

Intergovernmental Committee
on Political Refugees
Corres. : 1947 - 1954

1951

75,000 JEWS LEFT RED LANDS IN 1950

NY TIMES 2/4/51

Additional Thousands Got Out
Illegally, Agency Reports —
4-Year Total Is 250,000

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PARIS, Feb. 3—Almost 75,000 Jews emigrated from Communist-dominated countries in Eastern Europe with government permission during 1950, and several thousand more are known to have fled without government consent, the Paris office of the American Jewish Committee announced today.

There has been a continued Jewish exodus from Communist lands since the end of World War II whenever emigration was possible, according to the committee, which estimated that 250,000 Jews had left Soviet satellite states since 1946.

On the other hand, the committee added, post-war Jewish population has remained at about the same level as in 1946 in Western European lands.

An analysis of Jewish population movements in the post-war period showed that 86,000 of the 112,000 Jews in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia at the end of the war succeeded in quitting these lands before 1950. In the last year, however, Jewish emigration from Eastern Europe almost exclusively came from Rumania and Poland, the only two Communist-dominated countries that now permit the exit of Jews on a large scale.

50,000 Left in Poland

In 1950, almost 25,000 Jews quit Poland, leaving only 50,000 Jews in that country, compared with an estimated 105,000 in 1946. In the last quarter of 1950, emigration still was going on at the rate of about 2,000 persons a month. More than 47,000 Jews sailed to Israel from Rumanian Black Sea ports in 1950, and emigration continues at the rate of about 3,000 persons monthly.

The Jewish exodus from Poland and Rumania is taking place despite intensive government propa-

ganda and pressure to have the Jews remain. Since Jews can leave these lands only to go to Israel, there are violent anti-Zionist attacks in the Communist press.

In Rumania, Zionist leaders have been arrested. The Jewish population in Rumania is estimated at 300,000 to 320,000. Since 1946, at least 80,000 Jews are known to have fled Rumania, but the actual figure of emigrants undoubtedly is greater.

Rumanian Exodus

"There is no doubt that, if they are permitted to do so, the majority of Jews in Rumania will depart that country as they have left all other Communist-dominated lands they could," Zachariah Shuster, director of the A. J. C.'s European Office, declared.

The same situation would obtain in Hungary, according to Mr. Shuster, where an estimated 150,000 Jews remain. Hungary is the only Eastern European country that, in the last few years, has not opened its gates to large-scale Jewish emigration. The Hungarian Government approved only one small emigration plan involving 3,000 persons during 1950, and about 1,000 of this group have yet to leave.

Until the beginning of 1951, all Jewish movement out of Eastern European countries to Israel with government permission was financed by the Joint Distribution Committee. In the future, such movement will be the responsibility of the Jewish Agency.

"There are several reasons why Jews are quitting Communist countries at their earliest opportunity," Mr. Shuster declared. "Among the most important of these is the fact that it is becoming impossible for Jews to maintain their cultural, religious and educational traditions in these lands because of Communist control."

Refugee Head Calls U.N. Fund Far Too Small

NY HER TRIB 3/11/51
Commissioner In From Tour
of Europe Says \$300,000
a Year Just Isn't Enough

By Mac R. Johnson

LAKE SUCCESS, March 10.—

~~Dr. G. J. van Heuven Goedhart~~
fifty, former Dutch editor, war-time anti-Nazi underground fighter and ex-diplomat, came back to United Nations Headquarters this week after two months in Europe, where he dug into his new job as U. N. High Commissioner for Refugees.

In response to reporters' questions at a news conference, he said matter-of-factly that the job just couldn't be done properly on the \$300,000-a-year administrative budget provided by the U. N.

In creating the post in December, the U. N. General Assembly took for granted that the refugee problem was ending as far as relief and resettlement programs were concerned. It fixed Oct. 31 as the date for expiration of the International Refugee Organization, which, by the end of its existence, expects to have resettled 1,200,000 refugees and to have cared for many millions of others on a four-year over-all budget exceeding \$350,000,000.

Solves Legal Snarls

The Assembly, on this basis, set up the High Commissioner's Office to take care of legal angles—such as aid to refugees in certain categories by promoting the conclusion and ratification of international conventions, promoting agreements with governments to improve the position of refugees, accelerating naturalization, assisting in voluntary repatriation of refugees, and co-operating with other groups concerned with the welfare of refugees.

"I can see a refugee in a strange land, without food, without clothes, without money. He would come to me with his problem," Dr. van Heuven Goedhart said. "I would tell him not to worry. I've got legal protection

for you, I'd tell him. And I know what this hungry, miserable man would say. He'd tell me to go to hell!"

Such on-the-spot help for refugees can only be done through fifteen or twenty field offices, such as conducted by the International Refugee Organization, and there is no money for such operation by the High Commissioner, he pointed out.

Cites Case of Girl, Twelve

And he gave another example, an actual case, of a couple living in the capital city of a small European country who had adopted a twelve-year-old Russian refugee girl. The woman and the girl got separated on a crowded bus and the girl, who spoke only Russian, was taken by a stranger, of whom she asked a question, to the Russian Embassy. The stranger was trying to be helpful.

There the girl, against her will, still remains. I. R. O., now in its dying months, has a field office that does its best to help. But the High Commissioner has no funds to attempt assistance in such a case.

Dr. van Heuven Goedhart said that he would go to Washington to contact the State Department and would take up, among other questions, the possibility of naming an American as his deputy.

He said that after I. R. O. goes out of existence, there still will be a problem of "residual refugees." Among these will be upwards of 20,000 so-called "hard core" refugees—the unwanted aged, sick, blind and invalids.

"They are human beings, and they should be taken care of," he said, "but no government wants them. I. R. O. can help them to Oct. 31. After that, I don't know what will happen to them."

The Knotty Problem of Refugees

NY HER TRIB
By Mac R. Johnson

LAKE SUCCESS.

THE refugee problem is far from solved, and the new United Nations High Commissioner's Office for Refugees hasn't got the money or the mandate to do the job properly.

That is the blunt analysis of the High Commissioner himself—Dr. G. J. van Heuven-Goedhart, fifty, war-time anti-Nazi underground fighter, editor of the Dutch newspaper "Het Parool," and former Netherlands U. N. delegate.

Last December Dr. von Heuven-Goedhart won the job—and the heartaches and headaches that go with it—by six votes from J. Donald Kingsley, an American then heading the International Refugee Organization.

The United States backed Mr. Kingsley, on the grounds of heavy American contributions to I. R. O. and the number of displaced persons the United States had taken and would take. But Europeans wanted a European to head the new job—as they said the job mainly concerned European refugees.

Oct. 31, 1951, was set as the date for expiration of I. R. O., which, by that time, will have resettled 1,200,000 refugees and cared for many of millions of others on a four-year over-all budget exceeding \$355,000,000.

So the General Assembly decided to write off the relief and resettlement problems. Dr. von Heuven-Goedhart was instructed to set up his office in Geneva Jan.

1 to take care of legal matters for refugees, while I. R. O. wound up its operations.

He was given a \$300,000 administrative budget—no I. R. O.-type operations were visualized—and told to deal with governments and private organizations. He was to aid refugees in certain categories by promoting the conclusion and ratification of international conventions concerning a variety of things, including citizenship, rights, privileges, identification and so on.

And he was instructed to promote agreements with governments to improve the position of refugees, accelerate naturalizations, assist in voluntary repatriations and co-operate with other groups concerned with the welfare of refugees.

BUT really to help refugees, there should be field offices, like those the I. R. O. had, the High Commissioner said.

"I can see a refugee in a strange land, without food, without clothes, without money," he said. "He would come to me with his problems. I'd tell him not to worry. I've got legal protection for you," I'd say.

"And I know what this hungry, miserable man would answer," Dr. von Heuven-Goedhart said. "He'd tell me to go to hell."

The High Commissioner would like twenty field offices. He may get six, he said, by squeezing his administrative expenses to a minimum to finance them.

And take the case of the "residual refugees," the 25,000-odd that make up the so-called "hard

core." These will be left over when I. R. O. goes out of business. They are the unwanted—the old, the sick, the blind, the invalids. Most countries want husky young workers from the D. P. ranks—not burdensome institutional cases.

"They are human beings, they should be taken care of," Dr. von Heuven-Goedhart said. "But no government wants them, except for small groups partially subsidized by I. R. O. After I. R. O.? Well, I don't know what will happen to them."

NEW categories which I. R. O. didn't have to deal with come under the High Commissioner's office. Take the 350,000 Volksdeutsche living in Austria, settled there by Hitler before and after the anschluss.

There is no peace treaty with Austria and no machinery for helping the Volksdeutsche. "They live precariously on one-month permits," Dr. von Heuven-Goedhart said. "No employer wants to hire them, because no one knows how long they'll be there."

The High Commissioner didn't say what he plans to do about helping the refugees. But his point seemed obvious: That some time between the beginning of next fall's sixth session of the General Assembly, and I. R. O.'s expiration on Oct. 31, the U. N. must dig up more money to help the refugee who can't help himself.

3/11/51

copy
12/2/51

FORD FOUNDATION TO HELP REFUGEES

NY TIMES 5/7/51

\$500,000 Grant to Speed the
Resettlement of Professional
Persons in the U. S.

AID FOR 2,000 FAMILIES

26,000 'Forgotten Elite' Said
to Be in European Camps—
D. P. Law Expires Soon

The Ford Foundation has granted \$500,000 to speed resettlement in the United States of refugee scientists, professionals and artists before expiration of the Displaced Persons Act later this year.

Announcement of the Ford contribution toward the campaign to bring 2,000 displaced intellectuals and their families to this country was made yesterday by Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, dean of the Union Theological Seminary and chairman of the Resettlement Campaign for Exiled Professionals.

"In making this grant, the Ford Foundation has widened immeasurably the horizons of hope for several thousand European scientists, artists and scholars and their families," Dr. Niebuhr said.

Since October, 1950, the International Rescue Committee, executive arm of the campaign, has brought 300 families of refugee specialists here with the aid of the United States Displaced Persons Commission and the International Refugee Organization of the United Nations.

Statement by Kingsley

Doctor Niebuhr cited a statement by J. Donald Kingsley, director general of the refugee agency, that 26,000 other refugees remained in camps in Europe, a "forgotten elite—the ablest, best-trained men and women in Europe—qualified practitioners of the arts, sciences and professions."

Any of these who are to be brought here, he said, must be selected and cleared by the commission and receive visas before June 30 and must arrive in this country by November under the present law.

Many of the refugees, it was declared, have talents that could relieve current manpower deficiencies and contribute to the nation's culture, technology and economic growth.

The majority of the men and women concerned were refugees from the spread of communism throughout eastern Europe, the report said. Among them are specialists in the precise sciences offering assistance to the national defense work.

Endorsed by Military

In recognition of this, the report continued, the various branches of the military have endorsed the campaign. Several early arrivals were listed as instructors in Army language schools, writers, advisers and translators for the Voice of America and the National Committee for Free Europe, privately financed anti-Communist propaganda group.

The 2,000 professionals will be chosen by the field agents of the rescue committee, screened by the commission and other Government agencies and brought to this country by the refugee agency. Cost of inland transport, clothing, counseling and professional placement is estimated at \$800 a family.

Vice chairmen of the campaign are the Rev. Lawrence J. McGinley, president of Fordham University, and Dean Millicent Macintosh of Barnard College. Scientists, educators, writers and artists are members of its national committee.

United Nations
NY TIMES 4/20/51
Rockefeller Unit Aids Refugees
Special to The New York Times.
GENEVA, April 19—The Rockefeller Foundation has given \$100,000 to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Dr. G. J. Van Heuven Goedhart. He said today that the grant would be used "to carry out a survey of the refugee problem."

U. N. REFUGEE AGENCY SEES GOAL 'IN SIGHT'

NY TIMES 6/27/51

Special to The New York Times.
UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., June 24—The successful wind-up of the United Nations' refugee program was forecast today by the International Refugee Organization in a report summing up the agency's activities in 1950.

The agency reported that assistance had been given to 1,525,643 men, women and children left homeless as a result of World War II. For the first time, the global agency has been able to predict that its goal of solving the refugee problem, is "within sight," officials stated.

Unless major political disturbances upset present programs, the agency said, the success of the organization's efforts is "now assured."

The report, which will be reviewed next month in Geneva by the Economic and Social Council, credited the United States with the largest, and in some respects, the "most liberal" refugee assistance program. By the end of last year, it was estimated, 258,006 refugees had been admitted to this country.

Australia took a total of 170,543 persons, while Canada welcomed 94,115 and agreed to step up its resettlement projects during the next few months.

Honored by Relief Agency For Aid to Jews Overseas

NY TIMES 9/27/51



Paul Baerwald

The Joint Distribution Committee, American agency for the relief of distressed Jews overseas, honored Paul Baerwald yesterday at a luncheon meeting at the Essex House. Officers and board members of the agency paid tribute to Mr. Baerwald, who has been closely associated with the committee since 1917, for his "devoted and inspired service" to needy Jews throughout the world.

Honorary chairman of the committee, Mr. Baerwald will celebrate his eightieth birthday today with his family at his home, 9 East Eighty-ninth Street. A banker by profession, he retired in 1930 to devote his time to aid distressed Jews and served in ranking posts with the committee. Born in Frankfort-am-Main, Germany, he settled in New York at the age of 25.

11 Nations Sign Code of Rights

For Refugees
NY HERALD TRIBUNE 7/29/51
1,500,000 to Benefit From
Plan Drawn Up at Geneva
After 6 Countries Ratify

GENEVA, Switzerland, July 28 (AP)—Eleven nations signed here today an international treaty laying down a new code of rights for refugees and stateless persons.

The treaty was drafted here during the last month by a twenty-six-nation conference. It will become operative after ratification by at least six of the countries.

Dr. G. J. Van Heuven Goedhart, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, told a news conference that the treaty gave certain basic civil rights to 1,500,000 persons who became refugees before Jan. 1, 1951.

Countries which signed the treaty today were Austria, Belgium, Colombia, Denmark, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Great Britain and Yugoslavia. Israel is expected to sign next week. None of the Soviet bloc states took part in the conference.

The American delegation told the conference the United States cannot ratify it because it is concerned largely with matters under the jurisdiction of individual states.

The treaty applies to persons who fled from their countries "owing to well-founded fears of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion."

It laid down that the contracting states would not discriminate against refugees for reason of their race, religion or country of origin and that refugees would generally have the same legal status as any other foreigners in a particular country. The treaty specifically granted refugees the same status as other foreigners with regard to housing, freedom of movement, residence and naturalization.

Fate of Refugees From Communism

NY HER TRIB

11/2/51

Why a Plan to Handle Those Fleeing the Red Terror Should Be Worked Out

By Sonia Tomara

FRANKFURT.—In the cold war which holds Europe in a tight grip, the United States is spending billions of dollars on building up armed defense and many millions of dollars on spreading through the East propaganda about the good life in the free world. But little thought and very little money have been granted to follow up this propaganda with deeds. The Voice of America and the Voice of Free Europe, paid for by the American government and by private donations, call daily on the people living beyond the Iron Curtain to resist the Communist regime or to desert from its armed forces. When Russians or Czechs or Poles heed our calls and are obliged to flee their homeland as a result, we offer them nothing but life in a kind of concentration camp and the natural hostility of the German authorities, already overburdened by their own refugees.

This is a problem which should be taken up on a governmental level, and not treated haphazardly as it has been until now. No private agencies can either help economically the refugees from Communism, or screen them to see whether they are genuine enemies of the Soviets or agents planted deliberately by them. A comprehensive plan should be carefully thought out by the Departments of State and of Defense to foment desertion from the Communist camp and to take care of the refugees. Without it, the radio broadcasts, the launching of balloons over Czechoslovakia and other propaganda programs are a sheer waste of money. They actually facilitate espionage by the Soviets. A great many of their spies are recruited among their own refugees, who flee from Communism only to find themselves utterly destitute and without hope of getting decent employment.

In any country under a Communist regime, with its terrorism and denunciation, the word of mouth is a far more effective weapon than foreign broadcasts. News does travel along the grapevine. The pitiful conditions of most refugees who have fled over the border, with all the perils such a flight has presented, and then have been placed in the camps of Fureth am Wald, near the Czech border, or Valka, near Nuernberg, or Ludwigswig, in Wuerttemberg, or Giessen, in Hesse, become quickly known in the homeland. I have myself heard Russian broadcasts from Leipzig telling gleefully of what has happened to refugees to the so-called "free world" and luring them back. Statistics on the desertion of Russian soldiers from the Red Army stationed in East Germany are a good proof in point of fact: about thirty Russian soldiers and civilians were said to flee monthly to the West in the years 1948 and 1949.

I HAVE talked to several refugees from the Soviet Union living in Bavarian camps. Most of them wanted to go overseas to the United States or Canada. But they had no money to pay for their passage and they were not eligible for entry into the States on the D. P. quota, since they had arrived in Western Germany too late. Besides, the International Refugee Organization is closing shop at the end of the year, and then there will be no funds whatever to pay overseas passages of emigrants. If the American government had organized a large-scale recruitment of an anti-Communist international legion of refugees from the Communist countries, there is no doubt that such a legion would have gathered many volunteers among those who have an actual knowledge of the Communist regime of slavery and deportation.

There has actually been some re-

cruiting of D. P. into the American Army, but the total number of such recruits has been kept down to 2,500—a ridiculously low figure—and I believe that after at least six months of screening only fifty young men have been taken over for training in the United States. I happen to know that the actual recruiting has been done, at least in some camps, by interpreters more interested in keeping men out than in drawing them to fight for freedom.

While visiting the camps of recent refugees, now left in the charge of German states, one comes across the most varied types of people from the great Russian Empire, and one gathers interesting data on life in the Soviet Union. Last August, during a visit to a vocational training school at Ingolstadt, in Bavaria (this school was started by I. R. O. and has now been transferred to the Bavarian state), I met a most engaging Russian youth of twenty-one, called Yuri Vasilieff. He had a story to tell. Born and brought up on the Volga, the son of a workman at an airplane warehouse, he had gone through the usual eight-year school for poor children. At the age of sixteen, his parents having been divorced, he had practically no home and went to seek work at Rostov on the Don, in south Russia.

"YOU cannot live on what you earn by honest work in Russia," the youth said, and his voice sounded so sincere and his eyes were so clear and straight that one could not doubt the veracity of his words. "As a small mechanic you make some 300 rubles a month and can hope for a maximum of 400 perhaps. You go hungry on such a salary, and to feed better you try to work privately after hours or you actually steal from the state. Everybody steals one way or another in order to keep alive and then one day you are caught and sent to a labor camp, and that is the end. . . . Such is life there."

In search of a job, Vasilieff went all the way to Erivan, the capital of Armenia, which is not far from the Turkish and Persian borders. He did get a job there, but was not to receive any pay check until he had worked a whole month. After fifteen days, his own resources came to an end and he was faced with starvation. The plan to flee, he says, was born in his head all of a sudden, in September, 1949, out of sheer desperation and realization that one could not eke out an honest living in the Soviet Union.

He set out on a Sunday morning, walking toward the Turkish frontier only sixteen miles away. At first there were many people on the road, then as no man's land lay nearer, the countryside became deserted. The boy hid in the bushes till it was dark. He had no map, of course, and could only guess his direction by looking at the mountain Ararat, which was Noah's first landmark after the flood. From 7 p. m. till 1 a. m. he crawled on his hands and knees and then ran into an unexpected barbed wire barrier. As he put his hand on the wire, a rocket went off some 150 feet away and the boy knew it was a signal. He hastily pulled the wire apart and being very skinny crawled through. Shouts in the distance prompted him to run to the river Ara which he knew to be the actual frontier, and to jump in the water. After swimming the river, he was in Turkey.

VASILIEFF was picked up by the Turks who treated him well and sent him to a Red Crescent camp in Ankara. There he lay sick for a long time and on recovering was offered a chance to go to work in France. A hope to emigrate overseas brought him to Germany, where he began to study radio transmis-

sion and English. When I saw him, he had lost his hope of going to the United States, because he had arrived in Germany too late to qualify for immigration under the D. P. act and was trying to be admitted to Canada. I don't know whether he has succeeded.

How many there are of such boys—and how many more there could be—on whom we spent millions to persuade to leave the Communist countries, whom we question thoroughly when they come over, and whom we later abandon to a bleak fate in Germany with its 1,300,000 unemployed. If nothing is done for their emigration or recruitment, after a thorough screening, they will inevitably drift either into a life of crime in the West or go back to their native country and head for a slave labor camp.

When I. R. O. ceases to exist, at the end of this year, the European governments will have to face alone the formidable task of caring for the refugees from communism. This task is beyond their means, particularly in the cases of Greece, Trieste, Austria and Western Germany, where the influx is heaviest.

CRISIS ON REFUGEES IS REPORTED TO U.N.

NY TIMES 11/20/51
High Commissioner 'Demands' Immediate Action, Stressing Need for More Funds

By MICHAEL L. HOFFMAN
Special to The New York Times

PARIS, Nov. 19.—The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees warned the General Assembly in a report circulated here today that the world refugee problem "demands" immediate attention.

This deceptively short and mild document, submitted by Dr. J. Van Heuven Goedhart, the High Commissioner, tells briefly how and in what areas the refugee problem is a human, social and political threat to peace and stability. In the opinion of some experienced observers of the United Nations efforts to deal with or avoid dealing with refugee problems, the document is much too mild in view of the strong tendency of many big-minded delegations to believe that the refugee problem is solved because the International Refugee Organization is going out of existence early next year.

The I. R. O. Council itself at its October meeting, Mr. Goedhart points out, emphasized that, despite two successive prolongations of its operations and its resettlement of more than 1,000,000 persons, "there are a series of grave problems which must be faced in areas in which refugees are resident and from which I. R. O. has been unable to resettle them."

Far East Conditions Worst
The emergency, Mr. Goedhart states, is most serious in the Far East, "where the situation of 5,000 refugees in Shanghai and 150 in Samar (the Philippines) appears to be hopeless unless some Government is willing to accept full responsibility for the refugees."

Greece, Turkey, Spain, Portugal and the Near East each have several thousand refugees for whom neither local Governments nor international agencies are now in a position to care. Of 24,000 refugees in Italy now under I. R. O. mandate, the Italian Government, plagued with excessive population and now with extensive flood relief, too, can take responsibility

for only about 8,000. Seven thousand refugees in Trieste are wholly dependent on continued Allied occupation of that city for their support.

Worst of all are Germany and Austria where Mr. Goedhart reports neither international care nor present national legislation provides any real hope that non-German refugees can find a new basis for peaceful normal lives.

On top of all this is the flow of new refugees from behind the Iron Curtain, estimated by I. R. O. at 1,000 to 1,500 a month. "This exodus continues and will continue as long as its causes persist," J. Donald Kingsley, director general of I. R. O., says in a statement

quoted with approval by Mr. Goedhart. Mr. Goedhart tried to get Trygve Lie to write a covering letter for this report, stressing the urgency of the problem in transmitting it to the Assembly. He also asked Mr. Lie to support his request to the Assembly for permission to ask governments for contributions to the fund for immediate relief of urgent refugee cases. As matters stand, the High Commissioner, who has no funds for relief, cannot even "go begging" on behalf of refugees under his mandate without a new vote of the Assembly.

Mr. Lie first agreed to support Mr. Goedhart's request, but later advised the Commissioner that he could not do so. Mr. Goedhart has written Mr. Lie a sharp letter criticizing the secretary general's reversal on this matter. According to persons close to Mr. Goedhart, who is now in Geneva, he was prepared when he left Paris a few days ago to resign if the Assembly refused to give his office a budget that would enable it to have a few field offices for refugees and permission to seek funds from governments or elsewhere on a voluntary basis.

Mr. Goedhart is seeking restoration of the approximately \$500,000 cut from his budget by the Advisory Committee on Administrative Budgetary Questions. He is asking about \$750,000. The United States delegation, when questioned, said that so far it was prepared to turn down the commissioner's request for restoration of the cut.

Refugee Fleet Needs Funds
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 19.—George Warren, an adviser to the Secretary of State on refugee and displaced persons problems, said today prompt action on a proposal for an interim organization to supervise the migration of 115,000 refugees during 1952 was necessary to keep available for migration of surplus populations the twelve ships now operating in that service. He said that unless agreement was reached quickly all or part of the present fleet would be conditioned for other purposes.

The proposal, disclosed last week, will be made formally by a thirty-three-nation conference on the refugee problem to be held in Brussels on Nov. 28.

It calls generally for a \$34,000,000 pool to finance migration from Germany, Italy, Austria, the Netherlands and Greece. The principal recipient countries were listed by Mr. Warren as Canada, the United States, Venezuela, Brazil, Australia and New Zealand.

On a "cost reimbursable" basis, the interim organization would finance passage of the migrants to their new homelands and accept reimbursement from the recipient countries. It would recover the amount from immigrants on a long-term repayment plan after employment had been obtained.

The refugees expected to benefit would include about 55,000 from Germany, 25,000 from Italy, 15,000 from Austria, from 10,000 to 15,000 from the Netherlands and an undetermined number from Greece. These would be in addition to an estimated 300,000 refugees expected to migrate from Europe without using facilities of the proposed organization.

March 1 1951
11:15 am

Mr. Taylor,

The secretary of Dr. Goedhart telephoned:

"I am the secretary to Dr. Van Heuven Goedhart, High Commissioner for Refugees. The Dr. is expected to arrive in America tomorrow and he has instructed me by letter to learn how and where he can contact Mr. Myron Taylor. I am to have the information ready for his arrival."

Since the young lady called on your private telephone, I said she could use the number she just called and that your address is 71 B'way, NY 6.

She inquired if this address was the only one by which you can be reached, and I answered that if they called and you were not in the office, we would try at that time to give them further information.

United Nations

S

April 4 1951

William D. Hassett Esq.,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hassett:

I think you might like to have the enclosed statement of the various committees that were organized in behalf of Intergovernmental activities with respect to refugees in Germany and Austria.

The Advisory Committee, which never accomplished much, was really only a sounding board in which largely I expressed what the Intergovernmental Committee was doing, and was something like the group which was recently discussed, although somewhat larger than the one proposed by the State Department in refugee affairs.

In any event, you may find these lists of possible use for reference purposes.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Intergovernmental Committee
Co-Ordinating Committee
Presidents Advisory Committee on Political Refugees

Refugees

August 15 1951

PERSONAL

Dear Mr. Swope,

Thank you very much for your letter of August 9th with the booklet, "Israel's Economy", which I shall read with much interest.

My great concern about Israel has been from the beginning that it is surrounded by Arabs, now consolidated into an Arab Union, or something similar, which will, if given an opportunity, wreak a certain amount of vengeance on the Jews, because of the deprivation of their property without compensation. This is a great mistake that is being made by the Jewish people.

I discussed this matter while in London with several Jewish leaders with whom I am acquainted through having organized in 1938, at the request of President Roosevelt, the Inter-Governmental Committee on Political Refugees, particularly with Sir Norman Bentwich who was a well known lecturer in the Jewish University in Palestine. He and his wife are outstanding Jewish leaders in London. I have long been interested in the tremendous and patient effort which the Jewish people have been making through these recent years to revive the Jewish State of Palestine. In case of a new world war, the opportunity would be ripe for an Arab movement. To what extent the Allies could protect Palestine is of course a question. You will recall the difficulties the British had in both world wars in

- 2 -

holding the Arabs on their side in the face of the efforts and promises that were made by the Germans.

I could write at length on this general subject, but will spare you the details. I cannot however refrain from urging upon you, as an important American leader of the movement, and as I have done with others in high places, the necessity of coming to an understanding with the Arabs on the value of their property and the improvements thereon, which the Jews admittedly have confiscated.

With kind regards, believe me,

Sincerely yours,

MYRON C. TAYLOR.

Gerard Swope, Esq.,
570 Lexington Avenue,
New York 22, N.Y.

K ref

GERARD SWOPE
ROOM 4601
570 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

August
28 th
1951
9/10

30- ✓
8/29 Copy to
Mr Taylor with
9-page printed
article "Is the
Age of Non-
Identification
of

MR. MYRON C. TAYLOR,
71 Broadway,
New York 6, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Taylor:-

Reply to your letter of August 15th has
been delayed because of my absence from the City.

One of my concerns also has been the fact
that Israel has been surrounded by Arabs and unless the
situation is controlled by the U. N., I fear too, that
hostilities will break out.

The question you raised in regard to the
deprivation of Arab property without compensation, I don't
know anything about, and therefore, I asked Mr. Ben-Horin,
an economist on the staff of the AMERICAN FINANCIAL AND
DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION FOR ISRAEL, to give you the facts,
and I enclose his memorandum herewith, and also an article
he has written. *

My letter, which was a foreward on "Israel's
Economy", came as a result of a trip around the World,
spending much time in India, the Philippines and Japan, which
Mrs. Swope and I made. We spent a few weeks in Israel. In
Israel I was much interested in our visit to Nazareth, which
is largely an Arab town, and living in harmony with its Jewish
neighbors. I was much impressed not only by Israel's problems,
but also by its progress.

I hope you are well, and with kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

Gerard Swope

3/1/54 ✓

Mr. Taylor has put his finger on what is probably the crux of the whole problem of Israeli-Arab relations. Allow me, therefore, to direct his attention to some of these facts as concisely as possible.

1. To judge from a proper perspective, let us bear in mind that Arab flight from Palestine was of their own making. The Jews neither forced them nor urged them to go.
2. Israel has not confiscated Arab properties; on the contrary, Israel appointed a special custodian for the protection of all properties of the absentee owners. At the same time, Israel officially announced, time and again, that it was willing to offer reasonable compensation for every bit of property abandoned by Arab refugees, stipulating however that such transaction should form part of an over-all settlement between Israel and the Arab States. It was the latter who rejected all bids for a settlement, which would include compensation by Israel for Arab refugees' properties.
3. Much later, specifically a few months ago - when Iraq passed draconian laws with regard to its Jewish population, confiscated all their possessions and forced them to flee the country penniless - Israel announced that this organized robbery by the State of Iraq will be taken into account when the question of compensation for Arab properties in Israel comes up for discussion.

• ELIAHU BEN-HORIN

In the Maze of Non-Identification

DAVID BEN-GURION is not the first Jewish Prime Minister of modern times. There were the illustrious Disraeli, Luzzatti and Leon Blum, who presided over the destinies of great empires, whereas Ben-Gurion's nation counts a little over one million souls and inhabits a small strip of land. Those Jews who emerged into the great green pastures of the world, and who reached the top of the political ladder, achieved power which will remain unattainable to the statesmen of Israel. Here, however, the comparison ends.

The challenge to constructive statesmanship which Israel faced and succeeded in overcoming was in many ways unique. This applies not only to the well-known achievements on the military and internal fronts: the defeat of the Arab onslaught on the new state, the absorption of an unprecedented immigration, the swift tempo of development in the face of critical shortages and of enormous economic difficulties. It applies equally to the foreign policy of Israel in the first three years of statehood. The problems of Israel's foreign policy were singularly involved and delicate.

I

ONE IS REMINDED of the old story about the Jew who raised his eyes to Heaven in anger and protest, questioning the wisdom and justice of the Almighty in having allotted Palestine, of all lands, to his "chosen people."

God could have selected for His people some other, more comfortable, land; one which is easier to cultivate, which is not so strategically placed, torn by controversies, jealousies, claims and counter-claims — and He could have made it so much safer and simpler for the Jews to live and prosper in their land . . .

In a similar vein, Israel could present a new complaint to Heaven. Why did destiny have to choose this particular time for the re-establishment of the State of Israel — a time of ever deepening East-West cleavage?

The truth is that the makers of Israel's foreign policy would have had an extremely difficult task on their hands regardless of the current state of East-West relations. It is a challenging undertaking to establish a new state and shape its foreign policies in the midst of flaming hostility and venomous opposition from all of one's neighbors. Added to all this, the East-West conflict virtually forced the Government of Israel to walk an unending tight-rope. At this writing, it is still performing this act of political acrobatics, which is listed under the title of "non-identification as between East and West."

We do not mean to sound sarcastic. In all fairness, there is no proof that anybody else in the position of Ben-Gurion and Sharett would have done differently or any better. Moreover, the Cabinet of Israel is certainly not responsible for the state of world affairs,

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for the cold-getting-warm war between the Democracies and the Soviets. Nor can it be blamed for Israel's highly strategic location at the crossroads of the world; or for the sober fact that great numbers of Jews still live within the power of the hammer and sickle.

If the State of Israel could have been transferred to Kenya, for instance, or to some other God-forsaken place in Africa, and the people of Israel transformed into Polynesians or Spaniards, the necessity for foreign policy acrobatics would never have arisen. Israel could then have spoken its mind on the East-West controversy as freely and forthrightly as any other nation which is not encumbered by peculiar responsibilities and considerations.

Israel might then have chosen a pro-Western or a pro-Soviet orientation, depending on the views and sentiments of the majority of its population. It would have been an *orientation* and not an ungratifying exercise in politico-diplomatic nomenclature. Non-identification means as little or as much as neutrality in war. For a country in Israel's position non-identification must be as ineffective as neutrality would be in the case of a new world conflagration. Nigeria in Africa can afford non-identification, Switzerland in Europe can practice neutrality — but Israel cannot.

HISTORY AND GEOPOLITICS can teach us a few lessons worth learning and remembering. It is no accident that, through the ages, no march of conquest has ever by-passed the Middle East. Whether a conqueror came from the East to invade Europe or vice versa, the Middle East was never allowed to remain aloof and unaffected. What reason is there to assume that it will be different if the world goes up in the flames of a new war? None whatsoever.

On the contrary, there are new and weighty reasons which make the involvement of the Middle East in a world war more inescapable

than ever. Oil is one of them. In the days of Ghenghis Khan, as in the days of the Arab expansion, of the Turkish invasion, of Alexander the Great and of Napoleon, this factor was absent. But oil is very much present today in the strategic calculations of the rival powers — and the Middle East happens to be one of the wealthiest oil regions in the world.

The fact that Asia is now awakening to new prominence and influence in the world is another argument against the feasibility of Middle East neutrality. The chances that the gateway to Asia and the bridge between Europe and Asia can stay neutral in a world conflagration are very slim indeed.

It may be safely assumed that the authors of the non-identification doctrine are familiar with these basic realities. Furthermore, there is little doubt as to where their sympathies lie and on which side of the fence they will be found in the event of war. Indeed, I have certain suspicions even with regard to some among those who loudly agitate against the West and for Moscow. My suspicions are based on an enlightening experience which I had in Israel a couple of years ago — one worth recording here.

I was having a heart-to-heart talk with an outspoken Soviet supporter, at present a member of the Knesset. I told him that I would like to understand his reasoning. In the course of our conversation, he agreed with me that no new world war was then imminent; that Soviet Russia could not gain a foothold anywhere in the Middle East by way of a local invasion without causing a world war; that thus far the West held all the commanding positions — political, economic and strategic — in the Middle East; and that Israel was very much dependent for its economic survival and development on the West, particularly on America.

Following these admissions, I asked: "How then can you — an ardent Zionist and patriot of Israel — advocate a pro-Soviet orientation,

which would be tantamount to suicide on Israel's part?" His answer was both surprising and highly revealing. "I know," he said, "that there is not the slightest chance of having the Soviet orientation proposal adopted by the majority of the Israel people. There is no harm therefore in my advocating it, as long as I remain in the minority. It may even do some good in strengthening the bargaining power of the Government and of the majority vis-à-vis the West."

Was this one man's reasoning, or is it indicative of the thinking in the pro-Soviet camp in Israel?

The few Communists would, of course, rather see Israel destroyed than give up one iota of a Kremlin directive. But what about Mapam, whose membership has played and continues to play an important role in the constructive upbuilding of Israel?

Mapam is not one harmonious body. There are ideological divisions and sub-divisions in that party. At this writing, the extreme left, Hashomer Hatzair, seems to have gained the upper hand. Hashomer Hatzair, being dogmatic and doctrinaire, may be completely in earnest when it preaches a pro-Soviet orientation. Whether the more moderate groups in Mapam, commanding forty percent of the membership, would follow the Hashomer Hatzair faction to the end, remains to be seen. Fortunately, the Mapam stands little chance of gaining power or of becoming the majority in the land.

However, we are here discussing the policies of the present Government of Israel, which has coined the non-identification phrase. It is apparent that the Government has devised this formula in order to make possible normal relations with Russia and its satellites as long as there is no actual war on a world scale. As such, it serves its purpose and is fully justified as a temporary expedient.

ONE HEARS THE ARGUMENT that if Israel aligns itself openly with the West, it may be subject to ruthless vengeance on the part of Russia if the latter overruns the Middle East in World War III. This is sheer bunkum. If a new world war breaks out, and if Russia succeeds in occupying the Middle East, the fate of Israel will be the same regardless of whether Israel was pro-West, anti-West or non-West before the war. Furthermore, whatever one may think of the inhabitants of the Kremlin, they are not fools, and they know exactly where Messrs. Ben-Gurion, Sharett and their colleagues stand in the East-West controversy. The non-identification acrobatics are not so dazzling a performance, nor are the Kremlinites among those who are apt to be dazzled by any performance. Communist policies are dictated by cold and ruthless calculations, in which there is no room for gratitude, vengeance or any other "sentimental nonsense of the capitalist world."

The actual asset of non-identification is the Jewish emigration from the Communist-dominated countries, which may be halted completely the moment Israel aligns itself openly with the West. But the ledger of non-identification also carries considerable liabilities.

However apparent Israel's true orientation may be, as long as it remains undeclared and the official position is expressed by the formula of non-identification, the Western world is bound to treat Israel with a certain degree of reserve. This reserve must in turn have an effect on the extent of cordiality in the everyday relations between the Western powers and Israel; on alignments in the international scene; on the measure of support which Israel is likely to receive from the West whenever one of its periodical conflicts with its Arab neighbors comes up in the United Nations; on the extent to which Israel is allowed to benefit from the West's technical and technological facilities; and on financial aid. It may well be

that all this is not too high a price to pay for the opportunity of saving so many thousands of Jewish souls, but it must be clear what that price is and what exactly Israel gets in exchange.

THE ALIGNMENT OF FORCES in Israel's immediate vicinity also militates for identification with the West. There are today in the Middle East only two nations whose war potentials merit consideration; Turkey and Israel. All of the Arab lands have no strength behind the façades of statehood; nor are they capable of gathering strength in the near future. Turkey is of course a more sizable power than Israel, and Turkey is not only openly aligned with the West but is clamoring for admission into the Atlantic Pact. It is significant that Mohammedan Turkey has established diplomatic, trade and otherwise friendly relations with Israel. Moreover, according to recent rumors and reports, Turkey is exercising its influence on behalf of an Arab-Israel peace.

It is not surprising that Turkey enjoys an incomparably greater measure of Western support than Israel. Turkey is treated by the United States and Great Britain as a full-fledged ally, whereas Israel is no more than a "sympathizer."

Here is the place to ask ourselves whether the United States and Britain would welcome Israel as a full-fledged ally. Indeed, some skeptics say that "the shoe is on the other foot" — that Israel would wish to exchange its present non-identification status for an openly pro-Western orientation, but that the West — particularly Washington — gives Israel the cold shoulder.

Whether or not this is true of Washington's position, there is nevertheless little doubt as to the future orientation of the West in the Middle East. We do not have to cast our minds too far back in order to realize what a remark-

able metamorphosis has taken place in the Middle East policies of both America and Britain. Even the late Mr. Bevin found it necessary — and possible — to speak of "British-Israeli friendship" at a function in the Israel Legation in London.

Not only Winston Churchill and Anthony Eden, the leaders of the Opposition, but also Herbert Morrison, Bevin's successor, and other spokesmen of the Labor Government have recently raised their voices repeatedly in advocating a closer British-Israeli rapprochement, and in demanding that Britain provide greater help — economic and *military* help — to Israel; this despite the fact — or perhaps due to the fact — that Great Britain has so much at stake in the Arab lands and her present relations with the Arab states, particularly with Egypt, are in bad shape. As one of the British Parliamentarians visiting Israel, Mr. J. H. Hoy, stated in Jerusalem: "... Britain's relations with Egypt are just as strained as those between you and Egypt."

