Said to have good contact with rank and file in government officers; (e) Dr. Jeno Bozoky, said to be a lawyer who for a number of years very skillfully played the role of an ardent Nazi and anti-Semite, with the objective of helping distressed or endangered Jews and liberals.

With

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With reference to high official channels exploration may be made of the possibility, suggested by pages 29 and following of Bohm's report, of evacuation of Jews and persons similarly situated belonging to specific groups such as (a) holders of Palestine certificates, (b) holders of visas for entry into neutral countries, (c) persons to whom the issuance of visas for entry into an American republic is authorized provided they appear personally therefor before a consular officer in a neutral country, (d) persons holding passports or consular documents issued in the names of American republics, or who are under the protection of a neutral country as indicated by Bohm at page 26, (e) women and children, (f) aged and infirm men, and (g) parents, husbands, wives, children, etc., of American citizens.

You should advise Wallenberg of the foregoing to the extent that you deem advisable and inform him that the same constitutes a general outline of a program which the Board believes can be pursued. While he cannot, of course, act as the Board's representative, nor purport to act in its name, he can, whenever advisable, indicate that as a Swede he is free to communicate with Stockholm where a representative of the Board is stationed. He may thus express his willingness to lay before the Board's representative specific proposals if in any particular case he should deem so doing to be advisable, or if by reason of the nature of the proposal Olsen's or the Board's approval is necessary. Wallenberg should have with him copies of the President's Statement of March 24, Department's 502 of March 24, the Statement of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Department's 1311 of July 1, the Statement of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Department's circular of June 28, and Archbishop Spellman's statement, Department's 1283 of June 29. These he might on proper occasions call to the attention of appropriate persons, expressing the view, having just come from outside German-controlled territory, that there is no question of American determination to see to it that those who share the guild will be punished, but that helpful conduct now may result in more favorable consideration than actions heretofore might warrant.

Wallenberg should consult with the representative of the International Red Cross and impress upon him the urgent need of increasing Intercross representation in Hungary and intercession in an effort to secure permission to visit and inspect concentration camps, ghettos and other places of detention.

Wallenberg

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Wallenberg might undertake also to see whether such permission might be granted him and his colleagues. To the extent that you deem it advisable you may call Wallenberg's attention to Bohm's suggestions so that he may undertake to determine their feasibility and whether they offer channels through which effective measures can be taken. Please express to the Foreign Office and to Wallenberg the Board's sincere appreciation for their wholehearted cooperation. The Board is aware of Sweden's great concern and active measures of assistance for the victims of Nazi persecution and is confident that through cooperation such as has been evidenced in this and other instances, further lives will be saved.

HULL

WRB:MMV:KG
7-4-44

NOE

SE

SWP

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS

5 war Reg BO - Pehle

July 10, 1944

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CONTROL COPY

AMLEGATION,

STOCKHOLM

1364

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
JUL 12 1944
DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS

The WRB cable 42 below is for Olsen.

It may be of the utmost importance to future program of the Board to have available precise information concerning location of Hungarian detention centers for Jews including the place across the Hungarian frontier in Poland referred to in Section 1 of your 2412 of July 1. Using all channels available to you including Wallenberg, please secure such information and transmit it to the Board as promptly as possible.

HULL
(GLW)

WRB:MMV:OMH
7/8/44

NOE

EE

S/CR

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72

By R. H. Parks Date SEP 14 1972

[redacted]

CABLE TO MINISTER JOHNSON, STOCKHOLM FOR OLSEN.

It may be of the utmost importance to future program of the Board to have available precise information concerning location of Hungarian detention centers for Jews including the place across the Hungarian frontier in Poland referred to in Section 1 of your 2412 of July 1. Using all channels available to you including Wallenberg, please secure such information and transmit it to the Board as promptly as possible.

This is WRB Stockholm Cable No. 42.

July 7, 1944
12:30 p.m.

L.S.L.

LSLesser:als 7/7/44

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

Re:
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July 17, 1944
7 p.m.

[redacted]

AMLEGATION,

STOCKHOLM:

1426.

The following War Refugee Board cable 55 is for Olsen.

(1) Reference Department's 1349 of July 6, WRB's 42. Board now informed by Amlegation Bern that Swiss Minister at Budapest delivered note to the Hungarian Foreign Office on June 27. Text not yet received.

(2) Please express to Foreign Office Department's and Board's appreciation for information contained in your 2510 of July 7.

(3) It is reported that ninth person in Budapest group listed in Department's 1245 of June 23, WRB's 30, may be an avenue of approach to Otto Braun, a German residing in Budapest who is said to be in a position to aid escapes and concealments.

HULL
(GLW)

WRB:MMV:KG
7/14/44

NOE SE S/CR

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

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter 1-11-73

1476

7/17

CABLE TO MINISTER JOHNSON AT STOCKHOLM AND OLSEN

(1) Reference Department's _____ of _____, WRB's 42. Board now informed by Legation Bern that Swiss Minister at Budapest delivered note to the Hungarian Foreign Office on June 27. Text not yet received.

(2) Please express to Foreign Office Department's and Board's appreciation for information contained in your 2510 of July 7.

(3) It is reported that ninth person in Budapest group listed in Department's 1246 of June 23, WRB's 30, may be an avenue of approach to Otto Braun, a German residing in Budapest who is said to be in a position to aid escapes and concealments.

THIS IS WRB STOCKHOLM CABLE NO. _____55

2:20 p.m.
July 14, 1944

Miss Chauncey (for the Sec'y) Abrahamson, Cohn, DuBois, Friedman, Hodel, Laughlin, Lesser, Mann, Stewart, Central Files, Cable Control Files

LSLesser:tmh 7-13-44 Y.S.L.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

INCOMING TELEGRAM

DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS

CONTROL COPY

FMH-665
Distribution of true reading only by special arrangement. ([redacted]W)

Stockholm

Dated July 25, 1944

Rec'd 12 a.m.

JUL 26 1944

Secretary of State,

Washington.

2779, July 25, 11 p.m. (SECTION ONE)

Following information has been received indirectly from Wallenberg in Budapest. This is number 594 WRB.

(One) Prospects appear favorable for evacuation to Sweden of 650 Jews in Hungary who possess Swedish papers of one kind or other. Both Hungarians and Germans are reported to have expressed willingness in principle to let this group leave for Sweden but problem remains of securing German transit permits and transportation to Sweden. Local circles appear optimistic on these points. There were between sixty and seventy of foregoing group who have been deported and so far efforts have been unsuccessful in determining their whereabouts. Swedish Foreign Office is being requested by local Mosaic community to press German Government regarding these missing Jews.

(Two) Prospects also appear favorable for

evacuation

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

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evacuation to Sweden of 200 Jewish children under ten years old. Both Hungarian and German authorities are reported to have assented to offer of local Mosaic community to take these children in Sweden. Transportation details not worked out as yet.

(Three) Wallenberg reports deportation of Jews from Hungary has stopped for time being but situation is still tense and further deportations may be expected.

JOHNSON

BB

RR

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

INCOMING TELEGRAM

DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS

BAS-663
Distrubtion of true reading only by special arrangement (W)

Stockholm

Dated July 25, 1944

Rec'd 11:47 p.m.

JUL 27 1944

Secretary of State,

Washington.

2779, July 25, 11 p.m. (SECTION TWO)

(Four) Wallenberg believes that considerable assistance and protection could be rendered by organizing refugee camps under protection of Swedish Legation. He suggests that he experiment with the idea by proposing locally a camp for 1000 people. He believes that the authorities would permit this, even though they have rejected somewhat similar proposals of the International Red Cross. He inquires whether financial support would be supplied for such a plan, ware it accepted by the Hungarians and what his basis of selecting refugees should be.

(Five) Wallenberg reports that he rented a 16 room office which, because of its extraterritorial nature, has given him the opportunity of providing asylum for several prominent Hungarian rabbis and religiovs leaders. He also reports that he expects to be back in Stockholm for a few days at end of month. (End message)

JOHNSON

WSB

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

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Section of [illegible] coding only [illegible] arrangement. [redacted]-W)

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DIVISION OF

DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS

TO BE SENT IN [redacted] "W"

War Refugee Board

1944 AUG 1 PM 4 28

COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS (LIAISON)

July 28, 1944

[redacted]

CONTROL COPY

For security reasons the text of this message must be closely guarded.

LEGATION,

STOCKHOLM

1503

The following for Olsen refers to Department's ~~1363 of~~ July 10 and is WRB 81.

There follows for your guidance and for transmission to Wallenberg in your discretion the substance of a message from Amembassy Ankara:

QUOTE There is now in active operation an organized underground movement for transportation of refugees across the border from Hungary into Rumania. No figures regarding the actual number who have crossed into Rumania by this method are available for obvious reasons, but we are reliably informed that 600 to 700 refugees from Hungary are now in Bucharest. In addition, refugees from Hungary estimated to number 700 to 800 are now hiding in frontier towns.

After the arrival of these refugees in Rumania, Baron von Killinger, German Minister to Rumania, brought pressure to bear on the Rumanian Government to enact a decree to the effect that anyone escaping across the Rumanian border would be executed by the Rumanians forthwith. This decree was enacted and actually published in Rumania.

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By R. H. Parker SEP 1 1 1972

#1583, July 28, midnight, to Stockholm

TO BE SENT IN [redacted] "W"

Rumania.

We are informed that the Rumanian Government has not enforced the decree but is requesting the Jewish organizations in Rumania to arrange for the evacuation of the refugees from Hungary at the earliest possible moment.

The Rumanian Government is reported not to be interfering at the present time with the escape of refugees from Hungary into Rumania in the manner referred to above. From my observations here, this escape route, while fraught with dangers, offers at the moment the best means of evacuation of appreciable numbers of refugees from Hungary. The requisites for the utilization of this route are: One, carefully chosen personnel; two, tacit acquiescence of Rumanians, and three funds for the documentation, feeding and clothing of the refugees and the subsidizing of INNERQUOTE agents END OF INNERQUOTE. UNQUOTE

SMITHINGS
Acting
(GLM)

WRB:MHV:OMH
7/28/44

NOE SE NE S/CR

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

1343
Auborn

CABLE TO MINISTER JOHNSON AT STOCKHOLM AND CLSEM

Reference Department's ____ of _____, WRB's 47.

There follows for your guidance and for transmission to Wallenberg in your discretion the substance of a message from Amembassy Ankara:

QUOTE There is now in active operation an organized underground movement for transportation of refugees across the border from Hungary into Rumania. No figures regarding the actual number who have crossed into Rumania by this method are available for obvious reasons, but we are reliably informed that 500 to 700 refugees from Hungary are now in Bucharest. In addition, refugees from Hungary estimated to number 700 to 800 are now hiding in frontier towns.

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THIS IS WRB STOCKHOLM CABLE NO. _____.
61

1:20 p.m.
July 27, 1944

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

L.S.L.

L.Lesser:tmh 7-26-44

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS (LIAISON)

August 3, 1944

8 p.

CONTROL COPY

1944 AUG 5 AM 10 27

[redacted] For security reasons the text of this message must be closely guarded.

LEGATION,

STOCKHOLM

1551

The following War Refugee Board cable ~~33~~ is for Olsen.

1. Refer Department's 1248 of June 23, WRB's 30, penultimate paragraph. Alfred Halasz, Budapest, said to be secretary general of printers' union, suggested by Ignatz Schultz whose name should be used.

2. Express Board's appreciation to Wallenberg for achievements mentioned in your 2779 of July 25, to WRB number 594. Would appreciate estimate of cost of operating suggested experimental camp as well as your views as to the extent to which it might be financed without supplying free foreign exchange to the enemy. Need of protection would appear to be proper basis of selection.

3. Refer your 2398 of June 30 incorporating your 12 to Lisbon of same date. Members of same family have arrived in Switzerland and Legation Bern states:

> QUOTE From a reliable source it is stated that the Jewish director of Akademsaus I U, one Wilhelm Bielitz, organized the departure of these persons and is now trying to come here himself. UNQUOTE

Wallenberg may find it advantageous to contact him.

WRB:MMV:KG
8/3/44

NOE

STEINHARDT
(Acting)
(TLM)

SE

S/CR

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By [illegible] SEP 14 1972

[redacted]

CABLE TO MINISTER JOHNSON AT STOCKHOLM AND OLSEN

1. Refer Department's 1246 of June 23, WRB's 30, penultimate paragraph. Alfred Halasz, Budapest, said to be secretary general of printers' union, suggested by Ignatz Schultz whose name should be used.

2. Express Board's appreciation to Wallenberg for achievements mentioned in your 2779 of July 25, to WRB number 594. Would appreciate estimate of cost of operating suggested experimental camp as well as your views as to the extent to which it might be financed without supplying free foreign exchange to the enemy. Need of protection would appear to be proper basis of selection.

3. Refer your 2396 of June 30 incorporating your 12 to Lisbon of same date. Members of same family have arrived in Switzerland and Amlegation Bern states:

> QUOTE From a reliable source it is stated that the Jewish director of Akovnesauvs I U, one Wilhelm Bielitz, organized the departure of these persons and is now trying to come here himself. UNQUOTE

Wallenberg may find it advantageous to contact him.

THIS IS WRB STOCKHOLM CABLE NO. 66.

30 p.m.
August 2, 1944

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

LSLesser:tmh 7-31-44

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By R. H. Parks, Date SEP 1 6 1972

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

INCOMING TELEGRAM

DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS

7 - War Ref Bd (Mr Pehle) Files

FBM-469
Distribution of true reading only by special arrangement. ([redacted]-W)

Stockholm

Dated August 7, 1944

Rec'd 10:57 p.m.

CONTROL COPY

Secretary of State,

Washington.

Permanent Form AUG 1 1944

For security reasons the text of this message must be closely guarded.

2993, August 7, 10 p.m.

THIS IS 64 FOR WRB IN REPLY TO WRB 59.

Following is paraphase of note delivered to Swedish Foreign Office within past week by local Hungarian Legation. It sets forth what is represented to be new basis of treatment of Jews by Hungarian Government. Department's 1486 July 27, midnight.

Jewish deportations have been stopped until further notice.

Based on request of Swedish Red Cross, WRB and Palestine Immigration Committee, Hungarian Government agrees to authorize emigration of certain groups of Jews to Sweden, Switzerland, Palestine and other countries.

Jews may emigrate to Sweden in cases where Swedish King has authorized Swedish citizenship. Other groups may emigrate to Sweden if they have relatives or long standing business

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By R. H. Parks Date SEP 14 1972

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standing business connections here.

Others may emigrate to Palestine through facilities of WRB and Swiss Legation if they have immigration certificate to Palestine issued by British authorities.

Intercross will be permitted to send children under 10 years to Palestine and also to engage in relief activities for Jews interned in Hungary. It is also authorized to send gift parcels to all Jews interned in Hungary.

Following relaxations in treatment of Jews have already been decreed.

(A) All Jews who were baptised prior to August, 1941, will be permitted to remain in Hungary but will be isolated.

(B) Under authority of Regent to grant exceptional treatment he has made following exemptions from Jewish decrees:

One. All who are living in mixed marriages.

Two. Those who were awarded golden star for bravery during first world war.

Three. Those who have won other types of special recognition.

It was

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

Swedish Foreign Office advises program scheduled for August one of interning and/or deporting alien Jews has been cancelled after strong approaches by Swedish and Swiss Legations in Budapest.

Swedish Foreign Office unable to confirm assurances given Cardinal Seredi by Hungarian Government as reported in WRB 63 (Department's 1526, August 1) but will make inquiries.

Reply to paragraph two of WRB 66 (Department's 1551 of August 4, 1 p.m.) is deferred until Swedish Foreign Office can check its information that Hungarian Jews in Hungary turned over to Swedish Legation in Budapest the equivalent in local currency of two million Swedish kronor.

We are informed by Rabbi Ehhrenpreis that Germans refused to give Wallenberg visa for temporary return to Stockholm.

JOHNSON

WTD EH

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM

DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS

August 12, 1944

4 p.m.

[redacted] NWW

CONTROL COPY

1944 AUG 15 AM 10 29

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS
(LIAISON)

5-Wm Rep Bl (Mr Cable)

LEGATION,

STOCKHOLM.

1606

The following for Johnson and Olsen is WRB 72.

1. In addition to Hungarian offers reported in Department's 1501 of July 24, 1486 of July 27, 1526 of July 31, and 1572 of August 7, to you, Department and Board received information from various sources regarding changed attitude of Hungarian Government with versions widely differing. Principal uncertainties concern following points:

Have deportations been definitely stopped for all categories or only suspended, and if so, for how long and for what categories?

To what extent will Jews in Hungary be permitted and in fact enabled to procure food and other necessities through ordinary commercial channels and aside from Intercross action?

To what extent is it possible to expect that stoppage of deportations and other forms of actual danger to life would continue even in the absence of actual sizeable emigration of Jews from Hungary during hostilities?

To what extent is emigration to countries other than Palestine permitted to Jews over ten years of age?

Is there a way to conduct emigration in such a way as to

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By R. H. Parks Date SEP 14 1972

[redacted]

to prevent breaking up of families, with children under ten separated from parents?

To what extent, in view of internal situation in Hungary, is it possible to count on Hungarian promises being made effective and continuing up to the termination of hostilities?

It would be deeply appreciated if Wallenberg could clarify all above points for guidance of Department and Board.

2. Leaving it to Wallenberg's discretion to continue activities outlined in Department's 1393 of July 7, it appears here that main emphasis should be placed now on inducing appropriate Hungarian circles to maintain and strengthen the newly reported relaxation of Jewish regime in Hungary and to apply such relaxation to all Jews in Hungary without exception.

3. Please advise Department and Board as soon as possible of answers to any of above questions.

STETTINIUS
ACTING
(GLW)

WRB:MMV:KG
8/11/44

S/CR

NCE

SE

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72

SEP 1 1979

CABLE TO MINISTER JOHNSON AND OLSEN, STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN

1. In addition to Hungarian offers reported in Department's 1501 of July 28, 1486 of July 27, 1526 of July 31, and 1572 of August 7, to you, Department and Board received information from various sources regarding changed attitude of Hungarian Government with versions widely differing. Principal uncertainties concern following points:

Have deportations been definitely stopped for all categories or only suspended, and if so, for how long and for what categories?

To what extent will Jews in Hungary be permitted and in fact enabled to procure food and other necessities through ordinary, commercial channels and aside from Intercross action?

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Is there a way to conduct emigration in such a way as to prevent breaking up of families, with children under ten separated from parents?

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3. Please advise Department and Board as soon as possible of answers to any of above questions.

THIS IS WRB CABLE TO STOCKHOLM NO. 72

9:10 a.m.
August 11, 1944

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

BAkzin:tmh 8-10-44

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

INCOMING TELEGRAM

DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS

BAS-431
Distribution of true reading only by special arrangement. [redacted] W)

Stockholm

Dated September 22, 1944

Rec'd 3:20 p.m.

For security reasons the text of this message must be closely guarded.

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Secretary of State,

Washington.

3811, September 22, Noon. (SECTION ONE OF TWO)

Wallenberg's activities in Hungary, the present situation, and the use of the funds placed at his disposal by Olsen are summarized by the following. The report was forwarded through the Swedish Foreign Office. Our number 82 for War Refugee Board. Of the sixty thousand kronor placed at Wallenberg's disposal, less than three thousand kronor have been expended by him thus far, since he also had available certain funds placed at his disposal by local Hungarian Jews. It was found impracticable in the beginning to inaugurate any large scale relief actions but to concentrate instead on the task of bringing as many of the Jews as possible under Swedish protection. Over five thousand persons have now been extended such protection out of nine thousand applications received. As of the present moment, however, the number of people still possessing the thinnest thread of eligibility for Swedish protection has narrowed

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

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has narrowed considerably and attention is beginning to be focused on relief activities. Consequently the remaining part of the sixty thousand kronor will be used to purchase foodstuffs and to distribute local currency to needy cases. It might be mentioned incidentally the funds transferred to Wallenberg were concluded under arrangements which provided exceptionally favorable penpo rates but at the same time had no possible benefit for Axis interests.

In view of the status of funds already supplied, however, Wallenberg has no immediate need for further funds which could be supplied either from the balance on hand resulting from WRB number 41 (Department's 1353 of July 7, 7 p.m.) or funds more recently made available pursuant to WRB 83 (Department's 1795 of September 8, 4 p.m.) Foreign Office and Wallenberg have been advised that further funds are available to carry out whatever rescue or relief programs appear feasible.

JOHNSON

HTM

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

INCOMING TELEGRAM

DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS

KD-418
Distribution of true reading only by special arrangement. ([redacted]-W)

Stockholm

Dated September 22, 1944

Rec'd 2:35 p.m.

1944 SEP 22 AM 11 15

Secretary of State,

Washington.

3811, September 22, Noon, (SECTION TWO).

