

Contents

Acknowledgements	5
Introduction: Refugees, Politics and Humanitarianism	7
The Aim of This Study	12
Previous Research	17
Disposition	21
I. The League of Nations and Intergovernmental Refugee Assistance	23
The League and the Refugee Problems of the 1920s	23
The League and the Refugee Problems of the 1930s	28
Political Developments in Germany and Their Effect on the Refugee Issue	28
League Efforts to Deal With the German Refugee Problem	32
Summary	37
II. The Creation and Activities of IGCR 1938-1943	39
The American IGCR Initiative: The "Official Version"	40
The Need to Approach the German Government	44
The Need to Create a Permanent Organization Outside the League of Nations	58
The Need to Extend the Scope of Refugee Relief	68
President Roosevelt and the Refugee Problem	71
The "M" Project	75
The Spanish Refugees and IGCR	83
Summary	95
III. The American IGCR Initiative: A Different View	99
Expected Opposition to the IGCR Initiative	100
The Restrictionists in Congress	102
The Isolationists in Congress	104

Public Opinion	105
Political Motives for the IGCR Initiative	108
Foreign Policy Motives	108
Domestic Policy Motives	111
Deflecting Pressure	111
Jewish Influence	117
Summary	124
IV. A New Emphasis on the Refugee Question	126
Incentives for Summoning the Bermuda Conference	127
Public Pressure	127
Extending the Scope of the Refugee Problem to Refugees	
Other than Jews	130
The Anglo-American Discussions at Bermuda	135
The Reorganization of IGCR	141
IGCR and WRB	150
IGCR and UNRRA	153
IGCR's Wartime Activities	155
The Credit Scheme	155
Raoul Wallenberg	162
Summary	165
V. The Problem of Non-Repatriable DPs	168
Polish Non-Repatriable DPs	175
Baltic Non-Repatriable DPs	177
Charges of Collaborationism	178
The East European View of the Problem of Non-Repatriable DPs	183
Anti-Repatriation Activities in the Camps	184
The Use of DPs as Cheap Labour in the West	193
Jewish "Infiltrates"	198
Summary	206
VI. IGCR and the Creation of IRO	208
Summary	226
Conclusions	227
Bibliography	238