FOR MANY YEARS BRITAIN TRIED to ride the purebred Arab mare, and arrived nowhere. The Arab League — initiated and bolstered by Britain — ended up as another mirage in the desert of Arabia. The Arab kings, sheiks and pashas, so tenderly and persistently cultivated by Clayton, Spears and other British experts on the Middle East, turned out to be extremely unreliable props for British power in that region. As Britain's wealth and influence have deteriorated, the Arab states have turned away from their "big brother" in Europe. After three decades of solid pro-Arab orientation, Britain seems to be awakening to the fact the Arabs are not her friends; no do they represent any real strength. Furthermore, if British support and encouragement could not build up Arab strength at a time when Britain virtually controlled all of the Middle East, what chance is there for the achievement of this goal by a

Britain greatly weakened both in that area and at home?

Some of Britain's statesmen must have asked themselves this searching question. Only one short step was then required for them to doubt the wisdom of their past policies and to embrace the viewpoint of those few who always advocated a British orientation towards the forces of progress, modernization and democratic society in the Middle East — the Jews of Palestine.

The British are past masters at adjusting themselves to reality. This is one of the secrets of their strength. Britain is today taking the lead in revising the West's attitude towards Israel, and America is ultimately bound to follow suit. The State Department is still filled with officials who dislike to part with their traditions, biases and preconceived ideas. But although the American counterparts of Spears and Clayton are busy in Washington, there can be little doubt as to the final outcome. The stern realities of the Middle East must prove stronger in the end. Moreover, this is an instance when Britain's position may prove to be decisive, for there are numerous indications that Britain is entrusted with the defense of the Middle East in the event of a new world war.

Seen against this background, Israel's doctrine of non-identification is certainly not likely to accelerate the process which is at work in the Middle East. This is all the more regrettable in view of Israel's extremely poor prospects of achieving peace within the confines of the Middle East itself — of securing friendly relations with its neighbors and a normal, solid existence. The full weight of Anglo-American influence will have to be employed before pacification and consolidation of this highly strategic region can be achieved.

II

SINCE ITS ESTABLISHMENT, the State of Israel has made many honest efforts to attain peace with the Arab states and to establish normal

neighborly relations with them. All of the approaches by Israel, whether made publicly or behind the scenes, have been systematically rebuffed by the Arab rulers. The Arabs have not wanted any part of a permanent settlement, and they continue to dream and talk of a "second round" in the war against Israel, promising to be more successful in their avowed aim of "driving the Jews into the sea."

There is not much substance to these threats, as none of the Arab states is militarily or otherwise strong enough to carry out a successful attack against Israel. Nor is there today more unity of purpose and policy among the Arab rulers than there was in 1948. But the Arab hostility has been effective enough to wreck all attempts at a peace which would make the Middle East a very valuable ally of the West.

In the light of the Arabs' stubborn animosity, all that Israel could do was to strive for peace and, at the same time, to strengthen its defenses, increase its manpower and improve its armaments.

It is no accident that all of Israel's efforts to achieve peace with the Arabs have failed. The secret emissaries dispatched across the border to Transjordan, the feelers sent out to Cairo, and the repeated declarations of good will have been of no avail. The Arab rulers seem to have adopted the "long-range view" in their relations with Israel. They have asked themselves whether the peaceful co-existence of their states and Israel is at all feasible, and their answer is in the negative. In other words, they have arrived at the conclusion that an "inter-marriage" between feudalism and twentieth century progress is, from their viewpoint, not an enchanting prospect. They understand a simple truth. If they wish to preserve their vested interests and their power over the down-trodden Arab masses they must treat Israel as an unwelcome and dangerous interloper. They realize that the powerful trends of cultural



progress and social-economic betterment emanating from Israel could not be prevented from invading their frontiers and influencing the whole character of Arab life.

To the Arab kings and pashas "recognition" of the State of Israel therefore means much more than acceptance of the fact of Israel's sovereign existence in the Middle East. It means the admission and legalization of social evolution in the Middle East. Unwilling to abdicate their power, the rulers of the Arab lands have entrenched themselves behind a wall of nationalist hostility, and are seeking to prevent the establishment of peace with Israel — or at least to postpone it for as long as possible.

WHETHER THIS ARAB POLICY on Israel is tangible or not is immaterial. Any intelligent observer could tell the Arab League politicians that they are fighting a losing battle. Not only has Israel come to stay, but it is by now one of the most powerful factors in the Middle

East. No amount of opposition or obstruction can change that fact. The point I am trying to make, however, is that the Arab leaders *have* based their policies on the long-range viewpoint, whereas the makers of Israel's foreign policy seem to have been motivated solely by the exigencies of the moment.

There is no evidence that the Israel statesmen have fully analyzed the fundamental question: whether the harmonious co-existence of Israel and the Arab States — based on the political, social, economic and cultural status quo — is possible. If they have done so, they must surely have arrived at the same answer as the Arabs.

Any genuine alliance or constructive cooperation in any field of endeavor between Israel and King Abdullah of Jordan, or King Farouk of Egypt, or Iraq's Prime Minister Nuri Pasha, is an utter impossibility. By force of circumstances this or that Arab chieftain may find it advantageous to make some deal with Israel, but it can never be more than a passing incident. To the famous words of Kipling, "for East is East and West is West and never the twain shall meet," one may add in this case that autocracy and democracy shall never meet. The abyss dividing modern, dynamic, ever-advancing Israel from the backward, inert, corrupt and anti-social Arab Near East is too deep to be bridged by political expedients.

At first glance, Israel had no choice, no alternative course to follow — for the minority groups and the progressive forces in the Arab lands are either too weak or practically non-existent. With the single exception of the Maronites in Lebanon, who form a compact and very sizable part of the country's population, the other minorities — the Copts in Egypt, the Kurds and Assyrians in Iraq — as well as the small liberal groups and individuals in the Arab world are too weak to offer even a flimsy base for Israel's orientation in the Middle East. Nor could Israel be expected to sit

and wait for several decades until the small progressive nuclei in the Arab lands gather strength and eventually gain control in their countries.

By itself, Israel can find no way out of this cul-de-sac in its Middle East policies. But the great powers of the West *can* provide the way out. Great Britain and the United States command enough control and influence to induce the Arab states to make peace with Israel.

IT IS BY THE GRACE — or the mistaken policies — of the Western powers that the Arab states exist as political, internationally recognized entities. All of the external polish and paraphernalia of statehood — the parliaments, prime ministers, ambassadors, U. N. delegates — cannot disguise the naked truth or make modern nations out of Syria, Iraq, Yemen or Jordan. Except for Egypt, the Arab states are jokes perpetrated on the international community by Great Britain and the United States. Likewise, all of the pretensions and pomposity of the Arab League — which at one stage went as far as to demand for itself the status of a regional organization within the United Nations — and the lofty ambitions of its Secretary General, Azzam Pasha, cannot cover up the complete void that this League is in actual fact. It, too, exists by the grace — or the mistaken policies — of the Western powers.

America and Britain, once they effect the re-orientation of their Middle East policies which the logic of history is dictating, would surely be in a position to bring about a change of mind on the part of the Arab rulers. Faced with the alternatives of swallowing the bitter pill labelled "Israel," or losing the recognition and backing of the West, there is little doubt as to which the Arab leaders would prefer — once they would be convinced that Britain and America mean what they say and are determined to see it through. For they would have no choice. At present, some of the Arab politi-

cians are indulging in periodic attempts at blackmailing the West by threatening that they will turn to Moscow for comfort and protection. Even such blackmail is made possible by the grace of the West. Inviting Soviet Russia into the Middle East would be the surest and quickest way for the Arab kings, clergy and ruling class to commit suicide — and they know it. The keys to peace within the Middle East lie not in Cairo or Damascus, but in London and Washington.

Of all the peoples in the Middle East, the Israelis are most anxious for an early and lasting peace. By this I do not mean that Israel is the weaker or the more vulnerable party, but that Israel is the only state in that area which is intensely interested in the welfare of its people, which is bent on fast growth, on economic development and social improvement. In Israel, every boy or girl killed in a skirmish on the Syrian or Jordanian frontier constitutes a loss not only to his immediate family but to his nation. Kings Farouk and Abdullah, the Pashas Nahas and Nuri, on the other hand, can easily afford to indulge in a twenty years war-no war—peace-no peace with Israel. Their great personal wealth remains unaffected. They do not care for the welfare of the fellaheen. And if thousands, or tens of thousands, of Ahmeds, Husseins and Ibrahims lose their lives, it is of no consequence to their leaders. Perhaps they reason that the span of life of the landless fellaheen is short in any case, and that it matters little whether these die of bilharzia and tuberculosis or by bullets and shells. Their fate is not likely to cause sleepless nights to any of the Arab rulers.

If we now cast another glance at the ledger of non-identification, we may discover that the major liability of this doctrine is its effect on Israel's unenviable position in the Middle East. It would be naive to expect that Britain and the United States would embark immediately on a vigorous program designed to force the Arabs to come to terms with the Israelis,

unless they receive very active prodding and enticement from Israel. The Western powers find no such enticement in the formula of non-identification.

III

TWO OTHER, UNRELATED, PROBLEMS of Israel's foreign policy deserve mention here: the Palestine Arab refugees and the formation of Israel's diplomatic machinery.

The problem of the Arab refugees was not of Israel's making. The Jews of Palestine were not responsible for the flight of Palestine's Arabs or for their subsequent plight. That responsibility must be laid at the door of the Arab states and their leaders. Yet, one wonders whether the policy of Israel with regard to the Arab refugee problem is free of all error.

The existence of this mass of suffering humanity has had a great impact on the Middle East situation. It did not require much vision to discern the overwhelming influence which this tragic phenomenon was bound to have on the relations between Israel and its neighbors. As long as this sore on the body politic of the Middle East remains unhealed, the prospects for pacification of the area are close to nil.

One may rightly ask what Israel could have done as long as the Arab states remained adamant to any proposals other than the complete repatriation of all of the refugees to Israel? And as long as the Arab states refuse to make peace with Israel, dare Israel permit the infiltration into its territory of a fifth column which is certain to menace the country's future security?

Israel is obviously in no condition to absorb several hundred thousands of Arab refugees or to risk the entry of a dangerous fifth column. Nothing could be further from the thoughts of this writer than to suggest that Israel should have opened its gates to the

unrestricted re-emigration of the Arab refugees. Even prior to the emergence of the refugee problem, the writer advocated the transfer of the Palestine Arabs and their resettlement in Iraq. The point to be made here is that the statesmen of Israel should have been more energetic in the *promotion* of a permanent settlement.

Early after the Arab-Israel war, there were good prospects of mobilizing support for the "Hoover Plan," which envisaged the resettlement of the Palestine Arab refugees in the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates through an internationally financed project of irrigation and colonization. At that time, even the British member of the United Nations Palestine Conciliation Commission openly advocated a solution along these lines, emphasizing that the repatriation of the Arab refugees into Israel was not only unfeasible but also undesirable from the viewpoint of peace and consolidation in the Middle East.

The Israel Government has been invariably and scrupulously correct in its attitude towards the Arab refugee problem, but no more than that. Whenever the question came before the international forum, Israel was always ready to declare its sympathy and its readiness to help. But if it did not come up, Israel, harassed by a multitude of other problems, was willing to let it rest.

While the Israel Government has permitted "sleeping dogs" to lie, groups of Arab refugees have periodically attempted infiltration into Israel. The local police and army were under orders to force them back. Neither group could help itself. The refugees were bound to try again, and the police were bound to push them back again. So it goes, and so it is likely to recur until the refugees stop being refugees — *until they are permanently resettled in the underpopulated Arab lands*. The fact that Israel has not been pressing the major powers to effect this solution is to some

extent responsible for the continuation of this unfortunate state of affairs.

IV

NEVERTHELESS, MOSHE SHARETT is entitled to a feeling of great satisfaction when he looks back at the three years of his stewardship of Israel's foreign policy. The Foreign Secretary of the new state probably had to do more pioneering than his colleagues. In industry, agriculture, transportation, medical and social welfare, foundations were in existence prior to the establishment of Israel. The respective ministers could build on these foundations on a larger, state-scale. Sharett, on the other hand, had to start from scratch. The machinery of Israel's diplomacy had to be erected from the bottom to the top, and most of the personnel consisted of novices.

The new diplomats had to learn a great deal: to unbend their backs, and yet not to bend too far backwards; to acquire a new dignity, and yet not to sin in arrogance; to represent a state, and yet to remember its small size and its relative weakness on the international scene; to speak abroad for a nation which is dependent on outside help, and to keep within the limits prescribed for foreign diplomats. For the accomplishment of all this Sharett had neither experienced personnel, nor precedent nor tradition to guide him.

It is too early to speak of "the new type of Israel diplomat." Some of Sharett's appointees have performed remarkably well. This seems to me to be particularly true with regard to the top echelon: Golda Meyerson, during her short stay in Moscow; Abba Eban, at Lake Success and in Washington; the late Mordecai Eliash in London. Whether all or most of the other Israel diplomats have lived up to the demands and responsibilities of their positions is difficult to judge from afar.

It will take many years before an accomplished Israel diplomatic service emerges. In acquiring the thorough acquaintance with world affairs which should be the foundation of every diplomat's education, the Israel officials also have something to unlearn.

The Yishuv had always been known for its pronounced egocentrism. Those who lived there were inclined to overlook the existence of the big world with its great problems and achievements. To some Palestinians, the outside world was no more than a runner-up to Palestine. As a result, many Israelis tend to have an exaggerated conception of their relative importance in the world picture, and rather narrow political horizons. The diplomats of Israel must of necessity be the first to free themselves from such notions. For this is not just a minor error in thinking: Israel's foreign policies of the future will, in the final analysis, depend upon its citizenry's outlook on and conception of the world at large.

To know what you know and know what you don't know is the characteristic of one who knows.

— CHINESE PROVERB

Refugees

September 27 1951

Mr. Paul Baerwald,
44 Wall Street,
New York 5, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Baerwald:

I am very much pleased to observe that you have been honored by the Joint Distribution Committee for your very great services in their behalf and in behalf of the distressed people in Europe. It gives me pleasure to reflect that I had close relations with you in a part of these affairs, and to commend, as I have done before, your interest and enthusiastic cooperation.

With best wishes, believe me,

Sincerely yours,

THE GREENBRIER AND COTTAGES
WHITE SULPHUR SPRINGS, WEST VIRGINIA.

October 5 1951

Dear Mr. Taylor,

You are very good to me and I very much appreciate your kind expressions. I count my blessings, and one of them consists in the ability to have brought help to others, and you have had a share in that!

Kindest regards,

Sincerely,

(Signed)

PAUL BAERWALD.

M. -
Refugees

October 11 1951

Hon. James G. McDonald,
22 East 38th Street,
New York.

Dear Mr. McDonald:

I am very grateful for your thoughtfulness in sending to me such a fine volume with such a friendly inscription, which Mrs. Taylor and I will greatly enjoy.

It was also a great pleasure to see you again and to converse with you on the way to Washington recently. Please be assured of my continuing regard, and believe me,

Sincerely yours,

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With the Compliments
of
The French Ambassador

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Washington, 1e December 29, 1951

REMARKS OF M. HENRI BONNET, FRENCH AMBASSADOR
TO THE UNITED STATES, ON THE OCCASION OF THE
PRESENTATION OF THE CROSS OF COMMANDER OF THE
LEGION OF HONOR TO THE HONORABLE MYRON C. TAYLOR,
AT THE FRENCH EMBASSY, WASHINGTON D.C., ON
DECEMBER 28, 1951.

-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-

The reward which I have the privilege of bestowing upon you today is granted to you by the French Government in recognition both of a long and brilliant career and of the friendship you have shown to my country and the prominent services you have rendered to her.

You have always devoted the great experience and authority which you have acquired not only to your country but also to the most noble causes. You have shown your deep interest in the welfare of the people by the active part you took in many American organizations and committees dealing with acute social problems, by your role in the American Red Cross, that great endeavor of the American people and in the international field when you presided over the International Conference of Political Refugees at Evian in 1938 and in the Intergovernmental Committee which, later on, dealt with this problem. You then displayed the same faith in tolerance and liberty which prompted you as Special Representative of the President of the United States to His Holiness The Pope to struggle for the complete union of all the moral and spiritual forces of the world against the totalitarian tyranny and against the threat of Bolchevic expansion.

In France, we are profoundly grateful to you that in the midst of all your activities you have always found time to show your sympathy for my country. Among the many proofs of that friendship we are especially indebted to you for your effort in insuring the success of the French Lycee of New York. You have thus contributed to the creation of a new link between our two countries, among the youth of the United States and France for a better understanding between them and a better knowledge of each other. In this field also, the field of intellectual collaboration, you have thus worked for the defense of the Western World. I thank you.

1912
COPY

A Letter of Claudius to the Alexandrines

A.D. 41, Papyrus #1912 Brit. Mus.

As to the question which of you were responsible for the riot and feud (or rather, if the truth must be told, the war) against the Jews, I was unwilling to commit myself to a decided judgment, though your ambassadors, and particularly Dionysius son of Theon, pleaded your cause with much zeal in confrontation (with their opponents), and I must reserve for myself an unyielding indignation against whoever caused this renewed outbreak, but I tell you plainly that if you do not desist from this baneful and obstinate mutual hostility I shall perforce be compelled to show what a benevolent prince can be when turned to just indignation. Wherefore I conjure you yet once again that, on one side, the Alexandrines show themselves forbearing and kindly towards the Jews who for many years have dwelt in the same city, and offer no outrage to them in the exercise of their traditional worship but permit them to observe their customs as in the time of Divus Augustus, which customs I also, after hearing both sides, have confirmed; and, on the other side, I bid the Jews not to busy themselves about anything beyond what they have held hitherto, and not henceforth, as if you and they lived in two cities, to send two embassies--a thing such as never occurred before now - not to strive in gymasiarchic or cosmetic games, but to profit by what they possess, and enjoy in a city not their own an abundance of all good things; and not to introduce or invite Jews who sail down to Alexandria from Syria or Egypt, thus compelling me to conceive the greater suspicion; otherwise I will by all means take vengeance on them as fomenting a general plague for the whole world. If, desisting on both sides from these proceedings, you are willing to live with mutual forbearance and kindness, I on my side will continue to display the time-honored solicitude for the interests of the city, with which my family has a traditional friendship.

Jan 1952

1952

Goal of Israel's Refugee Arabs: Return Home, Not Resettlement

They Call Selves Victims of World Politics, Say U. S., Britain Are Their Oppressors

By A. T. Steele

By Wireless to the Herald Tribune
Copyright, 1952, New York Herald Tribune Inc.
JERUSALEM, March 8.—In a rocky, treeless hollow outside Bethlehem stands a cluster of tents inhabited by 3,500 dispirited people. It is the Dheishem refugee camp, one of many like centers scattered over Jordan and other neighboring Arab countries.

All the people at Dheishem except the recently born are fugitives from the land now called Israel. Most of them have been subsisting on international charity for three years. They live—"exist" would be a better word—on rations provided from them by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency. Their tents, many of which are torn and sagging as a result of an unusually severe winter, are supplied by the same agency. A few of them have huts.

We were greeted by Hassan Mustafa, the camp supervisor. He suggested: "Pick out any of these people and talk with them. They can tell you their story better than I can."

Lined Up for Rations

We looked around us. Groups of men stood or sat in clusters talking. The women seemed a little busier. Ragged children played in the dusty avenues between the rows of tents. Twenty or thirty Arabs were lined up in front of a supply tent, drawing their weekly rations.

We indicated an elderly man in the line. He was turbaned Arab, tattered of dress but proud of

bearing. He came readily. We sat on benches in front of one of the tents and asked him to tell us about himself.

"My name," he said, "is Abdel Fattah Haj Khalil. I come from the village of Zakaria, in the Hebron district. I was a farmer there. I owned 250 donums (about sixty acres) of land which is now sixteen miles inside Jewish territory.

"During the fighting between the Jews and the Egyptians in October, 1948, our village came under Jewish bombardment. We had to leave quickly. All I could save was my wife, my three children, a mattress and a blanket. A hundred and twenty of the old and sick stayed behind in our village. Later they were rounded up by the Jews and put across the line.

"Allah Will Avenge Us"

"We have been in this camp three years. Our belief in Allah is very deep. Allah will one day avenge us."

We asked Khalil whether he had heard about the United Nations plan to resettle refugees from Palestine in other areas outside Israel and without prejudice to their claims. He said he had read something of the sort in Arab newspapers.

"But why talk about resettling use?" he exclaimed angrily. "We want to return to our homes. We had a meeting in Hebron three weeks ago to talk about this matter. We decided to reject settlement absolutely. We could not accept even paradise for the kitchen of our old farm. We will not give

up hope even if it takes one hundred years."

This is a common attitude among the Palestinian refugees. I have heard the same sentiment expressed by many of them. Relief administrators hope ultimately to convince the refugees, through education, that they will lose nothing by reintegration, but it will be very hard to do.

Just Partial Compensation

Like other refugees, Khalil showed that he felt he was being made an innocent victim of international politics. He saw no particular reason to feel grateful for the relief he was receiving from the United Nations. That, he said, is no more than partial compensation "for the crime that has been done to us."

"The oppressors," he went on, getting more excited, "are America and Britain. This is the general belief among the refugees. Those two countries have conspired to keep us from our homes. They are

backing Israel. The Arab countries have the second responsibility. They are under the influence of America and Britain, so they cannot take up arms.

"The day will come when they will cut themselves loose from the big powers. We will welcome the day when Allah will give them strength to do their job. Israel itself does not count for much. It is the countries behind Israel which are the cause of our troubles. We ask the big powers to stop supporting the Jewish state. Then we will find our way back."

What About Russia

We asked him what he thought about Russia and Communism.

"For thirty years," he said, "we Palestinians have been hearing about the blessing of Democracy. Now we connect Democracy with oppression. Many of us think Communism is better than Democracy. We understand that under Communism there is more

justice and that nobody is driven from his home."

It was evident that Khalil had only the haziest notion of what Communism was or what it stood for. He finally admitted that all he knew about it was what he had read in the emotional Arab press. He fell back then on an old Arab saying which I have heard repeated at least a half-dozen times by other refugees—"The enemy of our enemy is our friend."

The embittered words of this old Arab need not be taken lightly, for there are almost 900,000 other refugees from Palestine who are thinking thoughts which are not very different. Together these refugees make up a major source of frustration and discontent in the Middle East. Certainly, they are a formidable barrier to better relations between the Arab and Western worlds.

The resentment is about acute in refugee areas which, like the one at Dheishem, are close to the

demarcation line between Arab and Israeli territory.

After leaving the Dheishem camp, we went to the Arab town of Beit Safafa, which straddles the armistice line. Two-thirds of the town is on the Jordan side of the line and the other third is held by the Israelis. Arab villagers can stand at their windows and watch Israeli settlers harvest crops from land which used to be held by the Arabs and for which they have received nothing in the form of compensation.

Whatever may be the rights and wrongs of the Arab-Israeli case, no argument can convince people such as these that they have not been done a grievous injustice.

Seventy villages along the Jordan-Israeli line are similarly divided. The inhabitants of these villages are particularly embittered over the fact that many of those who have lost their land receive only half rations from the U. N. R. W. A. or none at all.

March 20 1952

The Rt. Hon. G. J. van Heuven Goedhart,
1025 Vermont Ave. N. W.,
Room 802,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dr. Goedhart:

Herewith I am sending you the booklet, "American Relief for Italy, Inc., Boys' Republic of Italy, Inc.", which I mentioned this morning.

I was a pleasure to see you.

Sincerely yours,

Text of Truman Message Calling for Admission of More European Refugees

WASHINGTON, March 24 (AP)—Following is the text of President Truman's special message on immigration sent to Congress today:

One of the gravest problems arising from the present world crisis is created by the overpopulation in parts of Western Europe, aggravated by the flight and expulsion of people from the oppressed countries of Eastern Europe.

This problem is of great practical importance to us because it affects the peace and security of the free world. It is also of great concern to us, because of our long-established humanitarian traditions. The Congress has recognized the importance of this problem and has already enacted some legislation to help meet it.

I ask the Congress to give early and favorable consideration to additional legislation to make more adequate provision for meeting this situation.

Specifically, I ask the Congress to authorize a program that will:

1. Provide aid for the unfortunate victims of oppression who are escaping from Communist tyranny behind the Iron Curtain;

2. Continue our participation in the international effort now being made to assist in the migration and resettlement throughout the world of a substantial number of persons from the overpopulated areas of Western Europe; and
3. Authorize additional immigration into this country, on a limited basis, to aid in alleviating the problems created by Communist tyranny and overpopulation in Western Europe.

The solution to these problems cannot, and should not, be the responsibility of any one nation.

Says United States Must Help

It is an international responsibility—an integral part of a world crisis which the free nations must meet together.

demands the cooperative effort of all interested countries. But a real solution can be found on if the United States does its part. We have done our part in the past—we must not falter now.

World War II left in its wake a tremendous upheaval of populations in the countries of Europe. To meet the situation, the country took the lead in establishing the International Refugee Organization, which provides care and protection for displaced persons and made possible the migration of more than 1,000,000 of them to forty-eight countries throughout the free world.

As our own contribution to the common effort, the Congress in 1948 enacted the Displaced Persons Act and subsequently amended and extended it. Both the Congress and the American people have every right to be proud of the achievements made under this far-sighted humanitarian legislation.

The Displaced Persons Act is now approaching the termination date fixed by the Congress. When operations under this law have been finished, almost 400,000 victims of tyranny who have been resettled in the United States. The first major phase of the program was completed with the issuance of practically all of the 241,000 visas authorized to be issued by midnight, Dec. 31, 1951.

In addition, the Congress authorized

The Proceedings in Washington

YESTERDAY

(March 24, 1952)

THE PRESIDENT

At Key West, Fla.

THE SENATE

Voted to deprive diplomatic and consular officials of their immunity from penalties of the Foreign Agents' Registration Act; recessed at 1:37 P. M.

Hyman Harvey Klein, Baltimore liquor dealer, denied he had authorized Senator Styles Bridges, Republican of New Hampshire, to intercede on his behalf in a \$7,000,000 tax assessment case.

Foreign Relations Committee heard that General Eisenhower endorsed the Administration's Mutual Security Program.

THE HOUSE

Held routine session; adjourned at 3:02 P. M.

DEPARTMENTS & AGENCIES

Charles E. Wilson, Defense Mobilizer, said Wage Stabiliza-

tion Board's proposals for setting steel dispute would threaten economic stabilization program should they be put into effect.

Charles Brannan, Secretary of Agriculture, charged Senator John Williams, Republican of Delaware, with "deliberate misstatements" on certain grain storage cases.

SUPREME COURT

Refused to review appeal from William W. Remington, former Commerce Department official, challenging his perjury indictment.

Ruled that Federal income taxes must be paid on money obtained by extortion.

SCHEDULED FOR TODAY

(March 25, 1952)

Senate and House meet at noon.

Foreign Relations Committee hearings on Mutual Security Program, 10 A. M.

church groups, this great program could never have been carried out.

Thus, by doing our own share and by acting together with the other countries of the free world, we have been dealing successfully with the major dislocations caused by Hitler's policies of brutality and aggression.

But the movement of large masses of distressed people across international boundaries is by no means over. Communist tyranny has taken up where Hitler's brutality

exploited by Communist propaganda.

These men and women are friends of freedom. They include able and courageous fighters against communism. They ask only for an opportunity to play a useful role in the fight for freedom. It is the responsibility of the free world to afford them this opportunity.

The need is well recognized, both in Europe and in this country. Private welfare organizations of American citizens

ly exploited by Communist propaganda.

Canada and Australia for example, have already initiated substantial programs of immigration. The Australian immigration program calls for an annual immigration of at least 150,000 persons per year, Canadian absorption in the last year was at the rate of 160,000. Additional opportunities for migrants are opening up, although more slowly, in the Republics of Central and South America.

Recalls Immigration to U. S.

But the United States can and should take some of the migrants now available in Europe. One of the reasons we lead the free world today is that we are a nation of immigrants. We have been made strong and vigorous by the diverse skills and abilities of the different peoples who have migrated to this country and become American citizens. Past immigration has helped to build our tremendous industrial power. Today, our growing economy can make effective use of additional manpower in various areas and lines of work.

The rapid expansion of our industry and the enlargement of our defense forces, have increased the demands of our available manpower reserves. Our industry can readily absorb a limited number of skilled and trained personnel in the years immediately ahead.

In our agriculture particularly, we have a need for additional people. Farm operators and farm workers are essential in our defense effort. Since 1948, there has again been a downward trend in the farm population of the United States. With the resumption of the movement from the farms to the cities, there is a real danger that in the years just ahead our agricultural production may be seriously hampered.

A rich pool of surplus farmers and farm workers exists in the

overpopulated areas of Western Europe. Among the expellees in Western Germany there are many agricultural families with no opportunity for employment on the land. In Italy and the Netherlands, too, there are large groups of agricultural workers who cannot find productive employment on the limited arable land available.

Such, in brief, are the measures that can help to alleviate the problems of these fugitives from Soviet terror. But these problems, important as they are, are overshadowed by the need for increasing migration from the overcrowded areas of Europe.

Overpopulation is one of the major factors preventing the fullest recovery of these countries where it exists. It is a serious drag on the economies of nations belonging to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. A solution to this problem, therefore, becomes vitally necessary to strengthen the defense of the North Atlantic community.

Our common defense requires that we make the best possible use not only of the material resources of the free world but of our human resources as well. Men and women who cannot be productively employed in the free countries of Europe because of conditions there are a net loss to the strength of the free world.

In other countries, where they are needed, these same people could add to the output and growing power of the free nations. But left in idleness as they now are, wasted and hopeless, they become an easy prey to the demagogues of totalitarianism, both Right and Left.

The bulk of the emigration needed will have to be taken care of by countries other than the United States. Some of the free nations, particularly those with large unsettled areas or undeveloped resources, have a pressing need for large number of immigrants to build up their countries and increase their production.

The existing immigration laws are inadequate—both in general and as regards this special problem. The Displaced Persons Act will end this year, and we will be thrown back on the quota system of immigration.

Quotas Are Mortgaged

So far as the people escaping from communism are concerned, many of them will be completely blocked from coming to this country because their quotas have been "mortgaged" under the Displaced Persons Act, for many years in the future.

For example, half of the Latvian quota has been mortgaged ahead three centuries to the year 2274, the Estonian quota through the year 2148, the Lithuanian quota through the year 2087, and the Polish quota through the year 2000.

Furthermore, under present law we will be unable to make any substantial contribution to meeting the problem of overpopulation in Germany, the Netherlands, Italy or Greece. In the latter countries, for example, where the need is particularly acute, we can admit annually only 5,677 Italians and 210 Greeks under the law as it now stands.

To meet the present emergency, we should enter the numbers of immigrants that can be taken in from all these critical areas. I ask the Congress to authorize the admission of some 300,000 additional persons over a three-year period. This would include, on an annual basis:

1. 7,000 religious and political refugees from communism in Eastern Europe;
2. 7,500 Greek nationals from Greece;
3. 7,500 Dutch from the Netherlands;
4. 20,000 Italians from Italy and Trieste; and
5. 20,000 Germans and persons of German ethnic origin.

Immigration in these amounts and from these sources could

readily be absorbed to this country, and, together with a far larger volume of immigration to other free countries, would go a long way toward solving the emergency problem in Europe.

Calls System an Obstacle

While the admission of these particular groups should constitute a temporary program of limited duration, it could well be fitted into desirable permanent changes in our present immigration quota system if the Congress finds itself able to make such changes at this session.

Our present quota system is not only inadequate to meet present emergency needs, it is also an obstacle to the development of an enlightened and satisfactory immigration policy for the long-run future.

If our quotas were revised and made more flexible, they could probably be utilized to take care of most or all of the immigration required to meet the present emergency situation. The balance, if any, could be admitted without reference to quota numbers. These are considerations that the Congress will wish to keep in mind when it takes up the question of improving our over-all immigration laws.

It is most important to remember, however, that action to meet the emergency problem is needed this year. If the Congress cannot agree at this session on desirable improvements in our whole system of immigration that would take care of the emergency problem, it should act to take care of the emergency directly.

In no event should this vital emergency program be tied to or associated with restrictive changes in our permanent immigration laws—changes which would in themselves hamper or nullify the operation of the emergency program.

In addition to this emergency three-year program, I recommend that steps be taken to alleviate an unfortunate situation arising under the operation of the Displaced Persons Act.

Loss of 7,500 Visas Noted

Although all visas authorized for displaced persons were issued, some 7,500 of them were lost because the persons to whom they were issued did not actually come to the United States. On the other hand, a number of persons who were seeking admission under the act, and whose applications were under consideration, were unable to obtain visas prior to the time the authority to issue such visas expired on Dec. 31, 1951.

A substantial portion of these applicants were admissible under the standards of the act, and would have made as good immigrants as those already admitted. The voluntary agencies or individual citizens have given the assurances necessary for the admission of these persons. There is still place for them in the United States.

It seems unjust and unwise to

deprive them of the opportunity for which they are qualified. Seven thousand five hundred visas should be simple to take care of the displaced persons in this category. I recommend that Congress authorize up to that number of visas for them.

In carrying out this proposal, and the three-year emergency program as well, we should follow the lessons of the successful experience we have had under the Displaced Persons Act.

The same kind of provision should be made, for example, for security safeguards with respect to those admitted to this country, for means to effect their settlement here on a wide geographic basis, and for safeguards against displacement of United States citizens from housing or employment. And similarly, as under the Displaced Persons Act, there should be no religious, racial or other discrimination in the selection of the immigrants.

Net Cost Held to Be Small

With respect to the financing of the emergency three-year program, however, the situation is rather different from that under the Displaced Persons Act, where transportation was financed through Government funds.

Except for the refugees from communism, the people from the overpopulated areas, who constitute the bulk of the migrants to be admitted, are in a better financial position than the displaced persons of former years.

They are not stateless, or dependent wholly on charity. Their countries are interested in seeing them migrate and can be called on to help with the expense of getting them started. The migrants themselves can be asked to repay the cost of their overseas transportation, once they have resettled. Some of them have assets of their own which can be used.

While it may be advisable to provide a source of funds to be loaned to these migrants to pay for their passage, the net additional cost to this Government of transporting the people from the overpopulated areas should be small.

The years through which we are passing are tragic years for many people. We are faced with extraordinary problems which demand extraordinary solutions. The problem of the refugees from Communist tyranny and that of overpopulation in Western Europe are matters of practical concern to the entire free world.

To us in America, whose most basic belief is in the inherent worth of the human individual, these problems present a challenge as well as a responsibility. The programs I have here recommended are designed to meet the challenge and accept the responsibility. I hope that the Congress will give them prompt and favorable consideration.

HARRY S. TRUMAN,
The White House,
March 24, 1952.

This Bonfra



the look

to authorize a program that will:

1. Provide aid for the unfortunate victims of oppression who are escaping from Communist tyranny behind the Iron Curtain.
2. Continue our participation in the international effort now being made to assist in the migration and resettlement throughout the world of a substantial number of persons from the overpopulated areas of Western Europe, and
3. Authorize additional immigration into this country, on a limited basis, to aid in alleviating the problems created by Communist tyranny and overpopulation in Western Europe.

The solution to these problems cannot, and should not, be the responsibility of any one nation.

Says United States Must Help

It is an international responsibility—an integral part of the world crisis which the free nations must meet together. It demands the cooperative efforts of all interested countries. But a real solution can be found only if the United States does its part.

We have done our part in the past—we must not falter now.

World War II left in its wake a tremendous upheaval of populations in the countries of Europe. To meet the situation, this country took the lead in establishing the International Refugee Organization, which provided care and protection for displaced persons and made possible the migration of more than 1,000,000 of them to forty-eight countries throughout the free world.

As our own contribution to the common effort, the Congress in 1948 enacted the Displaced Persons Act and subsequently amended and extended it. Both the Congress and the American people have every right to be proud of the achievements made under this far-sighted humanitarian legislation.

The Displaced Persons Act is now approaching the termination date fixed by the Congress. When operations under this law have been finished, almost 400,000 victims of tyranny will have been resettled in the United States. The first major phase of the program was completed with the issuance of practically all of the 341,000 visas authorized to be issued by midnight, Dec. 31, 1951.

In addition, the Congress authorized the issuance of 84,744 visas for those German expellees who had fled or been driven from areas east of the Iron Curtain. There is every likelihood that the remaining visas for these German expellees will be issued ahead of the June 30, 1952, deadline set by the Congress.

Private Agencies Praised

The job has been well done by the Displaced Persons Commission and other cooperating agencies of the Government. Much of the success of the program is due to the vital work accomplished by private voluntary agencies, representing our major religious faiths and nationality groups, and by the state commissions appointed by the Governors of thirty-four states.

These organizations of citizens have contributed their efforts and resources to resettling the greater part of the displaced persons admitted to this country. Without them, and without the goodwill and cooperative response of thousands of American families and

church groups, this great program could never have been carried out.

They are doing our own share and by acting together with the other countries of the free world, we have been dealing successfully with the major dislocations caused by Hitler's aggression and brutality against his victims.

But the movement of large masses of distressed people across international boundaries is by no means over. Communist brutality has taken up where Hitler's brutality left off. We are, therefore, now turning our attention to the people who are the victims of Communist oppression.

Throughout the Soviet-dominated area of Central and Eastern Europe, the Communist regime is increasing their repressive measures. Some of the enslaved people are managing to escape to the West. Some fifteen to twenty thousand Germans are slipping over the border from the Soviet zone of Germany and crossing into Western Germany every month.

Notes Refugee Risk Lives

From the Communist countries to the south and east the movement of refugees is increasing. Smaller, but still they come, at the risk of their lives, past border guards and through mine fields. There are about 15,000 of these people who are escaping from the Iron Curtain, and they are coming in at the rate of about 1,000 a month.

The people in all these groups come into areas where, for the most part, the local economy is unable to support the population already there.

Western Germany, for example, is overcrowded with almost 9,000,000 people of German ethnic origin who were driven there from Eastern Europe after the war.

Which is receiving many of those escaping from the satellites, is badly overcrowded.

Italy is struggling with very serious problems of overpopulation and is receiving many of the large numbers of its people overseas.

Greece faces great difficulty in absorbing the refugees of Greek ethnic origin being driven out of the Balkan satellites by the Communists.

Thus, the brutal policies of Soviet tyranny are aggravating overpopulation which is already a danger to the stability of these free nations.

This in general terms, is the nature of the problem that now confronts free Europe.

The Congress is aware of the importance of this problem for the free world and the security of the United States. Congressional enactments and appropriations recently enabled the United States committee for the movement of migrants from Europe, which seventeen governments have already joined.

Asks Extension of Authority

This organization is already at work providing overseas transportation for migrants from areas of overpopulation to lands where more people are needed.

We are taking part in the work of this organization and have contributed \$10,000,000 to its operation. The organization has taken over the fleet of ships formerly operated by the International Refugee Organization.

The legal authority to participate in this organization is contained in the Mutual Security Act of 1951. This authority should be extended, and the Congress should make provision for continuing our financial contribution to this work for the next fiscal year.

This is of great importance, but much more needs to be done.

In the first place, specific aid and assistance should be provided for the people who are fleeing at the risk of their lives from Southern and Eastern Europe. These people are Balts, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians, Rumanians, Rumanians, Albanians, Ukrainians and Russians.

These people face a desperate situation. Not only do they arrive destitute, with only what they can carry on their backs, but they find themselves in totally strange lands among strange peoples speaking strange languages.

The local authorities do not have adequate resources to care for them properly. These people need better care when they arrive and need special assistance if they are to move on and resettle elsewhere.

The miserable conditions in which these fugitives from communism find themselves, and their present inability to emigrate to new homes and start new lives, lead inevitably to despair. Their disillusionment is being effective-

Held routine session; adjourned at 2:03 P. M.

DEPARTMENTS & AGENCIES

Charles E. Wilson, Defense Mobilizer, said Wage Stabilization

Senate and House meet at noon.

Foreign Relations Committee hearings on Mutual Security Program, 10 A. M.

by exploited by Communist propaganda.

These men and women are being maintained in the comfortable and courageous fighters against communism. They ask only for an opportunity to play a useful role in the fight for freedom and the responsibility of the free world to afford them this opportunity.

The need is well recognized, both in Europe and in this country. Private welfare organizations of American citizens, Protestant, Catholic and Jewish, have been working hard to help these people. Last year, these organizations spent substantial amounts for their care and resettlement. These organizations will continue their efforts this year, but their resources are greater than they can handle.

First of all, these fugitives from communism need supplemental food, better shelter, clothing, medical care, legal advice and other kinds of material assistance are needed.

They also need assistance in financing overseas transportation. The new international migration organization and the American Relief Agency can and do help with this, but a concerted effort is needed to give these people an equal opportunity to share in the migration program.