Officially deportations have stopped although the Germans still raid concentration camps in rural districts and take away small groups. The Jews in Budapest appear reasonably safe, at least for the time being. Jewish food rations are limited but it is reported that Jews in general are not suffering from hunger since they are able obtain necessities on the Black Market.

Concentration camps for Jews still existing in Hungary are listed at the following locations: Kistarcsa, Okormezo, Sarvar, Koked, Hollohaza, Forrorcs, Bercc, Csernely Volgy, Hidas and Fuzerkomlos.

Wallenberk states that the Hungarian officials have been fairly receptive to his approaches for more lenience in the treatment of Jews and he has been successful in releasing approximately 500 from all anti-Jewish measures. These benefits are being extended as rapidly as possible to those

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By R. H. Parks Date SEP 14 1972

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to those having Swedish protection of one kind or another.

The previous program of constructing a camp under Swedish protection for approximately 3,500 Jews was not carried out due to the fact that this particular group is now fairly well protected.

JOHNSON

JT

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS

HM
Distribution of true reading copy by special arrangement. ([redacted]-W)

October 2, 1944
5 p.m.

[redacted]

For security reasons the text of this message must be closely guarded.

ALLEGATION

STOCKHOLM

1976

The following for Olsen is WRB 94.

There follow the names of persons who have been the contact men in Hungary and Slovakia for the Swiss representative of the organization that Wolb represents in Stockholm. Please request Wallenberg, if feasible, to ascertain whether they have any programs which he can facilitate. If they need any funds for any projects which give any reasonable promise of success, you may, in your discretion, make funds available to them. If their requirements for any such projects exceed the amount you have available for such purposes, please advise the Board.

The names are: In Budapest: Charles Roth; Sch. B. Frey; and Dr. Reiner. In Bratislava: Rabbi Samuel David Ungar; Berthold Donnebaum; and M. B. Weissman.

HULL
(GLW)

LPB:MNV:KG
10/2/44

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

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CABLE TO MINISTER JOHNSON AT STOCKHOLM FOR OLSEN

There follow the names of persons who have been the contact men in Hungary and Slovakia for the Swiss representative of the organization that Wolbe represents in Stockholm. Please request Wallenberg, if feasible, to ascertain whether they have any programs which he can facilitate. If they need any funds for any projects which give any reasonable promise of success, you may, in your discretion, make funds available to them. If their requirements for any such projects exceed the amount you have available for such purposes, please advise the Board.

The names are: In Budapest: Charles Roth; Sch. B. Frey; and Dr. Reiner. In Bratislava: Rabbi Samuel David Ungar; Berthold Donnebaum; and M. B. Weissman.

THIS IS WRB STOCKHOLM CABLE NO. 94.

9:45 a.m.
October 2, 1944

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

See 6443 9/28 Bern

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DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS

HM-470
Distribution of true reading only by special arrangement. [redacted] W)

Stockholm

Dated October 14, 1944

Rec'd. 7:59 p.m.

Secretary of State

Washington

CONTROL COPY

4186, October 14, 9 p.m.

THIS IS OUR NO. 92 FOR WRB.

Wallenberg is being instructed by the Swedish FOROFF to obtain any available information regarding the persons mentioned in last paragraph of WRB cable No. 94 and to extend all possible assistance to them as requested in WRB cable 101. FOROFF was not sanguine that any positive result would follow as the only Swedish Government representative in Slovakia is an honorary consul and there are no cipher or pouch communications with him.

Furthermore, Wallenberg is technically able to conduct operations in Hungary. FOROFF assumed he had all the funds he could use under present circumstances but would check this aspect with him.

EEC

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

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

INCOMING TELEGRAM

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS

1944 NOV 1 AM 10 04

DCG-449
Distribution of true reading only by special arrangement. (Secret)

Stockholm

Dated October 30, 1944

Rec'd 2:06 a.m.

(LIAISON)

CONTROL COPY

Secretary of State,

Washington.

4416, October 30, 5 p.m.

Two reports dated October 12 and 22 have now been received from Wallenberg in Budapest. This is our No. 99 for War Refugee Board.

First report reflected considerable optimism as to local situation with respect to Jews. While transport of Jews for construction of defense fortifications had been rather extensive, it appeared that this program was carried out comparatively humanely. Jews with Swedish protection were being released from internment and labor camps and the German Legation had promised that this group would be given special treatment. Wallenberg's principal activities included the following.

(a) The moving of Jews with Swedish protection to non-Jewish homes.

(b) Developing with the Red Cross preliminary plans for opening a hospital for the Jews.

(c) Setting up

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

(c) Setting up quarters in Zagreb, with the assistance of the Swedish Consul there, for the purchase of needed supplies; so far 300 pairs of shoes had been purchased.

(d) In collaboration with the Red Cross the international Red Cross, the Zionist Organization and the Jewish Council, developing a program of sending parcels to Hungarian Jews in Germany. This is under way.

(e) Working out a plan for the importation (?) of paper clothes and old clothing. This was considered urgent.

The report of October 22 reported extremely unfavorable developments. The new government ordered all Jews to labor on defense works and cancelled all special privileges for any groups previously exempted. All men between 16 and 60 and women between 16 and 40 were ordered to labor battalions. All Jews who previously enjoyed one type of exception or another were ordered to move back into Jewish quarters within six hours, but this order was partically cancelled treatment of the Jews by the Gestapo and Hungarian MAFCS became very severe, and a few thousand were murdered, mostly in labor camps.

The Jewish staff

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-3- #4416, October 30, 5 p.m. from Stockholm.

The Jewish staff employed by Wallenberg in relief activities completely disappeared on October 17 together with his staff car. The next day he went around on a bicycle locating them in hiding places, bringing them to safer localities, and carrying them food. He now has found all but ten. He then worked out with Hungarian Foreign Minister and is now carrying out program of moving all this staff to specially protected homes.

Foreign Minister has advised Wallenberg that the 4500 Jews under Swedish protection can leave Hungary. German Legation informed him that special group of four or five hundred can get transit visas through Germany but no instructions from Berlin as to remainder. This whole question seems very unsettled and Olsen considers it very dangerous to try to move this group through Germany.

It appears Wallenberg is throwing his full energy into his task and doing remarkably well considering enormous difficulties. Olsen thinks official recognition by WRB of Wallenberg's efforts, which would be forwarded through the Foreign office well justified. Swedish Government continuing to make extremely strong representations to Hungarian Government regarding treatment of Jews.

JOHNSON

WSB

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS

DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS & RECORDS
NOV 18 1944
9:18 a.m.
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DZA
Distribution of true reading only by special distribution. [redacted] W)
AMLEGATION

STOCKHOLM

2232

The following message for Olsen is WRB 239.

Reference your 4418 of October 30. Please transmit to the Swedish Government this Government's sincere appreciation of the humanitarian activities of the Swedish Government and of the courage and ingenuity displayed by Mr. Wallenberg in rendering assistance to the persecuted Jews in Hungary.

STETTINIUS
(Acting)
(EMV)

CONTROL COPY

[redacted]
For security reasons the text of this message must be closely guarded.

WRB:EMV:KG
11/7/44

NOE

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

CABLE TO MINISTER JOHNSON AND OLSEN, STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN

Reference your 4416 of October 30. Please transmit to the Swedish Government this Government's sincere appreciation of the humanitarian activities of the Swedish Government and of the courage and ingenuity displayed by Mr. Wallenberg in rendering assistance to the persecuted Jews in Hungary.

THIS IS WRB STOCKHOLM CABLE NO. 239.

2:50 p.m.
November 6, 1944

Miss Chauncey (for the Sec'y) Abrahamson, Ackermann, Cohn, DuBois, Friedman, Hodel, Lesser, Mannon, McCormack, Files

BAkzin:LSLesser:tmh 11-4-44
Ba. L.S.L.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

INCOMING TELEGRAM

DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS
1944 DEC 24 AM 10 36

DMH-706
Distribution of true reading only by special arrangement. ([redacted] W)

Stockholm

Dated December 22, 1944
Rec'd 6:48 a.m., 23rd

Secretary of State

Washington

[redacted] COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS
For security [redacted] text of this message must be closely guarded.

CONTROL COPY

5235, December 22, 8 p.m.

This is our No. 116 for War Refugee Board.

Report from Wallenburg dated December 8 just received from Swedish Foreign Office gives following information.

Since last report, position of Hungarian Jews has become still worse. About 40,000 Jews, 15,000 men from labor service and 25,000 persons of both sexes who have been taken from their homes, have been forced to march on foot to Germany a distance of about 240 kilometers. The weather has been cold and rainy ever since these death marches started and the people have slept under rain covers and in the open. Many have died. In Moson Magyarovar, Wallenburg personally saw seven persons who had died that day and seven the day before. Secretary of Portuguese Legation reported having seen 42 dead person along the line of march and others reported similar figure

If the

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

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If the marchers could not manage to walk longer, they were shot. At the border, they were taken over by the SS-Special Kommand Reichman and were beaten and those surviving were put at hard labor in the border fortifications.

Twenty thousand military labor men have been taken to the border by railroad. These men are working mainly on Hungarian ground.

The forced labor service mentioned in a previous report has ceased.

The Jews are brought together in a central ghetto which will house about 69,000 Jews but which will probably house many more, and in an alien's ghetto for 17,000 which already houses 35,000. Of this number 7000 are in Swedish houses, 2000 in Red Cross houses and 23,000 in Swiss houses. Every day a thousand Swiss or Vatican wards are removed for deportation or to the central ghetto. In the ghettos the Jews live four to twelve persons per room but the best conditions prevail in the Swedish houses. An epidemic of "Ruhr" (Dysentery) sickness has broken out among the Jews but it is not yet widespread. In the Swedish houses the health conditions are still good. Only five have

died so

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died so far. The section is now vaccinating the ward Jews against typhus, paratyphus and cholera. Even the staff must be vaccinated. In general the Jews are destitute because in the transposition, they were only allowed to take with them what they could themselves carry. The supply situation will soon be disastrous.

The Arrow Cross men take lots of Jews in their localities and ill-treat and torment them before taking them to the places from which they are deported.

Rumors are circulating that a death brigade closely affiliated with Minister Kovacs will arrange a program against the Jews but Wallenburg does not think this program will be extensive because the SS organs are said to have received orders not to arrange any systematic Jewish slaughters.

Following the death blow in October, the section has been further expanded.

JOHNSON

LMS

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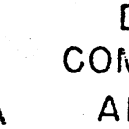
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

INCOMING TELEGRAM



DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS

EDW-694
Distribution of true reading only by special arrangement. ([redacted]-W)

Stockholm

Dated December 22, 1944

Rec'd 4:58 a.m., 23rd

Secretary of State,

Washington.

5235, December 22, 8 p.m.(SECTION TWO)

Employees total 335 in addition to about 40 physicians, house governors, et cetera. These all live in the localities of the section plus the same number of family members. There are about 10 offices and living houses one of which is in the aliens ghetto. Two hospitals have been established with about 150 beds. Also a soup kitchen has been set up. The Jews in the Swedish wardhouses leave their ration cards with the section where the supplies are brought in and distributed. A large part of the sections correspondence has been destroyed. The food section has bought about 2,000,000 pengo worth of supplies.

Results obtained. The section has succeeded in procuring an open command from the Honved Minister that all Jews in the labor service with foreign documents should be returned to Budapest. After orders had been given by a military person sent out in one of the section's cars about 15,000 Jews have returned.

Until it was forbidden the march columns to the border obtained certain food and medicine but this was only for a

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By R. H. Parks Date SEP 14 1972

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for a short time.

About 200 sick persons have been rescued from the places of deportation.

Through intervention in one form or another at the loading places of Jews for deportation about 2000 persons have been brought back - about 500 from Heyeshalon alone. This traffic, however, has been interrupted since the Germans in the Eichman commando have threatened forcible measures.

Until now the Jews with protective passports have managed best of all foreign powers wards. Only 8 to 10 have been shot in Budapest and vicinity up to date.

(END OF LESSAGE.)

JOHNSON

NPL

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

INCOMING TELEGRAM

DIVISION OF CENTRAL SERVICES TELEGRAPH SECTION

VMH-593
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Stockholm

Dated January 20, 1945

Rec'd 3:35 p.m.

CONTROL COPY

Secretary of State,

Washington.

246, January 20, 1 p.m.

Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, Foreign Office informs Legation, has given Swedish Legation in Moscow information which indicates Swedish representative in Hungary Wallenberg is safe and sound in that part of Budapest occupied by Russians. (This is our number 121 for WRB supplementing our WRB 118 in reply to WRB 273). Swedish authorities accordingly suggest information given in Department's 2566, December 21, 8 p.m. be conveyed through American Embassy in Moscow.

JOHNSON

DU

[redacted]

For security reasons the text of this message must be changed

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

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

INCOMING TELEGRAM

DIVISION OF CENTRAL SERVICES TELEGRAPH SECTION

DCG-1142
Distribution of true reading only by special arrangement. ([redacted]W)

Stockholm
Dated March 7, 1945
Rec'd 8:26 p.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

CONTROL COPY

891, March 7, 7 p.m.

THIS IS OUR 130 FOR WAR REFUGEE BOARD

One of Sweden's leading newspapers, DAGENS NYHETER, of March 6, contains a front page interview with a Hungarian Jew who recently escaped to Sweden. He pays tremendous tribute to Swedish relief and rescue activities for Hungarian Jews, particularly that of Roaul Wallenberg, and states "Budapest Jews were saved by the Swedes."

The article describes one instance in which an hour's urgent conference by Wallenberg with Szalasy personally caused the latter to reinstate the validity of Swedish protective passports. It mentions that Wallenberg quartered 5000 Jews in so-called Swedish houses and one evening when an armed patrol entered this area to remove some of the inhabitants to labor camps, Wallenberg met the patrol and after advising it that it was trespassing on Swedish territory, informed the group that it could not trespass further without first shooting him, adding "none

leaves

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

leaves this place as long as I live." Later the same evening Wallenberg was advised that 11 persons with Swedish passports had been arrested by the Gestapo and had been loaded on a labor train destined for Vienna. It states that Wallenberg raced to the railway station but the train had departed. Wallenberg then chased the train until it stopped at station just short of the German border and he managed to remove these 11 persons from the train.

The article pays remarkable tribute to Wallenberg's courage and day and night effort to help the Jews, despite the fact that there was a constant object of personal attack and anonymous threats to bodily harm. The article will be forwarded in the next pouch.

JOHNSON

JMS

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WAR REFUGEE BOARD, BOX 36, AMERICAN JEWISH JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTE INC.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

INCOMING TELEGRAM

DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS

7-Wa

FMH-614
Distirubution of true reading only by special arrangement. ([redacted])

Stockholm

Dated September 26, 1944

Rec'd 3:54 p.m.

[redacted] For security reasons the text of this message must be closely guarded.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

3884, September 26, 5 p.m.

This is our No. 85 for the WRB.

A supplemental report just received by the Swedish Foreign Office from its Legation in Budapest indicates that Wallenberg has made extensive arrangements to accumulate food supplies for needy Jewish groups, particularly children. On the basis of Wallenberg's request for funds, Olsen is transferring to him, under appropriate arrangements, 200,000 Swedish kronor out of the funds transferred under WRB cable No. 83 of September 8 (Department's 1795).

JOHNSON

JMS, NPL

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State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By R. H. Parks Date SEP 15 1972

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TREASURY DEPARTMENT

INTER OFFICE COMMUNICATION

DATE

TO : Miss Hodel

September 9, 1944

FROM : E. W. O'Flaherty

For your information and the completion of your files there are enclosed herewith, two copies of license No. NY 648481, originally issued by telephone and confirmed by wire permitting, notwithstanding the provisions of General Ruling No. 11, the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, to remit $100,000 to Iver C. Olsen, War Refugee Board Representative in Stockholm, for use in connection with the rescue of the endangered Jews of Hungary.

E. W. O'Flaherty

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SEPT. 8 1944

NY 648481 This will confirm the authorizstion given to you orally by Mr. O'Flaherty, authorizing, notwithstanding General Ruling No. 11, the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee or its bank of account to remit $100,000 to Iver Olsen, War Refugee Board representative, Stockholm, Sweden. Stipulation No. 2

Orvis A. Schmidt
Acting Director

WEO'Flaherty:gr 9-7-44

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MEMORANDUM

For attachment to:

FFC Letter No:

Date: September 7, 1944

TO: Liaison Officer, Foreign Funds Control

FROM: War Refugee Board

Subject:

There is transmitted herewith a memo from Miss Hodel ~~copy of a letter dated~~ requesting the issuance of a license to the J.C permitting the remittance of $100,000 to ~~from the~~ dealing with Ivar C. Olsen, ~~WRB~~ representative in Stockholm for work in connection with rescue of endangered Jews of Hungary.

The War Refugee Board recommends that appropriate Treasury licenses and other necessary documents be issued permitting the execution of the project contemplated in the letter described above.

Remarks:

F. Hodel
For the War Refugee Board

Action:

Basic license No. W- issued
Remittance license No. NY 648481 issued 9-9-44
Other:

Liaison Officer
Foreign Funds Control

Date: September 8, 1944

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1

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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(▇▇▇)

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS

September 8, 1944

4 p.m.

▇▇▇ WRB

War Refugees Board

CONTROL COPY

DEPARTMENT OF STATE DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS SEP 10 1944

4 - War Ref Bd (Mr Pehle)

AMLEGATION

STOCKHOLM

1795

The message below for Olsen is WRB 83.

JDC is remitting $100,000 to you under Treasury license for use in Hungary under Wallenberg's supervision and at his discretion.

HULL
(OMW)

▇▇▇▇▇▇▇▇▇▇▇▇

For security reasons the text of this message must be closely guarded.

LRB:MMV:KG
9/7/44

NOE

WT

SMF

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State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By R. H. Parks Date SEP 15 1972

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CABLE TO JOHNSON FOR OLSEN, STOCKHOLM, FROM WAR REFUGEE BOARD.

JDC is remitting $100,000 to you under Treasury license for use in Hungary under Wallenberg's supervision and at his discretion.

THIS IS WRB CABLE TO STOCKHOLM NO. 83

REPRODUCED FROM HOLDINGS AT THE FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT LIBRARY

4:10 p.m.
September 7, 1944

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

FH:lab 9/7/44 Cleared with Pable.
FH

WRB Box 36

WALLENBERG, RAOUL

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PARAPHRASE OF TELEGRAM RECEIVED

FROM: American Legation, Stockholm.

TO: Secretary of State, Washington.

DATED: June 14, 1945.

NUMBER: 2147.

Have been informed by Danielsson, former Swedish Minister in Hungary, that Raoul Wallenberg accumulated extensive and well documented records regarding the Jewish situation and related relief activities in Hungary. According to him these records were left intact in chancery in large wooden box near entry to airraid shelter. These records should prove very valuable and he suggests that every effort to obtain them be made by our Mission Budapest. Any assistance by our Budapest Mission in locating Wallenberg would be appreciated by Swedish Foreign Office.

/signed/ JOHNSON

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PARAPHRASE OF TELEGRAM RECEIVED

FROM: American Legation, Stockholm.

TO: Secretary of State, Washington.

DATED: June 7, 1945

NUMBER: 2063

The best information here, including statements in conversation yesterday by his mother, are to effect that Wallenberg has not been heard from since Budapest was occupied by the Soviets.

/signed/ JOHNSON

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Stockholm

Dated June 7, 1945

Rec'd 8:35 p.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

2060, June 7, 6 p.m.

AMCROSS SHIRK FROM AMCROSS WHISLER

The following telegram has been sent to the Embassy at Moscow:

Swedish FONOFF Amlegation and others (this is our 1, rptd to Washington as our 127, Legation's 2060, June 7, 6 p.m.) interested welfare Raoul Wallenberg, who was Secretary of Royal Swedish Legation at Budapest and who disappeared near there Jan 17 this year. Moscow advised SWED FONOFF on 18th that Wallenberg was being protected by Soviet troops. No word since. Please consult with Amembassy Moscow before making any attempt investigate this matter as Embassy is familiar with case. Understand information may be difficult secure and appreciate any help you can give. Regards.

JOHNSON

RB

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Hungary - 24

Copy for the War Refugee Board, Washington

B48/ICO/MST

Stockholm, Sweden
June 6, 1945

Mr. Sven Salén
Strandvägen 7A
Stockholm

My dear Mr. Salén:

I have read with considerable interest the organization of a Roaul Wallenberg Committee for Hungarian Refugee Relief. I believe it unnecessary to mention the deep interest and appreciation of the United States Government for the great humanitarian work which Roaul Wallenberg undertook in Hungary. The United States Government has on several occasions paid high tribute to this remarkable relief action initiated from Sweden, and has praised the courage and initiative of Minister Danielson and his Legation staff in Budapest, particularly Roaul Wallenberg in carrying out this difficult program.

On behalf of the United States War Refugee Board, there is enclosed a contribution of 10,000 kronor to further the activities of this Committee.

Sincerely yours,

Iver C. Olsen
Special Attaché for
War Refugee Board

Enclosure - 1

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Hungary 24

2 War Ref. Bd
(O'Dwyer)

PARAPHRASE OF TELEGRAM RECEIVED

FROM: American Representative, Budapest via Army

TO: Secretary of State, Washington

DATED: June 1, 1945

NUMBER: 109

CONTROL COPY

[redacted]

Arrival of Wallenberg in Stockholm has been rumored. Confirmation requested. Interest manifested by War Refugee Board. This case is being followed up by us here, but we suggest that the Department consider referring it to the Embassy in Moscow for attention.

UNSIGNED

6/7/45

Board Warren
News item from Stockholm concerning Wallenberg memorial service in Budapest. Letter & cable from State follows. Wallenberg reported missing. H.

DC/L:NAS:HEM
6/4/45

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DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-73
By R. H. Parks Date SEP 15 1972

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

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

May 8, 1945

In reply refer to
WRB 701.5864/4-1245

My dear General O'Dwyer:

I have received your letter of April 12, 1945 addressed to the Secretary of State with respect to the concern of the War Refugee Board in the fate of Raoul Wallenberg, Special Attache to the Swedish Legation in Budapest and advising of Secretary Morgenthau's personal interest in Mr. Wallenberg's welfare.

The War Refugee Board has received paraphrases of all the cables to and from Stockholm and Moscow which unfortunately have failed to produce any news of Mr. Wallenberg's whereabouts. As you may have already noted, a cable was dispatched on April 30, 1945 to our representative in Hungary requesting General Key to ask the Soviet military authorities for information concerning Mr. Wallenberg's whereabouts and expressing the concern of this Government in his welfare because of meritorious activities in protecting Jews from persecution by the German and Hungarian Nazis. I shall advise you immediately of the contents of the reply to this further inquiry as soon as it has been received.

Please assure Secretary Morgenthau that the Department will pursue the inquiry concerning Mr. Wallenberg as long as any possibilities of information remain to be explored.

Sincerely yours,

George L. Warren

George L. Warren
Adviser on Refugees and
Displaced Persons

Brigadier General William O'Dwyer
Executive Director,
War Refugee Board,
Treasury Department,
Washington, D.C.

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The New York Times.
APR 26 1945

RESCUER OF JEWS WAS STUDENT HERE

Raoul Wallenberg of Sweden Credited With Aiding 20,000 in Hungarian Groups

The adventures of Raoul Wallenberg, a 31-year-old architect who led the rescue of 20,000 Hungarian Jews before the Red Army liberated Budapest from the Nazis, was disclosed here yesterday at the Swedish Consulate. Mr. Wallenberg is a member of one of Sweden's chief diplomatic and banking families.

The architect "disappeared" on Jan. 17, three days before the Allied-Hungarian armistice, and only two weeks after his "recapture" of the Swedish Legation in Budapest from members of the Hungarian Nazi Arrow Cross, the American-Swedish News Exchange, Inc., 630 Fifth Avenue, related.

The late President Roosevelt set in motion the machinery whereby Mr. Wallenberg's rescues were effected, according to his aunt, Mrs. William M. Calvin of Greenwich, Conn. She is the wife of Col. William M. Calvin, former United States military attaché in Stockholm.

Mrs. Calvin said President Roosevelt requested King Gustav of Sweden to try to intervene against the Hungarian Nazis and in turn the Swedish Legation in Hungary was asked to extend its protection to the Jews there.

Mr. Wallenberg was appointed secretary of the legation last summer to rescue Jews of Hungary. He was assisted by a staff of 300, mostly volunteers.

Members of the Arrow Cross plundered food depots and last Christmas Eve arrested the entire staff, sending the women to the ghetto, it was related. All escaped later. Mr. Wallenberg worked primarily by issuing Swedish "protective passports" and by harboring the victims of persecution in the legation and in several other houses granted diplomatic immunity.

Recapture of Legation

The architect was said to have "recaptured" the legations in a "pitched battle" against Arrow Cross men who broke into the building and threatened to kill the Minister, Carl Ivan Danielson. He escaped through a window.

Mr. Wallenberg delivered various Jews from a "Death March to Vienna" and from deportation to Nazi labor camps. He achieved rescue by ruse or by insistence that the intended victims were under the protection of Sweden.

By establishing soup kitchens and by building up food stocks and trucking services, assisted by Hungarian civilians, Mr. Wallenberg managed to harbor 10,000 Jews, twice the allotted number, in houses over Swedish protection.

Shortly after the Red Army liberated Budapest on Feb. 13 the anti-Semitic laws of Hungary were repealed.

The story of the deliverance of the 20,000 Jews under the leadership of Mr. Wallenberg was made public by Mr. Danielsson upon his recent return to Stockholm.

The architect studied at the University of Michigan in 1934 and 1935. He is the only son of Baroness Frederic Von Dardel of Stockholm, a sister of Mrs. Calvin. His grand uncle, Axel Wallenberg, was former Swedish Minister to the United States. Another grand uncle, Knut Wallenberg, was Swedish Foreign Minister during World War I.

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Hungary (24)

April 28, 1945

Dear Mr. Leavitt:

The following message for you from Harold Trobe was received through the United States Embassy in Lisbon under date of April 25, 1945:

"Gottfarb advises Swedish Minister Danielsson Budapest and entire staff returned Stockholm. Legation secretary Raoul Wallenberg whose activities behalf Jews you familiar missing since January. Believed murdered. Gottfarb suggests you send cable thanking Danielsson for Legation's work."

Very truly yours,

(Signed) Florence Hodel

Florence Hodel
Assistant Executive Director

Mr. M. A. Leavitt, Secretary,
American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee,
270 Madison Avenue,
New York 16, New York.

RBH

RBHutchison: 4/28/45

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.RTMENT
OF
STATE

INCOMING TELEGRAM

DIVISION OF
CENTRAL SERVICES
TELEGRAPH SECTION

KEM-1758

PLAIN

Lisbon

War Ref Bd (O. Dwyer)

Dated April 25, 1945

Rec'd 3:12 am, 27th.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

CONTROL COPY

893, Twenty-fifth.

WRB 394 JDC 225 FOR LEVITT FROM TROBE

Gottfarb advises Swedish Minister Danielsson Budapest and entire staff returned Stockholm. Legation secretary Raoul Wallenberg whose activities behalf Jews you familiar missing since January. Believed murdered. Gottfarb suggests you send cable thanking Danielsson for Legation's work.

BARUCH

JMS

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

April 26, 1945

DIVISION OF CENTRAL SERVICES
TELEGRAPH SECTION

[redacted]

War Ref Bd
O/Pleuger

CONTROL COPY

AMLEGATION

STOCKHOLM
756

The following for Johnson and Olsen from Department and War Refugee Board is WRB 562.

Please inform Swedish Government that news of the disappearance of Raoul Wallenberg, who is held in high regard here for his courageous and memorable work in Hungary, was received by this Government with great concern and sore distress. His mission was of especial interest to this Government and deep anxiety is felt here for his safety. Embassy Moscow has been requested to lend fullest support to Swedish Legation seeking assistance of Soviet Government in ascertaining his whereabouts or fate. We will greatly appreciate being kept informed of any news received concerning him.

GREW
(Acting)

(GSW)

WRB:DV:KM
4/26/45

NOE

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State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By R. H. Parks Date SEP 15 1972

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CABLE TO AMERICAN LEGATION, STOCKHOLM, FOR MINISTER JOHNSON AND OLSEN FROM DEPARTMENT AND WAR REFUGEE BOARD

PLEASE INFORM SWEDISH GOVERNMENT THAT NEWS OF THE DISAPPEARANCE OF RAOUL WALLENBERG, WHO IS HELD IN HIGH REGARD HERE FOR HIS COURAGEOUS AND MEMORABLE WORK IN HUNGARY, WAS RECEIVED BY THIS GOVERNMENT WITH GREAT CONCERN AND SORE DISTRESS. HIS MISSION WAS OF ESPECIAL INTEREST TO THIS GOVERNMENT AND DEEP ANXIETY IS FELT HERE FOR HIS SAFETY. AMEMBASSY MOSCOW HAS BEEN REQUESTED TO LEND FULLEST SUPPORT TO SWEDISH LEGATION SEEKING ASSISTANCE OF SOVIET GOVERNMENT IN ASCERTAINING HIS WHEREABOUTS OR FATE. WE WILL GREATLY APPRECIATE BEING KEPT INFORMED OF ANY NEWS RECEIVED CONCERNING HIM.

THIS IS WRB STOCKHOLM CABLE NO. 362

5:00 p.m.
April 24, 1945

Miss Chauncey (for the Sec'y), Cohn, DuBois, Gaston, Hodel, Hutchison, McCormack, O'Dwyer, Files.

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NEW YORK TIMES
Thursday, April 26, 1945

JEWS IN HUNGARY HELPED BY SWEDE

Raoul Wallenberg, Architect, Credited With Leading Rescue of 20,000 From Nazis

The adventures of Raoul Wallenberg, a 31-year-old architect who led the rescue of 20,000 Hungarian Jews before the Red Army liberated Budapest from the Nazis, was disclosed here yesterday at the Swedish Consulate. Mr. Wallenberg is a member of one of Sweden's chief diplomatic and banking families.

The architect "disappeared" on Jan. 17, three days before the Allied-Hungarian armistice, and only two weeks after his "recapture" of the Swedish Legation in Budapest from members of the Hungarian Nazi Arrow Cross, the American-Swedish News Exchange, Inc., 630 Fifth Avenue, related.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

INCOMING TELEGRAM

DIVISION OF CENTRAL SERVICES TELEGRAPH SECTION

War Ref Bd.
O Dwyer

MJK-1450
Distribution of true reading only by special arrangement. [redacted] W) PM 4 28

Stockholm

Dated April 19, 1945

Rec'd 9:27 p.m., 20th

Secretary of State, DC/L LIAISON

Washington.

COURTESY COPY

1456, April 19, 5 p.m.

FOR DEPARTMENT AND WAR REFUGEE BOARD.

Local newspapers today comment extensively on arrival in Stockholm of the Swedish Legation staff from Budapest and particularly the absense of Attache Roaul Wallenberg who has been missing since January 17.

In view of the special interest which the Department and the War Refugee Board had in Wallenberg's mission as well as our own deep anxiety for his safety, it is suggested that the United States Government communicate to the Swedish Government its concern in the matter.

JOHNSON

JMS

[redacted]

Per security reasons the text of this message must be closely guarded.

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State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By R. H. Parks Date SEP 15 1972

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Secretary Morgenthau

APR 13 1945

Miss Hodel

Re: Raoul Wallenberg

Prior to receiving your note, the Board, in conjunction with the State Department, sent a cable to the American Embassy in Moscow asking it to support the Swedish Legation in Moscow in its request to the Russian Government for assistance in determining the fate of Wallenberg. A copy of this cable is attached.

Upon receipt of your note, General O'Dwyer wrote the enclosed letter to Secretary Stettinius in which your personal interest in Mr. Wallenberg was indicated.

[Signed] Florence Hodel

Attachments.

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CABLE TO HARRIMAN, MOSCOW, FROM DEPARTMENT AND WAR REFUGEE BOARD

Reference is made to Stockholm's No. 14 of April 4 to you, repeated to the Department as No. 1251 of April 4.

Department and Board would appreciate your giving all possible support to the Swedish Legation in Moscow in its request to the Russian Government for assistance in determining the fate of Raoul Wallenberg, Attache to the Swedish Legation in Budapest.

The War Refugee Board had special interest in Wallenberg's mission to Hungary because of his outstanding work in protecting Jews and other victims of enemy oppression during the enemy occupation of Hungary.

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COPY

April 12, 1945

My dear Mr. Secretary:

We have recently learned through the American Legation in Stockholm of the disappearance of Mr. Raoul Wallenberg, Special Attache to the Swedish Legation in Budapest, and of the unconfirmed report that he has been murdered. We have requested the American Embassy in Moscow to support in every possible way the request of the Swedish Legation there for the assistance of the Russian Government in determining Mr. Wallenberg's fate. There are attached copies of the pertinent cables concerning his disappearance.

During the height of German occupation of Hungary when hundreds of thousands of Jews were in grave danger, Mr. Wallenberg undertook, at great personal risk, a special mission to Hungary. His services were available to the War Refugee Board through the Swedish Foreign Office, and as the result of his unremitting efforts and ingenuity, thousands of Jews were protected and saved from Nazi persecution. We are sorely distressed over the news of his disappearance.

Secretary Morgenthau has asked me to tell you of his personal interest in Mr. Wallenberg. I would deeply appreciate your advising me of any information which the Department of State is able to obtain concerning Mr. Wallenberg's fate.

Very truly yours,

/s/ William O'Dwyer

William O'Dwyer
Executive Director

The Honorable,

The Secretary of State.

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(Signed) William O'Dwyer

William O'Dwyer
Executive Director

The Honorable,

The Secretary of State.

EBT
FH:EBT:inp 4/12/45

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O
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Y

PARAPHRASE OF TELEGRAM RECEIVED

FROM: American Legation, Stockholm

TO: Secretary of State, Washington

DATED: April 4, 1945

NUMBER: 1881

[redacted]

The Swedish Foreign Office is particularly concerned over the disappearance of Roaul Wallenberg, its attache to the Legation in Budapest. It is stated in unconfirmed radio reports that he has been murdered. In order to determine Wallenberg's fate, the Swedish Legation in Moscow has been instructed to request the assistance of the Russian Government.

Any support our Embassy at Moscow can give the Swedish Legation in Moscow with respect to this matter would be greatly appreciated by us, as we had a special interest in Wallenberg's mission to Hungary.

The foregoing message was repeated to Moscow by my 14, of April 4.

JOHNSON

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By R. H. Parks Date SEP 15 1972

DC/L:MAS:CVT

4-6-45

Let Stettinius
Know I am personally
interested in this man
FDR

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CABLE TO HARRIMAN, MOSCOW, FROM DEPARTMENT AND WAR REFUGEE BOARD

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FH:hd 4/9/45

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

CORRECTED COPY

DIVISION OF CENTRAL SERVICES TELEGRAPH SECTION

MB
No paraphrase necessary.
[redacted]

April 9, 1945
7 p.m.

War Ref Bd, O Dunn

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
APR 21 1945
LIAISON OFFICE
CONTROL COPY

AMEMBASSY,

MOSCOW,

824

The following to Harriman from Department and War Refugee Board.

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STETTINIUS
(GLW)

WRB:MMV:KG EE NOE SE

4/9/45

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By R. H. Parks Date SEP 15 1972

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1:15 p.m.
April 9, 1945

Miss Chauncey (for the Sec'y), Cohn, DuBois, Gaston, Hodel, Hutchison, McCormack, O'Dwyer, Files.

2 War Ref. Bd.
(Gen. Oldwyer)

PARAPHRASE OF TELEGRAM RECEIVED

FROM: American Legation, Stockholm

TO: Secretary of State, Washington

DATED: April 4, 1945

NUMBER: 1251

CONTROL COPY

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JOHNSON

DC/L:MAS:CVT
4-6-45

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By R. H. Parks Date SEP 15 1972

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LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

848/ICO/MEM

Stockholm, Sweden
March 12, 1945

Brigadier General William O'Dwyer
Executive Director
War Refugee Board
Washington, D. C.

Dear General O'Dwyer:

In accordance with our recent cable there is enclosed a translation of the article which appeared in Dagens Nyheter regarding the activities of the Swedish representative in Budapest in behalf of the Jews.

Sincerely yours,

Iver C. Olsen
Special Attaché for
War Refugee Board

Attachment - 1

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SOURCE: Dagens Nyheter, March 6, 1945.

Swedish Achievements In Hungary

Race With Jew Train to the Border.

Many thousand Jews and other preys of persecution in Budapest say to this day: "The Jews in Warsaw defended themselves, the Danish Jews were protected by King Christian, the Dutch Jews were protected by the population itself, but we have been saved by the Swedes."

- - - - - - -

He who tells us this is a Hungarian who arrived in Stockholm some weeks ago after a fantastic journey through Germany; he can not find the words to express his gratitude for the spirit of self-sacrifice, the indefatigableness and the heroic courage shown by the entire Swedish Legation in Budapest and private Swedes in that city, when the persecutions were at their worst. There are two names which the Hungarians put at the top of the list: the Head of the Legation's Section B, Attaché Raoul Wallenberg, and the Swedish "Lector" at the Budapest University, Waldemar Langlet. The detailed description he gives of their achievements justifies this reputation.

It may be recalled that Admiral Horthy at one time, after the personal letter from King Gustav, agreed that Swedish protective passports might be issued for some thousand Hungarian Jews, who were connected with Sweden through relatives or business connections.

Our source tells us that however extensive the persecution of Jews was under the Szotai Government, there nevertheless occurred no executions in Budapest itself, no deportations, and those who were in possession of Swedish passports were not affected by any measures. The real atrocities started when Szalasy came into power, then protective passports did not help. The Swedish Legation's Section B, however, immediately started action to protect the legal rights but met with hard resistance. One night the Minister of Internal Affairs personally announced on the air that protective passports no longer were valid, news which caused a tremendous panic among all those who had papers of this type.

Raoul Wallenberg, however, took the bull by the horns; he went to Szalasy personally and was met with the question, why were the Swedes interested in Hungarian Jews. Attaché Wallenberg's answer became a sermon on humanity and after one hour's

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conference he returned with Szalasy's written assurance that the Swedish protective passports were valid and that the authorities were to respect them.

Swedish Houses Were Given Extraterritorial Rights.

Nothing was impossible for Wallenberg. During the worst period, anonymous letters in which he was threatened with death, were sent to him, stones were thrown at his car, and everything was done to try to prevent him from seeing his protégés: armed gansters were sent out to pursue him, but nothing could make him give up.

He succeeded in making the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs recognize the Hungarian Jews who had Swedish protective passports as foreign citizens with rights as such. Moreover, Wallenberg succeeded in arranging that these Jews, almost 5,000, were billeted in so-called Swedish Houses. These houses were given extraterritorial rights and enjoyed every possible protection. None of these Jews had to carry the obligatory David Star. All this happened, our source continues, in a city where the Gestapo and the "Pilkors Men" behaved with the utmost brutality. In the middle of the night Raoul Wallenberg would fetch people from the prisons who had been arrested despite their protective passports, in the darkest of nights he would drive to the Swedish Houses with medicines or help for the sick. For there was one restriction: Jews living in the Swedish Houses were not allowed to leave them. Everything they needed had to be sent to them, and the Legation was indefatigable in this activity.

"None Leaves This Place As Long As I Live."

Once Attaché Wallenberg received a message that the Hungarian Military Authorities intended to take some of the inhabitants of the Swedish Houses for labor service. He immediately went to the Military Staff, but the lengthy negotiations seemed futile. The town's Commandant said: "If your protégés do not report, they will be considered deserters and hung immediately."

Wallenberg then had to return to the "Swedish Quarter" without having achieved anything. There he was met with the news that one patrol already had arrived to fetch the men who could work. Wallenberg reproached his people for having let anyone intrude on extraterritorial premises. He was told that the patrol was armed, but this did not prevent him from going up

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to the leader of the patrol and shouting so that the whole quarter could hear it:

"This is Swedish territory! You have nothing to do here!"

"I have orders to fetch from this place all the men who can work", was the answer.

"None will leave this place. If you try to take anyone away you will have to answer to me. As long as I live none will be taken out of here. First you will have to shoot me."

The soldiers did not quite know what to do, and gradually left the place. Later the Commandant asked Wallenberg for a conference, a request he at once followed. The negotiations lasted one hour, after which Wallenberg returned with a paper from the Commandant saying that Jews under Swedish protection were exempted from labor service.

Racing With A Deportation Train.

The same night the Swedish Attaché received another alarming report: eleven persons with Swedish protective passports had been arrested by the Gestapo, and what was worse, had already been thrown into a railway carriage. Not a second could be lost. Wallenberg raced to the railway station in his car, but the train with the Jews had already left the station. The destination was Vienna.

In his car, Wallenberg then pursued the train and caught up with it at a station near the German border. The train made a stop there and Wallenberg succeeded in getting hold of the commander; ten minutes later his people were let out of the sealed carriages. The others, who could not be saved, had to go on to German territory in the dirty, overfilled carriages.

Just when the Russian troops were entering the suburbs of Budapest, an old man entered the Consulate. The man said he was working at the Printer's Athaeneum, one of the largest firms of this kind in Hungary, which by that time had been confiscated. He showed Wallenberg a pulled proof of a proclamation in which "workers, Jews and suppressed" were encouraged to rise against the Germans and the "Pilkors Men" and use their weapons. The typographer told Wallenberg that 300,000 copies of the leaflet were to be printed and distributed by aeroplane as a provocation. The idea was to bring about a revolt in order to arrest all who were found with weapons in hand.