Points to Need for Fund

At present, because of inadequate funds, these fugitives from communism who have the greatest difficulty in arranging for overseas migration. If funds were provided, and an adequate administrative organization set up, these people would have a better chance to migrate.

I am convinced that we must help these people. Therefore, acting under authority of the Mutual Security Act of 1951, I am authorizing the Director for Mutual Security go forward with a limited program of assistance in this fiscal year. Four million three hundred thousand dollars will be allocated for this purpose.

This program will help alleviate the condition of these people in the countries to which they escape and will enable many of them to move out of Europe.

The funds that are being made available will supplement, but not in any sense supersede—the efforts now being made both by the governments of the countries where these people have fled and by private American organizations.

Supplemental care and overseas migration do not, however, constitute all that should be done for those who escape from Eastern Europe. A substantial number of them want to stay in Europe and should have the opportunity to do so. They should be welcomed in Western Europe and given the opportunity to make their individual contributions to the free world. Many of them will need further education or training so they can prepare themselves for useful and productive work in the North Atlantic community.

I urge the Congress, therefore, to provide clear and adequate authority for the coming year—together with the necessary funds—so that the program of assistance we are now starting for the refugees from communism can be carried forward and strengthened along the lines that I have mentioned here.

Security Requirements High

In addition to these types of aid, the opportunity for military service may provide an answer to the problems of a small number of these refugees. Some of these people will be able to enlist in the United States armed forces overseas, under Public Law 297, the so-called Lodge Act of 1950.

So far, however, only a handful have been allowed to do this. Security screening requirements have necessarily been high, since each person under the provisions of the Lodge Act is a potential United States citizen.

Another type of military service for these people is authorized under Section 101 (A) (4) of the Mutual Security Act of 1951, which provides that they can be formed into elements of the military forces supporting the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The question of forming such units presents great administrative and political difficulties, but it has been receiving careful study.

Even if it proves possible, however, to create such units, military service could utilize only a

productivity employed in the free conditions there are a net loss in the strength of the free world.

In other countries, where they are needed, these same people could add to the output and growing power of the free nations. But left in the new areas, wasted and hopeless, they become an easy prey to the demagogues of totalitarianism, both Right and Left.

The bulk of the emigration needed will have to be taken care of by countries other than the United States. Some of the free nations, particularly those with large unsettled areas or undeveloped resources, have a pressing need for large numbers of immigrants to build up their countries and increase their production.

Canada and Australia, for example, have already initiated substantial programs of immigration. The Australian immigration program calls for an annual immigration of at least 150,000 persons per year. Canadian absorption in the last year was at the rate of 180,000. Additional opportunities for migrants are opening up, although more slowly, in the Republics of Central and South America.

Recalls Immigration to U. S.

But the United States can and should take some of the migrants now available in Europe. One of the reasons we lead the free world today is that we are a nation of immigrants. We have been made strong and vigorous by the diverse skills and abilities of the different people who have migrated to this country and become American citizens. Past immigration has helped to build our tremendous industrial power. Today, our growing economy can make effective use of additional manpower in various areas and lines of work.

The rapid expansion of our industry and the enlargement of our defense forces, have increased the demands of our available manpower reserves. Our industry can readily absorb a limited number of skilled and trained personnel in the years immediately ahead.

In our agriculture particularly, we have a need for additional people. Farm operators and farm workers are essential in our defense effort. Since 1949, there has been a downward trend in the farm population of the United States. With the resumption of the movement from the farms to the cities, there is a real danger that in the years just ahead our agricultural production may be seriously hampered.

A rich pool of surplus farmers and farm workers exists in the

in considering the steps to be taken, we should measure the needs of the distressed people in Europe against our own capacity to make good use of additional manpower, and the extent of our international responsibilities.

The problem we face is in the nature of an emergency. This emergency can be of limited duration, if we of the free world act wisely and resolutely. The plight of the refugees in Europe and the demands of our national defense are both related to the threat of Communist aggression. When that threat wanes, there will be less need for extraordinary measures. But while it persists, we should move promptly and effectively to meet it.

The existing immigration laws are inadequate—both in general and as regards this special problem. The Displaced Persons Act, passed this year, and we will be thrown back on the quota system of immigration.

Quotas Are Mortgaged

So far as the people escaping from communism are concerned, many of them will be completely blocked from coming to this country because their quotas have been "mortgaged" under the Displaced Persons Act, for many years in the future.

For example, half of the Latvian quota has been mortgaged ahead three centuries to the year 2374, the Estonian quota through the year 2146, the Lithuanian quota through the year 2087, and the Polish quota through the year 2000.

Furthermore, under present law we will be unable to make any substantial contribution to meeting the problem of overpopulation in Germany, the Netherlands, Italy or Greece. In the latter countries, for example, where the need is particularly acute, we can admit annually only 5,677 Italians and 310 Greeks under the law as it now stands.

To meet the present emergency, we should enlarge the numbers of immigrants that can be taken in from all these critical areas. I ask the Congress to authorize the admission of some 300,000 additional persons over a three-year period. This would include, on an annual basis:

1. 7,000 religious and political refugees from communism in Eastern Europe;
2. 7,500 Greek nationals from Greece;
3. 7,500 Dutch from the Netherlands;
4. 10,000 Italians from Italy and Trieste; and
5. 20,000 Germans and persons of German ethnic origin.

Immigration in these amounts and from these sources could

Without reference to quota numbers. There are considerations that the Congress will wish to keep in mind when it takes up the question of improving our overall immigration laws.

It is most important to remember, however, that action to meet the emergency problem is needed this year. If the Congress cannot agree at this session on desirable improvements in our whole system of immigration that would take care of the emergency problem, it should act to take care of the emergency directly.

In no event should this vital emergency program be tied to or associated with restrictive changes in our permanent immigration laws—changes which would in themselves hamper or nullify the operation of the emergency program.

In addition to this emergency three-year program, I recommend that steps be taken to alleviate an unfortunate situation arising under the operation of the Displaced Persons Act.

Loss of 7,500 Visas Noted

Although all visas authorized for displaced persons were issued, some 7,500 of them were lost because the persons to whom they were issued did not actually come to the United States. On the other hand, a number of persons who were seeking admission under the act, and whose applications were under consideration, were unable to obtain visas prior to the time the authority to issue such visas expired on Dec. 31, 1951.

A substantial portion of these applicants were admissible under the standards of the act and would have made as good immigrants as those already admitted. The voluntary agencies or individual citizens have given the assurances necessary for the admission of these persons. There is still place for them in the United States.

It seems unjust and unwise to

With respect to the financing of the emergency three-year program, however, the situation is rather different from that under the Displaced Persons Act, where transportation was financed through Government funds.

Except for the refugees from communism, the people from the overpopulated areas, who constitute the bulk of the migrants to be admitted, are in a better financial position than the displaced persons of former years.

They are not stateless, or dependent wholly on charity. Their countries are interested in seeing them migrate and can be called on to help with the expense of getting them started. The migrants themselves can be asked to repay the cost of their overseas transportation, once they have resettled. Some of them have assets of their own which can be used.

While it may be advisable to provide a source of funds to be loaned to these migrants to pay for their passage, the net additional cost to this Government of transporting the people from the overpopulated areas should be small.

The years through which we are passing are tragic years for many people. We are faced with extraordinary problems which demand extraordinary solutions. The problem of the refugees from Communist tyranny and that of overpopulation in Western Europe are matters of practical concern to the entire free world.

To us in America, whose most basic belief is in the inherent worth of the human individual, these problems present a challenge as well as a responsibility. The programs I have here recommended are designed to meet the challenge and accept the responsibility. I hope that the Congress will give them prompt and favorable consideration.

HARRY R. TRUMAN,
The White House,
March 24, 1952.

BONN TO NEGOTIATE ON TERMS OF JEWS

NY TIMES 4/17/52

Adenauer Instructs Envoys to Accept Their Figures as Basis for Discussion

Special to The New York Times.

BONN, Germany, April 6—West German representatives have been instructed by Chancellor Konrad Adenauer to accept for negotiation most of the claims made by Israel and nongovernmental Jewish groups for restitutions and reparations, particularly the Israeli estimates of costs in resettling Jewish refugees. The claims are based on crimes against Jews by Hitler Germany.

The Bonn delegation left tonight for The Hague, the Netherlands, where negotiations will be resumed tomorrow. Its members have been carefully instructed to assure the Israeli and other Jewish leaders of the Bonn Government's willingness to pay and to prevent by all means a rupture of talks.

An authoritative source disclosed that the Jewish representatives twice threatened to walk out of the negotiations, which began two weeks ago. At one point the Jewish leaders disclosed they had made travel reservations for departure, charging that the West Germans were not fulfilling the expectations growing out of the original offer by Dr. Adenauer to make restitutions.

Dr. Adenauer has stressed with his financial and economic aides that they must recognize the diplomatic ramifications of having reparations talks broken off. Israel has demanded \$1,000,000,000 in foreign exchange and machinery and housing materials for the payment of the costs of resettling 500,000 Jews from Europe. Jews in other parts of the world represented by the Conference on Jewish Material Claims have put in a claim for \$500,000,000 as recompense in part for the material losses suffered by Jews in Germany under the Nazis.

The West German representatives will ask the Israeli negotiators tomorrow to furnish details on the costs of transporting and housing the immigrants to arrive at a specific rather than a round figure. A figure mentioned here as one that both Israel and West Germany might accept as the basis for negotiation is \$750,000,000.

What has disturbed the representatives of Israel and the Jewish groups has been the insistence of the Germans on dovetailing their demands with those of foreign creditors. At the London conference on Germany's external debts the Germans were accused of seeking to put a low priority on the Israeli and Jewish claims and exaggerating their inability to pay.

The Germans here stressed that at present they have been called upon not only to clear up external debts, some of which were incurred during World War I, but also to assume new financial obligations with respect to the European Defense Community.

LAST OF REFUGEES

NY TIMES 4/15/52

339,000th D. P. Is Welcomed —Truman Rues End of Act, Assails Immigration Foes

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, April 14—Like countless previous immigrants, the four members of the Zylka family headed West today with a promise of work and freedom. Behind them were thirteen years of terror and persecution along the weary road of the wartime refugees of Europe, and President Truman personally tried to help blur out their bitter memories as they started out.

Josef Zylka of the Poland that was free up to 1939 was the three hundred thirty-nine thousandth and last of the refugees admitted into this country under the Displaced Persons Act, now expired. With him was his wife and two little daughters, and as they stood with the President in the White House Room Garden today Mr. Truman made a veiled but sharp attack on those who refused to reopen the doors for many thousands more like the Zylkas still in Europe.

"This country of ours is a magnificently great country," the President said with feeling, "and it was made up in the beginning of people who were displaced in their own countries. There isn't a colony in the country that was not made up of people who were fleeing from persecution and hunting a better life."

"We have come to the point, now, though, where some of the descendants of those early immigrants have come to the conclusion that they shouldn't help other people who are now in the same condition that they were at that time."

Not an "Ancestor Hunter"

"I am not one of them, although my roots go back as far as any of the people who claim ancestry in this country. I am not an ancestor hunter. I am a man who believes in doing things today that will make the world a better place to live in."

"We took much time, and great effort, in bringing the displaced persons to this country, and it gives me much pleasure to welcome the last one on the list," the President said. "I hope it will not be the last on the list, for I want to increase it to a much larger number."

It was apparent that President Truman was alluding to the opposition already apparent in Congress to the program he proposed on March 24 to admit, over a period of three years, 500,000 more refugees and other qualified immigrants from overpopulated European countries.

"This was the greatest and happiest day for me," Mr. Zylka replied in halting English, the language he began to learn when he fled a Nazi slave labor camp and became a truck mechanic for the United States Army in Frankfurt and Berlin.

"Going to Steal Me a Little Girl"

His blond wife, Ursula, beamed as her husband promised they would be good citizens. The little girls, Ursula, 6 years old, and Beate, 3, were shy, but the President finally persuaded them to shake hands for the photographers.

"If you don't watch out," Mr. Truman said to Beate, "I'm going to steal me a little girl."

What Mr. Zylka looked forward to—as the President provided the climax to the welcome he has received in this country—was a factory job, a house and transportation provided by Carl Schmeck of Chicago.

The family was leaving tonight for the end of the road that it began to travel in September, 1939, when the Nazi legions crushed its country. But it was the Russian Army, suddenly moving in from the East, that made Mr. Zylka a prisoner. He was exchanged three months later and returned to Poland, but the German Army grabbed him and put him at forced labor for the next five years.

For President Truman Mr. Zylka had a gift. It was the Declaration of Independence, engraved on a sheet of silver and mounted

JORDAN PACT NEAR TO RESETTLE ARABS

NY TIMES 4/18/52

U. N. Agency Plans Outlay of \$12,000,000 in Kingdom on Palestine Refugees

By ALBION BOSS

Special to The New York Times.

BEIRUT, Lebanon, April 17—John Blandford, director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, said today that he was now in the process of completing negotiations with the Kingdom of Jordan on a program providing jobs and dwellings for Arab refugees there. The agreement, presumably will be signed next week. It would be the agency's first large scale project to go into effect.

The agreement envisions the expenditure of \$10,000,000, principally on setting up farming communities and on establishing small industries to employ refugees. Including sums already committed for a Jordan Development Bank or spent on two small experimental villages, \$12,000,000 will be committed by the agreement.

The agreement represents the first step in realizing a \$250,000,000 three-year program for the re-integration of Palestinian Arab refugees that was authorized by the last United Nations General Assembly.

Funds to be expended on agriculture under the agreement with the Jordan Government total \$7,000,000. The plans include construction of homes for refugee farmers. The agency carried out an elaborate investigation of available lands and irrigation possibilities.

Funds earmarked under the agreement for industrial and commercial undertakings total \$2,500,000. Industries for which plans have been drawn include fruit and vegetable canning, an olive oil press, a sesame oil press, a nail factory, printing plants, a tannery, a small iron and brass foundry, a sulphuric acid plant, a caustic soda plant, and a small paper mill.

The industrial aspect of the agreement is intended both to provide a livelihood for the refugees and at the same time to enable Jordan, which is almost entirely dependent on British subsidies and international charity through refugee relief, to become more self-supporting.

Studies that have been made indicate that more than 200,000 of about 460,000 refugees now in Jordan must move to another country if they are to have homes and a livelihood. In all, about 500,000 of the total of Palestine refugees must move eventually from countries where they now are.

Mr. Blandford went to Damascus Monday to discuss the refugee problem with the Syrian Government. Syria has, in Middle Eastern terms, an abundance of undeveloped tillable land.

The experience of the agency with one of two small experimental villages in Jordan has been discouraging, according to the United Nations representatives in Amman. Thirty-six homes were built, irrigation was provided free and a first crop planted. Thirty-six families from a refugee camp were chosen and offered the opportunity to take over the village. In order that the villagers should have a claim to the properties and the houses should not be pure gifts, the roofs had been left off, but roofing materials were provided.

The families chosen sent a small group ahead to survey the situation. The refugee agency's representatives in Jordan were astonished when they were told that the chosen group would take over the properties only if a medical clinic, warm water showers and a school were provided.

The reaction of the agency personnel was disappointment rather than anger.

The sum now being definitely committed in Jordan under the new agreement is part of a fund of \$50,000,000 voted by the United Nations General Assembly for the fiscal year ending June 30. No other very substantial portion of the fund can be committed as yet.

REFUGEE AID GROUP FACES DISSOLUTION

NY TIMES 4/22/52
Lack of Funds for Fugitives
Abroad Cited by International
Rescue Committee

The International Rescue Committee, which made possible the escape of 1,400 persons from Communist-dominated countries and resettled them in the United States and Canada, will end its seventeen-year existence on May 15 unless funds become available immediately.

The decision was made yesterday by the directors and announced by Leo Cherne, vice chairman. He said that the minimum amount required to carry out commitments and complete the year's program was \$250,000. The budget—which covers normal requirements of the committee's offices in Turkey, Austria, Sweden, France, Belgium, Germany, Canada and the United States and finances transportation and resettlement—is ordinarily \$1,000,000 annually.

The committee, which is the only nonsectarian organization in the field, survived the last year through a contribution of \$500,000 by the Ford Foundation, but this year, according to Mr. Cherne, the outlook is bleak. Even if the State Department released some of the \$4,300,000 allocated for assistance to Iron Curtain refugees, Mr. Cherne said, the limitations on the expenditure of the funds would not alter the present position. None of this money, he added, has been released.

Testimonials to Work
"The humanitarian effectiveness and the importance of this work has received tribute from recognized refugee leaders and organizations," the committee said. "Testimonials of another order have come in the form of violent attacks from Moscow in Pravda and its sister organs of international communism."

Margr. Beia, Varga, exiled president of the Hungarian National Council, called the impending cessation of the committee's activities "a very great disaster for my country."

"Ninety per cent of these people are anti-Communist at heart, and only because they never have given up hope that America will help them," he asserted. "To kill the hopes of the people will make them Communists. If this work ends, life will be hopeless for them."

Dr. Otton Pehr, vice president of the Polish Political Council in the United States, and Dr. Václavas Sidzekauskas, United States representative of the Supreme Lithuanian Liberation Council, expressed similar fears. They held that such action would imply a weakness on the part of this country, embarrass the Voice of America and play into the hands of the Soviets.

Appeals for Assistance

The committee reported that its European offices received appeals for assistance from Iron Curtain exiles at the rate of 1,000 a month. There are 423 refugees—including professionals, technicians, resistance leaders and their families—who have been cleared for resettlement here or in Canada but who will be stranded in Europe if the committee disbands. Seventy-five refugees in North America who are dependent upon the committee also will be left without support, the statement declared.

Among those already brought to this continent are three nuclear physicists, including the second highest ranking atomic physicist of the Soviet Union; a Soviet geologist, a former Hungarian Minister of Defense, a specialist in the development of the Soviet Arctic transportation system, a Czechoslovak Army general and a former chief of engineering department of the Hungarian state railroads.

Of the refugees brought here by the committee, 163 have been placed in importation camps connected with the

BONNEN SET TO ISRAEL FIXED SUM

NY TIMES 5/8/52
Spokesman Voices Willingness
to Make Concrete Proposal
on Refugee Reparations

By JACK RAYMOND

Special to The New York Times.
BONN, Germany, May 7.—An official spokesman said today that the West German Government was willing to make a concrete offer to Israel in response to a vote by the Israeli Parliament yesterday that negotiations for the \$1,000,000,000 reparations sought by Israel remain suspended until such an offer was made.

This had been the intention of the Bonn Government all along, the spokesman asserted, adding that this attitude was indicated to the Israeli Government and the Jewish Conference on Material Claims when talks at The Hague were broken off April 19.

Herman J. Abs, who is head of the West German delegation at the London conference, which is scheduled to be resumed May 19, and Prof. Frans Boehm, head of the Bonn delegation to The Hague reparations talks, were to confer here.

In the meantime, however, the Israeli Parliament's action became a political issue here. Echoing the resolution in the Knesset (Israeli Parliament) Dr. Kurt Schumacher, leader of the powerful Social Democratic opposition, issued a statement demanding that the Bonn Government make "a concrete, satisfactory and serious" offer to Israel.

Linked Obligations Questioned

In addition, Dr. Schumacher challenged the Bonn Government's view that the Israeli reparations negotiations and the London conference on external debts were interdependent.

Herr Abs, before going into the conference with Professor Boehm, said in an interview that he and his German colleague were in full agreement, as was the Bonn Government, that claims by Israel and non-governmental Jewish groups were basically different, but he stressed that "something not generally understood, even by our own politicians, is that there is only one capacity to pay and only one technique for transferring funds."

Herr Abs said it was his firm belief that both problems, the settling of Germany's pre-war commercial debts and post-war reparations to Israel, would be satisfactorily solved "but they can only be solved together and if one fails the other will fail also."

Germans Aware of Gains

Those Germans who, shocked by the magnitude of world opinion arrayed against them, would have supported reparations for Israel as a matter of diplomatic expediency, now appear satisfied that they are recovering sufficiently in major projects with the Western Allies — the Contractual Agreement, the European Army, the Council of Europe and the Schuman Plan for integrating Western Europe's steel and coal output.

Most observers here agree Israel would have been far more successful in her approach for reparations if she had initiated it two years ago. At that time Israel might have obtained suitable financial commitments that the Allies might have been prepared to support. As it is, reliable sources disclose, only the United States has displayed more than a casual interest in the subject.

The United States' informal intervention on behalf of Jewish organizations resulted in satisfactory preliminary agreements between the Jewish Conference on Material Claims and the Bonn Government. However, United States officials have been impressed by the complaint of the Germans that, granted the Israeli claims are not based on Hitler Germany's crimes against the Jews, which can never be paid off, a payment for material costs in resettling Jews should have some relation to other German financial debts.

EMIGRATION OF JEWS TO ISRAEL SPURRED

NY TIMES 6/2/52
Geneva Body Will Assist 2,000
From Europe to Resettle—
General Shift Held Too Slow

By MICHAEL I. HOFFMAN

Special to The New York Times.
GENEVA, July 31.—The International governmental Migration Committee will assist in the resettlement in Israel of 2,000 European Jews, officials announced today. An agreement with the Israeli Government provides that the committee will handle the transport of these immigrants, while Jewish organizations, possibly the Jewish Agency for Palestine, will make the pre-embarkation arrangements.

Only those Jews who will have left their country of citizenship after tomorrow and only those going to Israel for permanent settlement will be eligible for this program.

This is the migration committee's first operation on behalf of emigrants to Israel, as well as its first program directed specifically to the problems of newly arriving refugees. Pressure on Jews in Communist countries is converting more and more of them to refugee status.

Arrangements Getting Harder

At the same time, arrangements for the emigration of Jews to Israel by agreement with the Communist Governments are getting harder and harder to establish.

Hugh Gibson, director of the migration committee, estimated today that the cost of this program would be \$108,000.

In general, the movement of Europeans from their overcrowded continent to new homes in the Western Hemisphere and other suitable parts of the world is too slow for Europe's social and political needs, in the opinion of experts here.

Many governments are allowing migration problems to be handled at relatively low levels. They hold the comfortable belief that the special immigration programs of the United States, Canada and Australia are big enough to provide the safety valve needed by the European countries whose economies are too narrow to support present and prospective populations.

But the safety valve is only sputtering while population pressures are building up constantly to more and more dangerous levels.

The migration committee has ships to transport migrants and trained personnel to handle the innumerable kinds of processing to which migrants must submit today. If it reaches its objective of 100,000 migrants moved during its first year, which is about half over, the committee will have proved that economical mass movements under international auspices are practicable. But it will have met no perceptible dent in the overpopulation problem.

Germans Face Others

Most of the persons being transferred by the committee are Germans who are entering the United States under special legislation, which has now expired. Dutch, German, Austrian and Scandinavian also are going to Canada or Australia under programs that, too, are winding out.

New United States legislation to ease the entry of immigrants has been adopted. Canada and Australia both have discovered that they must cut the rate of inflow for perhaps half a year to absorb the hundreds of thousands of immigrants that they have already accepted.

But even assuming the resumption of Canadian and Australian immigration on a scale of perhaps 250,000 yearly for these two thinly populated members of the British Commonwealth, there would be little for Italy and Greece to look forward to in such programs. Southern Europeans are not excluded from selection by the Anglo-Saxon

countries, but they are rarely selected. There is a cruel saying that even the gods of ancient Greece could not meet the requirements laid down for their modern countrymen by the selection boards of most countries.

Nations that are prepared on religious, racial and national grounds to accept large numbers of Southern Europeans at present are incapable of coping with settlement problems after the immigrants arrive. They lack the strong voluntary organizations that played such a great part in taking care of displaced persons admitted to the United States after World War II.

Some of these countries, notably Brazil, have asked the international migration committee to consider the possibility not only of transporting immigrants, but of assuming broad responsibilities for developing projects that would enable the Latin American countries to accept large numbers of new citizens.

NY HER TRIB 8/4/52
**Henry Ford 2d
 Heads Crusade
 For Freedom**

**Succeeds Clay as Chairman
 of Group Favoring Free
 Radio in Europe, Asia**

Henry Ford 2d, president of the Ford Motor Co., has been appointed national chairman of the Crusade for Freedom. It was announced yesterday by Rear Adm. H. B. Miller, retired, president of the organization.

Mr. Ford will succeed Gen. Lucius D. Clay who has been chairman since the group was formed in 1950. Crusade for Freedom supports Radio Free Europe and Radio Free Asia, privately supported counterparts of the government's Voice of America, which help beam the message of the free democracies around the world and beyond the Iron Curtain.

During its two years of operation Crusade for Freedom has raised \$3,500,000 from 25,000,000 Americans to help support its thirteen transmitters in Germany and Portugal and its Radio Free Asia, which broadcasts to the Far East in four languages. Last year the organization also released 13,000 gas-filled balloons which, carried by the wind, took millions of messages of freedom into Communist territory.

Gen. Clay also said the information offered by the Crusade for Freedom through the press, radio, newscasts, television and its own publications has helped make Americans more aware of the true nature of communism.

Most Rewarding Work

"My two years as chairman of the crusade has proved more rewarding than any other activity in which I have participated," the retiring chairman said. "I shall continue to work for it under the able leadership of Henry Ford."

Adm. Miller said Crusade for Freedom seeks to raise \$4,000,000 this year for more transmitters in both radio networks. There will be a fund-raising drive Nov. 11 through Dec. 15, he said.

Mr. Ford's interest in international affairs and the cause of world peace follows that of his grandfather, the founder of the automobile company. The late Henry Ford organized a "peace ship" venture in which he sailed to Europe Dec. 4, 1915, with members of pacifist organizations and attempted to arrange a peace conference to "get the boys out of the trenches by Christmas." The attempt ended in ridicule and dissolution. Later, when the United States entered World War I, Mr. Ford wholeheartedly put his industrial might behind the war effort.

**Israel Accepts
 715 Million of
 West Germany
 Reparations for Sufferings
 Nazis Inflicted Provide
 14-Yr. Payment in Goods**

WASSENSAAR, the Netherlands, Aug. 28 (AP).—Representatives of Israel and of world Jewry concluded successfully today negotiations with West Germany over reparations for suffering inflicted on Jews by the Nazis.

Draft agreements concluded here will be submitted to the respective governments and to the presidium at New York of the World Conference on Jewish Material Claims against Germany. They will be initiated here on Sept. 5 by members of the delegations which took part in the negotiations and will be signed later at Luxembourg by West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer and Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett.

As had been expected, the agreement with Israel provides for payment of \$715,000,000, mostly in merchandise. This will aid Israel in settling newcomers. West Germany will provide manufactured items, such as pumps and pipes, needed for development of irrigation projects.

A fourteen-year time limit is set for delivery but this will be shortened if West Germany can provide payments in cash.

In addition, West Germany is to pay \$107,000,000 as a token compensation for Jewish assets seized by the Nazis and now unclaimed because the former owners are dead or have no established heirs. The money will be used for rehabilitation of Jewish victims of Nazism.

Israel is asking another \$250,000,000 dollars from Soviet-occupied East Germany but negotiations on this demand have not yet begun.

**U. S. AID PLAN IRKS
 U. N. REFUGEE CHIEF**

NY TIMES 8/19/52
**\$4,300,000 for Help to Those
 Fleeing Iron Curtain Held
 to 'Raise False Hopes'**

By MICHAEL L. HOFFMAN
 Special to The New York Times

GENEVA, Sept. 18.—Dr. G. J. van Heuven Goedhart, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, criticized today the United States Government's program for aiding persons newly escaped from Communist countries as likely to "raise false hopes" among refugees.

This program, known as the Presidential escapes program, has \$4,300,000 behind it, drawn from Mutual Security Administration funds. According to Dr. van Heuven Goedhart, the United States agency in Frankfurt, Germany, that directs the program has informed the High Commissioner that only 20,000 refugees were likely to be eligible for help under the United States program.

There are more than 200,000 refugees under the High Commissioner's mandate. He has been unable to raise as much as \$1,000,000 from Governments to provide emergency aid to refugees. The United States has not contributed a cent.

Today, Dr. van Heuven Goedhart, while expressing gratitude for all the United States has done in the past to aid distressed persons throughout the world, said that the current United States program was causing refugees unnecessary trouble by asking them to go through an elaborate new registration process. The worst of this, he said, was that while, according to United States estimates only 20,000 could be helped, many times this number were asked to register and this raised false hopes.

Sees Efforts Undermined

He also criticized the United States program for undermining



CRITICIZES U. S.: Dr. G. J. van Heuven Goedhart, U. N. Commissioner for Refugees.

toward their aliens that are perhaps not being met, and that the United States should not be the main target of fund-raising appeals for meeting the responsibilities of others.

These authorities believe that the earnestness and good faith of the United States in caring for refugees and "escapes" from behind the Iron Curtain has been demonstrated not only by President Truman's proposal of last March, but also by the recommendation of George L. Warren, State Department refugee expert, who suggested last November that a temporary agency be created to replace the International Refugee Organization.

The United States proposal was for machinery to resettle about 115,000 European refugees, of which the United States would take 25,000, all ethnic Germans. This Government would also contribute \$10,000,000 of an estimated \$34,000,000 needed to carry out the resettlement program.

A distinction was made here between the "escape" program under the Mutual Security Act and the over-all problem of resettling the great numbers of refugees and displaced persons in Western Europe. Funds for bringing into this country certain qualified persons who have escaped from behind the Iron Curtain are provided under the terms of the so-called Kersten amendment to the Mutual Security Act. The use of up to \$100,000,000 is authorized by that statute for several purposes, among them the aiding of "escapes."

So far, President Truman has allocated \$4,300,000 for that project and from 150 to 200 "escapes" have entered the United States with the assistance of that money. It was pointed out that refugees entering this country must not only meet the requirements of the immigration laws, but, if they classify as "escapes" under the Mutual Security Act, they must also satisfy other criteria.

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VNA
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GOODMAN
BERGDORF

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In addition, West Germany is to pay \$107,000,000 as a token compensation for Jewish assets seized by the Nazis and now unclaimed because the former owners are dead or have no established heirs. The money will be used for rehabilitation of Jewish victims of Nazism.

Israel is asking another \$250,000,000 dollars from Soviet-occupied East Germany but negotiations on this demand have not yet begun.

Today, Dr. van Heuven Goedhart, while expressing gratitude for all the United States has done in the past to aid distressed persons throughout the world, said that the current United States program was causing refugees unnecessary trouble by asking them to go through an elaborate new registration process. The worst of this, he said, was that while, according to United States estimates only 20,000 could be helped, many times this number were asked to register and this raised false hopes.

Sees Efforts Undermined

He also criticized the United States program for undermining efforts of his office to convince refugees that their main hope was in integration in the economies of the countries in which they find themselves. He said the United States program held out the hope of eventual migration from Europe. The United States Government, by the way, is by no means as certain as the High Commissioner's office that migration is impossible for a substantial number of people classed as "refugees" in United Nations terminology.

Without entering into a controversy with Dr. van Heuven Goedhart, Donald Staisdel, United States representative on the Consultative Council, outlined the American program and said that it was intended to supplement, not supplant, the work of the United Nations. He cited the close and continuous liaison between the Frankfurt office of the United States services and the High Commissioner and between field representatives of both agencies as evidence that overlapping was being avoided so far as possible.

The prospects for more than 7,000 European refugees in Communist-held Shanghai were slightly better as a result of several recent developments. Dr. van Heuven Goedhart reported. Australia and Brazil already have undertaken to give priority in granting of visas to China refugees, and other Governments have agreed to consider similar action. It also has been learned that the British Government was actively trying to solve a dilemma created by the fact that visas can be granted only in Hong Kong while the refugees cannot get to Hong Kong without some advance assurance to local authorities that they would not remain a charge on that overcrowded colony on the fringe of the Chinese mainland.

Belgium and Australia have each announced small contributions to the High Commissioner's emergency fund. Belgium is giving \$40,000 and Australia 125,000 (about \$75,000) to the fund which is now at about \$500,000.

Reasons Behind U. S. Stand

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 18.—Behind the reluctance of the United States to pledge funds for use by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees are three convictions bearing on the role this Government and others should play in easing the refugee problem.

These beliefs are as follows:

1. The authority of the United Nations High Commission is limited to that of watching over the legal rights of refugees, from whatever country they may originate, to report on their problems to the United Nations and to appeal for funds for specific emergency measures. In the view of officials here, the high commissioner is not an "operational" official—that is, unlike the former International Refugee Organization, which was strongly supported by the United States, the commissioner is not authorized to carry out programs for the care, maintenance and resettlement of refugees.
2. The United States has proposed its own ambitious programs for the resettlement of refugees in this country, the last time being President Truman's proposal for admitting 300,000 refugees and displaced persons over a period of three years. Congress rejected the President's request for such a program, and Administration officials are not hopeful that the legislators would be any more friendly to a program proposed by an international agency.
3. Officials here feel that some of those countries who would be relieved by such a program as that sought by the refugee commissioner have responsibilities

the administration and good faith of the United States in caring for refugees and "escapees" from behind the Iron Curtain has been demonstrated not only by President Truman's proposal of last March, but also by the recommendation of George L. Warren, State Department refugee expert, who suggested last November that a temporary agency be created to replace the International Refugee Organization.

The United States proposal was for machinery to resettle about 115,000 European refugees, of which the United States would take 25,000, all ethnic Germans. This Government would also contribute \$10,000,000 of an estimated \$34,000,000 needed to carry out the resettlement program.

A distinction was made here between the "escapee" program under the Mutual Security Act and the over-all problem of resettling the great numbers of refugees and displaced persons in Western Europe. Funds for bringing into this country certain qualified persons who have escaped from behind the Iron Curtain are provided under the terms of the so-called Kersten amendment to the Mutual Security Act. The use of up to \$100,000,000 is authorized by that statute for several purposes, among them the aiding of "escapees."

So far, President Truman has allocated \$4,300,000 for that project and from 150 to 200 "escapees" have entered the United States with the assistance of that money.

It was pointed out that refugees entering this country must not only meet the requirements of the immigration laws, but, if they classify as "escapees" under the Mutual Security Act, they must also satisfy other criteria.

Oct 19, 1952
**World's Jews
 Put by Census
 At 11,672,000**

**Tabulation Shows Decline
 From Pre-War Figures;
 5,000,000 Are in U. S.**

The first organized census ever made of world Jewry, announced yesterday by the World Jewish Congress, estimates that there are 11,672,000 Jews in ninety-seven countries, about 6,400,000 fewer than there were before World War II.

Pre-war figures of 18,000,000 Jews were based on scattered information, but the W. J. C.'s enumeration is compiled from figures supplied by responsible Jewish organizations in the various lands.

Listed by Countries

In countries where there was no organization because of political circumstances, figures were supplied by groups in adjacent lands. The fifteen countries with the largest Jewish populations are:

United States	5,000,000
U. S. S. R.	2,000,000
Israel	1,450,000
Great Britain and Northern Ireland	480,000
Argentina	420,000
France	300,000
French Morocco	260,000
Canada	204,836
Rumania	190,000
Hungary	135,000
Algeria	130,000
Brazil	110,000
South Africa	105,000
Tunisia	100,000
Iran	100,000

The figures tabulated by continents are:

North and South America	5,865,506
Europe	3,279,647
Asia	707,025
Australia	55,845

Missing from the list of the fifteen countries with the most Jews are Germany, which used to have 600,000 Jews and now has 20,000, and Poland, which once had 3,000,000 and now counts 45,000.

Other Depletions Noted

Similar depletions have occurred in Rumania, which formerly had a Jewish population of 1,000,000 and now has 190,000, and Hungary, which formerly had 700,000 and now has 135,000. Most of the decline can be attributed to the anti-

Jewish programs in those countries, the congress said.

There are thirty-three Jewish communities with 1,000 to 10,000 population; twenty-nine with 1,000 Jews or less; twenty with more than 10,000 and less than 100,000, and fifteen with 100,000 Jews or more.

In Ethiopia there are 20,100 Jews, of whom 20,000 are Falashas, or Black Jews, who claim descent from the Queen of Sheba, the report said.

Dr. Isaac Schwarzbart, director of the W. J. C.'s organization department, was in charge of the census.

**SOVIET LOSES FIGHT
 IN U. N. ON REFUGEES**

NY TIMES 11/18/52
**High Commissioner's Budget
 Is Voted Despite Charges of
 Illegality, Capitalist Plot**

Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., Nov. 17—Insistence by the Soviet bloc that the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees was an illegal agency to furnish spies for the West and cheap labor for capitalism was rejected in two votes today by the Administrative and Budgetary Committee of the General Assembly.

Bitter words by Soviet Ambassador Georgi N. Zarubin and by the Czechoslovakian and Ukrainian delegates failed to halt approval by the committee of the appropriation of \$650,000 for the High Commissioner's office, as recommended by the advisory commission. The sum recommended by Secretary General Trygve Lie, and requested as essential by Dr. G. J. Van Heuven Goedhart, the High Commissioner for Refugees, was \$673,900.

A proposal by Mr. Zarubin to kill the appropriation—and thus put the two-year-old office out of existence—was defeated by a vote of 41 to 5. Poland and Byelorussia joined the other members of the Soviet bloc in voting against the proposal.

A motion to approve the appropriation was then passed by 43 to 5, with one abstention.

After Commissioner Van Heuven Goedhart had made an opening statement, Ambassador Zarubin began his barrage. He said that the High Commissioner office, which was established by a United Nations resolution in December, 1950, had been created without justification. He insisted that all so-called refugees and displaced persons should have been repatriated long ago.

T. P. Davin of New Zealand and Finn T. B. Fris of Denmark defended the office and the appropriation. Mr. Van Heuven Goedhart himself declared that nothing could be farther from the truth than the Soviet-bloc charges.

"What we are trying to do is help people in misery and that is all," he said. "All the rest is just fantasy."

The office of the High Commissioner for Refugees is an administrative, not an operational, agency of the United Nations. From its headquarters at Geneva it seeks a permanent solution for the problem of refugees by existing governments and private organizations, and aids the assimilation of refugees in new countries.

Later, the committee also approved \$2,450,880 in supplemental appropriations for the general budget for 1952. The Soviet bloc was again in opposition on the ground that some of the money would benefit agencies of the United Nations—such as the Balkan Subcommittee of the Peace Observation Commission—that it considered illegal.

1953

1/9/53.

Dear Mr. Taylor,

Forgive me for the long delay in answering your kind letter of July 27. In part this is due to the fact that I have been engaged in reviewing Jacques Vernani's "The Refugee in the Post-war World" for the Daily Telegraph, and writing an article, based on the book, for the Times Literary Supplement. You have probably seen the book - a colossal tome, really a cosmographic encyclopaedia of refugee conditions today, with important opening chapters on general refugee questions. He is a sociologist, and, in those chapters, treats his subject from the sociological aspect.

Ref book

I am glad to hear that you plan to record the activities of the Intergovernmental Committee, organized at Evian. At present there is a lacuna there in the recorded history of refugee operations, as there is also in the matter of the action taken by SHAEF, with which Proudfoot has dealt. It is important that the history of these two periods should be written and published. Then we shall have a complete record from the early days of Nansen, up to the present. I am hoping to contribute an article to the Fortnightly, - urging the importance that the General Assembly should realize that the refugees present a permanent international problem, with which it is bound to deal.

I have not yet heard from the editor as to whether they want such an article.

I do not think that I can offer any suggestions as to the subject of your proposed work. The Intergovernmental Committee was very seriously hampered, as have been its successor organizations, (except ILO) by the failure to provide the funds it needed for effective work. Much was hoped from Rublee's negotiations with the Hitler government, but the result was disappointing.

I hope that I may survive to see your volume in print, but I had my 85th birthday a couple of months ago, & cannot expect many more birthdays!

With very kind regards,
Yours always sincerely,
J. Hope Simpson

↑ First fold here ↓

EAST ZONE EXILES RECEIVING RELIEF

NY TIMES 2/1/53
Distribution Committee Aiding
Jews in West Germany—
U. N. Promises Funds

Special to The New York Times.
BERLIN, Jan. 30.—The American Joint Distribution Committee announced today a full-scale emergency aid program for fugitives fleeing anti-Semitic persecution in the Soviet zone of Germany.

Other aid for the refugees was pledged in Bonn. The West German Government said Dr. G. J. Van Heuven Goedhart, United Nations Commissioner for Refugees, had promised to allocate a "substantial" sum for the relief of all classes of refugees in Berlin. The money would come from a \$2,900,000 Ford Foundation fund to aid refugees.