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Wallenberg did not hesitate, he at once went to Szalasy. The latter said he knew nothing about the provocation, and the result was that the leaflets were never thrown out.

Langlet's Passports Saved 2,000 Lives.

We mentioned above that the Swedish Legation could only issue a certain number of protective passports, and only to such persons who fulfilled fixed conditions. The Swedish "Lector" at the University, the 70 year old Waldemar Langlet, however, succeeded in saving many lives through his measures as representative of the Swedish Red Cross. He issued special protective letters with texts printed in gold print in Hungarian, German, French and Russian, and with photos, signatures, dates, stamps and seals, so that they acquired an extraordinary "impressiveness". These letters saved many from disappearing in concentration camps, from loosing all their belongins, yes even from loosing their lives. These letters, our source says, will for a long time to come, remain some of the most beautiful documents of human kindness. At least 2,000 people, among them children down to 3 and 4 years of age, were saved in this manner.

Finally, our source stresses that the Swedish Legation did not limit its help to Jews alone, it helped wherever it possibly could. The atrocities under the "Pilkors Men" regime, however, were all too many. Gangsters harried in the streets, stole, burnt, murdered and plundered. As a whole, the police behaved all right - there were exceptions, but other authorities were so much worse.

The Catholic nuns and monks did much besides hiding thousands of the persecuted in the cloisters. In one nun's cloister a secret printworks was installed for the printing of identification papers. At one time when the Szalasy men demanded a million pengö for the release of some Jews, the Benedictine and the Cistercien monks contributed one half of the amount.

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SOURCE: Dagen Nyheter, March 6, 1945.

SWEDISH ACHIEVEMENTS IN HUNGARY.

SVENSK BRAGD I UNGERN

Kappkörning med judetåg mot gränsen

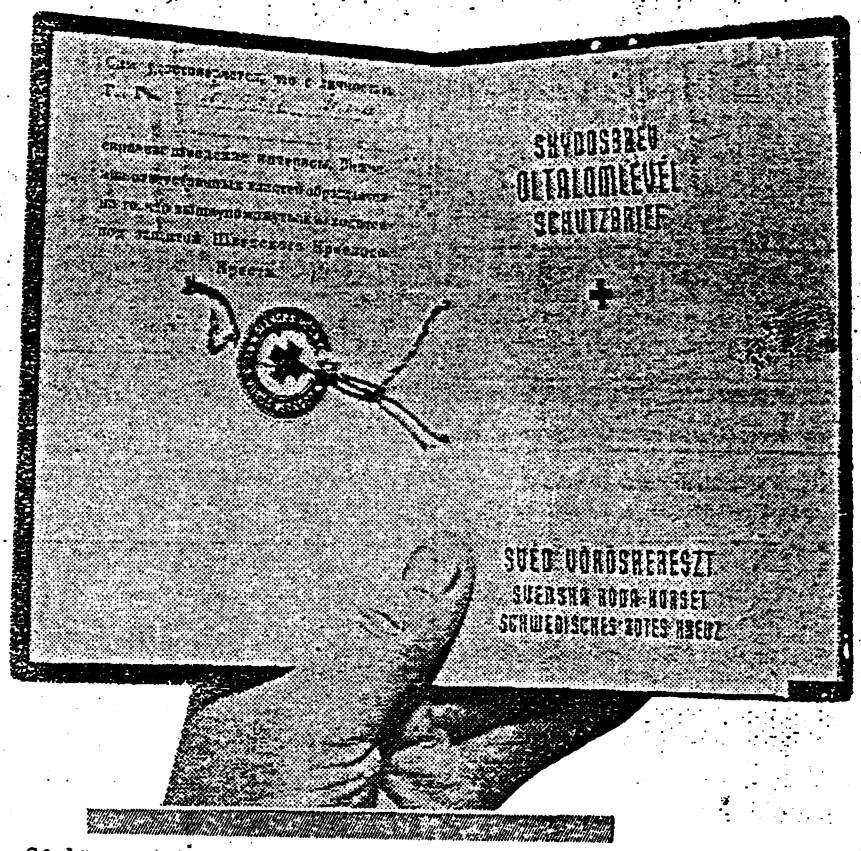
Många tusen judar och andra förföljda i Budapest säger den dag som i dag är: "Judarna i Warszawa förvarade sig själva, de danska judarna tog kung Christian under beskydd, de holländska skyddades av befolkningen själv, men oss har svenskarna räddat."

Den som berättat detta är en ungrare som för några veckor sedan kom till Stockholm efter en äventyrlig resa genom Tyskland och icke har ord nog när han skall ge uttryck åt sin tacksamhet för den offervilja, den outtröttlighet och det hjältemod som hela svenska beskickningen i Budapest och svenska privatpersoner i staden visade när förföljelserna pågick som värst. Det är två namn som ungraren sätter främst på listan: chefen för legationens B-avdelning, attaché Raoul Wallenberg, och svenske lektorn vid Budapests universitet, Waldemar Langlet. Den detaljerade skildring han ger av deras insatser ger belägg för omdömenas riktighet.

Som man erinrar sig gick på sin tid riksföreståndare Horthy efter det personliga brevet från kung Gustaf med på att svenska skyddspass skulle få utfärdas för några tusen ungerska judar vilka genom släktband eller affärsförbindelser hade anknytning till Sverige.

Mur pass omfattande judeförföljelserna än var under Szotairegimen, så förekom dock i själva Budapest inga avrättningar, inga deportationer, och

Forts. sista sidan, spalt sex.



Så här ser ett av de skyddsbrev ut som hjälpte mången undan förföljelsen.

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Svensk bragd...

(Forts. från sid. 1)

5.000 judar fick försörjas internerade i "svenska husen"

de som innehade de svenska passen berördes icke av några aktioner, berättar Dagens Nyheters sagesman. De verkliga grymheterna började när pilkorsmannen Szalasy kom till makten, då hjälpte inga skyddspass. Den svenska legationens B-avdelning satte emellertid ofördröjligen i gång med aktion för att tillvarata de rättmätiga intressena, men stötte på hårt motstånd. En kväll kungjorde inrikesministern personligen i radio att skyddspassen inte längre var giltiga, något som förde med sig en oerhörd panik bland alla som hade dylika papper.

Raoul Wallenberg tog emellertid tjuren vid hornen, han gick personligen till pilkorsledaren och möttes med frågan varför svenskarna egentligen tog sig an de ungerska judarna. Attaché Wallenbergs svar blev en predikan om humanitet, och efter en timmes förhandlingar återvände han med Szalasys skriftliga försäkran att de svenska skyddspassen var giltiga och att myndigheterna skulle respektera dem.

Svenskhus fick exterritorialrätt.

Ingenting var omöjligt för Wallenberg. Under de upprörda dagarna hotade man honom i anonyma brev med döden, man kastade sten på hans bil, man försökte på allt sätt göra det omöjligt för honom att besöka sina skyddslingar: beväpnade gangster skickades att förfölja honom, men inget förmådde honom att ge efter.

Han lyckades uppnå att det ungerska utrikesdepartementet erkände de ungerska judar, vilka hade svenska skyddspass som utländska medborgare med samma rättigheter som dessa. Wallenberg lyckades vidare ordna så att dessa judar — närmare 5.000 — fick logeras in i s. k. svenska hus. Dessa hus fick exterritorialrätt och åtnjöt alltså allt tänkbart skydd. Ingen av dessa judar behövde heller bära den annars obligatoriska Davidsstjärnan.

Allt detta hände, fortsätter tidningens sagesman, i en stad där Gestapo och pilkorsmännen gick fram med största brutalitet. Mitt i natten hämtade Raoul Wallenberg ur fängelserna folk som arresterats, fastän de hade skyddspass, mitt i nattmörkret reste han i sin bil till svenskhusen med medikamenter, ombesörjde att sjuklingarna fick vård. Det fanns nämligen en inskränkning: judar som bodde i svenskhusen fick icke lämna dessa. Allt vad de behövde för livets nödtorft måste köras till dem, och legationen var outtröttlig i denna del av dess verksamhet.

"Ingen härifrån så länge jag lever."

En gång fick attaché Wallenberg rapport om att de ungerska militär-

Lektor Waldemar Langlet, uppfinningsrik Ungernvän.

det. Tåget gjorde uppehåll där, den svenske diplomaten lyckades få tag i befälhavaren, och tio minuter senare släpptes hans folk ut ur den plomberade vagnen. De återstående, som ingen kunde rädda livet på, fick i de smutsiga och överfyllda vagnarna fortsätta in på tyskt område.

I det ögonblick de ryska trupperna redan var inne i Budapests förstäder kom en gammal man in på konsulatet. Mannen berättade att han arbetade i tryckeriet Athaeneum, ett av Ungerns största företag i sitt slag, som nu tagits i beslag, och han visade Wallenberg ett korrekturavdrag av en proklamation, vari "arbetare, judar och undertryckta" uppmanades göra motstånd mot tyskar och pilkorsmän och använda sina vapen.

Typografen berättade att detta flygblad skulle tryckas i 300.000 exemplar och spridas från flygplan som en provokation. Man ville åstadkomma ett uppror och alltså utan vidare kunna häkta dem som påträffades med vapen i hand.

Wallenberg tvekade inte, han gick på nytt till Szalasy. Denne förklarade sig inte ha vetat om provokationen, och slutet på visan blev att flygbladen aldrig kastades ut.

Langlets pass räddade 2.000 liv.

Som inledningsvis nämndes kunde svenska legationen inte lämna ut mer än ett visst antal skyddspass och endast åt sådana som hade förutsättningar för att erhålla dylika. Svenske lektorn vid universitetet, den 70-årige Waldemar Langlet, lyckades emellertid genom sina åtgärder i egenskap av Svenska Röda korsets representant rädda många människoliv. Han utfärdade speciella skyddsbrev med text på ungerska, tyska, franska och ryska,

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han i sin bil till svenskhusen med medikamenter, om[illegible]rjde att sjuklingarna fick vård. [illegible] fanns nämligen en inskränkning: judar som bodde i svenskhusen fick icke lämna dessa. Allt vad de behövde för livets nödtorft måste köras till dem, och legationen var outtröttlig i denna del av dess verksamhet.

"Ingen härifrån så länge jag lever."

En gång fick attaché Wallenberg rapport om att de ungerska militärmyndigheterna ville hämta till arbetstjänst några av svenskhusens invånare. Han begav sig genast till staben, men de långvariga underhandlingarna tycktes resultatlösa.

Stadens kommendant yttrade: "Om inte edra skyddslingar anmäler sig, då kommer de att betraktas som desertörer och genast hängas."

Wallenberg måste återvända till de "svenska kvarteren" utan att ha kunnat uträtta något. Där möttes han av budskapet att en patrull redan kommit för att hämta de arbetsföra männen. Wallenberg fattade humör och gjorde sitt folk förbråelser för att de tillåtit någon tränga in på exterritorialt område. Han fick svaret att patrullen var beväpnad, vilket inte hindrade honom att gå fram till patrullchefen och högt så att det hördes över kvarteret ropa:

— Det här är svenskt område, här har ni inget att göra!

— Jag har order att hämta de arbetsföra männen härifrån, blev svaret.

— Här slipper ingen ut. Försöker ni föra bort någon härifrån, får ni med mig att göra. Så länge jag är levande tas ingen härifrån. Först får ni skjuta mig.

Soldaterna visste inte riktigt vad de skulle göra och avlägsnade sig så småningom. Senare bad kommendanten om ett samtal med Wallenberg, som genast hörsammade hans önskan. En timme varade förhandlingarna, efter en timme återvände Wallenberg med ett papper från kommendanten att de judar som stod under svenskt skydd var befriade från arbetstjänst.

Kappkörning med deportationståg.

Samma natt fick den svenske attachén en ny alarmerande rapport: Elva personer vilka hade svenskt skyddspass hade arresterats av Gestapo och hade, vad värre var, redan kastats in i en järnvägsvagn. Inte en sekund var att förlora. Wallenberg skyndade i sin bil till järnvägsstationen, men tåget med judarna som skulle föras bort hade redan lämnat stationen. Bestämmelseorten var Wien.

I sin bil upptog attaché Wallenberg jakten på tåget och hann vid en station nära tyska gränsen i fatt

Langlets pass räddade 2.000 liv.

Som inledningsvis [illegible]ndes kunde svenska legationen inte lämna ut mer än ett visst antal skyddspass och endast åt sådana som hade förutsättningar för att erhålla dylika. Svenske lektorn vid universitetet, den 70-årige Waldemar Langlet, lyckades emellertid genom sina åtgärder i egenskap av Svenska Röda korsets representant rädda många människoliv. Han utfärdade speciella skyddsbrev med text på ungerska, tyska, franska och ryska, försedda med text i guldtryck, fotografi, namnteckningar, data, stämplar och sigill, varigenom de fick en oerhörd "tyngd". Dylika pass räddade många från att försvinna i koncentrationsläger, från att förlora vad de hade kvar av ägodelar, ja, från att mista livet. Dessa skyddsbrev kommer, säger tidningens sagesman, att för långa tider bli några av de vackraste dokumenten över mänsklig godhet. Minst 2.000 människor, däribland barn i 3—4-årsåldern, räddade genom dem sina liv.

Slutligen understryker Dagens Nyheters sagesman att svenska legationen icke inskränkte sig till att hjälpa judar, den hjälpte över huvud taget där så behövdes. Men grymheterna under pilkorsregimen träffade dock många, alltför många. Banditer härjade på gatorna, stal, brände, mördade och plundrade. Polismännen uppförde sig på det stora hela taget väl.— ehuru undantag gavs — men andra myndigheter desto sämre.

De katolska nunnorna och munkarna gjorde en stor insats inte bara genom att i klostren gömma tusentals förföljda. I ett nunnekloster inrättades ett hemligt tryckeri, varigenom man fick fram legitimationspapper. När Szalasymännen vid ett tillfälle begärde en miljonsumma för att ge några judar friheten, så bistod benediktin- och cisterciensmunkar med hälften därav.

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PARTMENT OF STATE

INCOMING TELEGRAM

DIVISION OF CENTRAL SERVICES TELEGRAPH SECTION

GEK-797
Distribution of true reading only by special arrangement. [redacted])

Stockholm

Dated May 18, 1945

Rec'd 9:40 p.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

CONTROL COPY

RECEIVED DIVISION OF CENTRAL SERVICES 1945 MAY 18 AM 11 08

1841, May 18, 9 p.m.

FOR WRB FROM OLSEN RE YOUR WRB 366

Dept's 861, May 11, 1 p.m.

It should be possible to liquidate activities of WRB by end of month. Final reports imply supplementing detailed report already filed as of November 22, 1944 and bringing accounts up to date should be completed in following two weeks.

In response to your inquiry WRB 367 (Department's 880, May 14, 7 p.m.), JDC has balance with me of 218,000 kronor of original amount of 418,000 made available, difference having been sent to Wallenberg in Budapest. Of this balance, however, 209,000 kronor is still owed me by Norwegian labor group and it is assumed that if American labor relief for Norway cannot make this amount good it can then be covered by WRB special funds transferred to me from Ankara. I have approximately 300,000 kronor of WRB special funds still on hand.

JOHNSON

For security reasons the text of this message must [illegible]

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By [illegible] SEP 19 1972

Evac. to & thru Sweden - 5-a

Copy for the War Refugee Board, Washington

848/ICO/MET

Stockhom, Sweden
June 13, 1945

Mr. Ragner Gottfarb
Representative in Sweden of
American Joint Distribution Committee
Floragatan 6
Stockholm

Dear Mr. Gottfarb:

The United States War Refugee Board, on behalf of the American Joint Distribution Committee, has instructed me to turn over to your local office the balance of funds I am holding for J.D.C. As you know, J.D.C. originally placed a total of 418,000 Sw. kr. at my discretion for use in Hungarian rescue and relief work, of which amount 200,000 Sw. kr. was transferred to Mr. Raoul Wallenberg. There is enclosed, therefore, a check in the amount of 218,000 Sw. kr. which closes this account. Please acknowledge receipt.

Sincerely yours,

Iver C. Olsen
Special Attaché for
War Refugee Board

Enclosure - 1

JUN 19 1945

JUL 21 1945

Dear Moe:

For your information and records, I am enclosing a copy of a letter sent by Mr. I. C. Olsen to Mr. Ragner Gottfarb concerning the transfer of 218,000 Swedish Kroner by Mr. Olsen to the JDC account in Stockholm.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) Florence Hodel

Florence Hodel
Assistant Executive Director

Mr. M. A. Leavitt,
American Jewish Joint Distribution
Committee,
270 Madison Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

Enclosure.

FH:hd 7/21/45

REPRODUCED FROM HOLDINGS OF THE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS

LFC
Distribution of this reading only by special [illegible]

August 3, 1944

7 p.m.

CONTROL COPY

[redacted]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
AUG 6 1944
DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS & RECORDS

For security reasons the text of this message must be closely guarded.

LEGATION,

STOCKHOLM.
1550

The cable below for Olsen is WRB 63.

Please ask Wallenberg personally to contact Felix Szentirmay, 10 Szemlohegy Ut., Budapest, telephone 358-598, and orally tell him that through a friend in Los Angeles, Wallenberg has heard from Eugene Bogdanffy whom Wallenberg does not (repeat not) know. As a means of verifying his statement as to the message, Wallenberg should refer to the following property held by Szentirmay: Bogdanffy's ruby cuff links and pocket watch, Mrs. Bogdanffy's fur coat, gold bracelet, and brooch with green stones. Wallenberg should also express Bogdanffy's concern for Miki's well-being. Wallenberg should tell Szentirmay that Bogdanffy expects that Szentirmay will be asked to go to Switzerland soon and suggests that he apply for a visa immediately. Bogdanffy wants Szentirmay to be sure that when he goes to Switzerland he has at his fingertips the cash position of all the enterprises. Szentirmay must, of course, treat this message with the highest confidence. Szentirmay should not (repeat not) be advised by Wallenberg of the reasons why he is being asked to go to Switzerland, referred to below, or of the Board's interest in the matter.

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

For

For your information, Bogdanffy is a Hungarian residing in Los Angeles who has substantial interests in several large enterprises of which Szentirmay is manager. Union Bank of Switzerland acts as Bogdanffy's trustee and will ask Szentirmay to go to Switzerland to discuss business problems. The purposes of project are to secure adequate source of supply of pengos against blocked francs or dollars and to have Szentirmay undertake to secure cooperation of individual named in paragraph three of Department's 1426 of July 17, WRB's 55, and with whom Bogdanffy and Szentirmay are well acquainted.

If for any reason you do not (repeat not) believe that securing his or Szentirmay's cooperation is appropriate, advise the Board thereof and do not (repeat not) ask Wallenberg to contact Szentirmay until the Board has had an opportunity to consider such reason.

SECRETARIUS
ACTING
(L.)

WRB:MNV:KG
8/2/44

NOE SE S/CR WE

not distrib.

[redacted]

CABLE TO MINISTER JOHNSON AT STOCKHOLM AND OLSEN

Please ask Wallenberg personally to contact Felix Szentirmay, 10 Szemlehegy Ut., Budapest, telephone 353-598, and orally tell him that through a friend in Los Angeles, Wallenberg has heard from Eugene Bogdanffy whom Wallenberg does not (repeat not) know. As a means of verifying his statement as to the message, Wallenberg should refer to the following property held by Szentirmay: Bogdanffy's ruby cuff links and pocket watch, Mrs. Bogdanffy's fur coat, gold bracelet, and brooch with green stones. Wallenberg should also express Bogdanffy's concern for Miki's well-being. Wallenberg should tell Szentirmay that Bogdanffy expects that Szentirmay will be asked to go to Switzerland soon and suggests that he apply for a visa immediately. Bogdanffy wants Szentirmay to be sure that when he goes to Switzerland he has at his fingertips the cash position of all the enterprises. Szentirmay must, of course, treat this message with the highest confidence. Szentirmay should not (repeat not) be advised by Wallenberg of the reasons why he is being asked to go to Switzerland, referred to below, or of the Board's interest in the matter.

For your information, Bogdanffy is a Hungarian residing in Los Angeles who has substantial interests in several large enterprises of which Szentirmay is manager. Union Bank of Switzerland acts as Bogdanffy's trustee and will ask Szentirmay to go to Switzerland to discuss business problems. The purposes of project are to secure adequate source of supply of pengos against blocked francs or dollars and to have Szentirmay undertake to secure cooperation of individual named in paragraph three of Department's _____ of _____, WRB's 55, and with whom Bogdanffy and Szentirmay are well acquainted.

If for any reason you do not (repeat not) believe that securing his or Szentirmay's cooperation is appropriate, advise the Board thereof and do not (repeat not) ask Wallenberg to contact Szentirmay until the Board has had an opportunity to consider such reason.