The West German Cabinet discussed Berlin's predicament today. Chancellor Konrad Adenauer is scheduled to fly here tomorrow to look into the problem.

Samuel L. Haber of Milwaukee, director in Germany for the Jewish distribution committee, said the situation was particularly hard on Jewish refugees, since their average age was more than 50.

"A group of sick, aged and weary people who endured some of the most terrible tortures in history are again being forced to tear up their roots and wander across the Continent of Europe," he said.

According to refugees reaching this city, the Communist drive against Zionism has thrown many Jews in East Germany into a panic. Hertz Galinski, head of West Berlin's Jewish communal organization, summed up what the refugees reported. He told a press conference that the tactics of the Communists were different from those of the Nazis. There were no concentration camps, he said, and there had been no arrests.

"It is more a psychological campaign the Communists are carrying on," he said. "They have searched the homes of Jews, interrogated them and caused great unrest among a people who have already experienced a great persecution."

Twenty-five more Jews sought asylum in West Berlin today, according to Jewish officials. They said almost 100 had registered so far at the offices of the joint distribution committee and at least 150 others were believed to have entered the city without registering.

Herr Galinski said East German security agents were concentrating on those who were active as Jews. He implied that Jews still active in the East German Government had renounced their ancestral faith.

Cash and Food Provided

BERLIN, Jan. 30 (AP)—Samuel Haber, director for the American Joint Distribution Committee in Germany, said today his organization's emergency relief program in West Berlin included an immediate cash grant for each acknowledged Jewish refugee when he arrived, temporary shelter in furnished rooms, hospital and medical care, three meals daily and clothing, ration, and a trip by air to West Germany, where Jewish communities have promised to care for them.

Funds will be provided to transfer to Israel those who want to go, he added.

ISRAELI ACCORD PUSHED

Bonn Will Submit Restitution Agreement Next Week

Special to The New York Times.
BONN, Germany, Jan. 30.—The Federal Government has decided to submit the Israeli restitution agreement to Parliament next

week for 1953. The agreement will be notified before April 1. The agreement was signed in Luxembourg last Sept. 10, providing for restitution totaling \$23,000,000, with an initial payment of 200,000,000 Deutsche marks (\$47,819,000).

The Israeli Government and world Jewish organizations appear displeased over what they believe to be a undue delay in finalizing the agreement. They had hoped the agreement would be submitted to the Federal Parliament for ratification soon after the signing, and the Israeli Government had counted on early deliveries of machinery and industrial products for economic projects.

As a preliminary step, the Federal Government earmarked "90,000 Deutsche marks in its 1952-54 budget estimates, which were submitted to Parliament several days ago by Finance Minister Fritz Schaefter. Since the West German fiscal year begins April 1, it is assumed that the Federal Government will be empowered to begin deliveries after that date if the budget is adopted in the meantime.

The Federal Government's determination to carry out the restitution agreement is clear, because the agreement is regarded by Chancellor Konrad Adenauer and his associates as a prime political necessity, but the Government is

WORLD AID SOUGHT FOR BONN ON EXILES

NY TIMES 2/1/53
U. N. Commissioner Calls Upon
Other Nations to Assist
in Caring for Refugees

Special to The New York Times.
BERLIN, Feb. 3.—Dr. G. J. Van Heuven Goedhart, United Nations Commissioner for Refugees, has appealed to all members of the United Nations and several other countries for aid to the West German Government in housing the refugees pouring out of East Germany.

His message was made public here today after a conference of representatives from international relief and religious organizations and from the Bonn and West Berlin Governments. It was addressed to Italy, Ireland, Switzerland and the Vatican, as well as to members of the United Nations.

Dr. Van Heuven Goedhart urged that recipients of his message send prefabricated houses or funds to aid in the program. He added that the initial financing was to be done through a grant by the Ford Foundation in the United States.

Meanwhile refugees continued to arrive in West Berlin at an increasing rate. The total during the day was 17600.

The American Joint Distribution Committee said a new shelter for Jewish refugees had been opened in a twenty-room house in the Wannsee district of the city. The center is designed to accommodate sixty persons.

The West Berlin Jewish Community said it had evacuated all West Berlin residents from its old people's home and children's home in the Soviet sector of the city. Twenty-five old persons and sixteen children were involved in the shift. Those whose families lived in East Berlin remained at their homes.

Sovietization Speed Expected

Special to The New York Times.
BONN, Germany, Feb. 3.—One of the most serious consequences of the flight of thousands of refugees from East Germany and the purging of the Government is expected to be an acceleration of the Soviet plans to establish a loyal, well-armed and militant Communist "people's democracy" there.

Allied officials watching the events in East Germany believe that the creation of a "hard" political frontier at the westernmost boundary of Soviet power is the objective behind both the driving out of thousands of ordinary citizens and the purging of the upper levels of the Government.

supported by the threat of boycott by the Arab states and resulting pressure from West German industrial quarters. A segment of West German industry regards the Arab countries as an excellent area for economic penetration and is therefore unenthusiastic about the Israeli restitution agreement.

The Federal Government has therefore appointed an economic delegation that will depart tomorrow for Cairo to seek a modus vivendi with the Egyptian Government and the Arab League. The Federal Government has two important bargaining cards—first, West Germany is a heavy importer of Egyptian cotton and has a favorable balance of trade with Egypt; second, political relations of the Arab states with Britain and France are such that West German industry finds itself in a favored position to supply these states with industrial products.

These officials also believe that the intensity with which Russian officials are pursuing this goal probably indicates Moscow finally has concluded it cannot induce the Western powers to agree on the reunification of Germany on terms favorable to the Soviet Union, the only terms the Kremlin would consider.

The growth of Allied military strength in the West and the refusal of the West German Government or the Opposition to take the bait offered in the Soviet Union's notes last year apparently have convinced the Russians they must act quickly in East Germany. There is some evidence that the creation of a reliable Stalinist state in East Germany has received highest priority in Soviet Government planning within the last three months. The Russians are not in despair over their ability to carry out this task.

Russians Said to Be Confident

In fact, some reports indicate the Russians believe that once they have driven out the "political unreliable," especially in the rural areas, they will have a firm foundation on which the true "people's democracy" can be constructed.

This foundation is the youth of East Germany, led by militant members of the Free German Youth Organization. From the outset of the occupation the Russians have directed their greatest propaganda efforts toward the young people, and, despite setbacks they believe they have made enough progress in winning the loyalty of the youths to dispense with the presence of large groups of middle-aged citizens.

NY TIMES 2/6/53 JEWS IN WORLD PUT AT 11,558,830 BY BOOK

The American Jewish Committee reported yesterday that the total Jewish population of the world was 11,558,830, of which 2,500,000 "are trapped behind the Iron Curtain." The census is reported in the "American Jewish Year Book," which will be published today by the committee and distributed by the Jewish Publication Society. The book covers 827 pages and deals with events and trends in American and world Jewish life.

The book reports that 80.5 per cent of the Jewish population, or 5,433,050, reside in North and South America. As a result of mass migration the Jewish population of Israel during 1952 totaled 1,420,000, or more than 12 per cent of the total Jewish population of the world.

By contrast, the book added, Germany, which once had a Jewish population of 600,000, now has 23,000 Jews. The largest Jewish population was reported in the United States—5,000,000, England followed with 450,000.

The distribution of Jewish population by continents was listed as follows:

Europe (Including Atlantic U.S.)	Number	P.C.
U.S. and Canada	5,433,050	47.0
Latin America and West Indies	1,420,000	12.2
Asia	1,900,000	16.4
Africa and New Zealand	200,000	1.7
Total	11,558,830	100.0

RUSSIANS SAY JEWS ARE NOT A NATION

NY TIMES 2/7/53
Encyclopedia Also Declares
Israel Is Being Turned Into
a U. S. War Base

Special to The New York Times.
MOSCOW, Feb. 6.—A new volume of the Soviet Encyclopedia, in an article on Jews, declares that the Jews do not constitute a nation, that the Zionists are "agents of American and British imperialism," and that Israel is a reactionary state being turned into a United States war base while she oppresses Jewish workers and Arab national minorities.

The Encyclopedia also pictures life in the Jewish autonomous oblast (province) of the Soviet Union as busy, productive and growing.

The article denies there is any such thing as a Jewish nation because the Jews do not represent a "historic, concentrated, stable community of people originating on the basis of a community of language, territory, general economic life and also general culture."

The article says that the word "Jew" was simply the name for different nationalities generally originating from the ancient Jews. Generally speaking, the Encyclopedia says, the Jews share the culture and life of the country in which they live and for this reason are rapidly assimilated by surrounding populations.

"In the U. S. S. R. and countries of People's Democracy," the Encyclopedia continues, "the Jews are being especially quickly assimilated into the peoples among whom they live." The Encyclopedia says the Jewish population of the Soviet Union in 1939 was 3,029,000. It is estimated that Hitler's mass extermination policy cost the lives of 4,000,000 Jews in Germany and German-occupied territory, and that as a result "emigration from Europe increased the number of Jews in Palestine to around 1,300,000."

The article notes that the roots of Soviet antagonism to Zionism and Jewish bourgeois nationalism dated back to pre-revolutionary times when it was charged the Zionist movement sought to cloak class antagonisms among Jews under a movement for unity in returning to Palestine.

The article sharply attacks the Jewish Bund that existed in Russia before the Revolution, noting both Stalin's and Lenin's opposition to the Jewish Social Democratic movement.

The article asserts that after the revolution all limitations on Jews were ended in Russia and Jews became active builders of communism.

"The Jewish question in the Soviet Union does not exist," says the article, insisting it was solved by the Soviet policy of equality and friendship of peoples.

Nor does the Jewish question exist in the Eastern European countries, according to the article.

In contrast, the Encyclopedia says, capitalist countries assimilation of Jews is prevented by racist policies and discrimination, particularly in the United States, where it declares, "a system of race discrimination and terror" toward Jews is maintained.

American oppression of Jews, the article says, has grown, particularly since the second World War, and American anti-Semitic policy, it declares, prevents the Jews from entering government service as a rule and limits their participation in teaching.

Meanwhile, the article says, American imperialists have taken over the Zionist movement and dominate the "reactionary Zionist Government of Israel."

The population of the Jewish Autonomous Republic, generally known as Birobidjan, is given as 108,400 persons as of 1939.

Soviet Policy Analyzed

The Soviet Encyclopedia's assertion that Jews are rapidly assimilated by surrounding populations apparently supports earlier indications that the long-range Soviet goal is the elimination of the Jews as a separate cultural group with any sense of separate nationality. Historically, Russian Jews have considered themselves a separate nation because, under Czarist rule, they were required to live apart from the rest of the population and as a result did constitute a separate community, with its own language, courts and prescribed list of occupations.

Over most of the post-war years to date many observers have noted that the Soviet Government's closing down of Yiddish schools, theatres, publishing houses, newspapers and other cultural institutions was most easily explicable in terms of a Soviet desire to hasten Jewish assimilation by depriving Jews of cultural institutions available to those minority groups in the country which are recognized as nations, such as the Ukrainians, Uzbeks and others.

Despite its name, the Jewish Autonomous Oblast (province), or the Birobidjan, is predominately inhabited by non-Jews and estimates place the area's Jewish population as well under 50,000 persons. At one time the Soviet Government entertained the notion that Birobidjan might be built up as a "Jewish homeland" that might rival or replace Palestine, but this project foundered on the unwillingness of Soviet Jews to move to or to remain in this remote part of the Soviet Union with its very severe climate and its lack of any developed urban life. In the past two years there have been repeated reports that the Soviet Government has given up even the pretense of considering Birobidjan a Jewish homeland, while foreign groups formed many years ago to enlist the aid of non-Soviet Jews for Birobidjan have been dissolved in this country and elsewhere.

The Kremlin's adoption of anti-Semitism as a weapon in its struggle for power has posed a terrible threat for millions of Jews behind the Iron Curtain. They have known persecution before. Walled in, all exits barred, hounded by the secret police, they live now with the prospect of a new Dachau, new pogroms, ever before them.

Nevertheless the free world must not assume that the fate of the Jews in Stalin's empire is sealed. Their case differs in important aspects from that of other victims of Communist oppression. For one, the Politburo appears to have signaled its intentions in advance. Too often peoples within the Soviet Union have sunk from sight—dispersed, doomed to slavery in concentration camps, jalled and starved before the world knew of their danger. In the case of Russia's Jews, the propaganda preparation for the crime is so recent as to suggest that many, if not most, could yet be saved. Moreover, they have been offered asylum in Israel. There is a way out—if the Communists will open it.

The non-Communist nations must demand that the way be opened, and it is in keeping

with the humanitarian traditions of the United States that this country take the leadership in the effort. Several suggestions have already been made as to the form which the American initiative should take. This newspaper urges that a special mission be sent to Stalin, composed of persons of international reputation, to present the protest of the free world directly to him. Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and Mr. Paul G. Hoffman—a Democrat and a Republican—might comprise such a mission, leaving no doubt as to its broadly national character or the importance with which it would be regarded throughout the world.

The purposes of this step should be clearly defined in advance. They should be restricted to the problem of anti-Semitism and to saving, if possible, its victims. The Nuernberg trials established genocide as an international crime; to avert it is an international duty. The United Nations will doubtless grapple with the question in due course. Meanwhile the United States could focus world attention upon it, solemnly and dramatically, and provide leadership in a great cause.

\$250,000 TO AID REFUGEES

NY TIMES 7/8/53
James Mason Gives Fund Raised by U. S. Group to Berlin Mayor

Special to The New York Times.
BERLIN, March 7.—James Mason, the screen actor, gave a check for \$250,000 today to West Berlin's Mayor, Ernst Reuter, on behalf of the International Rescue Committee for Aid to Refugees.

The committee, which includes Gen. Lucius D. Clay, John J. McCloy and other prominent Americans, hopes to raise \$1,000,000 for the relief of those currently seeking asylum in the city. Herr Reuter is due to visit New York shortly at the invitation of the committee to aid in raising this sum. Mr. Mason completed work here last night on a film being made under the direction of Sir Carol Reed.

DOMINICAN HAVEN FOR JEWS WANING

NY TIMES 7/23/53

Sosua, Despite Hardships, Aids Republic, but Few Come to Replace Departing Settlers.

By HERBERT L. MATTHEWS
Special to The New York Times.

BOSUA, Dominican Republic, March 22—This little refugee colony, composed mostly of German and Austrian Jews, has earned a fame in the Western Hemisphere far beyond its size or importance. The measure of its success or failure can be debated according to the norms and expectations that are applied, but no one who spends a day in this beautiful and busy spot can deny that the men and women who colonized and stuck with it have made a fine life for themselves and have contributed something valuable to the Dominican Republic.

The original gesture—a donation of 24,000 acres by Generalissimo Rafael Leonidas Trujillo on the northern coast of the Republic fifteen miles east of Puerto Plata—was a generous one. The dictator had personally invested at least \$100,000 in the property. Alfred Rosenzweig, general manager of the settlement, and his top assistants asserted today that they had been helped in every way at all times by the Dominican Government. Assistance has also come and is still coming from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (Agro-Joint), whose head offices are in New York. However, the colony is now virtually self-supporting, with assets of about \$1,000,000 and no liabilities to speak of.

Sosua was never a Utopia and there were heartbreaks and grim pioneering work before it could reach its present state of solvency. Moreover, there is no denying that, from the viewpoint of size and of providing a haven for a great many refugees, it has been a disappointment. One can see that by comparing the original hopes and the realities that followed.

Scene From Evian Conference

The genesis of Sosua goes back to the Evian, France, conference of July, 1938, when representatives of thirty-two nations met to con-

sider the plight of hundreds of thousands of political and religious refugees from Central Europe, especially from the Nazis. In a survey made and published by the Brookings Institution in 1942, it was stated that the one country willing to accept "any considerable number" as immigrants was the Dominican Republic, which was prepared to admit "up to 100,000 for gradual settlement." Sosua was not one of the areas recommended by the committee of experts that made the Dominican survey, since it was not considered suitable for "general settlement purposes," but it had the advantage of being available.

And so the colony began when a group of twenty-seven men, ten women and one child arrived here on May 10, 1940. Nearly thirteen years have passed. In that time 670 settlers in all came to or passed through the colony. At present there are 181 settlers, compared with 192 in 1951 and 236 in 1950. Of those in Sosua now, at least 20 per cent have applied for immigration visas to the United States, in line with the fact that most invariably from the professional and white collar classes, not farmers or manual workers.

Investment Totals \$3,000,000

It was tough going. The land was not suitable for plowing and it is now two-thirds pasturage and one-third forest and rocks. It was by creating a dairy, making butter, cheese, sausages, hams and bacon, selling meat and eggs—nearly all of which goes to Ciudad Trujillo—that a solution was finally achieved. The original "homesteads," built with the idea that a man and his family would live on a small farm with plowed land and crops, are nearly all abandoned. Now almost all the settlers live in their village of Batey. (The ancient Indian "Sosua" for which the colony is named is just a group of native hovels today.)

In all, about \$3,000,000 was spent through Agro-Joint on Sosua—a third in land improvement, a third in bringing refugees here and a third in maintaining them for about a year and a half until they become self-supporting.

Clearly, the great problem is getting and keeping the right kind of settlers. Yet it is a fine project, well run, well treated by the Dominican Government and capable of providing a contented and creative if arduous life in a magnificent climate. In 1952, for instance, sixteen homesteaders left and only five arrived. There are only three new families who plan to come here in the immediate future. As United States immigration visas are granted, still more settlers will be leaving.

U. N. UNIT ASKS AID TO REFUGEES GO ON

NY TIMES 7/8/53

Economic and Social Council Urges 5-Year Continuance of Commissioner's Work

Special to The New York Times.

GENEVA, July 7.—The United Nations Economic and Social Council voted today, over Russian and Polish opposition, to recommend the continuation of the office of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees for five years. Dr. G. J. Van Heuven Goedhart, who holds the office now, had recommended that the period be extended from three to at least five years to enable the high commissioner to plan operations ahead for a reasonable period of time. The three years originally granted to the high commissioner to work on the vast and intractable problem of stateless and homeless persons expires this year.

The high commissioner is responsible for helping refugees any way he can so long as he spends very little money in his operations. He has a purely administrative budget of about \$800,000 a year with which he maintains a staff of about 100 persons who seek to protect the refugees against victimization, to coordinate private efforts to resettle them, or to find asylum for them wherever openings appear.

The high commissioner recently received money from the Ford Foundation and about \$1,000,000 from governments in the form of voluntary contributions, but he cannot even scratch the surface of the refugee needs in West Germany, Austria, Greece, Trieste and Shanghai, where the main concentrations of uncare-for refugees now are.

No proposal was advanced today for giving the commissioner any more power or any more money. He was asked to hold a meeting of his advisory committee (a group of governmental representatives supposed to counsel him) twice instead of once yearly and was requested to make more detailed financial reports to the United Nations.

No firm ideas about what to do about the refugees were put forward.



Associated Press

ASKS REFUGEE AID: Dr. G. J. Van Heuven Goedhart, U. N. High Commissioner for Refugees, who recommended that his organization be continued for another five years.

July 15, 1958.

Dear Mr. Taylor,

"It was indeed a welcome surprise to receive your letter of July 9, and to realize that you still remember me.

"As to refugees, though I am still keenly interested, and doing what little I can to help various relief organizations based in this country, I have not produced any further publication on the subject." You are still young and active. If I live till tomorrow week, I shall be 85, and although, thank God, my mental powers seem to me (as to others) unaffected, I am not physically capable of serious work.

"I have, however, been keeping in the production of a work on Refugees in World War II, which has been written by Professor Malcolm J. Proudfoot, of the Department of Geography, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. The M.S. has been completed, and is at the moment under examination by the Editorial Committee of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, under whose auspices it will be published by the O.V.P. They have criticized it, somewhat severely, owing to its colossal length and extreme detail. It will be curtailed by that Committee, and then finally approved by Professor Proudfoot, if he is satisfied. I suggest that you might

get into touch with him, if you think fit.

There are two recent publications which might interest you. "An account des Réfugiés" by R. Ristelhanber of Geneva, published by Librairie Plon of Paris. That is the story of the I.R.O. The

other "The Refugees in the Postwar World" is a report, prepared for the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, and published by the United Nations. It is an excellent report, prepared with incredible rapidity. It has been severely, but, in my judgement, quite baselessly, criticized by the representatives of the satellite countries at the U.N.

I Trust that Mr. Taylor and you yourself are enjoying good health. May all good things attend you. Yours always sincerely,
J. Hope Simpson

Refugees

4/10/53 ✓

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS

2-1-20
SL

August 12, 1953.

THE COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS

My dear Mr. Taylor:

As Sir John Hope Simpson told you, I am indeed working on a book concerned with the refugees associated with World War II, covering some 19 years of history, as indicated by the attached tentative Table of Contents. My M.S. is undergoing editorial pruning by Chatham House just now and frankly I have only one complete copy in my possession (they having the other) and therefore I regret that I can not send it to you. I intend, however, to participate in a Bicentennial Conference at Columbia University January 6 through the 9th and we could get together then — or perhaps you may be coming to Chicago before that date. A further suggestion might be for you to ask me questions or

Send me some of your copy to which I might refer.
Frankly, since the work of the I&CR
is but a relatively small part of my book and since
your interest is more sharply focused, I doubt
whether I could help you as much as you could
help me — but in any event I am most
willing to assist you in any way that my data and
personal experience (POSSAC, SHAEF and
the War Dept.) might be of help.

Sincerely yours,

Malcolm J. Prutz -

My Summer Addresses are:

Until August 30; 302 E. MAIN ST, PLATTVILLE
WISC.

August 31 - Sept 25; HARBERT,
MICHIGAN.

Handwritten: I & C R and name

EUROPEAN REFUGEES OF WORLD WAR II

The Forced Movements of European Civilians, 1933-1952

FOREWARD..... Sir John Hope Simpson *Handwritten: ✓*

PREFACE..... Malcolm J. Proudfoot

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Malcolm J. Proudfoot
Northwestern University
April 1953

U. N. UNIT SUPPORTS REFUGEE PROGRAM

Assembly Committee Votes to Keep High Commissioner in Post Five Years More

Special to The New York Times.
UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., Oct. 20.—A United Nations committee voted today to continue the office of the High Commissioner for Refugees for five years from Jan. 1, 1954, with Dr. G. J. van Heuven Goedhart as high commissioner.

The vote in the General Assembly's Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee was 43 to 5. The members of the Soviet bloc voted in the negative and there were four abstentions.

The committee then approved an appeal to member governments to intensify their efforts to promote solutions for the problems of refugees, in cooperation with the high commissioner, through "repatriation, resettlement and integration." The vote this time was 55 to 5. Again the Soviet bloc voted in the negative, and there were three abstentions.

Belgium, Britain, Denmark and the Netherlands were joint sponsors of both resolutions, with the addition of Sweden and Uruguay in the first instance, and of Brazil, Colombia and Norway in the second.

Since the membership of the Assembly's committees and of the Assembly itself is the same, approval by the committee is tantamount to Assembly approval.

In a statement preceding the adoption of the resolutions, Dr. van Heuven Goedhart denied allegations by Georgi F. Sakin, Soviet spokesman, that the High Commissioner had been under dictation in the conduct of his office by the United States and other Western powers, as well as by the Ford Foundation.

Dr. van Heuven Goedhart said Ford Foundation representatives had been meticulous about not interfering with the expenditure of the \$7,500,000 the organization had received. He said investigation would show that the gift had been applied to programs that would be of continuing benefit to the refugees.

The High Commissioner denied the Soviet contention that he was under Assembly orders to consider repatriation as the exclusive basis for handling the refugees. In a large proportion of cases repatriation is impossible, Dr. van Heuven Goedhart asserted, citing the circumstances of the 220,000 individuals now in Austria.

The plight of the refugees will be a continuing problem confronting the nations for a long time to come, he warned. He urged committee members to realize that improved economic conditions in countries still harboring these groups did not mean that the refugees automatically would share in such advances.



HEADS REFUGEE WORK: Dr. G. J. van Heuven Goedhart, who was re-nominated High Commissioner for Refugees at the U. N. yesterday.

U. S. Bids Israel and Arabs Settle Refugee Problem

By Ralph Chapman

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., Nov. 4.—The United States told Israel and her Arab neighbors today to get together on a settlement of the Arab refugee problem if they expect a continued contribution of American aid toward refugee relief.

"Continuation of substantial contributions to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees program will, inevitably, be determined by the progress which is made in the months ahead," James P. Richards, United States delegate, said during debate on the subject in the General Assembly's Special Political Committee.

He called upon Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan and Syria, where an estimated 820,000 refugees are now living, to implement specific projects that would permit these people to become self-supporting. Programs so far proposed cannot solve the problem for more than 320,000, he said, and additional projects "must be developed."

On Israel's Responsibility

Turning to the responsibility of Israel, he said:

"We also believe that the interests of both the Palestine refugees and of Israel herself make it important for Israel to take further steps with a minimum of delay in discharge of the responsibilities she has accepted for compensating the Palestine refugees, and that Israel would be well advised to renew consideration of the responsibility and the possibilities of repatriation."

Israel has taken the position that she cannot accept any large number of the refugees. The Arab states insist that repatriation is a prerequisite of any sort of general settlement in the area.

What the committee has before it is a resolution sponsored by the United States, the United Kingdom, France and Turkey which proposes an extension of UNRWA until June 30, 1955, and that its program be subject

to review at the next General Assembly session. It also authorizes a relief budget for the current fiscal year of \$24,800,000 and a provisional budget of \$18,000,000 for the year ending June 30, 1955. A separate "projects fund of \$200,000,000 would be continued under this measure.

Praise UNRWA Work

Besides the United States the three other sponsors of the resolution spoke in praise of the U. N. R. W. A.'s work and in support of the proposed plan. Lt. Col. Mahmoud Riad, of Egypt, took the occasion to charge that Israel was responsible for the refugee problem and that it had not heeded various U. N. resolutions on the subject. He said also that the total number of refugees should be put at not less than 1,000,000. Concerning their condition, the Egyptian delegate said that UNRWA relief allows each one only eight cents a day for food, shelter, health care, education and clothing.

HER Displaced Arabs

The plan for resettlement of Arab refugees presented last week to the United Nations has much to recommend it. Sponsored by a group of American religious, educational and civic leaders, it is a welcome indication that responsible and disinterested persons are addressing themselves to one of the danger-ridden problems of the times.

The plan requires a large degree of cooperation from the Arab states and Israel. The former would be asked to assign tracts of unpopulated or underpopulated land for resettlement purposes and to make a fair contribution to the resettlement fund. Israel would also be asked to contribute, as compensation for Arab land abandoned within her borders. The United Nations would allocate \$800,000,000 to a six-year program designed not only to re-establish the refugees but also to develop Middle Eastern "water, soil, chemical, oil and human resources." In short, the objectives of the scheme seem to be three: to bring relief to the displaced Arabs, to remove a dangerous source of international friction and to confer economic benefits on the entire Middle East.

This ambitious program is dependent, as its sponsors point out, on the establishment of a peace settlement between Israel and the Arab states. When that goal is attained, there may be other plans to be considered, other sets of circumstances to be met. In the mean time it is possible that the proposal itself, framed as it is in a fair and friendly spirit, may serve as an important contribution to the cause of peace.

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"201305"
"W. 1/1940"
Refugees
JAMES N. ROSENBERG
575 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22

December 21, 1953

Hon. Myron C. Taylor
71 Broadway
New York 6, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Taylor:

You of course will recall the Evian Conference at which you presided; the offer of Generalissimo Trujillo to open the doors of the Dominican Republic to those who were seeking to escape from Hitlerism.

Perhaps you will also recollect that the task of starting a settlement for refugees in the Dominican Republic was wished upon me as an officer of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee.

I shall never forget my visit to you at 71 Broadway, where you put it up hard to me to "break the ice jam." Those were your very words. In 1940, as a result, the Dominican Republic Settlement Association was brought into being. I went to the Dominican Republic for this purpose in 1940, and enclose herewith a copy of the contract which the Dominican Government made with the Dominican Republic Settlement Association. I refer you particularly to Article 1, which reads as follows:

"Rights of Settlers

"The Republic, in conformity with its Constitution and laws, hereby guarantees to the settlers and their descendants full opportunity to continue their lives and occupations free from molestation, discrimination or persecution, with full freedom of religion and religious ceremonials, with equality of opportunities and of civil, legal and economic rights, as well as all other rights inherent to human beings."

Last February, Generalissimo Trujillo was in New York. On that occasion, I tendered a reception in his honor, and the minutes of that meeting are set forth in a little pamphlet which I enclose herewith.

Hon. Myron C. Taylor

-2-

12/21/53

At the invitation of Generalissimo Trujillo, who has cooperated magnificently during these fourteen years and who even went so far as to give to the Settlement Association the 25,000 acre tract of Sosua, which was his personal property, I am going to the Dominican Republic, leaving New York in one of the first days of the new year. It has occurred to me that I should be happy to be the bearer of a letter from you, addressed to me or preferably to the Generalissimo, recalling the 1938 Evian conference, the offer of the Dominican Republic to open its doors, and the steadfast cooperation which the Dominican Republic and Generalissimo Trujillo personally have given to our effort. Should you feel entirely free to let me have such a letter, I should be most grateful if I could have it at the latest, by the 4th of January. Should you wish any further particulars, I should be happy indeed to try to give them to you. ✓

With warm recollections of your creative leadership in what followed in the Dominican Republic and all best wishes, I am

Yours sincerely,

JNR/rf

encl.

JNR Rosenberg

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC
AND
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC SETTLEMENT
ASSOCIATION, Inc.

Agreement

Dated January 30, 1940

AGREEMENT entered into this thirtieth day of January, nineteen hundred and forty, between the Dominican Republic (henceforth referred to as the "REPUBLIC") and the Dominican Republic Settlement Association, Inc., a corporation duly organized and existing under the laws of the State of New York, United States of America, (henceforth referred to as the "ASSOCIATION").

WHEREAS in 1938 His Excellency Franklin Delano Roosevelt, President of the United States of America, invited thirty-two governments to consult with the Government of the United States of America at Evian, France, regarding aid to refugees; and

WHEREAS these Governments constituted themselves as the Intergovernmental Committee; and

WHEREAS His Excellency Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina as President and in the name of the Dominican Republic generously informed the Intergovernmental Committee at its first meeting of the disposition of the Dominican Republic gradually to receive settlers up to 100,000 within its territory; and

WHEREAS the Intergovernmental Committee and the Coordinating Foundation of which the Hon. Paul Van Zeeland is Executive President have shown a desire to avail themselves of the opportunity so offered by His Excellency Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina on behalf of his Government; and

WHEREAS the Republic and the Association are equally desirous to help and stimulate Jewish and non-Jewish settlers to establish themselves within the territory of the Dominican Republic and to make themselves citizens thereof; and

WHEREAS the Association is desirous to avail itself of the goodwill of the Republic for these purposes; and

WHEREAS this agreement has for its object the realization of said purposes; and

WHEREAS this agreement has been entered into in accordance with the Constitution, laws, decrees and other legal acts of the Republic and in their fulfillment, and consequently is invested with all legal power necessary or appropriate for its validity and compliance therewith;

THEREFORE the Republic, represented by Messrs. Mayor General José García, Secretary of State for the Interior and Police, and Raúl Carbuccia, Secretary of State for Agriculture, Industry and Labor, who have been duly authorized by the President of the Dominican Republic to execute this agreement in conformity with the laws of the Republic; and the Association, represented by James N. Rosenberg, President, and Joseph A. Rosen, Vice-President thereof, who have been duly authorized by a resolution of the Association to execute and deliver this agreement in its behalf; hereby COVENANT AND AGREE AS FOLLOWS:

ARTICLE I

RIGHTS OF SETTLERS

The Republic, in conformity with its Constitution and laws, hereby guarantees to the settlers and their descendants full opportunity to continue their lives and occupations free from molestation, discrimination or persecution, with full freedom of religion and religious ceremonies, with equality of opportunities and of civil, legal and economic rights, as well as all other rights inherent to human beings.

ARTICLE II

SELECTION AND ADMISSION OF SETTLERS

(a) The Republic shall receive and give every possible opportunity and help to the Jewish and non-Jewish settlers in order to leave their present residences, to enter and reside in the Dominican Republic and to make their livelihood, establish their permanent homes and acquire citizenship in the Dominican Republic in accordance with its Constitution and laws. Settlements shall progress gradually in the course of the number of years which may be desirable or necessary in order that the settlers may be placed in position to establish themselves as citizens of the Republic and to reimburse the Association for its expenditures on their behalf. It is understood that the Republic shall not be responsible either to the Association or any other institution whatsoever for any of the financial obligations of the settlers to the Association or for payment to the Association of any disbursements in which it may incur.

(b) The Association shall have the right to select the settlers who will be chosen in accordance with their fitness and technical ability for agriculture, industry, manufacture and trades. The Association will from time to time submit to the Republic through the Secretary of State for the Interior and Police the names of settlers thus chosen with statements as to their place of origin, abilities, experience and whatever other data may serve for their identification and evaluation of their special qualifications. The Association assumes full responsibility for the correctness of this information. The Republic will within the most reasonably brief time, examine the information thus submitted and will promptly decide on its admission. As soon as this shall take place, the Department of Foreign Relations of the Dominican Republic shall instruct Dominican consular officers to provide said settlers with the proper documentation for their trip and admission to the Republic,

including visas and other formalities which may assist them to travel from their place of residence to the Dominican Republic, and said consular officers shall issue these documents to the settlers free of all costs, fees, taxes and any other charges. All settlers whose admission shall have thus been approved shall be freely admitted into the Dominican Republic upon their arrival at the Dominican port of entry.

(c) There shall be admitted to the Republic as the first contingent in one group or separate groups approximately 500 families of Jewish or non-Jewish settlers. There shall additionally and gradually later be admitted up to the number of 100,000 settlers in accordance with decision which in this respect shall be made jointly by the Republic and the Association. All settlers admitted to the Republic pursuant to this agreement shall have all rights granted and guaranteed by this agreement.

(d) The Association may furthermore recommend to the Republic the free admission in the manner previously stipulated of all those who may be specialized in their professions, trades or occupations, experts, artisans and other persons acceptable to the Republic.

(e) Infants of settlers born in transit shall have free right of entry and all benefits of this agreement.

ARTICLE III

TAXES

It is specifically agreed that the Executive Power of the Republic shall initiate a law to modify the Immigration Law now in force in order to exempt from all entry taxes, or similar taxes, present or future, the settlers covered by this agreement, who shall not be subject to any entry charges established by any subdivision of the Republic. Likewise, the Executive Power shall initiate a law by means of which there shall not be required of the persons who may come as settlers to Dominican territory, the deposits now required of navi-

gation companies for the transportation of immigrants to the Dominican Republic, nor any other deposit of whatever nature, and so that these settlers may be permitted to bring with them, upon entering Dominican territory, free of duty and not for sale but for their own personal use in their agricultural enterprises and others incidental thereto, such furniture, personal effects, tools, equipment, materials and other instruments which they may need in order to establish themselves with economic solvency. It is understood that the present agreement shall become effective only after the Congress of the Republic shall have enacted, in accordance with the Constitution, the laws proposed in the present agreement, and likewise any other laws which may be necessary to give this agreement full legal force and validity.

ARTICLE IV

RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS OF THE ASSOCIATION

(a) It shall be the duty of the Association to take care of and promote the economic life of the immigrants who enter the territory of the Republic for their enterprises;

(b) The Association should maintain in the Dominican Republic an office or offices, and its representatives, experts, and other officials and employees shall enjoy full rights in order to carry out their mission within the territory of the Dominican Republic in accordance with this agreement and the Constitution and national laws of the Republic. Officers and employees of the Association shall receive from the Republic suitable documents enabling them freely and effectively to perform their duties, including travel within, to and from the Republic, and shall enjoy the cooperation of the Republic and its officials in the execution of their duties;

(c) The Association shall not be subject to the payment of any tax on property, or other duties or contributions on the transactions or any other acts incidental

thereto which refer exclusively to the fulfillment of the essential purpose of transporting and establishing within the territory of the Republic the settlers referred to in this agreement, or to the carrying out of projects of general interest in the establishment of said settlers, provided they do not imply competition with other similar activities open to private initiative;

(d) The Association shall pay and supply or cause to be supplied all funds necessary to cover transportation expenses of settlers, their disembarkation and their needs in the Republic, until such time as they may become self-supporting;

(e) The Association shall have the right to buy, lease, receive by donation, concession or exchange, alienate, and in general to acquire, possess or enjoy real or personal property, to burden, mortgage, lease, sell, sublease, or otherwise dispose of, and in general to cede any of these rights to settlers or groups of settlers; to loan monies to them, sell them properties or in any form deal with the settlers as the Association may deem necessary or convenient; to make regulations as to the mode of economic activities and conditions of granting loans, etc. etc., to settlers; and in general, shall have full rights to deal with the settlers and with others, as it may see fit, in accordance with Dominican law;

(f) The Association shall have the right to equip and maintain or otherwise dispose of places for the reception, training and education of the settlers; to construct for them adequate dormitories, school buildings, houses of worship, dwellings, experimental agricultural fields and in general supervise and promote the physical, social, economic and spiritual wellbeing of the settlers, as well as to organize, foster and assist purchasing, selling, credit, production, and consumption cooperatives and other types of cooperatives among the settlers;

(g) The President or Vice-President of the Association or their designees, when carrying out any project of the Association in respect of which the laws of the

Republic may require action or intervention by the Government, shall get in touch previously with the department or official entrusted with taking cognizance of such case;

(h) Nothing said or stipulated in this contract shall be construed as meaning that the shareholders, officers, directors or employees of the Association are or will be subject to any personal or individual responsibility by reason of this contract or for the acts, deeds or omissions of the Association or of the settlers;

(i) It is understood that under the terms of this agreement the settlers are not to be considered in any way as employees of the Association but merely as beneficiaries of its activities;

(j) The Association shall have the right to take such steps and to petition the Executive Power of the Dominican Republic as may be necessary in the personal or collective interest of the settlers until such time as they may have acquired Dominican citizenship;

(k) It is understood that the rights which settlers and the Association may acquire pursuant to this agreement or any acts thereunder shall not be abrogated by subsequent legislation, as the principle of non-retroactivity of laws established by Article 42 of the Constitution of the Republic does not permit it;

(l) The Association shall have the right to engage in any lawful activities which it may deem necessary or convenient to carry out this agreement.

ARTICLE V

COOPERATION OF THE REPUBLIC

(a) The Republic shall by all the means in its power, except when of a monetary nature, facilitate the efforts of the Association for the selection, construction and maintenance of adequate living quarters and other buildings which will so far as feasible be built with material

existing within Dominican territory, and shall cooperate with the Association insofar as feasible for the proper employment of settlers in agricultural enterprises, construction of highways and other similar activities. The Republic, likewise, shall take appropriate measures through the departments of its administration to help in the selection of suitable lands for agricultural purposes and for the acquisition of said lands by the Association, and shall give its best assistance to the Association for the purpose of giving or obtaining desirable options to the Association for agricultural lands which may be deemed adequate and necessary for future large settlement;

(b) The Republic, in order to make this agreement effective and to insure the acquisition by the Association or settlers of suitable lands, buildings, water rights and other inherent rights, shall authorize and direct its appropriate departments to take such official measures as may from time to time be necessary or advisable in order to obtain and grant sound and valid titles, as well as the right to use said properties and to grant the Association and the settlers such rights, titles and benefits;

(c) The Republic hereby guarantees that all rights which may from this date be extended by the Republic to any other association, groups or agencies engaged in similar activities, will automatically thereupon accrue to and operate for the benefit of the Association and all settlers hereunder.

ARTICLE VI

VALIDITY AND EXECUTION OF THIS AGREEMENT

The present Agreement shall not bind the contracting parties until the following conditions have been fulfilled:

1. That this Agreement has been ratified by express resolution of the Board of Directors of the Association;

2. That the Congress of the Republic, within the free exercise of its constitutional rights, shall have enacted a law whereby persons who may come for the purpose of establishing themselves in the country under the protection of a colonization agreement are exempt from discriminatory taxation; and likewise a law whereby persons who may come as settlers to Dominican territory shall not be obliged to make the deposits at present required of navigation companies for the transportation of immigrants to the Dominican Republic, nor any other deposit whatsoever, and so that these settlers may be permitted to bring with them, upon entering Dominican territory, free of duty and not for sale but for their own personal use in their agricultural enterprises and others incidental thereto, such furniture, personal effects, tools, equipment, materials and other instruments which they may need in order to establish themselves with economic solvency; and furthermore, a law whereby associations organized for the establishment of colonies in the Dominican Republic shall be exempt from taxes on property or other duties or contributions on the transactions or any other acts incidental thereto which refer exclusively to the fulfillment of the essential purpose of said associations of transporting and establishing settlers in the Republic; and that said laws shall have been duly promulgated and published;

3. That the present Agreement has been approved by the Congress of the Dominican Republic.

The present Agreement will come into full force and effect as soon as these conditions have been fulfilled, whereupon the Association, without further formalities on the part of the Republic, will proceed to engage in the activities mentioned in the present Agreement.

Done and signed in four originals, in Ciudad Trujillo, District of Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic, this thirtieth day of January, nineteen hundred and forty.

JOSÉ GARCÍA,
Secretary of State for the
Interior and Police

JAMES N. ROSENBERG,
President, the Dominican Republic
Settlement Association, Inc.

RAÚL CARBUCCIA,
Secretary of State for Agriculture,
Industry and Labor

JOSEPH A. ROSEN,
Vice-President, the Dominican
Republic Settlement
Association, Inc.

WITNESSES:

For the Chairman
RT. HON. EARL WINTERTON

For the Director
SIR HERBERT EMERSON

By STEPHANUS V. C. MORRIS
Secretary Intergovernmental Committee

FOR THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
COORDINATING FOUNDATION

By: HAROLD F. LINDER
Member of Executive Committee.

CERTIFICATE OF TRANSLATION

I hereby certify that this is a true and exact translation of the official Spanish text of the Agreement today entered into by the Dominican Republic and the Dominican Republic Settlement Association, Inc., and that I have been authorized by the Hon. Vice-President of the Dominican Government to make this translation and furnish this certificate.

FRED Q. RICKARDS.

Seen:

M. DE J. TRONCOSO DE LA CONCHA,
Vice-President of the Dominican Republic.
(SEAL)

A TRIBUTE TO HIS EXCELLENCY

Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina



New York City, February 27, 1953
Dominican Republic Independence Day

Dominican Republic Settlement Association New York City

On behalf of the Dominican Republic Settlement Association (DORSA) we, the undersigned, hereby express deep appreciation to the Dominican Republic, its Government and its people, and above all, to his Excellency, Generalissimo Trujillo for opening the doors of the Dominican Republic to refugees from Nazism and Stalinism.

In 1940, Generalissimo Trujillo donated to this Association the 26,000 acre tract on the north shore of the Dominican Republic as his personal gift to this Association for establishment of the Sosua Settlement. This Association and the settlers at Sosua have ever since then had generous, steadfast and continuous cooperation of the Dominican Republic, its Government, its people and especially of Generalissimo Trujillo.

We are honored, therefore, to present this scroll to his Excellency.

Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina

in tribute to him and in recognition of his humane services in behalf of refugees.

Witness the hands of the Chairman and Honorary Chairman of the Dominican Republic Settlement Association this 27th day of February, 1953.

James N. Rosenberg

Witness of S. H. H. H.

MINUTES OF A RECEPTION AT THE LOTOS CLUB, NEW YORK CITY, HELD FEBRUARY 27, 1953, TENDERED BY JAMES N. ROSENBERG IN HONOR OF HIS EXCELLENCY, RAFAEL L. TRUJILLO, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMED FORCES OF THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC AND AMBASSADOR AT LARGE.

The host, Mr. Rosenberg, Honorary Chairman of the Dominican Republic Settlement Association (DORSA), welcomed the guest of honor, the distinguished men who were present — Dominicans and Americans — and greeted the four Sosua settlers who had flown from the Dominican Republic especially to join in the celebration. Mr. Rosenberg made the following remarks:

"To his Excellency, Generalissimo Rafael L. Trujillo:

"Present world events justify brief reference to some facts of history. In 1938, President Roosevelt called together at Evian, France, some forty nations to alleviate the plight of those fleeing from Hitler. There and then, in those black hours, the Dominican Republic, through its President, Generalissimo Trujillo, opened wide its doors as asylum for refugees. No other nation followed this example.

"A study then made by U. S. Government experts showed that substantial, sound settlement possibilities existed in the Dominican Republic. In response to President Roosevelt's call for action, the Dominican Republic Settlement Association, commonly called DORSA, was organized. I was appointed Chairman. In 1940, at the hospitable invitation of President Trujillo, the representatives of the Intergovernmental Committee for Refugees, of the United States State Department, of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, and myself visited the Dominican Republic as its welcomed guests. Immediate discussions with the Generalissimo and his associates led to a contract between the Dominican Republic Government and DORSA, signed on January 30, 1940. The splendid spirit which animated the Generalissimo and his countrymen appears in the very first Article of the contract.

"The Republic, in conformity with its Constitution and laws, hereby guarantees to the settlers and their descendants full opportunity to continue their lives and occupations free from molestation, discrimination or persecution, with full freedom of religion and religious ceremonials, with equality of opportunities and of civil, legal and economic rights, as well as all other rights inherent to human beings."

"Soon thereafter, at a special meeting, the Congress of the Dominican Republic ratified this extraordinary contract welcoming refugees to the Dominican Republic.

"The Sosua Settlement was soon established on a magnificent 26,000 acre estate on the north shore of the Dominican Republic which President Trujillo donated to DORSA as his munificent personal gift.

"The difficult work of bringing refugees began. World War II raged. Nazi U-boats plied the seas. Hitler vanquished France, Netherlands, Belgium. He would not let refugees escape. World turmoil and problems have, ever since, to the sorrow and disappointment of the Generalissimo, his countrymen and ourselves, prevented the Settlement from being more than a very modest one. Its success, however, as an example of what can be done when a Sovereign State, under wise leadership, opens its doors, has been proven.

"In the thirteen years which have ensued, our modest effort has had the continuous, complete, and friendly cooperation of the Government, the people of the Dominican Republic, and above all, of Generalissimo Trujillo. It is needless to say therefore how greatly we value this opportunity to pay tribute to your Excellency. Generalissimo Trujillo is a statesman as well as a benefactor. He knew that good, loyal, hard-working men and women are an asset of the highest value to any state, large or small.

"When, eight years ago, I reached the age of seventy, I had to find an active chairman to take over. I turned to a dear friend, a very distinguished man and a brilliant administrator, Dr. Maurice B. Hexter. Despite other heavy responsibilities, he accepted chairmanship of Dorsa and has, as a volunteer worker, devoted great and successful effort to Sosua's upbuilding.

"In the day-to-day work at Sosua, our Administrator, Mr. Alfred Rosenzweig — he is himself a settler — has made excellent progress. He and three others of the settlers have flown from the Dominican Republic to take part in honoring your Excellency, as do all the distinguished men now gathered here.

"The Honorable James G. McDonald is one of our guests today. He needs no introduction to this gathering. You will all recall that the now deceased League of Nations appointed him High Commissioner for Refugees who were fleeing from Germany. For two years, he labored magnificently to find homes and refuge for the unfortunate men, women, and children who es-

caped from Hitler's toils. The countries of the world turned a deaf ear to his efforts. In 1935, he therefore resigned. His historic Letter of Resignation, published to the world on Christmas, 1935, warned that Hitler's persecution of the Jews was the opening gun for World War II. The world did not listen.

"I hope we of today have learned something by this time. Have we? Ever since 1938, Dr. McDonald has been immensely helpful in the work of the Dominican Republic Settlement Association."

Mr. Rosenberg then called upon the Hon. James G. McDonald.

Dr. McDonald: "Your Excellency: I want to refer to a historical moment, which Mr. Rosenberg has already mentioned, but did not amplify. I was at Evian in 1938 as the technical assistant to our friend, the Hon. Myron C. Taylor, head of the Evian Delegation. President Roosevelt invited thirty-eight governments to meet, to discuss ways and means of saving the Jews and other refugees from Germany. We met in that beautiful place and for three weeks, the thirty-eight countries, with one exception, managed brilliantly to do nothing, except to give lip service to the great cause which brought them together. Thirty-eight countries. Only one made a tangible offer. That one, I am sorry to say, was not my own country. It was not Great Britain. It was not France. It was not any European country. It was the small country of our friend, the Generalissimo. He offered asylum. His country opened its doors. War raged. Few could escape Hitler. But had there been in my country and in the larger countries of the world a spirit comparable to that which the Generalissimo illustrated, hundreds of thousands — perhaps millions — of useful lives might have been saved. Lives like those of the four settlers who are here today to join in doing you honor, Generalissimo."

Mr. Rosenberg then presented the four settlers.

"I should now like to show your Excellency and this assemblage the kind of men whose lives you saved. I first introduce Alfred Rosenzweig, born in Vienna in 1904. He was a textile manufacturer. He managed to flee from Vienna in 1938, after Hitler seized that country. He got to Prague, then to London, thence to Cuba. Per aspera ad astra, — from darkness of despair to the light of hope — he and the others came to Sosua. There he is a hardworking, capable farmer and also is Administrator of the Settlement work. He has done a splendid job."

Mr. Rosenzweig then said to the Generalissimo:

"We flew here yesterday from the Dominican Republic, our people to greet you and to express what nobody can express. I can find no words to voice the gratitude of every one of the settlers and our children."

Mr. Rosenberg: "I next introduce Mr. Rudolf Herzberg, who was born in Germany in 1898. He was a German lawyer. He worked with the famous publishing house of Ullstein. Somehow he managed to flee. He traveled around the entire world to China; finally, by boat, to Cuba. He was leader of the first group that came to Sosua . . . This is Werner Meyerstein, born in Germany in 1919, fled to England, learned farming there. From England, he came to the United States, then to Sosua, and is one of the settlers . . . Eric Benjamin, who looks more like a college professor than a farmer, was born in Breslau, Germany, in 1906. He was one of the prisoners of the notorious death chambers of the Buchenwald concentration camp. He escaped. He got to Trieste, thence across land and sea all the way to Shanghai, from Shanghai to San Francisco, to New Orleans, finally to a new, peaceful home, in Sosua. These settlers have received from Sosua deeds for their homes, for their cattle, and seventy-five acres for their family gardens and farms. They are gradually paying for these farms and homes. They refuse to be objects of charity, Generalissimo."

The Generalissimo shook hands with the settlers, congratulated them on their progress, and expressed the hope that they and their families are happy at Sosua and that more settlers would come. They responded with enthusiasm.

Mr. Rosenberg: "The Dominican Republic enabled our Association to save some 4,000 lives. Among other things, it granted the right to Dorsa to obtain visas from the Dominican Republic consulates for Jews in Europe who had fled from Nazi Germany. Any name we gave got its visa, as a matter of course. These visas were veritable life insurance policies.

"Your Excellency, to celebrate this, the Independence Day of your Nation, and to evidence our gratitude to you, Dr. Hexter and I request the privilege of presenting a scroll to you even though it is only a slight mark of appreciation of your humanitarian service. I call on Dr. Hexter."

Dr. Maurice B. Hexter: "This is a great occasion, your Excellency. It is a rare privilege to us to present this citation to you; to present it, not only on behalf of Dorsa, but also of those

human beings whose lives you've saved."

Dr. Hexter then read the citation to Generalissimo Trujillo, a photostat of which is printed herein.

Mr. Rosenberg thereupon invited the Generalissimo to speak.

The Generalissimo, deeply moved, then addressed the meeting. The following is a translation. The original, in Spanish, is printed later in this pamphlet.

"Gentlemen. Today is a great day in the life of my country and in my life because the 109th anniversary of the independence of our beloved fatherland is being joyfully celebrated. It is a happy coincidence also that today I have received a tribute in New York by the distinguished members of the Jewish people and by members of other faiths. I have received also a scroll from the representatives of certain Jewish institutions.

"Consequently, this 109th Independence Day anniversary being celebrated today in my country makes this occasion a tie closer than ever between the people of my country and the Jewish people. I am happy to think that the Dominicans and the Jews have now, for thirteen years, worked together in full friendship, harmony, and collaboration. I suggest that this work, growing out of the agreement entered into by my Government with the Dominican Republic Settlement Association in 1940, is a matter of truly historical significance. I know of no other Sovereign State ever having made such an arrangement with a private organization.

"I am deeply grateful to my dear friends, Dr. Rosenberg and Dr. Hexter, for the scroll which they have given me, and I wish to say that my admiration for the Jews comes from the fact that they are champions of the principles of humanity, justice, civilization, brotherhood and progress.

"Lately, the Dominican Republic, at the instance of its humblest servant — that is, myself — has offered to receive and is desirous of receiving 20,000 to 25,000 people who have been brutally persecuted by Communism and who have fled from the countries behind the Iron Curtain. Any time there is a commission appointed by the United Nations or other responsible body to select appropriate places for receiving such refugees, my Government will be delighted to welcome them, to work with them, and to give them all the help that is necessary so that they may make a full study of the possibilities of settlement in the Dominican Republic, just as Dr. Rosenberg did fifteen years

ago. Such settlers will be welcomed and will, in due course, be entitled to citizenship. I can state that there is ample room for such settlers.

"The Sosua settlers, whose representatives have come here from the Dominican Republic to join with us in this celebration today are evidence of the protection and aid tendered by my Government. They are healthy and prosperous as a result of the very pleasant atmosphere they have enjoyed and of the delightful welcome given them by everyone, from the humblest farmer to the most highly placed in society. They participate in the healthful entertainment provided by the most distinguished social clubs, inasmuch as there is no discrimination whatever against them in the whole Republic. Mr. Rosenzweig, Administrator at Sosua, who is here today, is a member of the best club in Puerto Plata. He is one of the fortunate ones who escaped from Hitler.

"As Dr. Rosenberg has pointed out in his address of welcome to me today, the settlers have, in these past thirteen years since they fled from the Nazis, led happy, peaceful and productive lives in the Dominican Republic, and have thus been able to start a new and fruitful life. They are diligent and hard-working farmers. They have contributed effectively to the sound agricultural growth of the Dominican Republic, especially in the development of cattle-raising.

"Today, the 30,000 who have fled from Stalin Germany are Protestants and Catholics. Only a handful are Jews because Nazism and Communism have destroyed most of the Jews who fell within the grasp of its followers.

"In your presence, I call on the Catholic and Protestant world to heed this tragic fact. When, in 1933, Hitler gained power, the world slept. I hope the world will be awake today to the hideous doctrine of Communism, which would destroy Christianity, Judaism, the Moslem faith, indeed all religions. The cooperation of all religious groups is called for, since there is no doubt, and I hope the world realizes that the embrace of the Russian Bear is death.

"I am ready to dedicate my life in this noble cause for the freedom of all religion.

"At present, I am working with greater ardor, in this cause, outside rather than inside the United Nations. Confucius and Buddha and Mohammed, Moses and Jesus — indeed, all the great religions of the world — proclaim religious freedom and the brotherhood of man. This is the cause for which I wish to

work. Those who would destroy these religions would destroy God. They will fail. The fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man will prevail."

"Ours is a small country. So was ancient Israel. So was Greece. Perhaps from the small countries can surge a spirit of human brotherhood. It is in this spirit that the Dominican Republic is ready to open its doors to righteous and honest people, who are ready to work and become a constructive part of the Dominican Republic and of its internal life. Such men and women will be welcomed and will be received with open arms, as have been the settlers at Sosua.

"The Settlement at Sosua is a small one. It is only an experiment, a pilot plant, but it serves to show, by the splendid record of thirteen years, what conscientious, intelligent, hard-working people can do when a Government extends the hand of friendship, welcomes them, and gives them help. Let us remind you that good citizens are the most valuable assets a country can have.

"Dr. Rosenberg, Dr. Hexter, distinguished men who are gathered here, I thank you for the honor you have shown me today. It has been a constant source of happiness to me to have given my property at Sosua to the Dominican Republic Settlement Association. Through the efforts of the settlers, it has become truly a garden spot, affording homes, shelter, and healthful, self-supporting occupation to the settlers and their children."

Among those present were the following:

His Excellency, Dr. Rafael L. Trujillo Molina, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Dominican Republic and Ambassador at Large

Messrs.	Abraham Feinberg	Robert Rosenberg
Benjamin Abrams	Rudolf Herzberg	Alfred Rosenzweig
Henry Atkinson	Iskander Hourwich	Dr. James T. Shotwell
Carl J. Austrian	Dr. Bernhard Kahn	Nathan Straus III
Eric Benjamin	Eugene Katz	Isaac Toubin
Hon. Felix U. Bernardino	Louis Kenedy	A. Nye Van Vleck
John F. Betts	Harry Klempfuss	Linton Wells
Dr. Everett R. Clinchy	Hon. James G. McDonald	Richard M. Zeisler
Emanuel H. Demby	Robert B. Menapace	Dr. Maurice B. Hexter
Hanns Ditisheim	Werner Meyerstein	James N. Rosenberg
Maj. Gen. Manuel de Moya	Mrs. Ruby Frisch Moses	

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James N. Rosenberg, Honorary Chairman	Dorothy L. Speiser, Assistant Treasurer
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Morris Laub, Assistant Secretary	Ruby Frisch Moses

His Excellency, Rafael L. Trujillo

ACTA DE LA RECEPCIÓN OFRECIDA POR EL SEÑOR JAMES N. ROSENBERG, EN EL LOTOS CLUB, DE NUEVA YORK, EN FECHA 27 DE FEBRERO 1953, EN HONOR DE SU EXCELENCIA DOCTOR RAFAEL L. TRUJILLO MOLINA, COMANDANTE EN JEFE DE LAS FUERZAS ARMADAS DE LA REPÚBLICA DOMINICANA, Y EMBAJADOR-AT-LARGE.

El anfitrión, señor Rosenberg, Presidente Honorario de la Dominican Republic Settlement Association (DORSA), dió la bienvenida al huésped de honor; a las distinguidas personalidades presentes — dominicanos y de los Estados Unidos —, así como a los cuatro colonos de Sosúa que viajaron especialmente por la vía aérea desde la República Dominicana al objeto de asistir a la recepción. En esta significativa ocasión, el señor Rosenberg hizo las siguientes declaraciones: (Traducción al castellano de la dirección del Señor Rosenberg.)

"Excelentísimo Señor Generalísimo Rafael L. Trujillo:

"Los actuales acontecimientos mundiales justifican que me refiera brevemente a algunos hechos históricos. En 1938 el Presidente Roosevelt convocó en Evian, Francia, a los delegados de unas 40 naciones, con el propósito de aliviar los sufrimientos de los que huían de la tiranía de Hitler. Allí, entonces, en aquellas horas sombrías, la República Dominicana, por voz de su Presidente el Generalísimo Trujillo, abrió sus puertas a los refugiados, como un seguro asilo.

"Un estudio hecho entonces por expertos del Gobierno de los Estados Unidos, indicaba que la República Dominicana ofrecía excelentes posibilidades de colonización. En respuesta al llamamiento del Presidente Roosevelt exhortando a que se actuara rápidamente en el caso, se fundó la Dominican Republic Settlement Association, conocida comunmente como la DORSA, de la que fui nombrado Presidente.

"En 1940, representantes del Comité Intergubernamental Pro Refugiados, del Departamento de Estado de los Estados Unidos, del American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee y yo, estuvimos de visita en la República Dominicana en calidad de huéspedes distinguidos, por atenta invitación del Presidente Trujillo.

"Las negociaciones inmediatas que emprendimos con el Generalísimo y sus colaboradores condujeron a la firma de

un contrato entre el Gobierno de la República Dominicana y la DORSA, firmado el 30 de enero de 1940. La magnanimidad que animaba al Generalísimo y a sus compatriotas se evidencia desde el primer artículo de este documento, cuyo texto es como sigue:

"La República, de conformidad con su Constitución y sus leyes, por el presente, asegura a los colonos y sus descendientes, amplia oportunidad para proseguir su vida y ocupaciones, libres de molestias, discriminaciones o persecuciones, con entera libertad para ejercer sus cultos religiosos, con igualdad de oportunidades de derechos civiles, legales y económicos y cualesquiera otros inherentes a la personalidad humana".

"Poco después, en una sesión especial del Congreso dominicano, fué ratificado este extraordinario contrato, que brindaba hospitalidad a los refugiados en la República Dominicana.

"Pronto quedó establecida la Colonia de Sosúa en una magnífica hacienda de 26,000 acres situada en la costa septentrional de la República Dominicana, la cual recibió la DORSA a título de munífica donación personal del Presidente Trujillo

"Comenzó entonces la difícil tarea de traer a los refugiados. La segunda guerra mundial rugía en todo su apogeo. Surcaban los mares los submarinos nazis. Hitler había vencido a Francia, Holanda y Bélgica. No permitía que se escaparan los refugiados. Para nuestro pesar y para disolución del Generalísimo y sus compatriotas, las inquietudes y los problemas mundiales vienen impidiendo desde entonces que la Colonia rebasa su modesta condición actual, pero su éxito ha sido comprobado como ejemplo de lo que se puede lograr cuando un Estado soberano sabiamente gobernado, abre sus puertas acogedoras.

"En los trece años que de entonces acá han transcurrido, nuestro modesto esfuerzo ha contado con la continua, cabal y amistosa cooperación del Gobierno y del pueblo dominicanos, y, de manera singular, del Generalísimo Trujillo. Por tanto, huelga decir cuánto apreciamos esta oportunidad de rendir homenaje a Vuestra Excelencia. A la vez que benefactor, el Generalísimo Trujillo es un estadista. El sabía que las personas buenas, leales y trabajadoras—hombres y mujeres—constituyen el activo más valioso para cualquier estado, ya sea este grande o pequeño.

"Cuando hace ocho años cumplí setenta de vida, tuve que buscar un presidente dinámico que me sustituyera. Con tal fin me dirigí a un gran amigo mío, el doctor Maurice B. Hexter, un hombre verdaderamente distinguido a la vez que un brillante administrador. A pesar de tener otras pesadas responsabilidades a su cargo, aceptó las de la presidencia de la DORSA y se consagró, con una labor desinteresada, a la exitosa estructuración de Sosúa.

"Hasta el día de hoy, nuestro administrador el señor Alfred Rosenzweig, que es también colono, ha rendido una labor excelente en Sosúa. El y tres otros colonos más han llegado por avión desde la República Dominicana para ser, en este agasajo en honor de Vuestra Excelencia, coparticipes de todas las distinguidas personalidades congregadas en este recinto.

"Entre nuestros huéspedes contamos hoy con el Honorable James G. McDonald. El no os necesita ser presentado en esta reunión. Recordaréis que la hoy extinta Liga de las Naciones le designó Alto Comisionado a cargo de los problemas relativos a los refugiados que huían de Alemania. Durante dos años luchó con celo magnífico por encontrar refugio y albergue para los infelices — hombres, mujeres y niñas — que escapaban del agobio de los trabajos de Hitler. Pero como los oídos de los países del mundo estaban tapiados a sus ruegos, renunció al puesto en 1935. Su histórica carta de dimisión, dada a conocer al mundo entero en la Navidad de 1935, advertía que la persecución de Hitler contra los judíos era el primer disparo de la segunda guerra mundial. El mundo no escuchó.

"Tengo la esperanza de que los que hoy vivimos, hayamos, a estas horas, aprendido algo. ¿No es así?

El doctor McDonald, desde 1935, ha aportado una ayuda considerable a la obra de la DORSA."

Invitado por el señor Rosenberg a hacer uso de la palabra, el Hon. James G. McDonald dijo:

"Excelencia:

"Deseo referirme a un histórico momento, que ya mencionó el señor Rosenberg, pero sin extenderse. Estuve en Evian en 1938 como asesor técnico de nuestro amigo el Hon. Myron C. Taylor, jefe de la Delegación norteamericana a la Conferencia de Evian, para la cual convocó el Presidente Roosevelt a 38 gobiernos con el objeto de tratar sobre los

recursos que pudieran mobilizarse, y capaces de salvar a los judíos y otros refugiados de Alemania. Nos reunimos en aquel hermoso lugar y por tres semanas los 38 países, con una sola excepción, se las ingeniaron brillantemente para no hacer nada que no fuera prestar apoyo de labios hacia afuera a la gran causa que motivó aquella reunión. ¡Nada menos que 38 naciones y sólo una hizo un ofrecimiento tangible!

"Es una honrosa excepción, me da pena decirlo, no fué mi propio país. No fué Inglaterra, ni fué Francia, ni fué ningún otro país de Europa. No fué sino el pequeño país de nuestro amigo el Generalísimo El ofrecía asilo. Su país abría sus puertas.

"La guerra estaba desatando toda su furia. Pocos pudieron escapar de Hitler. De haber existido en mi país y en los grandes pueblos del mundo un espíritu comparable al que patentizaba la actitud del Generalísimo, centenares de miles —quizás millones— de vidas útiles habrían podido ser salvadas, vidas como las de estos cuatro colonos, Generalísimo, que se encuentran hoy entre nosotros para unirse a esta manifestación en honor de vuestra persona".

Después de presentar a los cuatro colonos, el señor Rosenberg siguió diciendo:

"Ahora deseo mostrar a Vuestra Excelencia y a esta concurrencia la clase de hombres cuyas vidas salvasteis.

"Presentaré primero a Alfred Rosenzweig, nacido en Viena en 1904. Era fabricante textil. Logró escapar de Viena en 1938 después de consumada la conquista de aquel país por Hitler. Llegó a Praga, luego pasó a Londres y desde allí arribó a Cuba. *Per aspera ad astra*, de la lobreguez de la desesperación a la luz de la esperanza, él y otros más fueron a Sosúa, donde se ha convertido en un trabajador incansable y un competente agricultor, además de ejercer el cargo de administrador de la Colonia. Su labor es espléndida".

El señor Rosenzweig, dirigiéndose entonces al Generalísimo, declaró:

"Llegamos ayer a esta ciudad por la vía aérea, procedentes de la República Dominicana, con el propósito de saludaros y expresaros lo que nadie puede expresar. No puedo hallar palabras para interpretar la gratitud que siente por Vuestra Excelencia cada uno de los colonos y cada uno de nuestros hijos".

Prosigue luego el señor Rosenberg:

"Ahora os presento al señor Rudolf Herzberg. Nació en Alemania en 1898. Ejercía en su país la carrera de abogado y trabajó con la famosa casa editora de Ullstein. De algún modo se las ingenio para escapar. Recorrió el mundo entero hasta llegar a China. Finalmente, por barco, llegó a Cuba. El fué el líder del primer grupo que vino a Sosúa.

Aquí tenemos a Werner Meyerstein, nacido en Alemania en 1919. Huyó a Inglaterra, donde aprendió a labrar la tierra. De Inglaterra se marchó a Estados Unidos, y de ahí arribó a Sosúa, de cuya colonia forma parte . . .

"Eric Benjamín, que más bien luce aspecto de cate-drático que de agricultor, nació en la ciudad alemana de Breslau en 1906. Fué uno de los prisioneros encerrados en las famosas cámaras letales del campo de concentración de Buchenwald. Logró fugarse. Llegó a Triste, luego a Shangai, por tierra y mar. De Shangai marchó a San Francisco, desde donde se trasladó a Nueva Orleans y, finalmente, a su nuevo y pacífico hogar en Sosúa.

"Estos colonos han recibido de Sosúa los títulos de propiedad de sus casas, ganado y 75 acres para huertos y haciendas correspondientes a sus respectivas familias. Gradualmente ellos están pagando esas haciendas y esas viviendas. Ellos rehusan ser objeto de caridad, Generalísimo".

El Generalísimo les estrechó la mano a los colonos, los felicitó por su prosperidad y les expresó la esperanza de que ellos y los suyos se sientan felices en Sosúa y de que vayan allí más colonos.

Los cuatro colonos le contestaron con caluroso entusiasmo.

"La República Dominicana — agregó entonces el señor Rosenberg — "le ha permitido a nuestra organización salvar unas 4,000 vidas más. Además, le otorgó a la Dorsa, entre otras cosas, el derecho de obtener visas en los consulados dominicanos para los judíos de Europa que habían huído de la Alemania nazi. Cualquier nombre que propusiéramos era aceptado, tal como lo deseabamos. Esas visas fueron verdaderas pólizas de seguro sobre la vida.

"Excelencia: para celebrar este aniversario de la independencia de vuestra nación y para testimoniarnos nuestra gratitud, el doctor Hexter y yo solicitamos el privilegio de presentaros este diploma, aunque el mismo sólo constituye una ligera muestra de nuestro aprecio por vuestros humani-

tarios servicios. Tiene la palabra el doctor Hexter.

"Esta es una gran ocasión. Excelencia"—dijo el doctor Hexter. "Es para nosotros un raro privilegio el de presentaros este pergamino, no sólo a nombre de la Dorsa, sino también en el de todos aquellos seres humanos cuyas vidas salvásteis". Al terminar sus palabras, el doctor Hexter leyó el texto del pergamino al Generalísimo Trujillo, cuya copia fotostática se reproduce en estas páginas.

Inmediatamente después el señor Rosenberg invitó al Generalísimo a hacer uso de la palabra.

Profundamente emocionado, el Generalísimo improvisó en castellano el siguiente discurso:

"Señores: Este es un gran día en la vida de mi país tanto como en la mía, porque hoy celebramos, jubilosamente, el 109o. aniversario de la Independencia de nuestra querida patria

"Por una feliz coincidencia hoy mismo he recibido un apreciado homenaje en Nueva York, de distinguidos miembros de la raza hebrea y de miembros de otras confesiones religiosas. He recibido también un pergamino de los representantes de instituciones judías.

"Por consecuencia, este día del 109o. aniversario de la independencia, que se está celebrando hoy en mi patria, es un nuevo vínculo entre el pueblo de mi país y los hebreos. Me hace feliz pensar que dominicanos y judíos allí residentes llevan ya trece años trabajando juntos en plena amistad, colaboración y armonía. Este trabajo, producto del convenio acordado por mi gobierno con la Dominican Republic Settlement Association en 1940 tiene una significación verdaderamente histórica. A mi entender, no existe otro Estado soberano que haya entrado jamás en un convenio de esa naturaleza con una organización particular como lo es la Dorsa.

Agradezco muy profundamente a los queridos amigos doctores Rosenberg y Hexter, el pergamino que me han entregado, y aprovecho esta propicia oportunidad paramanifestarles que mi admiración para los judíos viene del hecho de que considero sinceramente que ellos son campeones de los principios de humanidad, justicia, civilización, fraternidad y progreso.

"Hace poco, por instancias mías - su más humilde servidor - la República Dominicana ha ofrecido recibir, y está deseosa de hacerlo, de 20,000 a 25,000 personas víctimas de la cruel

persecución comunista, que han huído de los países situados detrás de la Cortina de Hierro. Cuando sea nombrada una comisión por las Naciones Unidas o por cualquier otro grupo responsable, con el propósito de escoger lugares apropiados para amparar estos refugiados, mi gobierno se complacería en darle la bienvenida, en trabajar con ella y en facilitarle toda la ayuda que necesite para que pueda hacer un estudio completo de las posibilidades de establecer una colonia de desplazados en la República Dominicana tal como lo hizo hace quince años el doctor Rosenberg. Esos colonos serían bienvenidos y, a su debido tiempo, tendrían derecho a la ciudadanía dominicana. Puedo asegurarles que hay campo de sobra para ellos.

“Los colonos de Sosúa, cuyos representantes han venido aquí desde la República Dominicana para unirse a nosotros en esta celebración de hoy, son un exponente del buen éxito de la labor de ayuda y protección realizada por mi gobierno. Gozan de salud y de bienestar, como consecuencia del ambiente muy agradable de que han disfrutado y de la bienvenida complaciente que se les ha brindado por todos, desde el agricultor más humilde hasta el personaje más elevado de la sociedad. Participan de las sanas expansiones de los centros sociales más distinguidos, porque no existe contra ellos discriminación de ninguna especie en toda la República. El administrador de Sosúa, señor Rosenzweig, quien está presente aquí hoy, es miembro del mejor club de Puerto Plata. El es uno de aquellos afortunados en escapar de Hitler.

“Como ha indicado el doctor Rosenberg al darme hoy la bienvenida, los colonos que huyeron de los nazis han llevado sus vidas durante estos últimos trece años en la República Dominicana en un ámbito de paz, de felicidad y de productivos esfuerzos que les han permitido rehacer provechosamente sus vidas. Son diligentes y afanados agricultores que han contribuido eficazmente al desarrollo agropecuario en mi país, sobre todo en lo que respecta a la industria ganadera.

“Hoy día los 30,000 que han huído de la Alemania de Stalin son protestantes o católicos. Sólo unos cuantos son judíos, ya que el nazismo y el comunismo destruyeron brutalmente a la mayoría de los que cayeron en su poder.

“Ante ustedes hago este llamamiento al mundo católico y al mundo protestante, para que presten atención a este hecho trágico. Cuando Hitler conquistó el poder en 1933, el

mundo dormía. Tengo la esperanza de que hoy despertará ante la horrenda doctrina del comunismo que quiere destruir al cristianismo, al judaísmo, al mahometismo y a todas las otras religiones. Hay que invocar la cooperación de todos los grupos religiosos del mundo, puesto que ya no cabe duda — y espero que el mundo así lo perciba — de que el abrazo del oso ruso significa la muerte.

“Estoy dispuesto a dedicar mi vida a la noble causa de mantener la libertad de todas las religiones.

“En la actualidad estoy trabajando en esta causa con más ahinco fuera, más bien que dentro de las Naciones Unidas. Confucio, Buda, Mahoma, Moisés y Jesús — en realidad todos los profetas y todas las religiones — proclaman la libertad religiosa y la fraternidad del hombre. Esta es la causa para la cual estoy dispuesto a trabajar. Los que destruyan estas religiones destruirán también a Dios. Tendrán mal éxito. Vencerán la paternidad de Dios y la fraternidad del hombre.

“El nuestro es un país pequeño. Así fué la antigua Israel, lo mismo que Grecia. Quizás de los pequeños países pudiese surgir de nuevo el espíritu de fraternidad humana.

“Es en este espíritu en el que la República Dominicana está presta a abrir sus puertas, para que entre por ellas la clase de gente recta y honrada que esté dispuesta a trabajar y a hacerse parte constructiva de la República Dominicana y de su vida interna. Hombres y mujeres como éstos serán bienvenidos y recibidos con los brazos abiertos, como lo han sido los colonos de Sosúa.

“La colonia de Sosúa es pequeña. No es más que un experimento, una instalación que sirve de guía, pero demuestra, sin embargo, por el espléndido testimonio de sus trece años, lo que pueden hacer las personas conscientes, inteligentes, activas y trabajadoras, cuando un gobierno les tiende la mano de la amistad, las hace sentirse bienvenidas, y les ofrece su ayuda y cooperación.

“Permítanme advertirles que los bienes más valiosos que puede tener algún país son sus buenos ciudadanos.

“Doctor Rosenberg; doctor Hexter y demás personajes aquí congregados:

“Quisiera ofrecerles mis sentidas gracias por el honor que hoy me han dispensado. Puedo asegurarles que el hecho de haber donado mis propiedades en Sosúa a la Dominican

Republic Settlement Association, ha venido siendo una constante fuente de felicidad para mí, porque por los esfuerzos de los colonos, Sosúa ha llegado a ser un verdadero jardín de belleza que les brinda hogar tranquilo y trabajo sano y honrado con que mantenerse ellos y sus hijos."

Entre aquellos regalos estaban los siguientes:
Su Excelencia Doctor Rafael L. Trujillo Molina, Comandante en Jefe de las Fuerzas Armadas de la República Dominicana, y Embajador at-Large,

y

El señores
Benjamin Abrams
Henry Atkinson
Carl J. Austrian
Eric Benjamin
Hon. Felix U. Bernardino
John F. Betts
Dr. Everett R. Clinchy
Emanuel H. Demby
Hanns Ditisheim
Maj. Gen. Manuel de Moya

Abraham Feinberg
Rudolf Herzberg
Iskander Hourwich
Dr. Bernhard Kahn
Eugene Katz
Louis Kenedy
Harry Klempfuss
Hon. James G. McDonald
Robert B. Menapace
Werner Meyerstein
Mrs. Ruby Frisch Moses

Robert Rosenberg
Alfred Rosenzweig
Dr. James T. Shotwell
Nathan Straus III
Isaac Toubin
A. Nye Van Vleck
Linton Wells
Richard M. Zeisler
Dr. Maurice B. Hexter
James N. Rosenberg

DIRECTORES Y OFICIALES, DOMINICAN REPUBLIC SETTLEMENT ASS'N, Inc.

James N. Rosenberg, Presidente Honorario de la Junta	Dorothy L. Speiser, Ayudante Tesorero
Maurice B. Hexter, Presidente de la Junta y de la Asociación	Louis Caplan
Moses B. Leavitt, Vicepresidente	Leon Falk, Jr.
Bernhard Kahn, Secretario y Tesorero	Evelyn M. Morrissey
Morris Laub, Ayudante Secretario	Ruby Frisch Moses
	Su Excelencia, Rafael L. Trujillo

1954

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS

THE COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS

January 12, 1954

not filed

Mr. Myron C. Taylor
71 Broadway
New York 6, New York

Dear Mr. Taylor:

I wish to make further reference to our correspondence of last summer relative to our mutual interest in refugees. I just returned from my scheduled trip to New York City and I am writing to apologize that I did not contact you and show you my manuscript. However my intended trip was shortened by two days to a bare 36 hours during which time I had virtually to "dog trot" to meet my commitments -- therefore my intended pleasure, that of seeing you, was lost.

Now I have a suggestion to make; namely, that you contact Mr. Frederick A. Praeger, of Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., Publishers, 105 West Fortieth Street, New York 18, New York (Lackawana 4-3664), who has a copy of my manuscript. When it returns from his printer, who is making an estimate of printing costs, I am sure you can arrange to examine the work.

"Personally, my only reservation is that I may not have done justice to your work at the Evian Meetings, and so I would appreciate your comments, especially your suggested amendments or additions. Please realize, however, that I can do no more than provide a cursory summary in a one-volume work in the scope I am undertaking."

I do so regret not having met you personally.

Sincerely yours,


Malcolm J. Proudfoot

MJP:SR
cc. F. A. Praeger

C
O
P
Y

JAMES N. ROSENBERG
575 Madison Avenue
New York 22

March 2 1954

Hon. Myron C. Taylor
71 Broadway
New York 6, New York

Dear Mr. Taylor:

Generalissimo Trujillo was delighted with your letter of December 23rd to me which I handed personally to him.

It would give me great pleasure to drop in on you some day, and tell you in some detail about the small but successful Settlement in the Dominican Republic which grew out of the Evian meeting presided over by your good self.

With personal regards and greetings,

Faithfully yours,

(Sd) JAMES N. ROSENBERG.

JNR/rf

Refugees

March 26 1954

Prof. Malcolm J. Proudfoot
Northwestern University
Evanston, Illinois

Dear Sir:

Upon his return from a stay at his home in Florida Mr. Taylor made an examination of your manuscript relative to European refugees 1939-52. Before leaving for another absence he said that while demands upon his time prevented him from reading the manuscript thoroughly, from the perusal he had been able to make it seemed to him to be a profound study of that unhappy period in the affairs of the world in which refugees and displaced persons suffered such a tremendous hardship and in which so many met violent death.

In response to your suggestion that you may not have done justice to Mr. Taylor's work at Evian, and inviting comments and suggestions for amendments or additions, I am sending you a narrative titled "Confidential Memorandum for the President regarding Refugees 1938-1947." From it you will see that on April 26 1938 President Roosevelt wrote a letter asking Mr. Taylor to represent the United States Government, with the rank of Ambassador, as a member of a proposed International Committee to facilitate the immigration of political refugees from Germany and Austria. Mr. Taylor thereupon organized and was elected chairman of the Evian Conference of July 1938, comprising representatives of thirty-two nations to the heads of which the President had suggested the conference.

This conference evolved the idea of the International Committee on Political Refugees, composed of Mr. Taylor as Chairman, with Lord Winterton representing Great Britain and with representatives of Brazil, France, and the Netherlands as Vice Chairmen. Mr. George Rublee became Director of the Committee under an appointment in August 1938. Mr. Taylor was very active in the affairs of the organization, and later, in February 1939, proposed its merger with the work that Sir Herbert Emerson conducted in behalf of the refugee activities of the League of Nations--Sir Herbert succeeding Mr. Rublee as Director.