THIS IS WRB CABLE TO STOCKHOLM NO. 65

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

August 2, 1944
10:20 a.m.

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

LSLesser:tmh 8-1-44 L.S.L.
discussed with JHP and cleared in principle 7-28-44

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

INCOMING ~~TELEGRAM~~

DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS

LC - 180
Distribution of true reading only by special arrangement.
([redacted]W)

Stockholm

Dated August 19, 1944

Rec'd 2:45 p.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

AUG 21 1944

3182, August 19, 3 p.m.

FOR WRB No. 74

The message contained in WRB 65 (Department's 1550 of August 3, 7 p.m.) will be delivered personally to Wallenberg by First Secretary of Swedish Legation Budapest who is temporarily here and will return to Budapest in about a week. It was not considered advisable to request Swedish Foreign Office to transmit message of this nature.

JOHNSON

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

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LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

PERSONAL AND [redacted]

Stockholm, Sweden
August 10, 1944

Dear John:

Another letter for the purpose of giving you some of the background with respect to the situation here, which it is not possible to supply in my various cables. First of all I want to say how much I appreciate the strong support you are giving me on the various programs. It not only has been a great help in keeping things active here, but has been very important to me personally for reasons which you will understand.

I have continued to be terribly busy, but just now things seem to be much better organized and I'm able to push ahead on my various other duties as well. The next time you write I would like very much to get your views as to what you consider future W.R.B. activities will be. I have been going on the assumption that it will wind up with the close of the war in Europe. It is important to me since it soon will be a year since I've left home and I will be most anxious to be back with my family towards the end of November, even if I have to go back to the field after a while until matters are cleaned up. Consequently, I thought that perhaps you should be thinking about a replacement if you have any long-term plans. I am raising the same matter with Mr. White shortly, as well as our other friends, since I don't want to walk away and leave anything until appropriate arrangements have been made to carry on whatever work is essential. On the other hand, I am sure you will understand that I am disturbed about being away from Mildred and the boys too long without returning at least for a while.

With the longer nights now arriving, my Baltic operations are now beginning to show results, although they are very difficult. As I cabled you, I lost my man Vokietaitis, which upset me very much, and had a most serious effect on our Lithuanian operations, to say nothing of losing our best source of Baltic intelligence. He had shipped into Lithuania to complete all the rescue arrangements personally, and the first hint of bad news came when he or anyone else failed to show up at the appointed place when the boat went after him the following week. The same thing happened when the boat went the next week, and it was on the third trip that the evacuees reported he had been captured and shot by the Germans. He was a hell of a fine, fearless fellow and the most skillful operator I had. There are several things I could do to try and rescue him, but I am afraid to do it in case (a) he is simply caught behind the lines for the time being, in which case anything I did to stir things up would only focus attention on the fact that he is over there, or (b) he is in a German prison, in which case anything I did might blow the story he has told the Germans, and get him shot straightaway. Consequently, all I can do just now is to keep the boat going, with the hope he will show up. There is a

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By [illegible] Date [illegible] 1972

tremendous number of political, religious and racial refugees hiding in the Lithuanian woods in the greatest possible peril, and these next two weeks are about all we have to work on.

The Estonians are doing very well, and I'm damned pleased with them. They are excellently organized with very good technicians and equipment, including radio, and know their business. Through secret arrangements with the General Staff, which avoided a few score years of imprisonment for espionage, I spent several hours at their operations base in restricted territory on the Baltic coast, and must say I was impressed. They have already gotten about 100 people out of Estonia, and through their excellent organization have made it possible for 2 or 3 hundred others to get out on boats not ours. I have been getting a list of the persons gotten out and without question they are people who are much wanted by the Germans. Those who are not politically compromised with the Germans are intellectuals who are certainly worth saving. As a rule, however, most of them have had very active connections with the recently organized Estonian National Committee which not long ago declared war on both Russia and Germany. This has somewhat complicated the picture, but I have continued operations on the basis that these persons are most seriously compromised with the Germans - over 700 of them have already been arrested and/or shot by the S.S. and Gestapo. The Estonian operation looks like it will last the longest, which hardly can be more than a month.

The Latvian operation is not going very well, although it is just now starting to show a few results. This is due in large part to the fact that there are very few Latvians in Sweden, as a result of which it has been impossible to recruit thoroughly competent crews to carry out the operations. Also, I continue to be very uncertain of Salnais, both as to his point of view and ability, which situation I have made quite clear to him with the hope that he would make every effort to show me that I was 100 percent wrong. We can expect some results, but they will not be remarkable. [I am still satisfied, however, that we put our chips on the best local bet available, even though it wasn't surefire.] The Latvian show will also, in all probability, be washed up in a couple of weeks or so.

I have made it clear to all three groups that their boats must be delivered to me in Stockholm upon demand, and that such time will come at the latest whenever the Russians are in command of the areas in which rescue operations in their respective countries can be carried out, and when it is clear that the danger of German persecution has cleared. I must say, however, that I feel very sorry for these Baltic peoples; they are in a hell of a mess and I see no answer to it. Some day I will tell you about it. I like the Estonians and Lithuanians very much - they are really fine people who can make this a better world to live in, and better because they are in it. I don't care for the Latvians very much; largely because they have a fairly general tendency to be quite unreliable, and are definitely trouble-makers.

With the Finnish situation looking quite optimistic, I am not pushing our program in that area any more, except that I got a promise from the Swedish Foreign Office that whenever they undertake to evacuate the Swedes from Finland (they have

made very complete plans), they would include in their transportation plans the evacuation of the Finnish Jews. Heretofore, however, I have had some hot going on the Finnish program, and temporarily had almost the entire Jewish community in Sweden mad at me. The truth of the matter was that they were dragging their heels in the most unconscionable way, on one pretext or another. The following is for your information only, but it is only too true that the Swedish Jews don't want any more Jews in Sweden. They are very comfortably situated here, have no anti-semetic problems, and are very much afraid that an influx of Jews will not only be a burden to them, but will create a Jewish problem in Sweden. Consequently, you will find them very interested in Jewish rescue and relief operations, so long as they do not involve bringing them into Sweden. For example, the fact that thousands of Jews got out of Denmark was due to a boldly conceived and executed plan of the Swedish Socialstyrelsen - the Swedish Jews were most apathetic. In the case of the Norwegian Jews, they were even frigid, since all these were of the poorer classes. They consider themselves a sort of Jewish aristocracy and they do not want it watered down. No more striking example could be found than the fact that a year or so ago about thirty Jewish children, orphans, arrived from central Europe - finally were taken into Christian homes. The Swedish Jews did not want to be bothered. This was again illustrated in connection with my recent cables regarding the possiblity of getting some Jewish children out of Finland - less than fifty. The local community did not want to take any steps until full guarantees of American financial support were supplied. There should have been five hundred comfortable Jewish homes here available without a moment's hesitation for these children on a temporary basis. Their disinterest may be further suggested by the fact that not to this date has a representative of the Jewish community ever been down to the pier to receive any of the evacuees from Finland as they dribbled in. All of this has been done by Filseth of my office, including getting them through immigration, customs, the Socialstyrelsen, and then to camp. Only Filseth has been to the camp to see how they are getting along.

Another headache has been the Wolbe group, genuinely well meaning but the most hopelessly helpless group that I have worked with. All they can talk about is Shanghai and Ecuadorian passports, despite my assurances that the War Refugee Board is exploring all possible bets in that connection, and that their big task is to devise something that will help in Lithuania. Wolbe's comprhension of the urgency of this problem perhaps best may be suggested by the fact that the day after he received $10,000 for Lithuanian rescue operations he went off on a month's vacation and I haven't seen him since. This vacation item, by the way, is something that the Swedes take very seriously, and is no laughing matter if you are trying to get something done during that period. I was really surprised that the Germans haven't caught on, and didn't take Sweden in July, since there was scarcely a brain left in town at any time. Since a Swedish General has approximately the individual authority and initiative of an American sergeant, I am sure that the whole defense formula would have been atrophied at the very start.

The Hungarian situation looks much better, although I do not believe that rescue or evacuation operations will be of any consequence, at least those requiring German transit visas.

It looks like the old game of the Germans permitting their satellites to make a fine variety of gestures for the record, but clamping down themselves at whatever point they become involved. However, the situation is much better inside Hungary wherever the Hungarian authorities have contact, but the trouble is that in too many places the Germans have control and the Jews are simply disappearing. I talked with a chap from Hungary yesterday who had tried to find some Jewish families. He said that the Jews are moved from camp to camp until trace is lost of them. He said an awful lot of young Jewish children, particularly girls 14 and 15, are being stolen on the streets and completely disappear. As you know, anybody has authority over them. The Jews are so terrified that they now are simply hiding in their homes. He believed that if the Jews weren't so terrified, the best thing they could do would be to take off their yellow stars en masse, which would cause so much confusion, particularly because of the air-raids around Budapest, that many of them could escape out into the country where they could be hidden. He said that about 80 percent of the Hungarian metropolitan population are quite unmoved by the Jewish persecutions, and simply shrug their shoulders. The others are too frightened to help. In the country, however, things are much better.

I get the impression indirectly that the Swedish Foreign Office is somewhat uneasy about Wallenberg's activities in Budapest, and perhaps feel that he has jumped in with too big a splash. They would prefer, of course, to approach the Jewish problem in the finest traditions of European diplomacy, which wouldn't help too much. On the other hand, there is much to be said for moving around quietly on this type of work. In any case, I feel that Wallenberg is working like hell and doing some good which is the measure. In a week or so the Swedish Red Cross is sending three men delegates to Budapest to construct camps for the Jews, which I think is the most tangible thing that can be done for the moment. I have a stake in this program. I have also arranged with Count Bernadotte that the Swedish Red Cross handle all negotiations with Kleist and Boening with regard to the evacuation to Sweden of approximately 4,500 Jews in Germany with South American visas. It is understood that Berlin has agreed in principle to the idea, but the nature of the proposition involved will not be available for a few days. I certainly hope that it is something that can be considered, since it would be a substantial accomplishment, but am rather dubious.

It seems to me that I must have run down a thousand or so straw possibilities in trying to obtain concrete results, and wish that more of them could have panned out. You might be interested in one of them, which I did not report for certain reasons. As you know, Goering's first wife (her second marriage) was the Swedish Countess von Rosen, through which marriage Goering acquired a step-son, now a strapping, nice chap of about 25, who is the apple of his eye. This step-son, who lives in Sweden (Swedish citizen, of course) visits Goering periodically and, in fact, has his own flat in Goering's home. It is also a well-known fact, even told to me by Jews who knew Goering personally, that Goering has been greatly opposed to the Jewish persecutions but has not been strong enough to stop them. Consequently, just before this step-son went to visit Goering in the latter part of June, I had him over to my flat and had a

very strong talk with him. I pointed out that Goering would soon be on trial for his life and, after Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Warsaw, etc., he would not exactly have many people on the other side of the fence who will testify as to his beautiful soul. I suggested that both from the point of view of his own Swedish humanitarian instincts, as well as his affection for his step-father, he should urge him in the strongest possible manner to do what he could to ease Jewish persecutions in the Balkans, Poland, Thereiedstadt, and elsewhere, and to urge him to take steps that would permit young children and old people to get out of Europe. This chap seemed very impressed and said that he would press the matter with Goering to the best of his ability. I haven't seen him since, but without anything to base it on, I believe that some good has been done.

I am keeping very careful records of the funds you have sent me to be used in my discretion, and am now thankful that I have them. I will be able to account for all of them, and I have receipts for virtually the full amount. This is also true with respect to my Baltic operations, where I have been able to get excellent accounting and receipts against a large proportion of the expenditures. Out of the funds which you have placed at my personal disposal the following are the more important outlays, actual and proposed:

(A) Wallenberg left in a hell of a hurry with no instructions and no funds for preliminary expenditures, such as purchase of easily carried barter articles for Hungarian relief. I placed 10,000 kronor at his disposal. In order to channel it through an organization so I could get a good receipt, I gave it to his Aunt, Countess Bondé who is head of the "Committee for Aid to Belgian Children", earmarked for "Special Hungarian Relief Activities."

(B) On the basis of several urgent requests that Chief Rabbi Ehrenpreis received from Bucharest for relief funds, I gave the Executive Committee for Relief of European Jews 25,000 kronor. They were able to get about 12,000,000 lei for this, which will do a lot of good. The need of Rumanian Jews for food and clothing is really desperate and it would be impossible to do enough. Excellent channels are available from Sweden.

(C) I am trying to get 25,000 to Wallenberg through intermediaries who are in a position to obtain favorable pengo rates on a satisfactory basis.

(D) I turned over 2,000 kronor to Mrs. Andersen for "special translating work and other services" with which she hired a Latvian fishing boat to go over and pick up 20 anti-Nazis in hiding. This seemed a very cheap gamble and I will know the outcome in a few days.

(E) I informed Count Bernadotte that the War Refugee Board was very interested in the proposal of constructing camps for Hungarian Jews, and that we would donate 50,000 kronor to further the program when all details were worked out. They were most appreciative and it will help push early action.

(F) I have told Mr. Cedergren's Committee, "Hjälp Krigets Offer", that I would place at their disposal a special fund of 5,000 kronor which can be used to send food packages to families in concentration camps of refugees here in Sweden who are penniless and have no means of sending packages. This will be a strong morale boost both to these people and their families.

(G) The only unreceipted expenditures are my own personal outlays of about 300 kronor or so monthly in furtherance of our program, which heretofore I had been charging to our friends on Constitution Avenue.

I surely hope you will continue to feel that everything is going well here and will be satisfied in every respect. I can assure you that I'm doing the best I can but it is damned complicated going. One thing I would like your reaction to is my idea of using the "Baltic fleet" for Norwegian evacuations when Baltic operations cease, which looks like it will be about the first of September. Rescue operations through the Norwegian forests get very dangerous as soon as snow gets on the ground, but on the other hand sea evacuations should be quite easy, with proper skill, during September and October. Perhaps you will be able to indicate your reactions.

My very best regards to all of you.

Sincerely,

P.S. Just got very good news that my Lithuanian program is now in good swing, almost 100 have gotten out, and Vokietaitis apparently is safe. It looks like he got everything organized and then got out through Latvia.

I.C.O.

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

PERSONAL AND [redacted]

Stockholm, Sweden
August 14, 1944

Dear John:

Since writing the foregoing letter, I had lunch with the First Secretary of the Swedish Legation in Budapest, who is here for a short while. He is a fine chap and had many interesting comments to make. He said Wallenberg is working very hard and doing everyting possible, which items he has also emphasized to the Foreign Office. He considers the situation in Hungary far from settled but he is confident that the Hungarian Government will continue to ease the Jewish situation so long as control is in their hands and not in German hands. This is, however, the big question. He is very skeptical as to the possibility of bringing to Sweden the 2,000 odd Jews who, up to now, have been issued Swedish papers. He stated that both the Hungarians and the Germans had agreed to provide transit visas (actually the German Legation in Budapest gave him personally the official assurances), but later the Germans said these must be a quid pro quo, which was that the rest of the Hungarian Jews of working age must be delivered to German labor camps. This chap is positive that the only real constructive move to be made just now is to get as many Jews as possible into Swedish camps, and then extend the Swedish protection to as many others as possible. I thoroughly agree and that is why I am so anxious to press the Swedish Red Cross in this matter. He also indicated, and please keep this as personal, that we should not take without a grain of salt the hopeful enthusiasm of the I.R.C. man there, who apparently drinks a lot and has delusions of grandeur, but very little in the way of practical judgment in approaching the problem.

He said that even he did not believe some of the atrocities until he himself was an eye-witness. He went over to a brick factory where they had over 10,000 Jews herded in an area so small that they were forced to stand up closely packed together for five days, old people and young children alike, without any sanitary facilities. He saw them himself standing there, and also being loaded into box cars, eighty (he said 80 were counted out very carefully) into each car, after which the doors were nailed shut. He said many died just standing in the brick factory. He also said that young girls of 14 and 15 were being stolen on the streets, taken into other areas where they had "war whore" tatooed on their arms. Some of them, young Hungarian Jewesses of good family, had been observed as far away as Hamburg. He lamented very much the total lack of courage among the Hungarian Jews, since they could do so much to help themselves even when they knew it was only a matter of a short time before they would be killed. He said it was very difficult to escape into Rumenia or Yugoslavia because the country was too open and the Jews are too terrified. He mentioned

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State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By R. H. [illegible]

that all Hungarian Jews escaping into Rumania are greeted with open arms by the Rumanian authorities, sign long statements as to how badly the Hungarians treated them, and how well the Rumanians greeted them. The Rumanians will produce these after the war.

Sincerely,

Ivan

Copy for the War Refugee Board, Washington, D. C.

WAR REFUGEE BOARD
OCT 5 1944
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

848/ICO/MEF

Stockholm
September 26, 1944

Stockholms Enskilda Bank A.B.
Stockholm

Dear Sirs:

I enclose check for 200,000 Swedish kronor which I request that you deposit to the credit of Mr. Raoul Wallenberg. Please acknowledge receipt and crediting of this check.

Sincerely yours,

Iver C. Olsen
Financial Attaché

Enclosure - 1

THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

848/ICO/MET

AMERICAN LEGATION
Stockholm, Sweden
November 22, 1944

[redacted]

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

Dear Mr. Pehle:

Attached herewith is the final report covering War Refugee Board operations from Sweden. It was not possible to undertake the duplication of the rather extensive enclosures, but it is assumed that the Board will arrange appropriate distribution.

Sincerely yours,

Iver C. Olsen
Special Attaché for
War Refugee Board

Enclosure - 1

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-73
By [illegible] Marks Date SEP 27 1972

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept.
By [illegible]

[redacted]

OPERATIONS

of the

WAR REFUGEE BOARD

from

SWEDEN

Stockholm, November 20, 1944.

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[redacted]

I. Local Situation.

A. Cooperation of Local Organizations.

As is generally known, the Swedish public is most sympathetic to humanitarian efforts and has made an extremely distinguished record in this field during the war period. A similar attitude is prevalent among the Swedish authorities. Consequently, the purposes and aims of the War Refugee Board met with an instant response in Sweden, with offers of assistance and cooperation pouring in from all sides. As a matter of fact, the most difficult task of the early weeks of the program was to sift out the groups who really were in a position to lend effective assistance, and to eliminate the well-wishers who were sincerely interested but actually time-consuming burdens. The task was further complicated by a flood of refugees into the office, mostly stateless, who construed the creation of the War Refugee Board as the long-awaited answer to their incredible variety of personal problems.

It was rather clear from the outset that the program had to be dealt with in two parts - relief and rescue - and that entirely different approaches had to be made with respect to each of these programs. Local organizations had been rather effective in carrying out relief operations - food, clothing, financial assistance, etc., but had accomplished almost nothing during the war period with respect to rescue operations, and were in fact totally unable to grasp the urgent requirements of the situation or to adjust themselves to the irregular and hazardous methods by which something could be accomplished. Accordingly, the work of almost

all the local relief organizations was canvassed quite thoroughly from the point of view of ascertaining whether it could be made more effective and could be expanded into wider operating areas. With regard to rescue operations, however, entirely new groups or facilities were created to carry out this program.

The usual obstacles and disappointments were encountered as regards jealousies between local organizations. This was particularly true with regard to the Jewish organizations in Sweden which, it seems to me, have been strikingly ineffective during the past years and contributed virtually nothing to furthering the operations of the War Refugee Board. They seemed much more concerned with personal considerations, personal prestige and jockeying for position vis-à-vis a rival organization, than the desperate fate of their people in Europe. They were openly critical of any efforts of others but quick to claim a participating credit in the more successful efforts.

B. Other Operating Factors.

Operations in Sweden were tremendously facilitated by the complete and clear cut directives emanating from the War Refugee Board, and the promptness with which it supported and cleared recommended projects. The cooperation and assistance of the Legation staff here was excellent. This was particularly true of the Minister who, although I am sure had personal misgivings about the prudence of some of the operations, particularly in the Baltic, was at all times willing for me to go ahead if there were reasonable prospects that something constructive could be accomplished.

II. Baltic Operations.

Results: Approximately 1,200 persons rescued at a cost

of $50,000. At least an additional number brought to safety in Sweden through individual initiative and facilities but benefiting from underground routes and communications established by War Refugee Board.

The Baltic program was extremely difficult to get organized and the entire operation itself encountered a great variety of obstacles and mishaps during the period it was under way. The selection of the appropriate groups presented many problems, all of which were resolved on the simple criterion of getting the most reliable and competent group possible with the highest degree of official stature with the Swedish authorities. In each instance this seemed to be the former Baltic Ministers to Sweden, who were functioning as the head of their respective Relief Committees here, and who were "unofficially" recognized by the Swedish authorities as head of their respective communities in Sweden. It was considered that these individuals and their immediate staffs were perhaps in the best position to enlist competent crews to undertake these trips, and the most likely to be able to contact and develop the necessary underground channels on the other side. Also, it was considered that these three individuals would be extremely anxious to ingratiate themselves with the American authorities and, therefore, the most likely to scrupulously carry out the directives of the War Refugee Board both in letter and spirit. Finally, the fact that these individuals had a certain degree of standing with the Swedish authorities was considered a valuable aid in overcoming certain technical difficulties in operations of this nature, and also served to protect the Legation and the War Refugee Board against any criticism which the unpredictable results of a less responsible group might have produced. There were all sorts of groups engaged in this type of operation - the majority of which,

including ex-rum runners and racketeers, simply seized the opportunity of shaking these panic-stricken refugees for everything they owned.

A. Estonian Rescue Operations.

This group turned out to be the most competent and skillful in carrying out their operations and encountered very few technical difficulties except a persistent fuel problem which I finally was able to overcome. Their equipment was excellent and their underground channels in Estonia quite effective. The outstanding failure of the Estonian program was the inability to evacuate the Czech and French Jewesses from Tallinn - about 300 who probably were there as "war whores". Several attempts were made to contact them but the plan envisaged was their evacuation all at once, since it was believed that a partial evacuation would only result in the slaughter of those left behind. This operation would have been quite difficult in any event, and to penetrate the German guard in the Tallinn area was at best a hazardous venture which I could hardly blame the crews for being unwilling to undertake. As it was, I was informed that contact was made with these Jewesses but they were too frightened to risk the journey. I have no way of verifying this statement.

The two boats used in this traffic were extremely fast. One was an open speedboat with a 160 H.P. Chrysler marine engine, which made several trips without mishap except that a few arms were broken trying to hang onto her wheel in the rough Baltic Sea. This boat was withdrawn when the seas became too heavy for her, and after she had suffered considerable knocking about. The second boat was a cabin cruiser with a capacity of thirty odd, powered by a 165 H.P. Kermath marine motor. Also extremely fast and made several trips

without any fatality although she was fired upon several times by German submarines and surface craft which were, however, unable to overtake her. The crews of these vessels were excellent mechanics and there were no breakdowns on any journey - the most dangerous kind of mishap. I have ridden in both of these boats and was greatly impressed with the efficiency of the crews - their ace mechanic was a deserter from a German airplane plant.

An investment of 110,000 Swedish kronor was made in the Estonian rescue program, exclusive of certain gasoline bills paid to the local Texaco Company through special arrangements. Approximately 275 persons were rescued in the course of these operations. The group brought here was one for whom nobody need apologize. It was a cross-representative group of decent, respectable Estonians of all kinds of life, half of which were women and children, with a generous sprinkling of very young children - some less than a year old. There were quite a few fugitives from German labor and military conscript, this incident arising from the fact that many were hiding in the forests near the Sea and simply jumped on the rescue boats when and as they could. Proportionately, there was an average representation of intellectuals and religious leaders. See attached list and description of persons rescued. Considering the smoothness and efficiency of the Estonian operation, it would seem that more persons should have been brought to safety. Fuel difficulties were, of course, a factor. Another influence may have been in part that probably the Swedish Intelligence Service took advantage of this excellent underground connection to run a few excursions of their own for the purpose of checking as to what was going on in Estonia. This would be quite natural, since the Swedish

General Staff was most cooperative, even to the point of supplying weapons and forged German identification papers, and it would be quite unlikely that there wasn't some quid pro pro somewhere. As a matter of fact, on one trip the boat was caught in a bad storm and almost foundered, and the refugees were put on board a Swedish naval vessel. It also may be assumed that the Estonian group itself was at least slightly interested in maintaining an underground intelligence system, and that some of the traffic was dedicated to these ends. On balance, however, it would seem that this rescue operation was well worth-while, and that the investment paid reasonable dividends.

B. Latvian Rescue Operations.

This operation was considerably more difficult than the Estonia, and the results much more obscure. In the first place, the Latvian group lacked the competency and the stability of the Estonian group. It also had a much narrower choice of necessary personnel to carry out the operations, which resulted in the choice of poorer controls and equipment. Finally, the Latvians have seemed to me a highly individualistic, nationalistic, quarrelsome and unreliable group, with the result that I never felt too sure just what was going on. There was never any doubt in my mind that I had picked the best group available, but great difficulty was experienced in maintaining the necessary controls over them to make certain that their operations were consistent with the directives of the War Refugee Board. As it was, there were occasional rumors that pro-Nazis or persons participating actively in the slaughter of the Latvian Jews had been brought to Sweden. In each instance I had ex-Minister Salnais come to the office and impressed upon him in the strongest

possible terms my position in the matter, with the assurance that all funds and equipment would be taken away from him should any of such rumors be substantiated and should investigation indicate that he was unable to maintain the controls necessary to prevent such conditions. I also discussed the matter several times with appropriate officials of the Foreign Office and, on a personal basis, requested the assistance of the Swedish police and Intelligence Service in checking these rumors.

In not a single instance was it possible to find a concrete basis for these rumors, and it may be assumed that they sprang from jealousies and ill will between the various Latvian elements in Sweden. Some of them probably were initiated by two or three private Latvian groups who had pressed me for financial backing in operating rescue routes. However, a close check on them revealed that these individuals had a rather questionable background and would probably get me into trouble. Denied the requested financial support, they then undertook to discredit the operation in which I was participating. On the other hand, it is not entirely unlikely that a few undesirables did come to Sweden on these facilities, particularly in September when conditions were chaotic in Latvia. On some nights as many as a dozen boats arrived in Gotland from Latvia and controls and interrogation was so poor that it is not clear just who arrived on our facilities and who came independently. Furthermore, these rescue operations are timed to a matter of minutes and it is obviously possible for an undesirable person to slip on a boat during the few minutes at dusk when it is loading refugees.

Latvian rescue operations got off to a very shaky start and encountered a series of episodes ranging from the hilari-

ous to sheer misfortune. Faulty equipment, bad storms in the Baltic Sea, and narrow escapes from German naval and military action, delayed any real results until the latter part of July, when the nights became at least a little longer. For a short period in August German confusion and demoralization was particularly high and rescue operations were greatly facilitated. In the early part of September, however, German controls were quite tight, patrol vessels considerably increased, and several misfortunes were encountered. One of the rescue vessels was captured by a German vessel on September 10 and with its crew taken to Tallinn, where both crew and passengers were imprisoned. However, some of them managed to escape during the Russian drive on Tallinn and actually got the boat and 35 refugees to Sweden. Another boat ran out of fuel in dodging German naval action on September 14 and luckily, after drifting in the Baltic for six days, was driven onto the Swedish coast. On September 15, a rescue vessel was captured by the Germans and the crew and 50 refugees taken to Gdynia, subsequently sent to a concentration camp in Germany. In the latter part of September, however, operations were stopped because the Germans considered their position so hopeless that they were assisting their Latvian collaborators in escaping, with the result that there were strong possibilities that future arrivals in Sweden might be tainted. The Latvian operation, while it was underway, was very hazardous and most interesting and it is recommended that the attached statements covering the history of the operations be read from the point of view of getting an insight into the great variety of difficulties entailed in operations of this nature. Of a total crew of 24 used in these operations, one third are dead or missing.

According to the attached list of Latvian refugees, approximately 700 were brought to Sweden through the facilities of the War Refugee Board. Approximately 55 percent were women and children. Of adults of both sexes, it will be observed that over half were fishermen, farmers, laborers, domestic help, etc. Approximately 250 were professors, students, lawyers, agriculturalists, teachers, architects, physicians, etc. The War Refugee Board investment in this project was 55,000 Swedish kronor (less than $15,000) and it would seem that the results were very much worth-while. Actually, the Latvian group claims that almost the entire Latvian refugee group in Sweden of approximately 3,500 owes its safety to the War Refugee Board, since evacuations started in large numbers only after W.R.B. facilities had done the necessary pioneering for escape routes and lines of communication. However, I would be reluctant to accept blanket credit without knowing considerably more about the composition of the Latvian refugees here although it should be possible to accept the statement that a small proportion of undesirables should not discredit an overall rescue operation.

The failure to rescue any Latvian Jews was a great disappointment and even now it is not clear what else could have been done to obtain better results. Several attempts had been made by some individuals here to hire less reliable groups to bring Jews out of Latvia at so much per head. In all instances, however, money was paid out in advance but no results were forthcoming. I am rather convinced that our group would have brought some of them out if possible, since I was constantly reminding Salnais of several rumors I had heard that he was anti-semetic, to which he strongly protested. However, there is no question but what an important

segment of Latvian officials are anti-semetic and responsible for some of the unspeakable crimes committed against the Jews in Latvia, and perhaps some of thefailure was due to the attitude of the underground group in Latvia. Otherwise, and considering the fact that hardly a single Jew has come out of Latvia during the German occupation, there seems to be a reasonable basis for accepting the explanation that the Jews were either out of reach of rescue operations or were in hiding and too terrified to make a break for safety.

C. Lithuanian Rescue Operations.

These operations received a death-blow almost at the outset and from which they were never able to recover. That was in the loss of the group's key man, Vokietaitis, an extremely clever and fearless operator who was otherwise useful to the Legation. He made the first trip himself to get the proper underground connections with Lithuanians and, while reports are in conflict as to what happened, he has never come back. Due to the very small Lithuanian community in Sweden, it was impossible to find a suitable replacement and the entire venture became a series of great misfortunes, including the capture of not less than five of the rescue vessels by German submarines and surface vessels, with total crews and refugee passengers of 250 being either dead or missing. In addition to this there were a series of mishaps resulting from faulty equipment, storms, lack of coordination and poor navigation. It may be considered astonishing that any considerable number of persons were rescued at all. The attached log of Lithuanian rescue operations is recommended for study.

Approximately 135 Lithuanians were brought to safety in Sweden with a War Refugee Board investment of 35,000 Swedish

kronor (about $8,500). Here again approximately half were women and children (see attached list), with the balance a most representative cross section of an average community. The failure in this instance to rescue any Jews can most certainly be attributed to technical obstacles alone since it is known definitely that several efforts were made to establish the necessary channels. However, the rescue of a selected few from concentration camps would not only have been extremely difficult, but would have seriously endangered those left behind. The certainty that they all were to be murdered in any event perhaps might have justified the gamble, but it is a serious responsibility to assume. There were large numbers of Jews being hidden by farmers and others, but these people considered themselves fairly safe and were not at all disposed to risk the hazards of a long trip to the Lithuanian coast and then a perilous sea journey.

The Lithuanian operation was stopped at the same time as other Baltic operations due largely to the fact that all the boats had been lost and losses were getting increasingly disproportinate to the number of persons rescued.

D. Criticisms Encountered.

The most active criticism of the Baltic rescue program was initiated in October by the Communist press in Sweden, much of which was directed at the American Legation's financial participation. It was charged that many of these refugees were pro-Nazis and anti-Soviet, and were war criminals fleeing from Russian retribution. The facts were greatly exaggerated and distorted, particularly as to the true facts of American activity. The Legation took the attitude that these charges were absurd and provocative and undertook to make no reply. The entire matter is being re-

ported separately as a Legation despatch which will go forward in the very near future, and if possible will be attached to this report as an exhibit.

Some of the local Jewish organizations were disposed to criticize these operations as having failed to rescue any Jews despite the fact that funds of American Jewish organizations were employed (which was not true). The failure to rescue any Jews was greatly regretted and has been explained, a circumstance that these Swedish organizations should have understood when it is considered that in the past several years the position of the Jews in the Baltic has been most critical and they themselves did not bring a single one to safety nor did they initiate a single step in that direction. Most of the criticism probably originated from the fact that they wanted all funds originating from Jewish organizations in the United States to go through their hands.

E. Finnish Rescue Operations.

These operations were limited exclusively to bringing to safety the stateless Jews in Finland, whose fate could be considered precarious at any moment the Germans staged a full military coup in Finland. This operation involved considerable discussion with the Swedish Foreign Office as to entry visas, with the local Mosaic Community as to maintenance provisions, and with the Finnish Mosaic Community as to evacuation details. All arrangements were finally completed and perhaps 150 eventually arrived in Sweden on a piecemeal basis. The Swedish Mosaic Community was distinctly luke warm towards the whole program, and on occasions needed rather strong prodding.

Arrangements were also concluded with the Swedish Foreign Office, on a preliminary basis, whereby they would

undertake to evacuate the Finnish Jews at the same time that conditions in Finland seemed sufficiently dangerous to necessitate the evacuation of Swedes in Finland.

The only other Finnish problem arising was with respect to an Estonian group which approached me after the Russian-Finnish armistice for financial assistance in carrying out an underground evacuation of about 700 Estonians from Finland. I informed them that there were reasons which should be obvious to them as to why Finland was not an area of War Refugee Board operations and that it would be quite impossible to participate in any such program.

III. Norwegian Rescue and Relief Operations.

Results: About 6,000 brought to safety in Sweden. Several thousand others in a position to be rescued if necessary. Many thousands brought relief through shipments of food, clothing, medicines, etc.

Activities in Norway have, of course, been greatly favored by border proximities as well as adjoining sea areas. They have further benefited from extremely effective underground channels in many alternative forms, and with an abundance of highly skilled technicians available to carry out almost any type of operation desired. While there is some jealousy and difference of political opinion, there was at all times close coordination of effort in carrying out any program that would benefit Norway. Consequently, the program moved forward smoothly and efficiently, and the results were extremely good. Not a small part of it is due to the unofficial but most effective cooperation of the Swedish authorities.

A. Rescue Operations.

The bulk of the rescue operations were financed through the funds sent to the Norwegian Labor Party by

American Relief for Norway acting on behalf of the C.I.O.-A.F.of L. group. The funds were in the hands of a highly competent and conscientious Norwegian group here which worked with me very closely. No difficulties were experienced at any time and it was a pleasure to work with them. Underground channels established for rescue operations were, except for normal hazards, rather safe and casualties were light in carrying out the program. A large proportion of those rescued were complete families, since reprisals by the Nazis were extremely severe. Most of the movement was across the borders, but as winter approaches this escape method will become more hazardous due to the tell-tale tracks in the snow. More recently wider experiments have been made with escape by sea routes and the results justify an expansion of such facilities. Appropriate arrangements have been made with the Swedish authorities - particularly as to necessary fuel supplies. It is possible, however, that increased German patrol activity in these sea areas will eventually render these rescue operations as dangerous as those previously attempted in the Baltic.

B. Relief Operations.

These activities were of a great variety and, similar to the rescue operations, have been entirely successful. A large part of the food parcels, clothing, shoes, medicines and other supplies have gone into Norway under the Swedish licensing system, and the only important consideration was to make sure (a) that relief was brought to the most needy cases, and (b) that these supplies reached the ultimate beneficiaries and did not fall into the hands of the Germans. Adequate safeguards were taken with respect to both points.

Illegal relief operations in Norway were carried out

through several channels. The Norwegian Labor group sent in a substantial volume of supplies and Norwegian currency which were distributed by their underground organization. They also sent in necessary supplies to maintain the underground engaged in transporting refugees across the border into Sweden. Part of the funds placed at my discretion by American Relief for Norway was turned over to certain officials of the Norwegian Legation here connected with the Norwegian Home Front, and these funds were used to purchase equipment, clothing, food and medicines. This project was related to the safeguarding of approximately 10,000 Norwegian youths hiding in the forests and the maintenance of rescue facilities for them at such time as their lives were endangered.

With the cooperation of the Swedish Foreign Office, a very helpful working arrangement was made with the Swedish Consul General in Oslo, who for some time had quietly and without any credit been doing an enormous amount of good for oppressed and needy Norwegians. To date 90,000 Swedish kronor have been deposited to his credit with the Swedish Foreign Office, against which credit he drew upon consular receipts in Oslo to carry out his relief operations. These funds, in turn, he turned over to the Central Relief Committee of the Lutheran Church, which organization then used them to bring relief to a carefully selected list of urgent hardship cases. Most of these were families of Norwegians who had been imprisoned, deported or shot by the Germans, including perhaps a dozen completely helpless Jewish families. The entire operation was dangerously illegal since the Germans imposed very severe penalties upon anyone assisting these groups. The Swedish Consul General has been in Stockholm twice since this program started and he has reported that not enough could be

said to indicate how worthwhile this program is.

A more recent program of expanding relief activities in Norway has been worked out with the Norwegian Church in Sweden. The first part involves supplying this church group with funds which will be used to enable penniless Norwegians here to send food parcels to their families in Norway, particularly for Christmas. This is a strong morale factor on both ends. The second operation has involved supplying this church group with 50,000 Norwegian kroner which will be sent into Norway through the underground to isolated parishes for the relief of needy cases. Even the Norwegian pastors are operating a lively underground with great skill - shading, if necessary, certain aspects of the Ten Commandments.

C. Criticisms Encountered.

The only recurring criticism I have heard against American relief actions in Norway, and this was not directed at the War Refugee Board, has been that too much discretion has been given the Norwegian Labor Party, which is employing this to political advantage - sometimes discriminatively. There may be something to this, and it is one of the reasons why the funds placed at my discretion have gone into other channels. On the other hand, the need for heavy and well organized relief and rescue operations in Norway is tremendous and it certainly can not be disputed that the Labor group has carried out its program very efficiently.

IV. Danish Rescue and Relief Operations.

These were engaged in only on a very limited scale. There is a young group, quite skillful and venturesome, which is operating an underground for a variety of purposes distinctly in the interest of the Allies, including counter-intelligence, sabotage, propaganda, transport of refugees and several other

activities quite distasteful to the German occupying authorities in Denmark. They also have an organization functioning in Denmark to rescue Allied airmen who are shot down, and my interest appeared about the time they had smuggled two American airmen with broken legs out of a hospital and had gotten them as far as the Danish coast. As yet they have been unable to get them to Sweden. The organization is doing very good work, however, but is constantly hampered by lack of funds. Accordingly, this project is receiving War Refugee Board financing to the extent of 5,000 Swedish kronor monthly. Attached as an exhibit is a statement covering the activities of this group, which it is believed speaks for itself.

Perhaps only a hundred refugees have been brought out of Denmark through these facilities, but they have been an extremely "hot" group. About the same number have been carried back into Denmark to devise various types of entertainment and/or distraction for the occupying authorities. This has been a very interesting group to work with, worth much more than the 10,000 Swedish kronor invested to date.

V. Balkan Rescue and Relief Operations.

Results: Approximately 6,000 Hungarian Jews brought under Swedish protection and segregated in areas of greater safety. Many thousand Hungarian and Rumanian Jews given urgently needed food, medicines and money.

Rescue and relief operations in the Balkans could, of course, be organized and directed from countries in closer proximity to the area than Sweden, which also had representatives of the War Refugee Board. Accordingly, the principal effort from here was to exploit fully whatever Swedish channels appeared particularly strategic. In this connection, Swedish diplomatic representation in these countries seemed the outstanding factor to work on and was in fact explored very

actively. As previously stated, the Swedish Foreign Office has at all times been extremely cooperative in these matters and of tremendous assistance. Also, a few of the local Jewish organizations had certain quite effective channels with the Balkan countries, due in part to working channels through the Swedish Foreign Office, and these also were studied from the point of view of possible expansion. With respect to the latter, not much was accomplished due mostly to the distances involved.

A. Hungarian Rescue and Relief Operations.

This program went extremely well and, based on information available here, probably was the most constructive action initiated from anywhere for the relief of the Hungarian Jews. The keystone of the entire operation was the willingness of the Swedish Foreign Office to assign an Attaché to its Legation in Budapest exclusively for the purpose of initiating relief actions for the Hungarian Jews. The Attaché sent, Roaul Wallenberg, was personally known to us and was in fact our choice. Very energetic, great initiative and resourcefulness, and sincerely concerned with the urgency of the problem. Despite the fact that he was constantly ridiculed by the Hungarian Nazis, he left no stone unturned in pressing for conditions of greater safety and comfort for as many Hungarian Jews as possible.

The first major action initiated was to get as many Hungarian Jews as possible under Swedish protection. Such protective papers were issued to all Hungarian Jews who had relatives or close friends in Sweden, or had long established business connections with Sweden. Approximately 6,000 persons were found eligible - out of thousands of applications filed. The nextstep was to get this group released from the series

of stringent regulations and controls imposed upon the Jews, and to move them to areas of greater comparative safety. Consequently, this program not only brought considerably more safety and comfort to this group, but in turn made available a fairly large group more or less free to lend a hand in bringing relief to their less fortunate associates. After as many as possible had been brought under Swedish protection, activities then shifted to a series of local relief projects. These included the distribution of funds to needy persons, the purchase and distribution of certain food or clothing, the establishment of community housing facilities, and organizing a hospital facility. Several thousand Jews benefited from these activities, not only physically but definitely as a strong morale factor.