Negotiations with Dr. Hjalmar Schacht and Dr. Helmuth Wohlthat in behalf of the persecuted people of Germany were inspired and initiated by Mr. Taylor and subsequently conducted by him through Mr. Rublee. Mr. Taylor organized groups in New York, London, and Paris known as the Coordinating Foundation, to undertake the financing of the Jews who were permitted to leave Germany and Austria. The Board of Directors was composed of Mr. Paul Baerwald, The Rt. Hon. the Viscount Bearsted, the Earl of Bessborough, the Honorable Harold Butler, Mr. Lionel L. Cohen, the Hon. John W. Davis, Dr. Rufus M. Jones, Sir Simon Marks, the Hon. Nathan L. Miller, the Hon. Dave Hennen Morris, Judge Joseph M. Proskauer, Mr. Lessing J. Rosenwald, Mr. Lionel de Rothschild, the Rt. Hon. Sir Horace Rumboldt, Sir John Hope Simpson, Admiral Lewis L. Strauss, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, and the Hon. Owen D. Young. Former Prime Minister Van Zeeland of Belgium (now Foreign Minister) was named Executive Director.

The Intergovernmental Committee conducted its activities under that leadership until it in turn was merged with the International Relief Organization in 1947. As examples of some of the activities of the Committee, it may be said that agreements were made for re-settlement of refugees and displaced persons with a number of South American countries--Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Peru, Venezuela. The Committee assisted in the transfer of large numbers of Mennonite refugees from Germany to Paraguay; undertook the operation of three ships assigned by our War Department for the removal of displaced persons to Brazil; arranged for the protection of displaced persons transferred to Belgium, France, Holland, and Norway; entered into agreements for the transfer to its care of 11,000 refugees and displaced persons living in Italy. The governments of the United States and of Great Britain each appropriated \$5,000,000 for these activities. A complete recital of the Intergovernmental Committee's activities, however, would involve the expenditure of more time than it is presently possible to devote to it.

Mr. Taylor feels that you have produced a monumental work which will be of great use in days to come by all interested scholars and others who seek knowledge of refugee history. We will procure copies of the book when it is published.

Will you please return to us the "Confidential Memorandum for the President regarding Refugees" which is now being sent you?

Mr. Taylor appreciates and wishes me to thank you for the opportunity given him of reviewing your work and of mentioning some of

the activities of the Intergovernmental Committee in addition to those discussed in your manuscript. As indicated at the beginning of this letter, he has found it, from the incomplete examination he has been able to give, an interesting account of the refugee subject. He realizes that quite evidently it has involved an immense amount of research on your part.

We are returning the manuscript to your publishers.

Yours very truly,

W. C. FITCH

Secretary to Mr. Myron Taylor

C
O
P
Y

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS

THE COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS

April 4 1954
7/11/6

Dear Mr. Fitch:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter and accompanying "Confidential Memorandum for the President regarding Refugees". Please extend my thanks to Mr. Taylor for his friendly comments regarding my manuscript. I expect between now and the end of the summer to complete its final revision for Mr. Praeger my publisher. You may be sure that I will make every effort to do justice to the fine work done by Mr. Taylor, and certainly, among other things, to correct the record to include his part--major part--in the negotiations with Drs. Schacht and Wohlthat, which as is so often the case in such matters, the credit accorded to the wrong man, gets recorded in the available literature. Such was the case too of some of the fine work done by Folke Bernadotte in negotiating with Himmler during April 1945. But tell Mr. Taylor, because of the high cost of publication and probable subsidy which must all too often be paid to support books of this type, I am now confronted with the difficult task of shortening my manuscript by approximately 100 pages--which means that I shall have even less space to detail the work done by Mr. Taylor and others associated with the Intergovernmental Committee.

✓ May I keep the Memorandum, subject to Mr. Taylor's recall, until the end of the summer? If I do not hear, I shall assume that I may.

I am grateful for Mr. Taylor's help!

Sincerely,

MALCOLM PROUDFOOT.

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS

4/13/54

April 4, 1954.

THE COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS

Dear Mr. Fitch:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter and accompanying "Confidential Memorandum for the President regarding refugees". Please extend my thanks to Mr. Taylor for his friendly comments regarding my manuscript. I expect between now and the end of the summer to complete its final revision for Mr. Praeger my publisher. You may be sure that I will make every effort to do justice to the fine work done by Mr. Taylor, and certainly, among other things, to correct the record to include his part — major part — in the negotiations with Dr. Schacht and Wohlthat, which as is so often the case in such matters, the credit

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May I keep the Memorandum, subject to Mr. Taylor's recall, until the end of the summer? If I do not hear, I shall assume that I may.

I am grateful for Mr. Taylor's help!

Sincerely,
Malcolm P. ...

RELIEF FUND GOAL SET
Protestant Churches to Seek \$8,000,000 for Overseas Aid

The major Protestant and Eastern Orthodox churches in this country will seek more than \$8,000,000 this year for relief and reconstruction overseas, it was announced yesterday by Harper Sibley, chairman of Church World Service, interdenominational relief agency of American Protestants.

The high point in the 1954 appeal will be "O - Great Hour of Sharing" observances in thousands of American churches on March 28 when special offerings will be made. In 1953 the appeal brought in more than \$7,000,000.

Areas of need scheduled to benefit from the appeal will include Korea, Germany, Austria, Yugoslavia, India, Pakistan and the Near East.

LUTHERAN
'53 REFUGEE LAW
NEW YORK TIMES

Requirement for Individual Sponsor 'Basically Wrong'
 National Council is Told

By GEORGE DUGAN
 Special to The New York Times

ATLANTIC CITY, Feb. 2—The Refugee Relief Act of 1953 came in for some sharp criticism today at the opening session here of the four-day annual meeting of the National Lutheran Council.

The church organization represents eight separate Lutheran denominations with a membership of 4,500,000 members.

The criticism was aimed for the most part at a provision of the new law stipulating that only individuals may act as primary sponsors for refugees. Under the old Espionage-Persecution Act, voluntary agencies such as the Lutheran body underwrote all job and housing assurances for incoming refugees.

According to the Rev. Dr. Paul C. Engle, executive director of the council, the relief act was passed in a closed session of Congress last July and turned out to be "quite contrary to what we had hoped for."

The act was signed by President Eisenhower on Aug. 7. It authorized the admission of 200,000 refugees in the next three years.

Church Alma Held Ignored

Dr. Engle emphasized that by placing the full burden of responsibility on individuals, the law ignored the basic philosophy of the church's refugee assistance program. This philosophy, he said, lays a major stress on humanitarianism and Christian service to needy persons, rather than on personal benefit to an individual sponsor.

"It is basically wrong," he observed, "for private sponsors to assume sole responsibility."

As an illustration, he cited the hypothetical case of a refugee who might become institutionalized in this country, and thus remain a permanent obligation of his sponsor. Under the old law, the voluntary agency took over such cases.

Several delegates declared that added delays occasioned by legal red tape would limit the entry of refugees to a mere "trickle."

The Lutheran attitude toward the new law, it was understood, is shared by all voluntary agencies now working in the refugee field.

'Strong Christian Voice' Asked

In his presidential address this morning, the Rev. Dr. Oscar A. Benson of Minneapolis called on his fellow Christians to speak out "unequivocally" on the side of freedom and justice. He cited the problem of German reunification, the Arab-Israeli controversy, and "ominous issues in Africa" as situations that required a "strong Christian voice" in their solution.

Dr. Benson stressed that "already there seems to be a recognition on the part of the Communist Government in Germany's East zone that it cannot completely ignore the innate yearnings of their constituencies for spiritual expression."

"That yearning," he continued, "never fails to kindle also the hope for political freedom."

"Classes in religious instruction are now permitted here and there in East Germany, and there can be no doubt that the material aid given by the Western churches and the persistent witnessing by fearless pastors is bearing fruit."

Dr. Benson was named this morning to his second one-year term as president of the council. The Rev. Dr. Henry F. Schuh of Columbus, Ohio, was named to his second one-year term as vice-president, and the Rev. Dr. F. Epping Reisz of New Rochelle, N. Y., in his first one-year term as secretary.

Refugee Chief Urges a Five-Year Plan
To Settle Problem at Cost of \$40,000,000
NEW YORK TIMES

Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., March 23—Dr. G. J. Van Heuven Goedhart, High Commissioner for Refugees, advocated today a five-year plan for a permanent settlement of the refugee problem at a total cost of \$40,000,000.

He hopes to enlist the support of the Economic and Social Council for the plan during its summer session at Geneva, and to bring the plan before the General Assembly next fall.

If the fifty-five member nations of the world group favorably disposed toward his office would consent to raise \$15,000,000 of the needed amount, Dr. Goedhart said at a press conference, the remaining funds would be available from other sources. In support of this contention, he pointed to the \$2,000,000 contributed last year by the Ford Foundation, on the basis of which an additional \$9,000,000 was collected from interested Governments and organizations.

The Ford Foundation, the high commissioner said, will not repeat its gift. This is understandable, he added, since the institution's focus is mainly on other fields, and an exception was made in its contribution last year because of an emergency.

For probably 90 per cent of the present refugees now under the aegis of the High Commissioner's Office, Dr. Van Heuven Goedhart officials said, assimilation among the populations of the countries where they are living must be the ultimate answer to their problem. Prospects for emigration are discouraging for the rest, he explained.

Under these circumstances, he continued, a realistic approach toward solution necessitates loans to the refugees, to permit them to establish themselves in some business or profession from which they can gain a livelihood and become useful and productive members of society. The fund he proposed, he said, would be a revolving one to be used many times over for such loans.

Dr. Van Heuven Goedhart said that evidence that the policy of lending investment capital to refugees was a sound one was at hand in the experience of the last three and a half years in West Germany, where a bank was set up for an identical purpose. This bank reports the rate of loans repaid by refugees to be .02 per cent higher than that for commercial banks.

"The figures show that refugees feel a sense of obligation and that they take pride in cancelling out the loans made to them," he added. "Each application for funds must be submitted to the officials. The money asked is advanced only if and when the plan meets the approval of the bank officials."

NY TIMES 1/21/54
Pope Aids U. N. Refugee Fund

Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., Jan. 21—Pope Pius XII has advised Dr. J. G. Van Heuven Goedhart, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, of his personal interest in the plight of needy refugees and of his desire to make a token contribution of \$2,000 for their welfare.

HER TRIB 5/28/54
Rescue for Refugees

The work of the International Rescue Committee has been of great value to the West over a long period. Founded in 1933, the I. R. C. has a distinguished record of aid to persons who have suffered because of their opposition to Communism and Fascism. In the years following the fall of France the organization saved more than 2,500 persons from the Gestapo. Since 1945 it has given direct aid to more than 100,000 Iron Curtain refugees and has resettled more than 12,500 in North and South America.

The stream of refugees from the East through the West portals of Berlin, Stockholm, Vienna and Istanbul has swollen in recent years to unforeseen proportions. The descent of the Iron Curtain in 1948, the East Berlin uprising a year ago and more recently the Soviet Union's proclamation of an East German "sovereign" republic have all contributed to raise the flood to higher stages. The importance of the I. R. C.'s work in meeting this situation was strikingly shown last year, when the late Mayor Reuter crossed the Atlantic to endorse and take part in the organization's drive for funds to take care of the refugees pouring into West Berlin. This year, in the month of May alone, more than 9,300 arrived in that city in quest of safety.

Now, in its twenty-first year, the I. R. C. is asking anew for public support. Contributions may be sent to the International Rescue Committee, 62 W. 45th St., New York 36, N. Y.

Extract From
THE MEMOIRS OF CORDELL HULL

Volume I - Page 578-579

With Hitler's persecution of the Jews extended to Austria as well, the flow of semidestitute Jewish refugees from German-controlled territory was certain to increase. At the State Department we had supported the League of Nations' efforts to provide homes for these refugees in the early years of the Nazi regime. Now we believed it necessary to go further and take stronger international action lest these victims of persecution be exterminated, and lest the unsettled state of Europe be further disturbed by the wholesale wanderings of these hapless people from country to country.

With the President's approval, I therefore sent out invitations to a number of other governments to cooperate in setting up a special refugee committee. In announcing this move on March 24, 1938, we made it clear that the financing of the emergency emigration would be done by private organizations, and that no country would be expected to receive a greater number of immigrants than its existing legislation permitted. We ourselves continued the German and former Austrian immigration quotas, so that a total of 27,370 refugees could enter the United States on the German quota in one year.

Thirty-one nations responded favorably, and our representatives met at Evian, France, July 6, 1938. Myron C. Taylor, the chairman of the United States delegation, was chosen chairman. The conference laid the basis for the handling of refugees, and created a permanent Intergovernmental Committee on Political Refugees, with headquarters in London. In the months that followed, and even after the outbreak of war on September 1, 1939, this committee facilitated the emigration of scores of thousands of Jews from Germany to new and happier homes. It had to overcome innumerable obstacles, including the brutal refusal of Hitler's Government to permit Jewish emigrants to take more than an insignificant fraction of their goods or money with them, and the reluctance of many governments to receive more than a nominal number of Jews.

MEETING OF OFFICERS
OF THE
INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE
OF POLITICAL REFUGEES
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.
- - OCTOBER 17, 1939

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

MEETING OF OFFICERS
of the
INTER-GOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL REFUGEES

Department of State,
Washington, D. C.
October 17, 1939 - 3 p.m.

- - - - -

PRESENT:

Hon. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State.

The Rt. Hon. The Earl Winterton, Paymaster General
in the United Kingdom Government, Chairman;
accompanied by Messrs. Bramwell and Alington,
Advisers.

His Excellency Senor Don Felipe A. Espil, Ambassador
of the Argentine Republic.

His Excellency Mr. Carlos Martins, Ambassador of
Brazil.

His Excellency Count de Saint-Quentin, Ambassador
of the French Republic, accompanied by
M. Jacques Dumaine, Adviser.

The Hon. Dr. A. Loudon, Minister of the Netherlands,
accompanied by Mr. A.F.H. Van Troostenburg de
Bruyn, Adviser.

Hon. Myron C. Taylor, Vice-Chairman, Inter-Governmental Committee, representing the United States of America, accompanied by Mr. Robert Pell, Adviser.

Hon. James G. McDonald, Chairman, President's Advisory Committee on Political Refugees, accompanied by Mr. George L. Warren, Executive Secretary, President's Advisory Committee on Political Refugees.

Mr. Stephen Morris, Acting Secretary, Inter-Governmental Committee on Political Refugees.

Hon. Cordell Hull:

Gentlemen: On behalf of this Government I am glad to extend a most hearty welcome to each of you who comprise this organization.

We are particularly appreciative of those who have come some distance under more or less inconvenience to be present on this occasion. It manifests a far-reaching interest which should afford encouragement to all of us who may need encouragement in this connection.

You are engaged in a most righteous undertaking, an undertaking that involves not only the highest and the finest exhibition of humanitarianism and of civilized human effort, but you typify law and order at a time when a vast portion of the world is in a sea of international anarchy, and stand for constructive thought and action when so many destructive forces are abroad.

You assemble in an undertaking that is worthy in the highest sense, and you assemble at a most critical period in the history of our civilized life.

The occasion and the problem recall some of the noble thoughts of the most trying periods in the history of the human race.

It has been said that "man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn".

Again, "These are days that try men's souls".

I might repeat many of those soul-stirring statements to which great patriots, great humanitarians, have given spontaneous utterance in the ages that are past.

We do know that at this period there are an increasing number of people who are draining the cup of bitterness and of disappointment to its very dregs. We do know that they are on a level below that of the common animal, which is able to find something on which to subsist, to find some place where it can rest and relax and sleep. We know that these unfortunate people who have been made outcasts are without a country, without a home, without a family, without any means of subsistence. The more we ponder on this ordinarily unthinkable situation and condition of an increasing number of unfortunate human souls, the more we are stirred to the utmost to find ways to solve this problem. We have this condition, we have this staggering problem that is presented, which is a challenge to law and order and decency, as well as a challenge to every humanitarian instinct.

That is why I feel all the greater pride and the greater thanks go out to each of the Governments participating in the Committee which, moved at an early stage, have consecrated time and effort to a suitable approach and an effective solution of the terrific problem.

I know that the thanks of the civilized millions in every part of the world will increase, as understanding

and appreciation of your work is more fully impressed upon them. I know that you will leave nothing undone that it may be possible to do in keeping alive a movement intended to grapple with this ever-increasing problem. I think it would be most unfortunate if future historians should be called upon to say that civilized man confessed his inability to cope with this harrowing problem and let the undertaking die at its most critical period.

I sat down here merely for the purpose of saying welcome and wishing you God-speed. I am sorry that I am not able to sit at your feet here and learn more about this problem, in order that I might consecrate myself more effectively in the future to its solution.

I take great pleasure in turning the meeting over to the Chairman, Lord Winterton.

Lord Winterton: I hope that you will allow me on my own behalf and on behalf of all my colleagues to thank you most sincerely for the speech which you have just delivered.

I should like to say, speaking on behalf of my Government, and I imagine that my colleagues would like to join with me on behalf of their Governments, that we are deeply grateful to the President of the United States and to your Government for giving us this opportunity of discussing these difficult problems.

It only remains for me to add that all of us, I think, are most anxious to see some solution of this great problem

and to say that since this Committee was first formed in July 1938 that the thirty-two countries represented upon it, and especially those countries which supply the officers of the organization, the Vice Chairmen and the organization have worked in the greatest amity and harmony. Naturally we should have liked to have achieved more. I think we can say, however, that, thanks very largely to our two directors, Mr. George Rublee and Sir Herbert Emerson, we can claim that in that comparatively short period we have done something to alleviate human suffering and to bring order out of chaos.

(Applause)

(At this point Lord Winterton took the Chair and Secretary Hull left the meeting).

Lord Winterton: I will ask Mr. Myron Taylor if he will now address the conference.

Mr. Myron Taylor: Mr. Chairman and gentlemen:

I would like to say first of all what a very great pleasure it is to me to have you, Lord Winterton, and you, Sir Herbert Emerson, in Washington for a meeting of the Intergovernmental Committee. I realize the difficulties which might have persuaded less courageous souls to remain at home at the present time, but you have overlooked all danger and difficulty that might come to you, and we are delighted to have you with us.

You and your government have been so hospitable to us of the committee during the last year, that it is a satisfaction to reciprocate your hospitality in some small measure.

The President at the opening of our conference today emphasized that the committee has a duty to look into the future, determine what must be done to continue the work in behalf of refugees, despite the outbreak of the war.

For our guidance he has set forth several high points.

First, the President said that the work of the committee should not be abandoned, it must be re-directed.

Second, he suggested that urgent attention should be given to the short range program for dealing with persons who are now in countries of refuge. He said that this program involves the resettlement of somewhat more than 100,000 persons who were craving an opportunity to resume a useful life.

Third, he said that a long range program should be envisaged for dealing with the broader problem of resettling great numbers of people who may be victims of the war.

Fourth, the President emphasized the importance of going ahead in an active manner with the engineering and colonizing aspects of settlement projects.

Fifth, the President expressed the hope that the governments members of the Intergovernmental Committee would be consulted with regard to the possibility of

extending the activity of the committee.

I am confident there will be no difference of opinion with regard to continuing the work of the Intergovernmental Committee. The committee has proved its value in trying times. I am sure that it will continue to be of service in a time of international catastrophe. I am certain that this point will not require discussion.

In regard to the second point, that is the necessity of the short range program for dealing with persons in countries of temporary refuge, I am sure that we shall welcome the expert opinions of Sir Herbert Emerson and of Monsieur van Zeeland. All reports which we have received indicate that the situation of refugees in these countries is acute, and that it is urgently necessary to take steps to alleviate this situation.

I believe that this can be done partly by a continuation of the processes of infiltration. It must be supplemented, however, by a beginning of settlement in the various places which have been explored and upon which work can now begin.

What the committee can do to solve the broader general problem of refugees will depend in large part upon whether the governments members of the committee are willing to extend the activity of the committee. We shall have to consider this point carefully and determine how we can proceed with the best promise of positive results.

It is clear that we, the officers, cannot bind the committee. All that we can do is to report to the participating governments that President Roosevelt has expressed the hope that the committee's mandate could be extended, and invite expressions of their respective views.

I would like to suggest that the chairman instruct the secretary to circularize the participating governments immediately to this effect, and to correlate the replies for the information of the officers and the full committee.

In conclusion may I urge that there be no let up in the work which we have undertaken and in the exemplary work of the coordinating foundation and the individual corporations for dealing with the respective settlement projects.

I fully realize that the war has greatly complicated our task, and that, for example, the transit countries which heretofore have played such an important part in accepting refugees temporarily, are no longer in position to do so, and that private communities are no longer able to contribute their share of relief funds that are required. This will necessitate, among other things, moving emigrants hereafter directly to the countries of settlement. I cite only this one example.

There are other factors which complicate the situation, but we must not evidence discouragement, we must bend our backs to the task of greater vigor and prove that we have the foresight and ingenuity required to solve the problem

which is a blot on our Western civilization.

Lord Winterton: His Excellency, the Ambassador from Argentine, Senor Don Felipe A. Espil.

His Excellency Senor Espil (Argentine Republic): I have no special comment to make although I wish to pay tribute to the great humanitarian undertaking sponsored by President Roosevelt.

Lord Winterton: Does the Brazilian Ambassador wish to say a few words? His Excellency Carlos Martins, Ambassador from Brazil.

His Excellency Senor Carlos Martins (Brazil): I have no particular instructions from my government about this.

I wish to express the full appreciation of my government, however.

Lord Winterton: The French Ambassador, Count de Saint-Quentin.

His Excellency Count de Saint-Quentin (France): For myself I must apologize for not being very familiar with those problems, but I, of course, want to express the deep interest which our government takes in that problem and the work of this committee.

My first duty would be, of course, to say how deeply the French representatives on this Committee regrets not being here. Mr. Myron Taylor told us at the luncheon of the telegram which he had received from Monsieur Henry Berenger. Being, as you know, the Chairman of the Com-

mittee on Foreign Affairs of the French Senate, my eminent compatriot is detained at home and could not emulate Lord Winterton's example, as he should like to have done.

As you know, France has always been, in the course of history, familiar with the refugee problem. On account of our geographical situation, and also perhaps from our national character, or maybe that our geographical situation has influenced our national character, it has been quite a tradition for France to accept on her territory and to welcome a great number of foreigners.

We have now, out of a population of nearly 40,000,000 inhabitants, about 3,000,000 foreigners. Those foreigners are at home, they feel comfortable on our soil, and they certainly contribute to the prosperity of the country.

In that number are included several hundred thousand political refugees, people who have been advised to leave their own country because they weren't acceptable any more to the prevailing race or creed or political school.

We have consistently accorded this hospitality in the course of our history, and we have found it a contribution to our people, to the intellectual and moral formation of the French nation, that means to our civilization, and that has been very great.

I think now we may have about 500,000 political refugees, some of whom came gradually after the war, about 75,000 White Russians, about 65,000 Armenians, a good many Austrians and Germans, when we had the second wave, if I may say so, of

Germans and Austrians, especially people of Jewish creed, but also a good many Catholics or Protestants who disagreed with the political doctrines of the German Government.

Those people were there when we had the unprecedented influx of 400,000 Spanish refugees.

Of course, this Committee has been especially mandated to deal with the question of the German and Austrian people. So we are quite sympathetic to the appeal that the President and the American Government sent to the nations to study the problem of resettling those refugees of Central Europe. Among those who have been admitted in France, a good many are waiting departure for other countries, having applied for a visa to enter the United States or some other country.

A special problem has arisen in regard to them since the outbreak of the present war. Many of them are German and Austrian citizens. That means that independently of their own feelings and their creeds, they are subjects of an enemy power and have had to be interned in special camps. The only way to deal with such cases was to have a general roundup at first, but we have already begun to open the doors to some people we knew very well and who offered every guarantee. I am informed by my Government that it is its intention to open the doors still wider and to help those people to return little by little to normal life.....That process may be hastened thanks to the valuable cooperation of such an organization as C.R.T. which, as you know, has

devoted its activity for many years to the professional training of refugees.... I think that France will thus be able to assist settlement countries, because it will furnish them with people who won't interfere with the local economy, as they would be not only tradesmen and bankers or doctors, a surplus of which seems to exist in many countries, but also agricultural workers or skilled workers.

Under the present conditions, as Mr. Myron Taylor reminded us, we should find it very difficult for the Government to give any financial contribution to the plan finally agreed on by the committee, but of course we shall do our best in full sympathy and agreement with the other members of the Committee, and, I may add, in deep gratitude to the American Government and the American people who have been so generous towards the refugees of all countries and whose example is, I feel, so comforting to refugees in all parts of the world. We can't indeed forget that among the original settlers of this great country there were a good many refugees that came from our European countries.

That is all as to the immediate problem that Mr. Myron Taylor spoke of.

As for the larger problem, I have no special instructions. I shall communicate with my Government, but I must say that we greatly appreciate that the interest of the American Government goes above the present time to the future. War absorbs all the activities of the countries unfortunately

engaged in it. However, we must try to see above it, and go on in the pursuit of our ideals.

Lord Winterton: I am going to ask the Minister of the Kingdom of the Netherlands if he will address us, the Honorable Doctor A. Loudon.

The Honorable Dr. A. Loudon (Netherlands): In the first place, I would like to refer to the general remarks made by Mr. Beucker-Andreas with regard to this problem, and which are to be found in the minutes of the Evian Conference. The situation, so far as the Netherlands are concerned, has not changed since that time.

I think, therefore, I need not take your time by giving a second general picture of this problem.

Nor do I think it is necessary because I entirely agree, and I know that the Netherlands Government entirely agrees, with the picture that has just been given by the French Ambassador, concerning the moral side of the question.

I listened to the President's speech during the luncheon at the White House with a great deal of interest, and it seems to me that the President has raised quite a few new questions. With regard to these new questions, to which Mr. Myron Taylor has alluded, I have no instructions from my Government. My instructions apply only to the agenda which is before us, and I can therefore give my Government's views only with regard to the items on the agenda.

In the meantime, I think that the address of the President of the United States has been so inspiring that I am of the opinion that it deserves our closest attention. I therefore venture to suggest that we divide our work in two, and dedicate ourselves first to the agenda and then to the new points which both the President of the United States and Mr. Myron Taylor brought forth.

These new points could be discussed in some way, and might perhaps be formed in the shape of a draft resolution or a wish, to be submitted at once to our respective governments, either directly by us or through the intermediary of the full committee.

I must leave that entirely to you, Mr. Chairman, but I think that we should not lose time as the President has stressed that it is very necessary to do something, and that we should go to work at once. In that way perhaps we can defer to the wishes of the President and give proof of our interest in what he has said.

Lord Winterton: Gentlemen, as the Chairman of the Intergovernmental Committee, I have heard with great interest what my colleagues around the table have said.

Perhaps I might deal with the point that Dr. Loudon has just raised, and say that it seems to me that probably the procedure that he suggests will be the best procedure. The importance of the question which was raised by the President in his address at lunch cannot be overestimated,

and I have not received any definite instructions from my Government upon the point. I think that probably we all feel that we should confer with our Governments and receive our instructions before we can make a very definite statement on the matter, and I have rather gathered, Mr. Taylor, that that would be also the view of the United States Government.

Mr. Taylor: In the statement I made I suggested that reference be had to the Governments, and as you were speaking I was questioning myself whether in the first instance the officers, the chairman and the vice chairmen, and the director, should consult with their governments on these points before presenting the points to the full committee.

I wonder how you would feel about that, Mr. Chairman?

Lord Winterton: I think that would probably be the most convenient course and I don't want to trouble my colleagues with a long statement, but I think that I should be wanting in courtesy to the United States Government if I did not say a word in commendation of what has recently been done.

When more than a year ago, the British and other Governments responded to the generous initiative of the United States Government in calling a conference for the purpose of dealing with the problem of refugees from Germany, they little thought that, heart-breaking though that problem was, it was to be made vastly more distressing, wider and more complicated by a war which none of the countries represented

at Evian desired, and which some of them, now involved in it, desperately attempted to ward off. In spite of the efforts of my Government, on which it is unnecessary for me to dwell, to promote a peaceful settlement of the disputed issues in European politics, war broke out and is raging with an intensity which needs no emphasis from me. I will only say that the same forces which gave rise to the original problem which the Evian Committee was called into being to deal with have set in motion powers of destruction to meet which all the peoples of Europe, whether directly involved in the war or not, will need all the courage and fortitude they possess to withstand, if the Christian civilization on which so much of the world's life depends is not to be overwhelmed.

In such a welter of hatred and destruction, amid such immeasurable and undeserved human suffering, the continued sympathy of your great country towards the refugees in this problem is a factor whose significance it would be impossible to exaggerate.

Such a gesture, inspired by charity and a sense of human brotherhood transcending all political considerations will not, however, have come as unexpected to the members of the Committee. I may be allowed briefly to recall that in the vast refugee problems created in the war that began in 1914, it was the United States who took the most prominent part in initiating, organizing and carrying on relief among

refugees of various nationalities on a scale to which we have not yet come, but which we should perhaps be unwise to dismiss as impossible as the struggle develops. If I say that the American Red Cross in March 1923 is recorded to have been feeding half a million refugees a day - one example among many which might be quoted from 1914 onwards - this will indicate something of the boundless generosity and gift for organization applied by the American people to the victims of war, revolution and persecution.

The human appeal to which the United States responded so nobly has been heard also by the British and other nations. Speaking for my own people I can say that from the time when the refugee problem became a matter of serious international concern, there was a wave of generous sentiment, expressed not only in hospitality and financial assistance, but in whole-hearted support from all political parties to His Majesty's Government in the various measures which they proposed in an effort to solve the problem or at least alleviate some of its most distressing consequences. I need only mention the large sums voted for the assistance of refugees from Czechoslovakia, and the offer which, on behalf of my Government I was authorized to make to the Inter-Governmental Committee last July, that they were prepared to consider contributions from public funds to the cost of refugee settlement. That offer was made, not only in time of peace, but at a time when it appeared as if the labors of the Inter-

Governmental Committee were going to bear fruit in a practical scheme for the orderly emigration from Germany. With the coming of the immeasurable disaster of war the situation is fundamentally altered. Not all the original function of the Committee is destroyed; it still has tasks, perhaps bigger tasks, before it. But the financial resources at least of those member-Governments which have to bear the burden of a mighty struggle are now fully pledged to the prosecution of the war, in which they are engaging their blood and their treasure. Projects which His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom were anxious to promote are now rendered extremely difficult, if not impossible of execution. Yet, in spite of all, thanks to the initiative taken by the American Government, the basis of international cooperation remains; the will to work together in an effort to solve the refugee problem is still alive, and we can all devote our thoughts to considering what has so far been achieved, what has been planned and what it may, under new conditions, be possible still to plan for the effective furtherance of the great cause in whose service you have called us together. On behalf of my Government I want to say that we will, in a spirit of complete frankness, but with the utmost sympathy and desire to collaborate, examine any suggestions which may be made during this conference, with the object of alleviating the distress, and more, promoting a lasting settlement of the tremendous difficulties

caused by the refugee problem in Europe.

Gentlemen, I think you will agree that the next step that we should take would be to ask our director, Sir Herbert Emerson, to report to us what has taken place since the last meeting of the full Intergovernmental Committee.

Sir Herbert, will you address the conference?

Sir Herbert Emerson: Just a general statement of the situation, or on the first item in the agenda?

Lord Winterton: Mr. Pell, what were your ideas in drawing that up?

Mr. Pell: We understood that Sir Herbert had a statement which he wanted to make.

Sir Herbert Emerson: Well, perhaps I may explain --

Lord Winterton: (interposing) Perhaps Sir Herbert's statement would come best on the first item of the agenda. Is that the wish of the conference? And then I understand it has been suggested that Mr. McDonald should make a statement after Sir Herbert has spoken. I think that would all come in item 1 of the agenda. I take it, gentlemen, that we agree on that. Sir Herbert, will you then open the discussion on the first item of the agenda today, which is the "Report on the present position of the refugee problem and a review of the work of the Intergovernmental Committee".

Sir Herbert Emerson: I may say that I have written a memorandum on each of the first five items on the agenda.

Owing to the war it was not possible to communicate the memoranda direct to the individual officers, but I had hoped that a copy might be in their hands before this meeting. With that object in view, I had sent to the American Embassy in London copies of the memoranda with the request that the State Department would be good enough to deliver them to the representatives. The ship by which the memoranda came, left, I believe, four days before we left, but unfortunately for the memoranda, and happily for us, we have arrived before the memoranda.

I must therefore apologize that copies of them are not in the hands of the representatives, and unfortunately I have myself with me today only one copy. I shall refer briefly to this memorandum which I shall place later at the disposal of the officers. (Sir Herbert Emerson then gave the substance of the memorandum, the full text of which is given below):

MEMORANDUM
by the Director

1. In view of the war, it is unnecessary to give more than a very brief statement of the relations between the Intergovernmental Committee and the German authorities immediately before the outbreak of hostilities. The conversations carried on in January and February of this year resulted in an expression of the intention of the German Government to carry out a program of orderly emigration,

provided that substantial progress was made in the settlement of involuntary migrants in other countries. The program provided for the release of Jews from concentration camps, for the restraining of persons for emigration, for the employment of persons awaiting emigration, for the finance, subject to certain conditions, of emigration from Jewish funds in Germany, for the removal from Germany by involuntary migrants of personal property and equipment for resettlement, and for exemption from emigration taxes. The Intergovernmental Committee, at its February meeting, took cognizance of this program, and decided that it would, acting independently, continue to exert its best efforts to develop opportunities for settlement. During the spring and summer months of this year several occasions were taken to impress on Herr Wohltat the magnitude of the migration then taking place from Germany and the progress that was being made in solving the problem of involuntary emigration from Germany. Certain provisions of the German program were put into effect. The number detained in concentration camps was greatly reduced. Some measures were taken to provide retraining for emigration, restrictions on the employment of Jews were relaxed in some respects, and a central organization for the relief and education of Jews inside Germany was established. No effective steps, however, were taken to establish the Internal Trust inside Germany, which was to be the authority through which the emigration was to

be financially assisted. In my last discussion, however, with Herr Wohlthat on July 19th last, definite hope was expressed that there would be little further delay in its establishment, and a later message suggested that it would be set up within a month. Before the month had expired the crisis which developed into the present war had darkened the entire outlook and made further progress impracticable.

2. Before the outbreak of war I drafted a memorandum describing the position of the refugee problem as it was at the end of August. This memorandum is now out of date, since the nature of the problem has changed to a large extent, but I repeat such facts and figures contained in the original memorandum as may be relevant or of interest.

(a) Making use of material from various sources I estimated that at the end of August, 1939, the number of confessional Jews in Germany was 250,000 and in Austria 63,000, making a total of 313,000. Had the war not occurred it would have been necessary to emigrate 167,000 of these from Germany and 42,000 from Austria.

(b) The total number of non-Aryan Christians in Greater Germany was 190,000 at a rough estimate, of whom 127,000 would have had to be evacuated.

(c) The Council for German Jewry made an estimate of the total emigration of confessional Jews from Greater Germany between April 1933 and July 1, 1939. The figures were as follows:

From Germany	215,000
From Austria	97,000
From Czecho-Slovakia	<u>17,000</u>
Total	329,000

Those evacuated from Czecho-Slovakia consisted almost entirely of Jewish refugees from Germany, Austria or the Sudetenland. On the assumption that the emigration of non-aryan Christians has been roughly one-fifth of that of full Jews, and allowing for emigration since the Council for German Jewry made its estimate, it may be assumed that, since 1933, 400,000 refugees have emigrated from Greater Germany.

(d) The Council for German Jewry estimated that, of the number of full Jews who had emigrated from Germany up to July 1, 1939, 150,000 were in European countries, that of these 50,000 could be considered as settled, and that not less than 100,000 were awaiting re-emigration. To these might be added 20,000 non-aryan Christians and about the same number of Czechs and political refugees from the Sudetenland. The Council for German Jewry further estimated that, of the Jewish refugees who have found refuge in countries outside Europe, 18,000 would have to be re-emigrated. Had there been no war, the problem of emigration within the scope of the mandate of the Intergovernmental Committee would have been as follows:

- (1) To be emigrated from Germany - confessional Jews - 187,000.

(2) To be emigrated from Austria - confessional Jews - 42,000.

(3) To be emigrated from Greater Germany non-Aryan Christians - 127,000.

(4) To be re-emigrated from European countries of temporary refuge - 140,000.

(5) To be re-emigrated from non-European countries of temporary refuge - 18,000.

3. Mention may be made of certain features of the position as it existed at the end of August.

(a) Practically all the well-to-do refugees with resources outside Germany had already left; so had most of those who had relatives or friends outside Germany able to support them or to give the necessary guarantee. Again, where emigration has been governed by the selection of suitable persons, as in the case of some countries of settlement, the process has removed many of those most suitable for emigration. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that those still in Germany are on the whole poorer in material resources and weaker in personal qualifications than those who have left. Even before the war neighbouring countries had closed their frontiers so far as this could be done. Shanghai was no longer a place of refuge, and insofar as illegal entry into Palestine was successful, it was set off by a reduction in the number of legal entrants. These were all factors which would have operated against the

maintenance of the past rate of emigration. On the other hand, there was a snowball element in the movement, which was producing intangible but very considerable results. As the refugees became settled in new countries and able to provide for others, one of their first acts was to secure the emigration of their relatives, and this process had a cumulative effect which continuously tended to accelerate emigration.

(b) While the number of persons to be evacuated from Germany was continuously decreasing, the number of those to be re-emigrated from countries of temporary refuge was continuously increasing. My estimate of the number of these at the end of August, 1939 was 156,000, of whom 140,000 were in European countries. This latter number, it may be observed, was not the total in those countries, which was nearer 200,000. Of the total, at least 60,000 were dependent for maintenance on charitable organizations, and this was also the case with the great majority of the 16,000 who would have to be re-emigrated from non-European countries of temporary refuge. On the other hand, had there been no war, a considerable number of those in European countries would have been able to finance their own emigration had openings been available, and the Council for German Jewry put the number of these as high as 50,000. Before the war the problem of refugees in countries of temporary refuge was a serious one. It was an embarrassment to the Government

concerned, it was viewed with suspicion by organized labor, and, although much of this suspicion was founded on false economics, it none the less increased the danger of anti-semitism. Further, it placed a tremendous strain on the resources of the private organizations, which were finding themselves unable to furnish the funds for maintenance and at the same time to finance emigration. Already both in Holland and Belgium the State had been obliged to come to the assistance of the organizations in maintaining the refugees.

(c) It was recognized that the problem of Jews in Greater Germany was a part only of the general question of Jews in Central Europe. There was a widespread movement, based on economic, political or racial grounds, and affecting Poland, Roumania, Hungary and Bulgaria, to reduce by emigration the Jewish population. The intensity of the pressure in each of these countries varied with political conditions, but where economic factors were at work as in Poland, the problem was largely independent of political causes. The pressure was greatest where German influence was high, and since the events of March 1939 there had been serious and steady deterioration in the position of Jews in Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia. The position in the Protectorate and Slovakia was particularly relevant, since it was closely connected with German policy and the German

program. Briefly, the position was as follows: In the Protectorate there were 100,000 confessional Jews, of whom approximately 15,000 came directly within the mandate of the Intergovernmental Committee as being refugees from Germany, Austria and the Sudetenland. In addition there were between 10,000 and 15,000 non-Aryan Christians. In Slovakia there were roughly 90,000 Jews of whom 5,000 were refugees from other countries. Under German influence and pressure the persecution of Jews had already reached serious proportions. In the Protectorate, the Jewish leaders had been ordered by the German authorities to arrange for the emigration of Jews at the rate of 1000 per week. No funds were available from private organizations, except a little from the Jewish Agency, and the balance of the British Government Fund was quite inadequate to finance emigration except on a small scale. If, therefore, there had been no war, and persecution had made it necessary to take up the question of Jewish emigration from the Protectorate and Slovakia, it would have been necessary proportionately to curtail the German program for Greater Germany.