Throughout the entire period the Swedish Legation maintained an increasing pressure upon Hungarian authorities, not only with respect to the group it was protecting, but in connection with the overall official policy of the Hungarian authorities towards the Jews. Unquestionably these efforts have done much to prevent the introduction of an even more savage treatment of the Jews.

B. Relief and Rescue Operations in Rumania.

These were very limited in scope and the results somewhat obscure. Indirect and unofficial pressure was brought to bear on the Rumanian Legation here with respect to the policy of the Rumanian Government towards the Jews, and these approaches were received very sympathetically and perhaps were helpful. Chief Rabbi Ehrenpreis had good working channels through the Swedish Foreign Office and certain officials and religious leaders in Rumania, with the result that several urgently needed relief actions were carried out

with the assistance of 25,000 Swedish kronor turned over to him from available W.R.B. funds. Also established working contacts with the Svenska Israels Missionen, an organization of Christian Jews which seemed to be able to move around Rumania with comparative freedom in the more troublesome days. It was engaged primarily in relief operations since they were unsuccessful in obtaining Palestine permits for a group which could have been evacuated. The activities of this group were not extensive, but financial assistance was arranged for them from the United States and there is every reason to believe that their efforts were well worth-while.

Some negotiations were held with the Rumanian Legation in Stockholm with respect to transport facilities for the evacuation of Jews from Rumania to Turkey, but these were dropped upon advice that the War Refugee Board was pushing a similar program from Turkey.

C. Relief Operations in Bulgaria.

These activities were also quite limited, the most important of which was to exert the greatest possible informal pressure on the local Bulgarian Minister for a relaxation of Jewish persecutions. Two informal notes were given him on the subject. The first reply was not satisfactory but definite assurances were relayed from the Bulgarian Foreign Office with respect to the second, stronger note. See attachment.

Chief Rabbi Ehrenpreis, as former Chief Rabbi of Bulgaria, had rather good connections with Bulgaria and a part of the 25,000 Swedish kronor turned over to him was used for the relief of Bulgarian Jews. However, the program was not extensive, or even as broad as it could have been.

VI. Activities With Respect to the Rest of Europe.

These efforts were not on any organized pattern but were undertaken from time to time when special circumstances suggested a hope that certain approaches might be helpful. For example, channels were found for directing a strong appeal to Goering, on an excellent personal basis, on behalf of the Jews in Theresiendstadt, Bergen-Belsen and other well known Jewish concentration camps in Europe. For some unknown reason, Goering replied that he was able to give the highest personal assurances that conditions in Theresiendstadt were entirely satisfactory, but that he was powerless to intervene elsewhere. He stated that he had endangered his Party position because of his intervention in behalf of Jews and that he no longer was strong enough in such matters to exercise a controlling influence. On other occasions, certain well connected German authorities were approached informally and unofficially with respect to the evacuation of Baltic Jews, as well as the transport to Sweden of South American Jews. These negotiations were unusual, to say the least, but despite assurances of a reciprocal interest in humanitarian matters nothing concrete developed except perhaps a gain of time.

The food parcel traffic to concentration camps in Europe was explored very carefully and every possible encouragement and stimulant was given to an expansion of this traffic. This became increasingly urgent as the flow of parcels from other neutral countries was interrupted, coupled with the increasing clarity of the fact that the Germans were finding it interesting to experiment with the simple process of just starving the Jews to death. It was possible to increase the shipments of food parcels from Sweden substantially to such

areas as Theresiendstadt, Bergen-Belsen, Polish concentration camps and several other areas where conditions were acute. Thousands of packages have now been going forward monthly. Funds supplied by the War Refugee Board have been made available to finance the shipment of parcels for certain penniless refugees in Sweden who were unable to send packages to their relatives in Europe.

Through these and other measures, the flow of food parcels, medicines and clothing into Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Austria have been increased to a considerable degree, although still far short of requirements. Shipments to Poland from Sweden were interrupted this week, due to technical difficulties and perhaps will not be resumed.

VII. Assistance to Refugees in Sweden.

As previously indicated, the activities of the War Refugee Board were extensively publicized in Sweden, with the result that almost every Swedish organization struggling with refugee problems, as well as hundreds of refugees (particularly stateless) streamed into the American Legation with all sorts of problems and proposals. With respect to the refugees themselves, it was, of course, necessary in self-defense to refer them to organized relief and charitable groups although it was possible to gather considerable first-hand knowledge of the severe difficulties facing these groups in the interim period when they are unable to adjust themselves. So far as the relief and welfare organizations were concerned, however, we at all times worked with them very closely in an effort to make it clear that in its rescue operations the War Refugee Board was fully mindful of the collateral responsibility arising from the evacuation of these refugees to areas of safety.

The problem was particularly active with respect to the stateless refugees - somewhat over 3,000 (German, Austrian, Poles, Czechs, etc.) of which seventy-five percent were Jews. Many of these were youths whose parents had lost their lives in Europe and a most urgent requirement seemed that of providing for their educational advancement. Many had in fact completed some of the requisites for a college degree but the most of them were at a complete stalemate working as dishwashers, domestics, laborers, etc. Accordingly, the interest and collaboration of the City of Stockholm was obtained, and a special office established for stateless refugees. Through the financial support of the International Rescue and Relief Committee in New York, a good program is now underway to assist this group of refugees in their educational requirements. A somewhat related and coordinated program was worked out with another Swedish group (S.D.U.), financed in part by War Refugee Board funds, and which specialized in handicraft training.

Most of the liaison with the Swedish organizations, as well as with the relief bureaus of the various foreign legations here, has been carried out by my assistant, Mrs. Tove Filseth Tau, who has heretofore had a most distinguished record in humanitarian fields, and worked most tirelessly and effectively in this new assignment. Her efforts have received the highest praise in Sweden and she was indeed a very valuable assistant.

VIII. Financial Accounts.

Attached is an accounting of the various funds placed at my discretion by the War Refugee Board. Separate accounts have been kept for each type of fund authorized. It will be noted that of the approximately 1,200,000 Swedish kronor

placed at my disposal through the efforts of the War Refugee Board, good receipts have been obtained against the disbursement of all except about 3,000 kronor. Every effort was made to control these expenditures as closely as possible and it is believed that the funds were expended honestly and with good value received.

SWEDEN

IVER OLSEN'S REPORTS

THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

848/ICO/MET

[redacted]

AMERICAN LEGATION
Stockholm, Sweden
June 15, 1945

Brigadier General William O'Dwyer
Executive Director
War Refugee Board
Washington, D. C.

Subject: Final Report of Activities of War Refugee Board from Sweden.

Dear General O'Dwyer:

In accordance with your instructions, the following is the concluding report covering operations from Sweden of the War Refugee Board. It is intended to supplement and bring up to date my basic report submitted as of November 22, 1944, as well as to provide a final accounting of the funds placed at my disposal.

Since this report covers the period of operations from the date of my return from Washington in January, it is in effect simply a summary of 1945 activities. The scope of operations during the period had, of course, considerably contracted. The Baltic countries had ceased as an area of operations in September, 1944. Hungarian operations came to a close in January, 1945. Consequently, the greatest possible attention was focused on the fate of Jews and other civilian prisoners in Germany, as well as in pressing active rescue and relief operations in Norway. Certain limited activities were continued in Denmark.

A. Operations in Hungary.

Sufficient facts now appear at hand to support the conclusion that Hungarian rescue and relief actions initiated by the War Refugee Board from Sweden were the keystones of the most productive steps taken in that area, and paved the way for saving the lives of perhaps 100,000 Jews. The work of Raoul Wallenberg, actively supported by Minister Daniellson and his staff of the Swedish Legation in Budapest, was nothing short of brilliant - to say nothing of being highly courageous.

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

This group pioneered the program of constant and relentlessly increasing pressure on the Hungarian Government in behalf of the Jews, at the cost of seriously jeopardizing their own personal safety. Minister Daniellson informed Minister Johnson and myself that during their last weeks as officials in Budapest, Raoul Wallenberg had to hide in a different house every night, he was so hotly hunted by the Hungarian Fascists and the Germans. The program of issuing Swedish protective passports, of sheltering Jews in Swedish protected dwellings, and similar other activities in itself brought approximately 20,000 Jews under the safety of Swedish protection. At the height of this program, over 350 persons had been recruited to carry out this enormous task. This program set a pattern which soon was followed by the Swiss, Portuguese and the International Red Cross, and in the end produced a combined program which probably afforded the greatest relief and protection to Jews in any European country.

Not until Wallenberg's records become available will the complete story of this program become known. We are informed that he kept extremely complete and documented records of a highly interesting nature, and that these records were still in the Swedish Legation when the staff was forced to leave Budapest.

B. Prisoners in Germany.

Several indirect and informal approaches were made in the hope of securing better treatment of Jews and other civilian prisoners in Germany, and to gain time so that they would not be slaughtered. The first of these approaches was made in July, 1944, in a discussion with a German in Stockholm named Boening. This same contact, which was reported to you in Legation's cable No. 2419 of July 3, 1944, was maintained up to September and was further reported on from time to time. Emphasis was largely on the anger of the United States Government towards these atrocities, and Boening appeared quite impressed. These discussions did not seem to be accomplishing a great deal but it is interesting to note that in May another contact, Kleist, informed me that quite by freak these discussions actually saved the lives of the Jews in Germany. His remarks are advanced for what they may be worth, considering that by this time German collapse was only days away and Kleist might have placed a special value on flattery. He said that Boening's discussions with me had come into Berlin just about the time when it had become more or less officially decided to murder all the Jews in Germany. This conclusion was based on (1) that the Jews were a nuisance, (2) that the

Germans had gone so far that there was no point in stopping now, and (3) that if these Jews were left alive, they would only shout to the world for a thousand years about German barbarism. Kleist said that Boening had blown up his discussions with me to fantastic proportions. He had reported that President Roosevelt had personally sent out two emissaries on this problem (one to Stockholm and one to Ankara), that these two men were constantly in direct contact with the President and responsible only to him. He then reported our rather strong discussion. Kleist said that Kaltenbrunn called him (Kleist) over to Himmler's headquarters and asked him what this report was all about. Kleist more or less confirmed the story, adding that if these personal representatives of President Roosevelt would bother to visit "our insignificant Boening", there must be tremendous importance attached to this subject. Kleist added that shortly thereafter the decision to murder the Jews was abandoned, perhaps on the basis that the Jews were valuable either for bargaining or for good will.

The second major contact was with Dr. Fritz Hesse, reported in Legation's (Top Secret) 932 of March 9, 1945. It was the basis for the "German peace feelers" stories circulating around Stockholm at the time. This discussion was very lengthy, very strong, and most specific. It nearly came to a bad end because Ribbentrop was furious over the press rumors of peace feelers, and the fact that Hesse's presence in Stockholm became public knowledge. However, Hesse was able to convince Ribbentrop that I had not disclosed the discussion, but that it was the fault of certain Swedes. The results of this discussion are obscure but I believe that it accomplished perhaps the most with respect to treatment of prisoners of war, which appeared to be a subject of particular interest to Hesse. It is known that shortly thereafter Ribbentrop sent him to Switzerland. It might also be strongly suspected that there were preliminary "peace" or "surrender" motives behind Hesse making this contact. He was quite nervous, particularly when in the middle of our discussion, for some unexplained reason, my kitchen buzzer jammed and supplied rather startling wireless sound effects.

The third major contact was with Dr. Kleist, obviously connected with the Germans at the highest level. This also was an extremely lengthy discussion reported as Legation's (Top Secret) No. 1356 of April 11, 1945. Like Hesse, Kleist supplied positive assurance that no further steps would be taken to destroy the Jews and other civilian prisoners, and that all possible steps would be taken to protect prisoners of

war. This discussion had clearer marks of "surrender feelers" and was so reported. It was the strongest of the three discussions.

Partly in connection with the foregoing approaches, but also related to certain other indirect contacts of a similar nature, on April 19, a member of the local Mosaic Community flew to Berlin for a meeting with Himmler on the Jewish question. Himmler arrived at the meeting at 2:30 a.m. on April 21, having just driven 80 km. from Hitler's birthday party. Probably no more bizarre scene could be staged to record Himmler's unconditional surrender to world opinion - a two hour drive through wrecked German roads and a conference until dawn with a Jew from Stockholm. The discussion and Himmler's remarks and promises have already been reported to the Board. A direct result of this contact was the release of a few thousand from Ravensbrück. Contrary to reports, Count Bernadotte was in no way involved in the negotiations for the release of these people, but they would never have gotten out if Swedish Red Cross transportation had not been supplied promptly and efficiently. So far as is known, Bernadotte was concentrating exclusively on Danish and Norwegian prisoners.

C. Rescue and Relief Operations in Norway.

These operations were pressed strongly during 1945, although they were temporarily handicapped from time to time because of shortage of funds. The program continued to work smoothly, and the results were extremely good. Perhaps 15,000 Norwegians, in serious jeopardy, were brought to Sweden, with aid of the facilities and financial support that this program supplied. It is no exaggeration to say that these people were in "serious jeopardy", since Norwegians rarely fled from Norway unless they were in serious difficulty with the Gestapo. The same program, financed by American Labor Relief for Norway, also involved an increasingly active shipment of relief supplies to Norway - food, clothing, footwear, medicines, etc. Part of these shipments went into Norway through regular licensing controls of the Swedes, while the other was smuggled in through well established underground channels.

A secondary relief channel, the Norwegian Church in Sweden, also accelerated its program of sending food and clothing into Norway. This also was a combination of regular licensing and underground channels, and was financed through funds supplied by American Relief for Norway, Inc. Although limited in scope, it was a well working program and reached notoriously distressed families.

A third program, for direct relief within Norway, was continued during 1945 with the active cooperation of the Swedish Consul General in Oslo. Also financed through funds supplied by American Relief for Norway, Inc., it was directed to particularly distressed groups who were hard to reach because members of their families had become compromised, imprisoned or shot by the Gestapo.

Numerous reports have already been supplied covering the aforementioned rescue and relief operations in Norway.

D. Food Parcels from Sweden to Germany.

While it became rather certain late in 1944 that the Germans would not make any last minute move to exterminate the Jews, it was also increasingly clear that virtually the same thing was being accomplished through starvation and neglect. Accordingly, efforts were intensified to ship food parcels from Sweden to the various concentration camps in Germany. Rather extensive lists of persons in concentration camps were compiled, and distribution channels arranged. In most cases shipment was made under the auspices of the Swedish Red Cross. The program was greatly strengthened by the availability of approximately 225,000 food packages supplied by the War Refugee Board, which not only afforded a prompt solution of any financing problems but also disposed of the more time consuming problem of food rationing and blockade controls. Fairly good checks were maintained as to the ultimate delivery of these parcels and good results were obtained in that connection. This was one program in which the World Jewish Congress here was rather effective, once they had become properly organized.

By early Spring transportation difficulties had narrowed the area of operations to very few concentration camps - primarily Ravensbrück and Bergen Belsen.

E. Financial Accounting.

Attached are statements covering various confidential funds placed at my disposal by the War Refugee Board. It will be recalled that during my stay in Washington in December, statements were prepared and receipts were supplied covering expenditures up to the end of November, 1944. Accordingly, the attached statements simply bring the various accounts up to date. In accordance with your instructions, outstanding balances will be transferred back to Mr. David White. My account with the American Joint Distribution Committee has

been closed with the transfer of a balance of 218,000 Sw.kr. to the local branch of J.D.C. The balance of funds supplied by American Relief for Norway, Inc. is being transferred to a local organization which has been carrying out other Norwegian relief activities for American Relief for Norway.

With the submission of this final report, and in view of my new assignment at The Hague, I should like to express to you the real satisfaction and pleasure I have experienced in my association with the War Refugee Board. It has been most interesting and a real challenge. The entire program was very much worthwhile and the only regrettable thing is that the War Refugee Board was not established a year or two earlier. I know that I could do much better had I this activity to undertake now, on the basis of experience gained, but the time element in this program afforded no opportunity to profit from experience or to learn from mistakes already made. To anyone here in Europe, however, it is extremely clear that the War Refugee Board accomplished an enormous amount of good.

Sincerely yours,

Iver C. Olsen

Iver C. Olsen
Special Attaché for
War Refugee Board

Enclosures - 3

DEC 6 1944

My dear Mr. Minister:

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

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

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) J. W. Pehle

J. W. Pehle
Executive Director

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

Enclosure.

FH:hd 12/4/44

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DEC 6 1944

My dear Mr. Wallenberg:

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

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

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

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. W. Pehle

J. W. Pehle
Executive Director

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

EBT:FH:hd 12/1/44

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EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
WAR REFUGEE BOARD

To:
(1) Mr. Pehle (Room) (Bldg.)
(2) [redacted] (Room) (Bldg.)
(3) [redacted] (Room) (Bldg.)
(4) Mr. Pehle
(5) [illegible]
(6) [illegible]

We [illegible] to [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] at some [illegible]

From: [illegible] (Date)
(Room) (Bldg.)

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LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

848/ICO/MET

Stockholm, Sweden
November 14, 1944

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

Dear Mr. Pehle:

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

Sincerely yours,

Iver C. Olsen
Special Attaché for
War Refugee Board

Enclosure - 1

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C O P Y

Königlich
Schwedische Gesandtschaft

Budapest, 12th Okt. 1944.

W./F.

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

Dear Mr. Olssen,

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

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

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

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

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

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

Yours faithfully

(signed) R. Wallenberg

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Eleanor Roosevelt Papers, General Correspondence, 1945-48, Gromyko

Gromyko

ПРЕДСТАВИТЕЛЬ
СОЮЗА СОВЕТСКИХ СОЦИАЛИСТИЧЕСКИХ
РЕСПУБЛИК
ПРИ ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ ОБ'ЕДИНЕННЫХ НАЦИЙ

REPRESENTATIVE OF THE
UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS
TO THE UNITED NATIONS
100 WEST 88th STREET
NEW YORK 24, N.Y.

Look up Mrs. Hirshfield's von Dardel

March 19th, 1947.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
Apartment Six A
29 Washington Square West
New York 11, N.Y.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

In reply to your note of February 10th enclosing Mrs. Hirshfield's letter I wish to inform you that on my part I have already raised the question of granting visa to Mrs. Savina before the appropriate Soviet authorities.

The copy of Major von Dardel's letter, which you sent me with your note of February 28th, has been already forwarded to our Consulate General for taking appropriate measures.

Respectfully yours,

A. Gromyko

ANDREI A. GROMYKO

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I did not write
anything for publication
about Mr Hallenberg.
I wrote to my
friend Geo
Warren of the State
& to Mr Gromyko.
Mr Gromyko replied
that he had forwarded
my letter to the
Consulate General for
appropriate action.
That is all I have
heard from Mr Gromyko

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Copy her letter, leaving out any reference to Reissa & send Gromyko back for information

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Jonkings

DOROTHY THOMPSON
237 EAST FORTY-EIGHTH STREET
NEW YORK CITY

May 28, 1947

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

Thank you for your kind note. I missed seeing what you wrote about Wallenberg and would love to have. Is it possible to get it?

I only meant in regard to your position, that you are known to be a sincere friend of cooperation and one who has never done anything to exacerbate relations with the Soviet Union, but rather seek always to improve them.

I still have the feeling that if someone whom no one would even suspect of being animated by malice would take up Mr. Wallenberg's case with someone high in the Soviet Union it could conceivably be solved,- because I cannot but think that the whole thing was initially an error. I know you have a very warm heart and a strong sense of justice as well as much tact.

Cordially yours,

Dorothy Thompson

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ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

Raoul Wallenberg

In reply refer to
A-H/R 701.5864/1-2147

February 21, 1947

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I have received your letter of January 21, 1947 enclosing a letter and newspaper clippings sent to you by the mother of Raoul Wallenberg in Stockholm, making various suggestions looking toward the return of Raoul Wallenberg to Sweden. Maj von Dardel's letter and enclosures are herewith returned.

Raoul Wallenberg, as secretary of the Swedish Legation in Hungary in 1944, was extremely active in endeavors to preserve the lives of Jewish refugees who were then under serious threat by Nazi action. He received every encouragement in his activities from the War Refugee Board. Upon the occasion of the Soviet occupation of Budapest, Mr. Wallenberg disappeared. The Department has made efforts through the United States missions at Moscow and Budapest to secure news of his whereabouts, but without result. The last report received in October 1945 from Budapest was that Mr. Wallenberg had left Budapest for Debrecen in March 1945 and that no further word had been received from him.

It does not

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
Apartment 15-A,
29 Washington Square, West,
New York 11, New York.

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It does not appear that any official action can be taken until some clue as to his whereabouts is received.

Sincerely yours,

For the Secretary of State:

George L. Warren

George L. Warren
Adviser on Refugees and
Displaced Persons

Enclosure:

Letter from Maj von Dardel,
November 30, 1946 with
enclosures.

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Maj von Dardel
Sveavägen 88

Stockholm on the 30th of November 1946.

CF

See

701.5864/4-445
4-1-45
701,5464/4-345
864,00/10-345

Dear Mrs Roosevelt,

Knowing your warmheartednes and kindness to all those who suffer I have gathered courage to write to you. I am the Mother of the Swedish Secretary of Legation Raoul Wallenberg of whom you may have heard. In the summer of 1944 when the jews of Hungary, the last rest of this unhappy people in Europe, were threatened with total annihilation by the Nazis. I know that your late husband the President of the U.S.A, whom we all respect and admire, followed their fate with the greatest sympathy and that he over the radio tried to influence the Hungarians to help the Jews in their danger. However this was not enough for the President who in the middle of the terrible burden of his work had time to initiate a more effctive action than a radio speech for the rescue of what could still be sawed of the Hungarian jews, However in enemy country the United States had no power to intervene and the whole action had to be disguised under the colors of a neutral nation, It was at this occassion that the Executive Office of the President, War Refugee Board, through its European representative Mr Iver Olsen, now at the Treasury Department, Washington and the American Minister in Stockholm, Mr Herschel Johnson, now a representative of the United States in the Security Counsel of the United Nations, took contact with Swedish Authorities and private persons and through their mediation with my son who had independently and on his own initiative, planned to go to Hungary in an attempt to rescue friends and relatives of his friends, as many people as he could, then threatened by deportation and certain death in the gaschambers. My son was entrusted with the difficult and dangerous task of leading and organizing the planned action, and I think that they could never have made a better choice. For six months he fought for the lives of his protegees, officially as a secretary of the Swedish legation at Budapest. I know that as a mother I am no unchallengeable witness but I know that his coworkers and the people he saved could all tell you about his remarkable courage and ability, which enabled him to risk his life day after day in this gamble with armed criminals with the lives of thousands of innocent people at stake and to win the game day after day. The fact that a great part of the hungarian jews have survived can be attributed essentially to one man, working as the representative of the swedish king and the american president, - my son, The Hungarian Government and people acknowledge this fact and as a token of their gratidude for Raoul Wallenberg a street in Budapest has been denominated after him and a monument is being erected.

However, and that is the tragedy of my last two years - my son did not come back with the rest of the Swedish legation in Budapest after the Russians had conquered the town. On January the 17th 1945 the Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs had announced that the advancing armies had taken Raoul Wallenberg in their protection. Since then nothing has been heard officially of his fate. The swedish legation of Moscow has on numerous occasions asked the russians authorities to investigate his fate but no result has ever been announced of these investigations. Privately we have been able to establish that Raoul Wallenberg is still alive. We have passed this private information to the Swedish Cabinet, and the Swedish Prime Minister has answering a question in The swedish

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Congress declared that the Cabinet will not look upon the matter as closed but will continue to try to find out the fate of Raoul Wallenberg believing that he is still alive. The Prime Minister brought on behalf of the swedish Government honor to Raoul Wallenberg and thanked him for his outstanding work under exceptionally difficult cirkumstances, for the sake of Common Humanity. I am enclosing a translation of the essential parts of the reply of the questioner to the speech of the Prime Minister as it may clarify the present situation, and as it shows that in Sweden the liberation of Raoul Wallenberg is not the wish of a certain political party, but of Government and Opposition in common.

Dr Rudolph Philipp referred to in the answer is the author of a book "Raoul Wallenberg", an outstanding work, the result of a unique search for the real truth of the disappearance of Raoul Wallenberg. This search has lead to a remarkable success and we are now in the possession of a rich documentary evidence that he is still alive, where he is etc. This evidence has been handed over to the Swedish Government for study.

Unfortunately the book is written in Swedish and has not yet been translated to English, but as you will certainly know someone who could make a summary of the book I am still sending you a copy.

I have written to you in lieu to secure your assistance in creating a public opinion in favor of Raoul Wallenberg and of his liberation, an opinion which in due time may support an action by our Government and it is my firm belief that the facts stated in this letter may be of great help if they are brought to public notice in the United States i.e. by publisching them in your press and broadcasting.

Another suitable procedure to this effect would be to gather interested and responsible people in a comitte whose aim it should bee to work for the liberation of Raoul Wallenberg. I believe that if this comittee could assocciate with itself wellknown and distinguished Americans this would make a very deep impression both here in Sweden in other countries and in the Soviet Union. This would also very strongly support the swedish Government in its task to liberate my son. If you would accept to head the Comittee I would feel very grateful and honored.

A third means would be to publish an American edition of the book "Raoul Wallenberg". Its first part concerning the conditions in Hungary and the marvellous work of Raoul Wallenberg is more thrilling than any fiction, and should prove of considerable interest to the American public. The latter part describing the search for Raoul Wallenberg contains chapters of specifically swedish interest which of course would have to be altered in an English edition.

Knowing your interest in every righteous cause and your great influence in the United States I hope that I may count upon your assistance in this good subject and I would be very happy to receive your suggestions to any procedure which might help to bring about the release of my son

Thanking you in advance for your kindest help I am

very truly yours

Maj m. Dardel

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very truly yours

Maj Ma Dardel

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Com nts to the case of Raoul Wallenberg.

Last Wednesday in the absence of the Swedish Foreign Minister the Prime Minister Erlander answered the question put forward by Mr Håstad regarding the fate of Raoul Wallenberg. The answer was a detailed account which has already been published in the daily papers. The comments of Mr Håstad after the answer of the Prime Minister was in its manly, positive and warmhearted form of a strong affect.

In his answer Håstad wanted to hold to the statement of the Prime Minister that the Government shall not look upon the case of Raoul Wallenberg as a completed chapter but on the contrary promises all efforts in the future to finally solve the problem of the fate of the swedish diplomat.

.....

Adding up what has been expressed in the answer of the Interpellation, what I have heard during these days from the relatives - the most legitimate part in this case - and the essential of what may be read in the book of Rudolph Philipp by an attentive person, one cannot avoid to establish the surprising degree of accordance of a lot of statements, which may be looked upon as the most verified, indicing or authorative.

The idealistic contributions of Dr Philipp.

By the way I would like to state if this should really be necessary that I have in this question had no collaboration with doctor Rudolph Philipp. But I do not consider myself hindered from declaring from this lecturing platform that doctor Philipp, whom I have known and learned to estimate in other connections since many y. has by his book deserved all recognition. He has from purely idealistic reasons used his unusual, though sometimes too abundant intelligence, his unique knowledge of Central-Europe, and his unflexible passion for humanity to clear up this mystery. Likely it is not by chance that a fugitive, who himself has been unrooted and suffered loss of freedom has taken up this case of Raoul Wallenberg. Doctor Philipps intentions are more than meritating. Even though his estimations of the work of the Swedish Foreign office's different departments must for his own account, the value of the practical suggestions which the book contains can hardly be diminished by the report now given by the Cabinet.

.....

Why no news from Moscow?

Regarding the negatiations with other countries I would like to point out the astonishing fact that the authorities of the Soviet Union cannot be persuaded to give any information, either in one way or the other, all during the time which has elapsed since Dekanosof and Mme Kollontay nearly two years ago gave their assurances. This delay contrasts against the zeal for the swiftest possible settlement, whith which the highest authorities of Moscow demanded - and won - the intervention of the Swedish Cabinet regarding a Russian subject held in custody here during the war. Should Raoul Wallenberg be suspected by the Russians for something which could have caused hisiinternment it should not to-day cause the Government any insurmountable obstacles to release him from these suspicions or straighten out the question,

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after all that has been testified regarding his humanitary work in Budapest.

.....

The subject should be clarified

I herewith express my sincerest expectation that the atmosfere of animated and friendly intercourse between Sweden and the Soviet Union, which is the object of the newly signed Swedish-Russian Trade-treaty, especially regarding the great favors that this treaty gives to Soviet Russia, should make it possible for the Swedish Government to settle definitely this subject, which has been the cause of my interpellation, and the liquidation of which is locked upon by many eyes in other countries.

The urgent cause of repatriating Raoul Wallenberg to Sweden, should not be subjects to individual party interests, only the human interests, that unites all, the worried relatives and those, whose lives are subject to gratidude for his outstanding courage.

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Förslag till Raoul Wallenberg-monument av den berömde underske bildhuggaren Paul Pàtzay.

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Den försvunne och ännu ej återfunne svenske Budapestdiplomaten Raoul Wallenberg.

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Sthlm
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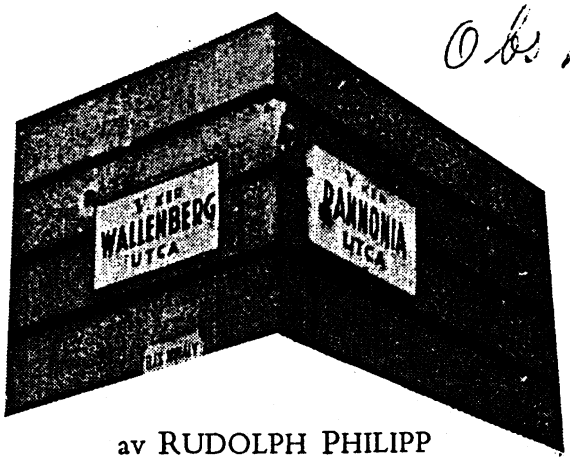
AVD. FÖR PRESSURKLIPP
SV. ARGUS
INT. BYRÅ FÖR TIDNINGSURKLIPP
STOCKHOLM 1
Telefon »Svenska Telegrambyrån»
Obs
Hi 3/3 1946

RAOULS ÖDE

Obs. No 13



av RUDOLPH PHILIPP

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Stockholm on the 30th of Nov. 1946

Maj von Dardel
Sveavagen 88

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

Knowing your warmheartedness and kindness to all those who suffer, I have gathered courage to write to you. I am the Mother of the Swedish Secretary of Legation Raoul Wallenberg of whom you may have heard. In the summer of 1944 when the jews of Hungary, the last rest of this unhappy people in Europe, were threatened with total annihilation by the Nazis. I know that your late husband the President of the U.S.A. whom we all respect and admire, followed their fate with the greatest sympathy and that he over the radio tried to influende the Hungarians to help the Jews in their danger. However this was not enough for the President who in the middle of the terrible burden of his work had time to initiate a more effective action than a radio speech for the rescue of what could still be saved of the Hungarian Jews. However, in enemy country the United States had no power to intervene and the whole action had to be disguised under the colors of a neutral nation. It was at this occasion that the Executive Office of the President, War Refugee Board, through its European representative, Mr. Iver Olsen, now at the Treasury Department, Washington and the American Minister in Stockholm, Mr. Herschel Johnson, now a representative of the U.S. i in the Security Counsel of the United Nations, took contact with Swedish Authorities and private persons and through their mediation with my son who had independently and on his own initiative, planned to go to Hungary in an attempt to rescue friends and relatives of his friends, as many people as he could, then threatened by deportatio and certain death in the gaschambers. My son was entrusted with the difficult and dangerous task of leading and organizing the planned action, and I think that they could never have made a better choice. For six months he fought for the lives of his protegees, officially as a secretary of the Swedish legation at Budapest. I know that as a mother I am no unchallengeable witness but I know that his coworkers and the people he saved could all tell you about his remarkable courage and ability, which enabled him to risk his life day after day in this gamble with armed criminals with the lives of thousands of innocent people at stake and to win the game day after day. The fact that a great part of the Hungarian Jews have survived can be attributed essentially to one man, working as the representative of the Swedish king and the American president, - my son. The Hungarian Government and people acknowledge this fact and as a token of their gratitude for Raoul Wallenberg, a street in Budapest has been denominated after him and a monument is being erected.

However, and that is the tragedy of my last two years,

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- my son did not come back with the rest of the Swedish legation in Budapest after the Russians had conquered the town. On January the 17th, 1945, the Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs had announced that the advancing armies had taken Raoul Wallenberg in their protection. Since then nothing has been heard officially of his fate.

I have written to you to secure your assistance in creating a public opinion in favor of Raoul Wallenberg and of his liberation, an opinion which in due time may support an action by our government and it is my firm belief that the facts stated in this letter may be of great help if they are brought to public notice in the United States i.e. by publishing them in your press and broadcasting.

Knowing your interest in every righteous cause and your great influence in the United States, I hope that I may count upon your assistance in this good subject and I would be very happy to receive your suggestions to any procedure which might help to bring about the release of my son.

Thanking you in advance for your kindest help, I am,

Very truly yours,

Maj von Dardel

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ELEANOR ROOSEVELT PAPERS, GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE, 1945-1948,
VON DARDEL, GUY

Von Dardel
To OT

Guy von Dardel
Physics Department
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York

May 8, 1947

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
Human Rights Committee
United Nations
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

My mother, Mrs. Maj von Dardel, has now received a letter from the Consulate General of the Soviet Union to whom you had so kindly referred her letter of November 30, 1946. The Consulate General advised us to address ourselves to the Russian Red Cross, Moscow, for further information, which we had, however, already done through the mediation of the Swedish Red Cross without obtaining any answer until now.

As I am in the United States now for studies at Cornell University and am, at the same time, trying to initiate some American action in favor of the release of my brother, Raoul Wallenberg, I hope that I may count upon your further interest and help in this matter. I am very confident that something may be done from this country as I have been assured by many United States authorities and influential persons, among others by members of the former War Refugee Board, Mr. Lesser and Mr. Olsen, by officials of the State Department and by Senator Vandenberg and by the assistant to the President, Mr. Niles, that the United States is very much concerned about my brother's fate as his entire work was initiated and financed by the War Refugee Board as my mother wrote you in her letter of November 30.

I am enclosing a copy of the article of Miss Dorothy Thompson in the BOSTON DAILY GLOBE, April 18.

Though her personal opinion of Mr. Wallace must stand for her own account, the article may show you the very great interest in my brother, Raoul Wallenberg's, fate which is developing in the United States.

I am addressing this letter to you and appeal to you as a member of the Human Rights committee to help to get my brother the human rights which he has undoubtedly deserved more than perhaps anybody else.

Very sincerely yours,

Guy von Dardel

Guy von Dardel

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT PAPERS, GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE, 1945-1948
WALLENBERG, RAOUL

Wallenberg

May 26, 1947

Dear Miss Thompson:

I have your letter of May 20th in reference to Raoul Wallenberg. I fear I have no "position" as regards the Soviet Union.

In addition, I have already written about Mr. Wallenberg.

With many regrets that I can not be helpful, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT PAPERS, GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE, 1945-1948
WALLENBERG, RAOUL

DOROTHY THOMPSON
237 EAST FORTY-EIGHTH STREET
NEW YORK CITY

May 20, 1947

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
29 Washington Square West
New York 11, N. Y.

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

May I crave your indulgence for what I am afraid will have to be a rather long letter about a case which cannot fail to interest you, since the President, Mr. Roosevelt, was directly involved. And may I say now, at the outset, that it is my hope that your position and your long friendship for the Soviet Union, may make it possible for you, alone, to perform an act of signal justice? The case for which I am pleading is that of Raoul Wallenberg.

During the war President Roosevelt set up the War Refugee Board, under Mr. J. W. Pehle (as I recall it) for the purpose of rescuing persons, especially Jews, whose lives were endangered by advancing German armies. In this connection he addressed a special appeal to the people of Hungary, in which country many German Jews had sought and been granted haven. To implement this rescue plan, Mr. Ivor Olsen, presently with the Treasury Department, was sent abroad to try to find some person or persons who could operate rescue work under the protection of a neutral embassy in Budapest. A Swedish business man, Raoul Wallenberg, volunteered, and with the support of the Swedish government went to Budapest as an attache of the Swedish legation there. He did a fantastic job of rescue work. He got fake citizenship papers for threatened Jews, winning for this the collaboration of all the neutral legations, snatching some persons out from the hands of the Gestapo right in the railroad stations from whence they were being deported to death camps. When the Nazi collapse in Hungary came, citizens named a street for him and started erecting a monument to him. He welcomed the Soviet armies. Since that time he has absolutely disappeared.

The Swedish Legation in Moscow, upon enquiry, received word from the Soviet Government in January 1945 that Wallenberg had been taken under the "protection" of the Red Armies. That is the only official information ever received. Repeated enquiries from the legation were never answered; enquiries by his family addressed to Mme. Kollontai, who had many friends in Sweden, were answered by a noncommital note that she was not in a position to do anything.

Raoul Wallenberg has a half-brother who arrived in the United States in January of this year and is a physics student in Cornell University. His name is Guy von Dardel. Mr. von

DOROTHY THOMPSON
237 EAST FORTY-EIGHTH STREET
NEW YORK CITY

Dardel has approached our State Department which has, according to his story to me, offered active intervention if the Swedish Government actively requests it. But the Swedish government is obviously not anxious to exacerbate international relations by asking the intervention of another country in its behalf, even though Wallenberg was, in fact, representing the President of the United States.

Wallenberg was not anti-Soviet; he was exclusively anti-Nazi. All the circumstances lead me to think that the affair may have been pure error, understandable in the chaos of the time. Unfortunately the Soviet Government, even perhaps more than other governments, dislikes to admit error, and it may be this and this alone that is responsible for Wallenberg's continued disappearance. Unofficially, the family has received word from three separate sources, all of them for a time Russian prisoners, that Wallenberg is alive and in a Russian penal camp. The witnesses are not, however, completely trustworthy. But when taken under the "protection" of the Soviet armies, which is officially acknowledged by the Soviets, he was a man of 43 years, in perfect health. It is not likely therefore that he has died, or if he has, that his was a natural death.

If my hazarded guess is correct that his kidnapping was an error, then little can be served by too much publicity. It is conceivable that he might be killed, to remove a corpus delicti and possible witness against Soviet penal camps. It is my purpose to contribute to save the life of Wallenberg and the honor of the United States, not to put the Soviet Union on a spot. His family appealed to me because they know my very strong feelings, often expressed, on the subject of slave labor, and I am compelled by my conscience to take that appeal seriously.

But thinking of a possible way out, I am convinced that only someone like you, whose sympathies with the Soviet Union are a matter of record, could, conceivably, save Raoul Wallenberg's life, and set at rest the terrible anxieties of his family. I am writing therefore to ask you whether you will write a personal letter to Stalin, setting forth this case and asking for his personal intervention. I do not ask you to take my word for it, Mr. Olsen knows the details of Mr. Wallenberg's services.

The State Department must also have the facts. And Mr. Wallenberg's brother, whose address is: Guy von Dardel, Physics Department, Cornell University, is my informant and is available for questioning.

DOROTHY THOMPSON
237 EAST FORTY-EIGHTH STREET
NEW YORK CITY

I shall give no more publicity to this matter until I hear of your decision. If the whole affair proves to be an error, and you are able to straighten it out, I shall keep silent thereafter, for my purpose, I repeat, is to help save Raoul Wallenberg. Further, I shall use what influence I have to keep the story suppressed, provided that persons like yourself will take up his case through your own channels.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Thompson.

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RAOUL WALLENBERG

As Rudolph Philipp

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To Mrs. Roosevelt
from Raoul's mother
Mrs Wallenberg.

RUDOLPH PHILIPP

RAOUL WALLENBERG

DIPLOMAT, KÄMPE, SAMARIT

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RUDOLPH PHILIPP

RAOUL WALLENBERG

DIPLOMAT, KÄMPE, SAMARIT

FREDBORGS FÖRLAG - STOCKHOLM

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STOCKHOLM 1946
SVENSKA TRYCKERIAKTIEBOLAGET
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Det var i mitten av juni 1944. Kontorsfolket i Stockholm använde lunchrasten till att lapa sol på konserthusets, teatrarnas och de offentliga byggnadernas trappor. De som hade tid skyndade med tåg eller bil till Saltsjöbaden, där de kunde njuta av riktiga havsbad och andas frisk, saltmättad och syrerik luft. De som hade tillräckligt med pengar, men för sitt arbetes skull måste bo i närheten av huvudstaden, hyrde sig ett rum därute och reste in till det heta, gengasförgiftade Stockholm bara när de var oundvikligen tvingade. Och under den korta nordiska sommaren blev Saltsjöbaden ett slags filial till Stockholms lyxhotell med alla de internationella gäster, som världskriget drivit in i detta nervcentrum för tidningarnas nyhetstjänst och de krigförandes spionage.

Mitt i denna värld, där man till omväxling med jakten på nyheter från krigsskådeplatserna roade sig med golf, tennis och flirt, levde en mager, flintskallig gubbe, stammande på vilket språk han än förde sina sparsamma samtal. Han såg ut som en sextioåring, fast han enligt gästboken knappt var femtio år gammal. »Herr de Wahl» kallades han av hotellpersonalen, och som förnamn hade han i resandeboken skrivit Henrik. Tyska talade han nästan utan främmande accent,

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