4. Some attempt may now be made to appraise the drastic changes in the problem caused by the war. But any appreciation of this character must be very tentative, since insufficient time has elapsed to estimate accurately even the immediate changes, while the situation will vary from time to time as the war proceeds. For the present purpose

attention is restricted to the categories of persons who at the outbreak of war came within the scope of the activity of the Intergovernmental Committee. No account is taken of the new classes of refugees which the war may create. Subject to these very important qualifications the more important qualifications and the more important effects of the war on the problem appear to be the following:

(a) First, there is the question of those persons inside Germany who were included within the scope of the Intergovernmental Committee. These were defined in the resolution dated July 14th 1938 as follows: "Persons who have not already left their country of origin (Greater Germany), but who must emigrate on account of their political opinions, religious beliefs or racial origin." Little authentic information is available regarding the present attitude of the German authorities towards this class. While there has not been any general invitation to Jews to return to Germany as reported in the press, it appears to be true that efforts have been made to induce individual Jews with special qualifications to return. Reports from Jewish sources are to the effect that more Jews have been taken into employment, and particularly into labor corps, but that the policy of the authorities is still to emigrate as many Jews as possible and to continue to exert pressure to this end. The Jews in Germany are very nervous about

their future and are anxious to emigrate if allowed to do so. They hope that some external agency will be able to assist them. This presumably would have to be a neutral organization. On the other hand, it is prima facie reasonable to assume that Germany will not wish, during a time of war, to get rid of any person who is likely to be of use in the prosecution of the war. Similarly, it may be assumed that she will still wish to get rid of persons whose emigration would assist the prosecution of the war by relieving the pressure on her economic resources or for any other reason. It may further be assumed that, given the opportunity, she would use the emigration of refugees to establish her agents in a belligerent country. If these assumptions are correct they raise at once a very important question of policy. There are five Governments now at war with Germany who are represented on the Intergovernmental Committee, namely, the United Kingdom, France, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Will it be possible for them to continue to subscribe to an activity of the Committee which they might consider would help the enemy? In other words, will it be possible to continue to include within the scope of the Committee persons who have not already left Greater Germany, their country of origin? This, it may be observed, is a question quite distinct from the attitude which the Government of a neutral country as such may wish to adopt

towards the immigration of persons proceeding direct from Germany, or towards such other measures as it may be able to take in the interest of the Jews inside Germany. This is purely the concern of the individual government, and is distinct from the policy which the Intergovernmental Committee, as an international body, may wish to adopt. One of the objects of the Committee, as stated in the Resolution dated July 14, 1938, was the following:

"To improve the present conditions of exodus of refugees from Greater Germany and to replace them by conditions of orderly emigration."

The Director, as chief executive officer of the Committee, was directed to undertake negotiations with the German authorities for the purpose of achieving this object. So far as negotiations or discussions with the German authorities are concerned, it would appear obvious that these have come to an end, and cannot be resumed during the war. So far as direct emigration of refugees from Germany is concerned (as a function of the committee), without attempting to anticipate the decision of the committee on this point, it appears reasonable to assume, for the present purpose, that it will be inconsistent with the general policy of those Governments represented on the Committee which are now at war with Germany.

(b) If this is so, there remains the second category

of persons, namely, those "who have already left their country of origin and who have not yet established themselves permanently elsewhere." The object of the Intergovernmental Committee as stated in the Resolution above cited was to develop opportunities of permanent settlement for these. In short, it would appear that the practical work of the Committee, insofar as it is not extended to categories not at present included, will be confined to those persons who are in countries of temporary refuge. For the sake of convenience such countries may be classified as (1) belligerent countries; (2) neutral European countries; (3) neutral non-European countries.

(c) The belligerent countries of temporary refuge are the United Kingdom and France. The present policy of the British Government towards refugees in the United Kingdom is to regard Czech refugees as friendly aliens and German and Austrian refugees as technically enemy aliens. There is, however, no intention to follow a policy of general internment. While the safety of the State must be the first consideration, and the individuals are liable to internment, the general policy is to allow as many as can be safely allowed to take up employment as opportunities occur, and even to do some forms of national service. In order to ascertain those who can be safely allowed these concessions, a number of tribunals have been established which will

classify the refugees according to their reliability. It is probable that as a result of this examination and the overriding executive powers of the Government, a comparatively small number will be interned. A larger number will be free from any restrictions, while the great majority, while free to seek employment, will be subject to minor restrictions, e. g. periodical reports to the police. This, however, is merely an estimate.

It is too early to give more than an indication of how this policy will affect the private organizations. An uncertain factor is the attitude of the public towards persons of German origin or nationality, even although those persons have been the victims of German aggression. So far, public reactions have been more favorable than might have been anticipated. At the middle of September about 8,000 domestic servants had been dismissed from their employment and were a charge on the private bodies. But in many cases dismissals were due to the readjustment of households and the closing down of establishments which were a direct result of the war. None the less, from one fourth to one third of the dismissals were due to the not unnatural prejudice against retaining enemy aliens in service. On the other hand, comparatively few guarantors for the care of children have tried to resile from their agreements, and most of the cases that have occurred are due to a genuine

change in material circumstances. If public opinion remains favorable, a large number of the refugees should be absorbed in remunerative employment, but there will be a time-lag of at least several months before employment is general, and during this period the strain on the resources of the private organizations for maintenance and support will be greater than before the war. At the same time, as explained in a memorandum on a later item in the agenda, the ability of the private organizations to raise funds in England will be very greatly reduced, and possibly be almost non-existent.

It seems unlikely that the United Kingdom will be able to admit any more refugees of enemy origin.

(d) No official information has been received regarding the policy of the French Government towards refugees in France. It appears from private sources, however, that in the first place male Austrian and German refugees have been interned, but that their cases will be examined by Commissions, and that following this examination use will be made in various forms of employment, including national service, of those in regard to whose reliability there is no doubt. It is not known whether the French Government will desire to emigrate some of the refugees if openings and facilities are available.

(e) Little information is at present available regarding the position in European neutral countries. The

three countries which have received most refugees as temporary visitors are Holland, Belgium and Switzerland. Even before the war their presence was the cause of much embarrassment to the Governments and was placing a very heavy strain on the private organizations. The common desire was to emigrate as many as possible and as quickly as possible. The war cannot fail to increase the difficulties of the Governments and of private bodies, who may be expected to urge that the emigration of refugees be pressed forward.

(f) Before the war the position of refugees in non-European countries of temporary refuge, e. g. Shanghai, was deplorable. They were dependent for support on the charity of private organizations, and the opportunities for re-emigration were small. The problem in their case will be to continue private relief and to explore permanent means of livelihood.

5. Assuming that as a function of the Committee direct emigration from Germany will cease to all intents and purposes, the problem of finding new homes is now reduced to the re-emigration of a certain number of persons from countries of temporary refuge. In paragraph 3 (b) above, an estimate is given of the number of these at the end of August 1939. The figure given is 156,000, of whom 140,000 were in European countries. It is impossible

to say as yet how the war will affect these. Much depends on the policy of Great Britain and France, and the demand for labor both during and after the war in these countries. There is the further consideration that the object for which Great Britain and France are fighting is to bring to an end the system of Nazism which inter alia is the direct cause of the refugee problem of Greater Germany. When this object has been attained, it should be possible for many of the Jewish refugees to resume their life in Germany.

It would therefore appear that the immediate problems are, first, to provide for the maintenance and support of refugees in countries of temporary refuge, and second, to relieve the pressure on those countries by re-emigration. (End of memorandum).

In amplification of the memorandum Sir Herbert Emerson explained that after it was written a message was received from the German authorities.

Sir Herbert Emerson: Referring to the discussions with the German authorities, I wish to read a message which was received from Mr. Wohlthot after the outbreak of war. I think it is of importance. It reached Mr. Achilles about the end of September, and this was the wording:

"The Government of the German Reich is willing to continue cooperation with the Intergovernmental Committee

with respect to the emigration of Jews from Germany. Such emigrants will be permitted to take their effects with them with the exception of certain articles of which there is a shortage in Germany. Under the present circumstances no funds in Germany may be used for the transportation of either persons or effects beyond the German border. Property left in Germany by Jews will be put at the disposal of the Reich Committee for German Jews, for the support of needy persons of that race in Germany."

So it would seem that even if the committee were able to arrange for the direct emigration of persons from Germany, no financial help would be forthcoming from their own assets or wealth, except that they would be allowed to take their personal effects with them, whatever they may be. It would thus appear difficult in the conditions of a war to assume that it will be still possible for the Committee to carry on its function of direct contact. That is, of course, a matter for the Committee to decide. I am merely putting forth what seems to me a *prima facie* difficulty.

Another function of the Committee is to find permanent homes for those who have left Germany but are still in countries of temporary refuge.

Whatever may be the position as regards the other two functions, it is clear that this function remains, and

as I have suggested, there is a great deal of work to be done in that direction.

There are 140,000 persons in Europe who are not assured of permanent homes and there are about 16,000 outside of Europe who have still no permanent means of livelihood. There are 140,000 to be re-emigrated from European countries of temporary refuge, and about 16,000 to be re-emigrated from outside Europe.

There again even that part of the problem may be simplified to some extent for the time being.

Mr. McDonald: Might I interrupt? Have you the figures for the break down of that 140,000 in the various countries?

Sir Herbert Emerson: I am afraid I have not accurate figures, because the 140,000 is not the total in those countries, which is much larger. The number of 140,000 represents the persons in those countries who cannot stay there, who have to be re-emigrated.

Count de Saint-Quentin: A few minutes before you gave us two figures, 16,000 for the Jews outside of Europe and 147,000 for those inside Europe? I suppose they are about the same figures?

Sir Herbert Emerson: I ought to have given you 140,000 inside Europe and 16,000 outside. These are very rough figures, of course, only approximations.

But as I was saying, even taking that restricted part

of the problem, the war may, for the time being, simplify it to some extent. For instance, quite a number of the 140,000 I mentioned are in England and in France. I don't know the figures for France. Perhaps His Excellency may know them?

Cout de Saint-Quentin: Between forty and fifty thousand.

Sir Herbert Emerson: The figures in England at the outbreak of the war were about 50,000 altogether, of which probably something like 25,000 would have had to re-emigrate. When war broke out, the British Government decided not to intern all enemy aliens as it had done in the previous war. It interned a few who were obviously enemy agents, but for the rest, it allowed them their liberty under certain restrictions. They could not move outside a radius of 5 miles without permission, and so on. But the great majority of them it allowed to stay where they were and they were not interned.

The British Government then set up a number of tribunals presided over either by high judicial officers or by members of the bar. I think altogether there are about 110 such tribunals. The function of each tribunal is to examine the cases of about 500 enemy aliens, and those enemy aliens of course include all the refugees from Greater Germany.

So far as the refugees are concerned, the tribunal starts with the initial presumption that a refugee who has had to flee from Nazi persecution is a friendly alien, and if the tribunal finds that it is not necessary to intern a particular refugee, he will be allowed, subject to appeal to retain his liberty unless he does something which forfeits it. He will have an endorsement on his registration certificate saying that he is a refugee from Nazi persecution and he will be allowed to obtain work through the labor exchanges.

When we left England the tribunals had only just begun their work, and it is not possible to indicate what the result may be. But one hopes that as a result of this examination the great majority, at least 90 percent of the refugees from Greater Germany, will be allowed to retain their liberty; and further, one hopes that within the course of the next few months the great majority of those who are at liberty will be able to obtain some form of remunerative employment. Some of them possibly will go into national service, others into various jobs that the war will create.

Lord Winterton: At this point I might just supplement what our director has said. As a member of the British Government I would like to pay testimony to the great eagerness shown by the refugees that we have in our country to serve our country in some way in time of war, and it is hoped

that of this 90 percent that will be allowed to work, by far the larger number will be employed directly upon war work. Some are anxious to join a legion, if it can be formed, and I have understood that some are going to serve in the legion in your country. (Referring to France).

But I think that is right to say, because it does really have a bearing on the problem, it affects all of the countries represented around this table, that with the exception of perhaps 10 percent, the 90 percent remaining are anxious, in the very big events which are pending in Europe, to take their full share in helping the country of temporary refuge in which they find themselves at this moment. And those of us who have had experience with that, are very pleased with the attitude which they have adopted towards our country.

Mr. Taylor: Mr. Chairman, in that connection may I say that I was told by some of the Jewish leaders in New York last week, that 65,000 men of military age had offered their services in Palestine.

Lord Winterton: I think that is true, Mr. Taylor.

Sir Herbert Emerson: I have no official information as to what the position is in France. Perhaps his Excellency, the Ambassador, will correct me if I am wrong, but from the non-official information I have received, I understand that owing to the geographical position of France, and owing to the fact that France has very many more aliens and particularly enemy aliens than Great Britain, it was necessary at

the beginning of the war to intern the able-bodied men. But there also I understand it is the intention to set up commissions similar to the tribunals in England, who will examine the cases of each of the refugees, and that once the commission has passed a refugee as reliable, he will be allowed to work, to take up remunerative employment, and perhaps also to undertake some form of national service. I think that is the position.

Count de Saint-Quentin: Yes, I touched upon it in my preliminary remarks. I must add that apparently we have concentration camps and internment camps. Of course, a concentration camp is a limited space for a limited number of people who are under strict supervision. Internment might be in villages or small towns, where the people are supposed to move within a certain radius, probably some miles, 5 miles, as you just said in England. We know that already a certain number of people have been set free, absolutely, and that the intention of our Government is to release a great number of people and to make the process quicker. I don't think that will be before tribunals, but that will be, as you just said, before some commissions.

As for work, just now, there are in the internment and concentration camps, especially in the internment camps, several hundred young people, for example, being taught respectively millinery for girls, or mechanics for men, or

in other places farming. So those places will easily find employment either on the land or perhaps for mechanics also in connection with national efforts for those people. And there are a good many of them who have volunteered for doing so.

Sir Herbert Emerson: Well, that is the position as regards Great Britain and France, the one may hope that as a result of the inquiries now being made by the tribunals in the one case and the commissions in the other, more of those refugees will be able to support themselves in due course than was the case immediately before the war. But there will be necessarily a time lag. The war has upset conditions of employment in England, and possibly also in France, and there will be a time lag before the employment of those refugees who are allowed to work will be given work. In the meantime, in England at any rate, they have to be supported by the private organizations, and the private organizations are finding that a heavy burden.

The war had the immediate effect of throwing back on their hands quite a number of refugees who were in employment. For instance, in England, permanent employment had been given to a very large number of domestic servants. When the war came a number of householders either had to economize or the husband went to war, and the wife had to make other arrangements. There was also perhaps,

not unnaturally, a prejudice among some people against employing people who spoke very little English and whose mother tongue was German. An immediate result of the war was thus to throw something like 8,000 domestic servants out of employment and make them dependent for relief and maintenance on the funds of the private organizations.

So although one may hope that after a few months the burdens on those organizations will be less than they were before the war, for the moment they are very definitely heavy.

The British organizations are now devoting all the funds at their disposal for the purpose of relief and maintenance. Occasionally they are able to help a refugee to emigrate where he has already got his visa, but that is rare, and speaking generally the funds of the British private organizations are now being devoted to relief and maintenance.

I imagine that that is probably true also in France.

Count de Saint-Quentin: That is just the same case in France.

Sir Herbert Emerson: That is the position in the belligerent countries.

Then we come to the neutral countries, the three countries that took most refugees in temporarily were Holland, Belgium, and Switzerland, although practically every country had a certain number of them. The Scandanevian countries have taken in quite a good number. Sweden, for instance,

has something between three and four thousand. Yugoslavia has a certain number. Roumania has a certain number, and so on. There is hardly a country in Europe that has not a certain number of them. But the countries mainly affected are, I think, Belgium, Holland, and Switzerland.

Holland has got about 25,000 at least; in Belgium accurate figures are not available, but I should say that there are at least 15,000; and Switzerland has probably got something like 12,000.

Even before the war the situation was becoming increasingly embarrassing in those countries. In spite of all the precautions they took, the number coming into the countries, either legally or illegally, was considerably in excess of the number going out by emigration. The private organizations were finding it increasingly difficult to finance their maintenance.

In Belgium, the Government had already come to the assistance of the private organizations and was making itself responsible for the upkeep of about 3,000 refugees, while in the Netherlands the Government had very generously started the building of a central camp for refugees.

Not only was the situation embarrassing to those countries financially, but there was a grave danger of anti-Semitic feeling arising, and of a certain amount of economic

disturbance because the refugees were interfering to some extent with the labor market.

Here again I have no full official information about what the position now is, but from what information I have, and from my knowledge of the previous situation, I think it is safe to assume that the war will aggravate the position in those countries in several respects.

In the first place, the private organizations will find it more difficult to collect funds. In the second place, there may be - one hopes there will not be - fewer opportunities for emigration than before. And in the third place, one might expect that the governments may find the presence of a large number of persons of German origin and nationality more embarrassing in war time than they have found it in peace time. Fourthly, the war, as far as one can see, is likely to be a disturbing factor so far as economic conditions in those countries are concerned.

So although I have no precise information on the matter, I would expect that the conditions facing both the Governments of those countries and also the private organizations, would be more difficult during the war than they are before.

In support of that assumption, I may say that Mr. Pell has just handed me a letter conveying a telegram from my deputy, in which he says that he has received messages both from the Belgian and the Swiss Governments asking me to bring forward prominently at this conference the urgent necessity of Emigration of refugees from those countries.

To sum up. So far as the problem of Greater Germany is concerned - and we all know there are likely to be many other problems, problems of refugees from Poland and so on, but I am not dealing with these at the moment, I am taking merely the case of refugees from Greater Germany - it seems that for one reason or another the problem will be more restricted in one sense, since it seems obvious that emigration from Greater Germany will be on a lesser scale. It may be easier also because in Great Britain and France, employment is likely to be more plentiful for the refugees and the restrictions on their taking work will be relaxed.

But on the other hand, in the neutral countries, the conditions are likely to be more difficult, and moreover, so far at any rate, as Europe is concerned, it is going to be much more difficult for the private organizations to

obtain the funds which they have been able to secure in the past.

I might perhaps add this. So far as information has drifted through from Germany - I have no doubt many of the gentlemen present are in a much better position to give more accurate information than I am - the Jews in Germany are feeling nervous and frightened about their position, they are naturally uncertain as to what is going to happen to them, and they would, of course, welcome any opportunity for leaving Germany, that might arise.

That leads me to one point which I had omitted to mention. I think it may be assumed, certainly so far as Great Britain is concerned, and I imagine also as regards France, that while the war lasts neither of those countries will be able to take many more refugees into them.

So far as Great Britain is concerned, it has agreed to liquidate certain commitments made before the war. For instance, there were a number of Jewish refugees in Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia, who had been given certificates for emigration to Palestine. Provided that the authorities are satisfied that the persons presenting certificates are the persons to whom they were granted, and that they are not enemy agents, I understand that those persons will be still allowed to go to Palestine. But when that has been liquidated, I understand that it will only be in very exceptional circumstances that Great Britain will be

able to admit anyone direct from Germany.

Such is the general position, as I see it, and the changes which have been created by the war. But I would like to say that this appreciation is made within a few weeks of war breaking out, and of course may be completely altered by developments.

Lord Winterton: Mr. McDonald, I think you were anxious to make a statement.

Mr. James G. McDonald: Mr. Chairman, before I make this statement on behalf of the President's Advisory Committee on Political Refugees, of which I am Chairman, I should like to say, if I may do so, that as a former commissioner dealing with the general problem of German refugees, I feel a high regard for the report which Sir Herbert has just now given us, and for the wholly admirable and energetic far-sighted leadership which he has displayed from the very time when he first took over this responsibility

And also in a preliminary way, I should like to say that those of us who are members of the President's Advisory Committee should be very happy and consider it a privilege to be of any service we can to either the Chairman of the Intergovernmental Committee, or to Sir Herbert, or to Mr. Van Zeeland, when he comes, either here in Washington or subsequently when you are in New York. In other words, if we can be of any use whatsoever in the contacts with the private organizations or supplying secretarial help, or in

any other way, we should consider it a privilege to do it.

The President's Advisory Committee on Political Refugees has been pleased to cooperate with the Intergovernmental Committee with respect to its efforts to develop opportunities for permanent settlement. In pursuit of this objective it organized commissions of experts to explore the possibilities of settlement in British Guiana, the Dominican Republic, and the Philippines.

The report of the British Guiana Survey Commission has already been presented to the Intergovernmental Committee. It is possible to submit at this meeting of the officers of the Intergovernmental Committee reports on the inquiries in the Dominican Republic and in the Philippines.

The experts who visited the Dominican Republic found that the northeastern part of the island offers excellent colonization possibilities. Some 200,000 acres in this area were considered feasible for the colonization of approximately 28,500 refugee families. The report recommended an initial trial settlement of a small number of refugees and that larger numbers be introduced as experience warranted. Since the receipt of the report the President's Advisory Committee on Political Refugees has assisted negotiations between interested private groups and the representatives of the Dominican Republic. These negotiations culminated recently in a financial commitment by the private groups to make available a sum of \$200,000, toward the cost of trial settlement of 500 families. A private settlement corporation is

soon to be formed to complete negotiations. The Dominican Republic has expressed its willingness to facilitate plans for settlement and to accept refugees in numbers found to be practical by the experience of the trial settlement.

Perhaps I might interpolate in reference to the Dominican project the suggestion that the Intergovernmental Committee may find it useful to take count of this study up to date, either by some reference to it in its communique, or otherwise. I am sure that would be appreciated by the private groups, and I think it would also have a useful effect in Santo Domingo.

The report of the Mindanao Exploration Commission - the Philippine Commission centered its attention on the Island of Mindanao - has become available more recently. The experts determined that certain areas of the Island of Mindanao, by reason of climate, elevation, health conditions, topography, and soil, are well adapted to European colonization and successful agricultural development for as many as 10,000 individuals. It passed favorably on some 100,000 acres of land in these areas. These lands are near existing transportation facilities and will not require extensive building of roads. President Quezon of the Commonwealth Government has publicly stated his interest in the project and his willingness to cooperate in its development. There has already been some infiltration of refugees in the Philippine Islands and the project if

undertaken immediately will undoubtedly provide new opportunities for a livelihood for many refugees now seeking a new home. There has not been sufficient time since the receipt of the report to consider the problem of financing the settlement in the Philippines but careful estimates included in the report total \$410,000.00 for the initial group of 600 settlers proposed and from \$5,580,000 to \$6,080,000 for the maximum of 10,000 immigrants envisaged.

I might add perhaps that at a meeting last week in New York of the President's Advisory Committee, when we had as guests certain members of the Philippine Commission, Mr. Taylor and two representatives of the State Department, it was the sense of the private groups interested at the end of the meeting that it might be practical to implement this report within a matter of weeks, rather than months, that it might be within five or six weeks that the initial financing could be arranged and the first of the pioneers, if you wish to call them such, certain engineers, workmen, agricultural leaders, might actually be on their way from, as it was hoped, some of the centers of greatest congestion of refugees today.

Lord Winterton: Does that conclude your talk?

Mr. McDonald: Yes.

Lord Winterton: I hope you will allow me to say on my own behalf, and I am sure on behalf of my colleague, how invaluable has been the aid of your Committee, quite in-

valuable to this Committee. I am sure Sir Herbert would like to associate himself with that. We could not have gone on at all without it. I would like to make this acknowledgment of the help we have received from it.

Now Your Excellencies and gentlemen, I don't know what your views are about the session today. It seems to me - I haven't had the opportunity of consulting anybody on this point - but it seems to me that the items 2, 3, and 4 and 5 would rather come together maybe for the purpose of discussion and we had better discuss them as one, and I think it will be difficult to enter upon that discussion this afternoon. I think we should really devote tomorrow morning to that discussion, although before we adjourn this afternoon I think Mr. Pell has received a communication from the Swiss Minister.

Mr. Robert Pell: The Swiss Minister has notified the Secretary of the Committee that he has received instructions from his Government to make a statement to the officers. I explained to him the set-up of the Committee and suggested that perhaps he might wish to communicate his statement through one of the officers, but he feels that he should speak to the officers personally. I promised to submit his request to the Chairman and the officers.

Lord Winterton: I think we don't want to stand on what we call in our English slang, red tape. Mr. Morris, will you, as Acting Secretary, give your advice on that? Is there

anything in the constitution of the conference that would prevent us hearing his Excellency if he should wish to come before us?

Mr. Morris: I believe there is not.

Mr. Pell: I see no reason why he should not come if the officers are agreeable to his appearing.

Señor Don Felipe A. Espil: I see no reason why we shouldn't allow him.

Mr. Pell: I don't think that there will be very many requests from governments. Naturally, private people cannot appear before us, but the Swiss Government is a member of the Committee and I suppose that they are entitled to make that request.

Count de Saint-Quentin: I was just wondering why the Swiss Government doesn't belong to our Committee.

Mr. Pell: They do, sir, but this group is the executive of the Committee. Thirty-two Governments belong to the Committee, and this group is the executive. It was understood that in order to facilitate the business there would be this executive, and the Swiss Minister had a perfect right to communicate his views through one of the officers. But he says that the instructions which he has received are such that he must make this request.

Count de Saint-Quentin: I should think very naturally that we should hear him.

Mr. Taylor: That is my view.

The Honorable Dr. Loudon: That is also my view.

Lord Winterton: I think there is nothing in the constitution of our conference that would prevent it, and I think we should tell His Excellency that we should be pleased to have him, and if it would suit him, the first thing tomorrow morning. Will you communicate with him, Mr. Morris?

Mr. Morris: Yes.

The Honorable Dr. Loudon: I heard Mr. McDonald speak about the possibility of settling refugees in the Philippine Islands.

Do you want me to present the statement on behalf of the Government of the Netherlands now, or do you wish me to wait until tomorrow?

Lord Winterton: I think it would be better, Your Excellency, to give it tomorrow. I have also a statement to make about British Guiana.

I haven't had an opportunity of consulting privately with the Vice Chairman, but it seems to me, and though I don't want to influence the decision too much, we might perhaps have a little private talk about it afterwards, that it may be necessary to have a further sitting after tomorrow. It seems to me that it will be very difficult to get through everything tomorrow, and it might be necessary to adjourn the meeting for a day or so.

For example, His Excellency, the French Ambassador,

stated I think in his remarks, that he might have to communicate with his Government, and I might have to communicate with my Government, on the last item of the agenda. So I would propose tomorrow to suggest formally to the conference that if it is necessary to do so, we should adjourn to a further date if we cannot conclude the business tomorrow. But if any of Your Excellencies have any objections to that, perhaps we might have a private talk about it afterwards.

Count de Saint-Quentin: I wasn't thinking of communicating with my Government for special instructions, but I just said that certain points might arise beyond my competence, and I probably would have to simply submit suggestions or proposals to my Government.

Lord Winterton: I wasn't asking Your Excellencies to come to a decision now, but it seems to me that the matters are of such importance which are raised in the President's speech, that we should not necessarily end our proceedings tomorrow if we could find a day mutually convenient to all the vice chairmen when we could meet again and have the conference again.

Mr. Taylor, will you say a word on that?

Mr. Taylor: I should think that if it is necessary because of the one larger point of extending the scope of the Committee's authority, or its right to investigate in a field which heretofore they have not covered, that to do it

in a very direct way and have harmony of opinion among the officers, we might very well tomorrow, if it were necessary, adjourn until next week, Wednesday or Thursday, and have a concluding session then. As I understand, Lord Winterton, and Sir Herbert are going to be present at that time. What we do should be very well considered now in advance of the action.

Lord Winterton: Exactly.

Then, Mr. Pell, what time would you suggest that we meet tomorrow?

Mr. Pell: We would suggest 11 o'clock.

Lord Winterton: If that suits everyone, the session is concluded until 11 tomorrow, when we will take up 2, 3, 4, and 5 on the agenda.

I have to announce that the photographers who are in the Secretary's office would like to take a photograph of the Chairman and Vice Chairmen.

(Thereupon, an adjournment was taken at 5:10 o'clock p.m. until the following day, Wednesday, October 18, 1939, at 11 o'clock a.m.).

There is given here for the convenience of members of the Committee the full text of President Roosevelt's statement of October 17, 1938, as follows:

I am glad to welcome at the White House Lord Winterton, the Chairman; Sir Herbert Emerson, the Director; Mr. Myron Taylor, the Vice-Chairman of the Intergovernmental Committee representing the United States of America, the heads of missions of the Argentine Republic, Brazil, France and the Netherlands; and Mr. James G. McDonald, the Chairman of my Advisory Committee on Political Refugees.

I extend through you to the thirty-two Governments participating in the Intergovernmental Committee and to the private refugee organizations my appreciation for the assistance which has been given to refugees in the period since the meeting at Evian. I hope the work will be carried on with redoubled vigor, and with more positive results.

In March, 1938 it became clear to the world that a point had been reached where private agencies alone could no longer deal with the masses of unfortunate people who had been driven from their homes. These men, women and children were beating at the gate of any nation which seemed to offer them a haven.

Most of these fellow human beings belonged to the Jewish Race, though many thousands of them belonged to other races and other creeds. The flight from their countries of origin meant chaos for them and great difficulties for other nations which for other reasons -- chiefly economic -- had erected barriers against immigration. Many portions of the world which in earlier years provided areas for immigration had found it necessary to close the doors.

Therefore, a year and a half ago I took the initiative by asking thirty-two governments to cooperate with the Government of the United States in seeking a long range solution of the refugee problem. Because the United States through more than three centuries has been built in great measure by people whose dreams in other lands had been thwarted, it seemed appropriate for us to make possible the meeting at Evian, which was attended by Mr. Myron C. Taylor as my personal representative.

That meeting made permanent the present Intergovernmental Committee, and since that time this Intergovernmental Committee has greatly helped in the settling of many refugees, in providing temporary refuge for thousands of others and in making important studies toward opening up new places of final settlement in many parts of the world.

I am glad to be able to announce today that active steps have been taken to begin actual settlement, made possible by the generous attitude of the Dominican Government and the Government of the Philippine Commonwealth. This is, I hope, the forerunner of many other similar projects in other nations.

Furthermore, I am glad to note the establishment of a distinguished Anglo-American group of the Coordinating Foundation, which with the help of your Committee will investigate the suitability of other places of settlement for immigrants.

Things were going well, although I must confess slowly, up to the outbreak of the war in Europe. Today we must recognize that the regular and planned course of refugee work has been of necessity seriously interrupted.

The war means two things.

First, the current work must not be abandoned: It must be redirected. We have with us the problem of helping those individuals and families who are at this moment in countries of refuge and who for the sake of the world and themselves can best be placed in permanent domiciles during the actual course of the war without confusing their lot with the lot of those who in increasing numbers will suffer as a result of the war itself.

That I may call the short range program, and it presents a problem of comparatively small magnitude. In a moment you will see why I say, "comparatively small magnitude." At this moment there are probably not more than two or three hundred thousand refugees who are in dire need and who must as quickly as possible be given opportunity to settle in other countries where they can make permanent homes.

This is by no means an insoluble task, but it means hard work for all of us from now on -- and not only hard work but a conscientious effort to clear the decks of an old problem -- an existing problem, before the world as a whole is confronted with the new problem involving infinitely more human beings, which will confront us when the present

war is over. This last is not a cheerful prospect, but it will be the almost inevitable result of present conflicts.

That is why I specifically urge that this Intergovernmental Committee redouble its efforts. I realize, of course, that Great Britain and France, engaged as they are in a major war, can be asked by those nations which are neutral to do little more than to give a continuance of their sympathy and interest in these days which are so difficult for them. That means that upon the neutral nations there lies an obligation to humanity to carry on the work.

I have suggested that the current task is small in comparison with the future task. The war will come to an end some day; and those of us who are realists know that in its wake the world will face a refugee problem of different character and of infinitely greater magnitude.

Nearly every great war leaves behind it vast numbers of human beings whose roots have been literally torn up. Inevitably there are great numbers of individuals who have lost all family ties -- individuals who find no home to return to, no occupation to resume -- individuals who for many different reasons must seek to rebuild their lives under new environments.

Every war leaves behind it tens of thousands of families who for very many different reasons are compelled to start life anew in other lands.

Economic considerations may affect thousands of families and individuals.

All we can do is to estimate on the reasonable doctrine of chances, that when this ghastly war ends there may be not one million but ten million or twenty million men, women and children belonging to many races and many religions, living in many countries and possibly on several continents, who will enter into the wide picture -- the problem of the human refugee.

I ask, therefore, that as the second great task that lies before this Committee, it start at this time a serious and probably a fairly expansive effort to survey and study definitely and scientifically this geographical and economic problem of resettling several million people in new areas of the earth's surface.

We have been working, up to now, on too small a scale, and we have failed to apply modern engineering to our task. We know already that there are many comparatively vacant spaces on the earth's surface where from the point of view of climate and natural resources European settlers can live permanently.

Some of these lands have no means of access; some of them require irrigation; most of them require soil and health surveys; all of them present in the process of settlement, economic problems which must be tied in with the economy of existing settled areas.

The possible field of new settlements covers many portions of the African, American and Australasian portions of the globe. It covers millions of square miles situated in comparatively young republics and in colonial possessions or dominions of older nations.

Most of these territories which are inherently susceptible of colonization by those who perforce seek new homes, cannot be developed without at least two or three years of engineering and economic studies. It is neither wise nor fair to send any colonists to them until the engineering and economic surveys have resulted in practical and definite plans.

We hope and we trust that existing wars will terminate quickly; and if that is our hope there is all the more reason for all of us to make ready, beginning today, for the solution of the problem of the refugee. The quicker we begin the undertaking and the quicker we bring it to a reasonable decision, the quicker will we be able to say that we can contribute something to the establishment of world peace.

Gentlemen, that is a challenge to the Intergovernmental Committee -- it is a duty because of the pressure of need -- it is an opportunity because it gives a chance to take part in the building of new communities for those who need them. Out of the dregs of present disaster we can distill some real achievements in human progress.

This problem involves no one race group -- no one religious faith. It is the problem of all groups and all faiths. It is not enough to indulge in horrified humanitarianism, empty resolutions, golden rhetoric and pious words. We must face it actively if the democratic principle based on respect and human dignity is to survive -- if world order, which rests on security of the individual, is to be restored.

Remembering the words written on the Statue of Liberty, let us lift a lamp beside new golden doors and build new refuges for the tired, for the poor, for the huddled masses yearning to be free.

CONFERENCE OF OFFICERS
of the
INTER-GOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL REFUGEES

State Department,
Washington, D. C.

October 18, 1939 - 11 a.m.

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PRESENT:

(Same as noted for the October 17, 1939 meeting
except:

Hon. Cordell, Secretary of State - Not Present

Dr. Carl Bruggmann, Minister of Switzerland - Present

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Lord Winterton: We will first hear from the Minister from Switzerland, Dr. Carl Bruggmann.

The Honorable Dr. Carl Bruggmann (Switzerland):

Gentlemen, I thank you for giving me the opportunity to explain in a few words the problems for Switzerland created by the refugees. There are actually between 10 and 12,000 emigrants in Switzerland. Of those, about 3000 are without any means, and must be supported by Swiss organizations. The monthly amount spent on their behalf is about 300,000 Swiss francs (about 66,000 dollars).

Unfortunately, circumstances do by no means allow the possibility to give employment to these refugees in Switzerland, nor is it possible to proceed with the readaptation of their profession. The structure of Swiss economics, particularly the fact that there are still large numbers of unemployed Swiss citizens is prohibitive. As the number of Swiss unemployed is now increased by the evacuation of Swiss citizens from various European countries, there is absolutely no hope that the circumstances in this respect might be changed in favor of the refugees. I beg leave to recall that the number of foreigners already employed in Switzerland, which is between 8 and 10 percent, is probably higher than in any other country. The situation which is often criticized even in normal times, is that about 500,000 Swiss citizens must live abroad because of not being able to find employment in their own country. In war time, the

question of food supplies will aggravate the problem. Bad economic conditions are a good ground for bad seed. It must be feared that the waves of foreign propaganda might provoke feelings in my country which so far have been strange to the big majority of our population.

It must therefore be wished from the Swiss point of view as well as from the point of view of the refugees, who must lead an idle life in Switzerland, to give them as soon as possible the opportunity to settle in other countries. It would for instance be a great help if the unexhausted American quota for German citizens in Germany could be used for the German refugees in Switzerland.

I am certainly permitted to make the statement that Switzerland has never before evaded her duties to humanity and that she is not doing so at present but owing to conditions which are imperative, refugees can only be kept in Switzerland temporarily. They can only be helped and be given rest and strength for their further immigration.

My Government would be very much obliged to your committee to take these facts into consideration.

Lord Winterton: Do any of your Excellencies wish to speak on the statement of the Swiss Minister?

Mr. Taylor: Mr. Chairman, I have listened with great interest to the declaration by the Minister from Switzerland as to the difficulties encountered by that country due to the fact that they have so large a number of refugees.

I am sure that the representatives of the other countries present have similar stories to tell, and may I say that these countries deserve the highest commendation for their generous offer for the reception of the refugees and hospitality to them during the period of immediate necessity.

I think the meeting will agree with President Roosevelt that our short range program should be emigration of people from those countries as soon as practical to places of final settlement. No time should be lost in tackling these problems and intensifying our efforts to relieve that acute situation.

I believe that the meeting will agree that the cure will have to be found partly through the process of infiltration, and partly by the program with which we are ready to go forward in the opening up of new areas of settlement.

I am sure I voice the unanimous opinion of the meeting when I say how deeply impressed we were to hear from Mr. McDonald that the technical preparations had been completed with regard to the Dominican and Philippine projects, that financing of them is being undertaken, and that the settlements, trial settlements, will be set up in both places in the near future.

Lord Winterton: Your Excellencies, I would like to associate myself on behalf of the United Kingdom Government with everything that Mr. Taylor has said. We are very much aware of the great efforts on behalf of refugees that have

been made by the Swiss Government and also by the Governments of the Netherlands and Belgium, and we would wish to do everything we can to relieve them, to assist in relieving them of the great pressure that exists at the present owing to the very large number of refugees who were considered to be in transit and are now in their countries at the present time.

The Honorable Dr. Louçon: Yesterday I alluded to this point, but the speech of the Swiss Minister forces me to call your attention again to the declarations that have been made by Mr. Boucker-Andréac at the initial conference at Evian.

You yourself, Mr. Chairman, alluded to 25,000 refugees in my country. This is an enormous number, especially if the population of the Netherlands, as compared, for instance, with that of the United Kingdom, is taken into consideration. The United Kingdom has felt very strongly and something should be done, and that these refugees must be cared for. Consequently, that necessity is felt just as strongly, if not more strongly, by the Netherlands Government. These refugees, like in Switzerland, work on our employment market in a very unsatisfactory way. They give rise to all kinds of difficulties which I need not state any further, and the Netherlands feel very keenly that something has to be done, as soon as possible.

Mr. McDonald has already alluded to the examination

of the possibilities of settlement in the Philippines and in the Dominican Republic, and, in the course of discussions in this Committee, it has been said that other parts of the world, especially various countries and territories overseas, might perhaps receive a certain number of refugees. As the members of the Committee have been informed, a commission, in close cooperation with the Netherlands Government, is investigating the prospects of settlement in Surinam, or what is called the Netherlands Guiana.

According to information which I have just received from my Government by telegraph, this commission has not yet finished its examination of the question whether or not it should be possible to settle refugees in this Netherlands territory. However, I have been informed that the preliminary results of the commission's study shows that the possibilities of settlement, if any, would be very limited.

This has to do, I think, with number 2 of the agenda. This is the communication which my Government has asked me to hand to this Committee.

In the course of the other points coming up, I will make a few more observations.

Lord Winterton: Does anyone wish to speak on the Swiss Minister's declaration?

Lord Winterton: Mr. Minister, we are extremely grateful to you for coming before us today.

(The Swiss Minister retired from the conference)

Lord Winterton: Well, gentlemen, as we agreed yesterday, we will next take up a discussion of items 2, 3, 4, and 5 of the agenda.

I have a short statement to make on the settlement in British Guiana on behalf of my Government. It has occurred to me that we were unanimously of the opinion yesterday that we should have another meeting of the Committee next week; that meanwhile, on certain aspects of settlement, it might be desirable for further private conferences to be held between Sir Herbert Emerson and Mr. McDonald, as representing the American refugee organizations, and it may be possible at some time next week to have more detailed information on certain aspects, on certain of the schemes.

Perhaps I might make an announcement, if I may, about British Guiana at the start. It comes within item 2 of the agenda.

My Government has instructed me to make the following statement:

With regard to the scheme for the settlement of refugees in British Guiana, the position is that the private organizations sponsoring this scheme were unable to proceed with the proposed two-year experimental settlement, owing to the outbreak of the war, and it must therefore be regarded as indefinitely suspended.

With regard to the assistance promised by Her Majesty's Government in the form of the provision of arterial communications (should the experimental settlement and the investigation of industrial possibilities indicate that large scale settlement was practicable) this must now of necessity be ruled out at any rate for the duration of the war. If, however, the necessary funds could be secured from other sources, and no financial obligation fell upon Her Majesty's Government, or the Government of the Colony, Her Majesty's Government would give all facilities for the initiation of an experimental settlement on the lines originally contemplated. Pending the outcome of the Washington deliberations, consideration of other schemes for the development of the Colony would be deferred by the Colonial Office.

The reference in the last paragraph is to certain schemes which I understand have been put forward, not necessarily connected with the refugee settlement, by certain persons, and my Government has informed those persons or organizations that they could not consider those schemes until a decision had been reached on the subject of refugee settlement in British Guiana.

Perhaps I might add to these instructions by saying that naturally my Government regrets that it cannot any longer supply the funds which will be necessary for these arterial roads and other things, and I believe equally the

private refugee organizations in Great Britain - Sir Herbert Emerson is in closer touch with them than I am - must regret that they cannot find the money, for the reasons made in my speech yesterday.

Sir Herbert Emerson: I might perhaps just explain that previous to the war a British Guiana corporation was about to be set up for the purpose of carrying on the settlement in British Guiana, and in particular for financing the experimental stage.

Negotiations with the Colonial Office were almost complete when the war came. On the British side, some of the organizations had agreed to put up a certain amount of money and on the American side other American organizations had agreed to put up at least an equal sum and probably a larger sum.

When the war came, the private organizations in England were unable to guarantee the money which had been previously promised, and I understand that in those circumstances one, at any rate, of the American organizations has also asked to be absolved from their previous promise. That is the position at the moment.

But, as Lord Winterton has said, if the money was forthcoming from private sources, the British Government would be quite prepared to do what they could, in making land available in the colonies. That is the position at the moment.

Lord Winterton: Yes, it is a little more definite than that, I have more definite instruction to say that we should be prepared to offer all the facilities, including land, apart from financial aid.

Sir Herbert Emerson: But there is at the moment, I think, practically no prospect of any of the British organizations being able to put up the money.

Lord Winterton: Mr. Taylor, would you support my suggestion? I merely put it forward as a suggestion that there should be private discussions between Mr. McDonald and Sir Herbert to see if anything can be effected?

Mr. Taylor: I would like to make that suggestion. I think this is a wonderful opportunity for the Advisory Committee and the private organizations which take such an active part in this whole matter in this country. And Sir Herbert Emerson particularly I think it would be very helpful when we get to New York for you to do that.

Sir Herbert Emerson: I am looking forward greatly to making that contact. I am particularly interested in what Mr. McDonald said about the Dominican Republic, and about the Philippines. It seems to me a very big step forward will be made if those two schemes, or even one of them, can now be translated to the stage of practical settlement, even if to begin with it is on a purely pioneering and experimental scale.

Mr. Taylor: I would think that the Dominican one was the most desirable to put in operation.

Mr. Warren: It is a little farther along.

Mr. Taylor: That is what I meant, and I think the plan of the settlement is a little more discussable than that of the Philippines.

The Honorable Dr. Loudon: I would like to ask a question. Are we going to be informed in some way about the outcome of investigations such as have been made in the Philippines and in the Dominican Republic and in British Guiana, in order that our Governments may learn on what basis it is considered possible to settle refugees in these countries? The reasons which lead to the conclusion that settlement in those countries is possible will probably be of great importance for the Dutch Government to know, especially with regard to settlement in Surinam, or Dutch Guiana, and if we only hear now that it is possible, that would not be sufficient. We should know more about it. We have in Surinam almost the same climatic conditions.

Mr. Taylor: Mr. Chairman, I think it is in order to say that for the confidential use of the Vice Chairmen and the officers of the Intergovernmental Committee, those reports are available, and it will be my suggestion that they have access to the Dominican report which has been completed for some time. The Philippine report has only

been completed recently, I know. I went to a dinner with Mr. McDonald and Mr. Warren in New York one night last week, and heard a report by the members of the commission.

Is there any objection to the Vice Chairmen having access to those reports, Mr. Chairman?

Lord Winterton: No, Mr. Taylor, I think it would be very right that they should. In the case of British Guiana, that report, I think, was made available.

Sir Herbert Emerson: The British Guiana report has already been made available.

The Honorable Dr. Loudon: I don't know whether the report has reached my Government.

Of course, what I have said at the beginning of the meeting as well as just now refers to the preliminary results of the investigation only.

Sir Herbert Emerson: I think you may take it that the members of your commission must have certainly seen the British Guiana report. The position as regards the Dominican report is that the original report was not published, as the Government of the Dominican Republic wished it to be revised or edited in some respects. I think the editing is just about completed.

Mr. Warren: The editing has only recently been made, and it hasn't been practical as yet to reprint the report. There are certain deletions and amendments that are now acceptable to the Dominican Government.

Sir Herbert Emerson: I was just wondering whether the Dominican Government would like the report to be circulated in a corrected form for the confidential information of the Committee.

Mr. Warren: It should be circulated only in confidence.

Sir Herbert Emerson: It seems to be that the cause of the Dominican Government should be obtained even to the confidential circulation of the report in a corrected form. It would be a pity to do anything unacceptable to the Dominican Government when it has been so liberal in placing facilities at the disposal of the investigating commission.

Mr. Taylor: I think it is only fair to the private organizations to say that they financed entirely the Dominican and Philippine reports, and I think very largely the British Guiana report, and there was a time when they felt that they had control over the issuance of those reports and wanted to have some information as to where they were going before they were issued.

Mr. McDonald: I recall that, but I think there would be no difficulty in getting their consent to the distribution of these reports.

Mr. Taylor: Not in this case, but there is still the desire to have the substance of the reports kept in confidence among the officers of the Intergovernmental Committee.

Sir Herbert Emerson: I think they certainly ought to have the reports. I have given the reasons why these reports have not been circulated, and I think the Philippine report is only just ready.

Mr. Warren: I don't believe the Philippine Government has yet seen it in its printed form. We would have to check that first.

The Honorable Dr. Loudon: The Philippine report will undoubtedly be very important for the Netherlands and I suggest that it be circulated.

Lord Winterton: Might I address a question to Mr. Taylor, the American delegation and the State Department?

I think we all of us, the delegations around this table, feel that your Government, or rather private organizations of this country, have taken a most prominent part, to which I just referred, in this investigation, and therefore it is right that we should have a very strong regard for the opinion which you might express on this point.

Would you hold the view, which I think certainly would be the view of my Government, that we should agree, assuming these settlement schemes can be carried out, which we hope will be the case within the next few months, that

first regard should be had to the position of the very large number of refugees in countries like Switzerland, Holland and Belgium? So far as we are concerned in the United Kingdom, as I indicated yesterday, I don't think I gave the figures, but I think we have something like 40,000 refugees in England at this time --

Sir Herbert Emerson: (interposing) I think it is about 50,000.

Lord Winterton: And my Government, as was stated by Sir Herbert yesterday, has believed that at any rate during the war it will be possible to find employment for the greater number of these people, and therefore the pressure upon us is not nearly as great as it is upon the neutral countries.

I don't know what the position of the French Government is in this matter, whether they would desire to avail themselves of any opportunities of settlement to reduce the number of refugees in their country, or whether they would be prepared as we are prepared to do in the case of our refugees, to retain them.

I will say that I ought to make it clear that I realize our position is very different from that of France, because you have a larger number of refugees, generally, than we have.

His Excellency Count de Saint-Quentin: The information that I got from my Government this morning shows that we

have about 60,000 German and Austrian Jewish refugees. I am told also that we have a Committee which is meeting every week and is doing about the work which your tribunals do, investigating and releasing a certain number of people. It intends to set them to work, but of course that work is rather slow because we must take into account the detail of giving adequate occupation to those people, and take consideration of the economic possibilities and the feelings of the population.

So I think that we are prepared to give any of those people who want to go to overseas countries permission to do so, and I feel that we would welcome that possibility.

Mr. Taylor: I think yesterday, in my remarks, I expressed the feeling that our short range activity should take into account the position of Belgium, Holland, and Switzerland, with a view to relieving the pressure in those countries. That is the position of our government.

Lord Winterton: I think we are all in agreement around the table on that point.

Mr. McDonald: I might, though not a member of the committee, say that the private organizations which are responsible for carrying out the settlement schemes have clearly in mind the point which was made by the representative of Holland.

As a matter of fact, at the meeting in New York last Thursday, when the President's Advisory Committee met with

the Exploration Committee for the Philippines, the point was strongly put that if it were at all practicable it would be desirable to utilize from those three countries at the earliest possible moment, refugees who might be available for this project.

I merely wanted to point out that private organizations are fully cognizant of the need and are in agreement with the desirability of meeting that need at the earliest possible moment.

Lord Winterton: I venture to say that that is a very satisfactory situation. We are all in agreement on that point, and possibly when we meet next week it may be possible to make more definite announcements on the subject of these schemes as a result -- Mr. McDonald, perhaps I might break off and say that while you were out of the room I suggested and I think Mr. Taylor and the other delegates were in agreement, that we might utilize the next few days before the meeting of the conference next week, for private discussions between you and Sir Herbert on the subject of these settlement schemes.

Mr. McDonald: Yes, I had mentioned to Sir Herbert yesterday that I hoped he would be available in New York for informal, private conferences with the men who are directly responsible for these schemes, and that, as I think he stated, fitted perfectly into his own ideas.

Sir Herbert Emerson: I certainly contemplate that, and hope we shall have the opportunity and will be able to fix up dates and time.

Mr. McDonald: The people are all there, and you can begin as soon as you get to New York.

His Excellency Count de Saint-Quentin: May I ask one question? I understand we are all in agreement, but I don't know exactly on what point.

(Laughter).

Do I understand that we are in agreement that Switzerland, Belgium and the Netherlands, because of the pressure of the refugees, should have a prior choice as to settlement of refugees? In that case, with, say, 30 or 40 thousand refugees, that would probably not exhaust them for the next two or three years.

Lord Winterton: I must take the blame for not making the position clearer. I suggested that we were in agreement that prior consideration should be given to the claims of those three countries where the number of refugees is proportionately larger, I think, of the refugees that come within our category, than that of any other countries represented on the Committee.

As to whether or not, if all of those refugees were to be moved, the available places for the next two or three years for settlement would be taken up, I wouldn't like to express an opinion.

On the basis of the last year's work, I would say that we should be able to move them rather more quickly than that, assuming that the quota in the United States still will remain, which we have had in the past.

Sir Herbert could give some information on that. How many people moved out of Europe last year?

Sir Herbert Emerson: I cannot say off-hand how many moved out of Europe. I think the number that moved out of Germany was at least 150,000, and it might have been as much as 170,000.

I think all that you were contemplating, sir, was that as far as the private organizations responsible for carrying on these settlement schemes in the Philippines and The Dominican Republic were concerned, that they would pay regard to the conditions in Belgium, Holland and Switzerland, and indeed in other countries of refuge - they are not the only countries, Scandinavia has quite a number of refugees also - in carrying out their settlement schemes.

But I don't think it would be within the competence of this Committee to pass any formal resolution to that effect which would bind the private organizations in regard to the classes of refugees they may wish to settle in particular countries. And if I may say so, I think any formal resolution of that kind might lead to difficulties. Conditions may arise in which the plight of persons in Germany may be very bad indeed, and some of them may be able to get out of

Germany, and I don't think any private organization would wish to pass a resolution ruling such people out of account. I think they would probably find themselves in difficulties if they did.

I think all that is contemplated is that in the present circumstances we know that there are in certain countries of temporary refuge a large number of people who are not able to work, who are a great embarrassment to their Governments, and who may at the present time, under war conditions, be more easily removed to countries of permanent settlement, than other refugees, and that we would appreciate the fact, if private organizations in carrying out their settlement schemes, could pay special regard to the difficulties of those countries.

Mr. Taylor: Mr. Chairman, I don't recall that any words were used that might be interpreted to apply exclusively to Holland, Belgium and Switzerland.

Sir Herbert Emerson: That, I think, we want to avoid.

Mr. Taylor: I think we should not give the impression here that that is our intention.

Sir Herbert Emerson: No.

Mr. Taylor: Because that might be a violation of our mandate and it might be very unfair, as Sir Herbert says, to others who may be in distress.

Sir Herbert Emerson: I was thinking of the position of the private organizations who had to carry out the schemes.

Lord Winterton: I think perhaps my phrase "prior consideration" was not a very happy one. I wasn't suggesting we should pass a resolution, but I think we have in mind that we hope that private organizations in considering these settlement schemes would pay particular regard to the position in these smaller neutral countries where there are a large number of refugees. I think that that would meet with all of our approval.

Mr. Taylor: I think so.

Sir Herbert Emerson: That is really the position.

Lord Winterton: Ambassador, does that clear it up?

His Excellency Count de Saint-Quentin: Completely.

May I ask one more question. I suppose there are a good many refugees in those countries, Belgium, Switzerland, the Netherlands, France, United Kingdom, who are already on the list for coming to this country, and I don't doubt but what they must prefer to come to the United States than to Mindanao, or the Dominican Republic.

Mr. Taylor: That is true, and whenever they are reached, they will be received here, but they have to wait their turn.

His Excellency Count de Saint-Quentin: Yes. Can you tell me approximately how long in advance is that list booked, whether those people will have to wait one or two or three years?

Mr. Taylor: I don't know whether any one has the answer to that. I am informed by Mr. Moffat that there is

no guaranty, that each case will be considered on its merits as the time comes.

Sir Herbert Emerson: I think the emigration is going on continuously.

His Excellency Count de Saint-Quentin: I may be wrong, but I thought you had a general list of applications from which you took every year a certain number, so that the people at the bottom of the list had to wait one or two years.

Mr. Taylor: It is safe to say that the list as it stands today will require several years to be exhausted.

Mr. Pell: You understand, Mr. Ambassador, that the German quota applies to people who, a great many of them, are in France at the present time. They are leaving all the time.

His Excellency Count de Saint-Quentin: That work is progressing?

Mr. Pell: That work is proceeding.

Mr. McDonald: As I understand the quota numbers are assigned all over the world, and if everyone uses his quota number, then for instance if the people coming out of Germany continued at the same rate as before the war, then persons who had quota numbers in England or France or elsewhere would be reached relatively less soon; but if the people who have quota numbers in Germany are not able to use them for one reason or another because of money difficulties or otherwise, then presumably other portions of the world would receive

additional quota numbers sooner. So that it would not be possible for the department to indicate at what point any one individual would be reached on the list. Is that right?

Mr. Pell: That is my understanding.

Mr. McDonald: That is, in proportion as the flow of emigrants, with quota numbers from Germany lessens, then the flow from other parts of the world would be proportionately increased, do you see?

His Excellency Count de Saint-Quentin: Yes.

Sir Herbert Emerson: If I may illustrate. What I understand to be the position in Great Britain, where there are certain refugees from Germany, whose quota numbers are being reached. Previous to the war - when the quota number of a refugee was reached, he had to leave Great Britain. Now I understand the policy is that he can leave or not, as he likes. No compulsion is going to be brought upon him to use his quota number and leave. But on the other hand, if he chooses to stay in England, rather than take his opportunity of going to the United States, that will imply no promise on the part of the British Government that he will be allowed to settle permanently in England. And it is possible that some of them will be willing to take their chances, and instead of using their quota to go to America, they may prefer to stay in England, at any rate for the duration of the war. That would relieve the pressure on the list.

On the other hand, there are a certain number leaving every week, I think, or at any rate every month, for America from England.

Mr. Taylor: That condition exists in the other countries that we have just named, including the Netherlands.

Sir Herbert Emerson: Yes.

Mr. Taylor: It would seem, Mr. Chairman, that our short range program is, except for those modifications which the war automatically imposes upon the activities of the Director, the same as it was before, and requires no resolution or formal action by the meeting, and it would seem to me, as you have said, that we are in agreement on the continuance, within the limits that conditions impose upon us, of our previous activities.

Sir Herbert Emerson: I made rather a distinction between the activities of the private organizations and the Committee. It will really be the private organizations who will carry out the settlement schemes and it will be they who will select the immigrants.

Lord Winterton: That, of course, is so, but we mustn't forget that it is one of the objects in the formation of the Committee to endeavor to find places of settlement.

Sir Herbert Emerson: I was thinking of the origin of the emigrants. What I had in mind was that from a practical point of view private organizations might be in a position to take refugees from anywhere, including a certain number who might be able to get out of Germany.

Lord Winterton: I think we are really in agreement - I agree with Mr. Taylor, I think we really needn't linger any longer on this Item 2 of the agenda. The position is very much the same as it was when we met in June, subject to the qualification, the changes, brought about by the war.

Should we then pass - I suggested that we should take these four items together. We haven't in fact discussed Item 3, and we might pass specifically to that.

It is:

"The question of whether or not the possibilities for individual immigration and either group or mass settlements so far developed are adequate to meet the problem".

I suppose really the answer to that is a somewhat short one, that we haven't got at this moment any more schemes of settlement, mass settlement, than we had at the time of the time of the June meeting. I don't think we could very well have had because I think we were handling just as much as we could do then with these various schemes in The Dominican Republic and elsewhere, and in regard to individual emigration, that is a question for the various countries, not only those represented on this committee, but other countries as well.

Do you have any statement to make on that item, Mr. Taylor?

Mr. Taylor: My feeling is that we will continue to explore and develop places for settlement as if the war had

not occurred, but of course subject to such conditions as the existence of war imposes upon us; and that there is no more than we can do about that item at the present moment. We are back where we were, and we will continue to make efforts to find places of settlement, and encourage the private organizations to do the same.

Sir Herbert Emerson: I think we appear to be definitely more advanced as regards to the Philippines and also, I gather, as regards settlement in the Dominican Republic. At our meeting in July we had no definite information, really, about the Philippines, and The Dominican Republic was still in the preliminary stage. I rather gather that possibly these schemes are now well within the bounds of practical experimental settlement.

Mr. Taylor: In discussing Item 3, we have in reality discussed Item 4 also, haven't we? There are no other schemes for mass settlement that I am aware of at the moment than those which we have already mentioned.

Sir Herbert Emerson: From time to time, possibilities have been mentioned of fairly large scale settlement in Ecuador, but I don't know how far they proceeded on this side.

Mr. McDonald: I may say, as far as Ecuador is concerned, that these projects were much discussed at the time when I was High Commissioner, back 3 or 4 and even 5 years ago, yes, 5 years ago. But to the private organizations

which have the responsibility, have had the responsibility, of financing and directing these settlement schemes, Ecuador has, for one reason or another, never made any very considerable appeal - no reflection upon the Ecuadorian Government, of course - but the difficulties inherent in settling any considerable number of people in Ecuador have seemed to the private organizations to be insuperable at the present time.

Lord Winterton: And as you say, Mr. Taylor, I don't think there are any fresh schemes for consideration by this conference.

Mr. Taylor: I know of none.

Lord Winterton: Shall we pass to item 5, the problem of financing immigration and settlement, including the possibilities of Government participation. My Government authorized me to make in June, and a similar statement was made by the Prime Minister, our Prime Minister, in the House of Commons, a statement to this effect:

"His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have given very careful consideration to the serious situation which has come about. It is clearly necessary that large sums should be raised for the emigration of refugees but in existing circumstances it is impossible for the private organizations to find these sums in the measure requisite for a satisfactory solution of the problem. His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have, therefore, reached the

conclusion that unless the work of the committee is to be seriously obstructed and the countries of refuge are to be left with large numbers of refugees who cannot be absorbed, it will be necessary to depart from the principle agreed unanimously at Evian, that no participating government would give direct financial assistance to refugees.

"His Majesty's Government are, for their part, examining the manner and extent to which private subscription to an international fund to assist in defraying the expenses of overseas emigration of refugees, might be encouraged by Government participation, possibly on a basis proportionate to the amount of private subscription, and I would earnestly invite my colleagues to lay these considerations before their Governments, and to communicate their views to me without delay. If other Governments are prepared to agree to this change in principle, and to cooperate in such participation, His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom will take the initiative in proposing a scheme for the purpose."

Well, we had answers, the Secretary of the Committee had answers, I think from two Governments. Do you remember, Sir Herbert? At any rate, it was certainly from the Norwegian Government, and I think there was one other.

The Norwegian Government expressed itself as favorable in principle to the proposal but for reasons that I mentioned yesterday, my Government can no longer maintain

that offer because of the financial needs of the war.

Mr. Taylor: I think the President touched on that in his remarks yesterday.

Lord Winterton: Yes, he did.

His Excellency Count de Saint-Quentin: The French Government is in the same position as the British Government, owing to our financial needs incident to the war.

Mr. Taylor: To discuss Governmental action is to assume, as you know, in this country, what Congress would do with such a question - and that, nobody knows. Therefore, it would be most unwise for anyone to undertake to speak with any assurance or authority on that subject.

The Honorable Dr. Loudon: With regard to item 5 of the agenda, I understand that the Netherlands Government has not yet given its reply to the question which was raised at the July meeting of the Committee. I have now been instructed to inform you that the Netherlands Government must raise objections to any suggestions that the Intergovernmental Committee should abandon the adopted principle that immigration and settlement are to be financed from private sources only.

One of the arguments in corroboration of my Government's standpoint is that, should this principle be abandoned, such decision might have the effect that certain countries would be encouraged to cause the Committee's task to be extended to groups of their population. As my Government considers

such an extension of the Committee's activities undesirable, it wishes to see the policy of financing from private sources maintained.

On the other hand, the Netherlands Government is in principle not opposed to a moderate financial participation, but only if the following conditions are complied with:

1. Germany itself should participate financially;
2. Besides the Netherlands, other smaller countries taking part in the work started by the Evian Conference should participate financially;
3. Governmental participation should be conditioned on the extent in which assistance from private sources is given and will continue to be given.

The Netherlands Government, though declaring itself prepared to participate on the above basis, will not be in a position to state its definite standpoint until a concrete plan has been submitted to it.

Lord Winterton: I am in agreement with what Mr. Taylor said. I am, of course, only quoting the agenda which was prepared for this conference by the United States Government, and I think we may take it that the possibility of Government participation need not be further discussed at this meeting because the original offer which the British Government made, to be prepared to participate if certain conditions were fulfilled, no longer holds good because of the war. The French Government is in agreement with that.

True, Mr. Taylor has expressed the opinion which, if you will allow me to say so, no one could quarrel with, that it would be impossible at this period for anyone from this Government to commit Congress. Therefore, I think we need not discuss this matter further.

We have just heard an interesting discussion from our colleague from the Netherlands, but the conditions referred to in the instructions which he received do not now really arise.

I would suggest, gentlemen, if you will agree, that it would be interesting to hear from Mr. McDonald as to what the possibilities are of how the problem of financing the emigration and settlement stands at the present time, as far as his Committee is concerned, and also from Sir Herbert Emerson.

Mr. McDonald: Perhaps it would be better if Sir Herbert spoke first, because he has laid down certain general principles in recent public statements, which have very much impressed the private organizations in this country, and if he would reiterate those principles, then perhaps I might supplement his statement.

Sir Herbert Emerson: I have written a memorandum on the financial side of the problem (item 5 of the agenda) and this memorandum will be available for the officers (page 113 infra). Meanwhile I may give the gist of it.

The position before the war was that with one or two exceptions, the burden of financing, the maintenance, emigration of refugees, and all other expenses, had fallen on the private organizations. I made an estimate of what assistance had been received from private sources, both in money and in kind, and I estimated that up to the middle of July, 1939, private sources had contributed at least 10 million pounds in cash, and about 5 million pounds in kind.

The private organizations were already feeling the strain very severely. While there was no real diminution in the amount of money they were receiving -- in fact, in some respects they were collecting larger sums than they had previously done -- on the other hand, their expenditure was continuously increasing, and it was increasing at a greater rate. The chief reason for that was contained in the figures I gave yesterday, that although 400,000 people left Germany since 1933, nearly 160,000 of them had still not found permanent homes or any permanent means of livelihood, and as a result the private organizations were called upon to an increasing extent to provide the maintenance for these people, and were unable in addition to provide the means necessary to emigrate.

That was the position before the war, and it was because of the increasing difficulties with which the private organizations were confronted that the proposal was put forward in the July session by the representative of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom that some form of

governmental assistance should be devised. The basic principle of that assistance was that it should be proportionate to the amount subscribed from private sources and that it should be devoted to the specific purpose of emigration.

As the Chairman has said, the war has, of course, altered all that, and perhaps I may now read out what I have written in the memorandum about the effect of the war on the financing of emigration and settlement.

I say:

"It is understood that in view of the war His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom find it impossible to contemplate any new financial commitments which are not directly related to its prosecution, and that therefore they can not usefully proceed at present with the formulation of the scheme for financial assistance mentioned in the statement of the Right Honorable the Earl Winterton, M.P., which I reproduced in my memorandum. On the other hand, so far as refugees in England are concerned, it is hoped that the liberal policy adopted by the British Government will result in many of them becoming self-supporting, and will thus afford relief to the private organizations. In so far as it may be necessary to intern a certain number, they would be a charge on the State - and the same is presumably true of those that will be interned in France, I take it that if the State interns them, the State makes itself

responsible for their maintenance.

With regard to the trust fund which was formed for the relief of refugees from Czechoslovakia, it is understood that that fund will continue to operate, subject, of course, to such qualifications in its application as the war may make necessary."

Then I come to the question of private finance, about which I have said the following:

"In belligerent countries, and particularly in Great Britain and France, the war cannot fail to have the most serious effect on the extent to which private resources will be available for assisting the refugee problem. So long as the war lasts, there is no hope of a general appeal such as that made by Lord Baldwin being launched in those countries. The general feeling is one of determination to prosecute the war to a successful issue, and to devote private resources to this end. The fountain of charity will flow more freely, but the stream will be directed towards objects which are inseparably connected with the war, such as Red Cross activities, and there will be little, if any, disposition to divert assistance to other channels. Such help as is given will be of an individual character and small in amount. Moreover, the large changes which the war has already created in the circumstances of individuals, and the still greater uncertainty which it creates concerning the future, are very effective influences at the present time. These

considerations must inevitably bring practically to an end new contributions from the general public.

On the other hand, it is to be hoped that existing commitments will generally be honored, and that private individuals or groups of individuals who have given guarantees for the maintenance of refugees, whether adults or children, will continue to honor them, although cases will arise in which the guarantor is unable to do so owing to the change in his material circumstances."

I may say that so far in England there have been comparatively few cases in which guarantors have resiled from the guarantees they have given. That has been one very satisfactory feature of the past two months. It is particularly true of children, and of course most of the children who are now in England, and there are from 9 to 10 thousand of them, are being maintained by private guarantors. So far the war has not seriously affected that side of the problem.

But apart from that, there doesn't seem much hope, in fact there is practically no hope, that the general public will be either willing or able to subscribe as it has done in the past, towards refugee relief.

As far as one can see at present, similar considerations will affect the extent to which Jewish sources in Great Britain are willing or able to continue the very generous assistance they have given hitherto. It seems

probable that British Jewry, for instance, will regard it as their first duty to assist with their resources towards the prosecution of the war, and that they will take the view that they are not justified in accepting new commitments unless these can be shown to be directly relevant to the furtherance of the war. It seems probable that the efforts of Jewish communities in Great Britain and France will at best be restricted to the maintenance and support of the refugees at present in those countries, and to the provision within available resources of the costs of emigration for a limited number of individuals.

Little information has been received of the effect of the war on private contributions in neutral European countries of temporary refuge. The countries mainly affected are Holland, Belgium and Switzerland. It is to be apprehended that the private organizations of those countries will find it more difficult to raise the funds necessary for maintenance and support, and that they will have to ask for greater help from external bodies such as the Joint Distribution Committee, and, at the same time, to seek relief through emigration to countries of permanent settlement. It may be hoped that, in addition to the United States of America, the neutral countries, and in particular the Scandinavian countries, will maintain the splendid humanitarian traditions of the past.

Mr. McDonald: If you wish, I might supplement briefly what Sir Herbert has said.

First, I should like - I shouldn't like, but I must - to confirm his rather pessimistic estimate of the effect of the war on private resources for emigration purposes from the European countries. The British-Jewish groups have already indicated to the Jewish groups in this country that they will not be able to continue to contribute to overseas activities. Similarly, I am almost certain that in France and in the other countries contiguous to Germany, the Jewish organizations will be forced to take the same line, that is, as Sir Herbert has said, that their contributions can not go beyond the needs within their own countries and probably may prove to be inadequate for those limited purposes.

Hence, we reach the conclusion that private funds will be limited, if not exclusively, then nearly so, to those which can be raised in this country.

One other preliminary consideration. It is that the private funds from this country are already being more heavily drained, as Sir Herbert has said, by special conditions arising from the war. Hence the war normally will tend to reduce the private funds in this country available for emigration purposes.

There is just one possibility that that may ultimately change the conditions. If there should be organized in this country, and it is not yet in prospect and may never come to

be a reality, a great interdenominational war appeal such as we had during the World War when the Red Cross, the Knights of Columbus, the Catholics, and many others, were united in a great effort to raise many millions of dollars for relief in the war-stricken countries, irrespective of race and religion. In that event some relief might be given to the strain upon the Jewish organizations. But that is only a possibility and it may never become a reality.

With these preliminaries in mind, I think one could summarize the prospect of private financing in words something like these.

The only financing by private organizations in sight at the present time is that which will cover the cost of trial settlements in the two projects reported on yesterday, the Dominican Republic and the Philippines. It is hoped, however, that once the flow of settlers is started, certain resources of the refugees themselves, in funds supplied by relatives, will continue the flow of settlers beyond the trial numbers at the start; but thereafter we shall probably soon reach a point of cost beyond the capacity of private funds to meet.

And I should be derelict in my duty if I did not report to the Committee the strong feeling of the private organizations in this country that they can not, no matter what the necessity or the pressure, continue to bear indefinitely the full burden of emigration and settlement.

They just can not.

Sir Herbert has indicated that the private organizations have already provided, he estimates, approximately 15 million pounds, which is approximately \$75,000,000. That is really a very large amount of money to come from private organizations. If they were here speaking for themselves, they would, I think simply underline, perhaps more emphatically, the words which I have used.

His Excellency Count de Saint-Quentin: What period does this cover?

Mr. McDonald: From the beginning of the Hitler regime.

His Excellency Count de Saint-Quentin: From private organizations in this country?

Mr. McDonald: No, generally, including France, Great Britain, Holland, and so on.

Lord Winterton: Well, I don't know that we can carry the matter any further. We have heard two very interesting statements from the Director and from Mr. McDonald.

His Excellency Count de Saint-Quentin: On similar occasions yesterday and today, Sir Herbert Emerson told us of what the situation was in Great Britain, and, he added, presumably in France. I want to say, in every instance, "presumably" should be read "certainly". I take the opportunity of this remark to pay tribute to Sir Herbert for the very objective and illuminating manner in which he explained these difficult problems. I am also pleased to

express my high appreciation of the statements that Mr. McDonald made.

Lord Winterton: I should like to associate myself with what you have just said, Ambassador, and I think we might pay a tribute to the wonderful work on the part of the private organizations in all the countries in this great humane work.

Mr. Taylor: I am sure our Government would like to be associated with that thought, Mr. Chairman.

(Sir Herbert Emerson then presented memoranda pertaining to Items 2, 3, 4 and 5 of the agenda:)

ITEM 2 OF THE AGENDA

THE PRESENT STATUS OF PLANS FOR SETTLEMENTMemorandum by the Director

At the session of the Intergovernmental Committee held in July 1939, the Director made a statement regarding the prospects of settlement in various countries. This statement is reproduced below, with such modifications as are necessary to bring it up to date.

British Guiana.

As regards British Guiana, the position is as follows. In pursuance of the offer made by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom in November 1938 of facilities for the settlement of refugees in British Guiana, a Commission assembled at Georgetown, British Guiana, on February 14 and completed its report on April 19th of this year. The Commission was organized by President Roosevelt's Advisory Committee on Political Refugees and included two representatives appointed by his Majesty's government and one by the Government of British Guiana. The Commission expressed the view that, while the territory is not an ideal place for refugees from Middle-European countries, and while it could not be considered suitable for immediate large-scale settlement, it undoubtedly possesses potential possibilities that would fully justify the carrying out of a trial settlement project in order to determine whether and how these possibilities could be realized. In particular,

it considered that in the area available for settlement there are soils suitable for permanent agriculture and natural resources which make possible a correlated industrial development, while climatic and health conditions are such that settlement by people of Middle European origin is feasible. At the same time, it made it clear that there were various questions which required clarification, and to which answers could only be given by means of a trial settlement on the spot. They therefore recommended that a number of receiving camps for trial settlement should be started, involving a population of 3,000 to 5,000 carefully selected young men and women and placed at properly chosen locations; that these trial settlements should be adequately equipped under competent leadership; and that they should contain a number of people with specialized training who would be capable of securing the necessary information and would also assist in making the settlements self-contained. It estimated the approximate cost of establishing and maintaining the trial settlements for a period of two years with a population of 5,000 people would be £ 600,000. His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, after consideration of the Report of the Commission, has expressed itself in complete sympathy with the scheme of refugee settlement in British Guiana, and has stated its readiness to place very large areas at the disposal of private organizations for this purpose, and further, if the scheme

develops, to allow a large measure of autonomy in local government. It has also undertaken, when the stage of large scale settlement is reached, to provide arterial communications, on the understanding that the cost of settlement will be met from private sources.

The position as regards British Guiana is therefore, briefly, as follows: A Commission composed of highly qualified specialists has reported that the possibilities are sufficiently good to justify the carrying out of experimental settlements, and while it does not feel justified in giving any assurance as regarding the success of these, it does consider that, if they are successful, the ultimate prospect of the territory, as an area for settlement on a big scale, are very large. Before the outbreak of war, the organizations concerned had under consideration practical plans for trial settlement, and discussions were taking place with the British Colonial Office. The war has resulted in the indefinite postponement of the scheme.

The Dominican Republic

As regards the Dominican Republic, in pursuance of the very generous offer of the Dominican Government to admit one hundred thousand refugees, a Commission under the auspices of President Roosevelt's Advisory Committee on Political Refugees visited the Dominican Republic from March 7th to April 18th of this year. The Commission was

given active assistance by the Dominican Government and investigated seventeen tracts of land which had been indicated as available for settlement, a total area amounting to about 2,700,000 acres. Of this area some 2,150,000 acres are owned by the Government while about half a million acres are privately owned. It appeared that, if necessary, other areas adjacent to certain of the tracts could be made available for settlement. The Commission has reported that climatic conditions are favourable for colonists from Central Europe, and that health conditions are reasonably good. It found the soil in a number of tracts highly fertile and capable of producing a large variety of crops, for some of which there is a commercial demand. Valuable forest products are readily accessible in large volume. While the Commission did not find that the whole of the area suggested was suitable for early colonisation, it considered that it would be possible to settle approximately 29,000 families in certain specified areas on a subsistence basis. At the same time it stressed the fact that, before proceeding on a big scale with the plans for colonization, it would be necessary to carry out technical studies in topography, soils, drainage, agronomy, sanitation and forestplanning. It was recommended that the first step should be the establishment of pioneering groups of perhaps 200 or 250 persons each in camps similar to those of the Civilian Conservation Corps in the United States

Subsequently the Dominican Republic, as a first step towards the realization of her desire to accept substantial number of refugees, offered to receive immediately 500 families to be divided as follows:

- (a) Agricultural families with the parents between 25 and 30 years of age, adequate provision to be made for their long-term acquisition of suitable land.
- (b) Professional families, the parents ranging from 25 to 40 years of age.
- (c) Families adaptable to the development of various industrial and manufacturing enterprises.
- (d) Individuals of miscellaneous categories suitable to the needs of the Republic.
- (e) Children between the ages of 13 and 15, who would be wards of the Government for a period of two years, with the Government providing the resources for their maintenance, towards the end that they may be eventually intergrated into the economic and agricultural life of the country.

It is understood that President Roosevelt's Advisory Committee on Political Refugees has established a Committee to carry out negotiations with the representative in Washington of the Dominican Republic.

Although, therefore, large scale settlement must inevitably move slowly in the initial stages, it appears that a beginning of pioneer settlement can be made when a final agreement is concluded with the Dominican Republic

and the necessary funds are forthcoming.

Northern Rhodesia.

As regards Northern Rhodesia, a Committee was formed by the Emigration (Planning) Joint Committee of the Co-ordinating Committee for Refugees, an association which has its headquarters in London. It assembled in the Colony on March 29th and concluded its Report on June 1st. It was greatly assisted by the Government of the Colony, who made available the services of their Director of Agriculture and the Directory of Veterinary Services. The Commission found no serious climatic or physical obstacles to settlement, but considered that settlement should be limited only by economic factors. It recommended that the individual holdings should be sufficiently large to allow for subsistence with the addition of a small cash margin sufficient to repay over a long period advances made for settlement and to leave a small surplus for other expenses. It expressed the view that not more than 400 to 500 families could be settled over a period of years without disturbance of the economic system of the Colony, and it estimated that the cost of establishing a family and of maintaining it during an initial period would be from £ 1,000 to £ 1,500.

It would therefore appear from the Report of the Commission that this area is not suitable for large-scale settlement, and that the cost of individual settlement would be high. Even if immigration had otherwise been feasible,

the war will make the situation more difficult because of political considerations and of the distrust with which persons of German origin or nationality would be regarded.

ITEM 3 OF THE AGENDAMemorandum by the Director

The question whether or not the Possibilities for Individual Emigration and either Group or Mass Settlement so far Developed are Adequate to meet the Problem.

(1) As explained in a separate memorandum, the emigration of refugees from Greater Germany has outstripped the opportunities for permanent settlement, with the result that the number in countries of temporary refuge was continuously increasing. None the less, since 1933 approximately 250,000 had found permanent homes. At least ninety per cent of these had been placed by infiltration, and with the exception of Palestine, and to a lesser extent of the Argentine, there had been little group settlement on any considerable scale. Outside Europe, infiltration had been almost general, and there were few countries which had not received refugees in greater or smaller numbers. Some of these had already reached or were approaching the point of saturation, but even so, the flow of emigrants was not entirely stopped, since those refugees who were well established were often able to secure for their near relatives. The main places of settlement were the United States of America, Palestine, Australia and the countries of South America. The total rate of infiltration was not constant. For instance, several of the states of South America from time to time imposed

restrictions on immigration either by amendment of the law or by tightening up its administration. One reason for this was the fact that immigrants included a certain number of unsuitable persons, while, owing to the rush of refugees from Germany, the private organizations were not always able to organize or to finance emigration as thoroughly as was desirable. There were some opportunities for individual settlement which it had not been possible to utilize owing to difficulties of finance. The Government of Brazil, for instance, had made a very generous offer to receive 3,000 confessional Jews and 3,000 Catholics of semitic origin; but up to the commencement of the war it had not been possible to take advantage of this offer.

The general position previous to the war was one of uncertainty. Given orderly emigration from Germany, and the continuance of the generous policy shown by many countries, the problem was capable of solution within a reasonable period. There had, however, been no real mitigation of the disorderly and brutal methods pursued by Germany, and there was a very definite threat of their extension to Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia. There was also no guarantee that various countries could continue to absorb refugees at the same rate. There was also the danger of outbursts of antisemitic feeling which would check, if not stop immigration. It was therefore necessary to explore the possibilities of settlement on a large scale in order, first to relieve the

growing pressure on countries of temporary asylum, and secondly, to ensure against contraction of the openings for individual settlement.

(2) The war has very materially changed the position. The problem of direct emigration from Germany is likely to be in abeyance. The immediate problem is one of re-emigration from countries of temporary refuge. It may be that, so far as Great Britain and France are concerned, the problem of re-emigration may prove not to be so urgent as before the war, and that the Governments of those countries may be able to place in useful employment many of their temporary visitors. It may, however, be assumed that the neutral countries of Europe will wish to be relieved as early as possible of a serious embarrassment, that they will be unable to allow refugees in any large number to seek employment, and that in the interests of the Governments concerned and of the refugees themselves, it will be desirable that permanent places of settlement should be found as rapidly as possible.

While the war has reduced the size of the problem coming within the present scope of the Committee's activities it seems inevitable that it will also reduce the number of openings for emigration previously available. The belligerent countries will now have to give first and foremost consideration to political factors, and to determine question of immigration into their territories with primary reference

to the effect it may have on the general situation. In so far as emigration may still be possible, considerations of safety may be expected to prevail, and one may anticipate that the selection of immigrants of German origin or nationality will have to be carried out far more rigorously than before the war. It may not be possible for them to determine the general lines of policy at once, and in any case they would be liable to modification.

(3) So far as neutral countries of permanent settlement are concerned, it may be hoped that circumstances will not arise which will make it necessary to restrict the generous policy they have hitherto pursued, and that they may be able even to extend the openings previously available. Should this prove to be the case, a large measure of success can be achieved in finding at least a war-time solution of the problem of refugees from Greater Germany, as it has been modified by a state of war.

ITEM 4 OF THE AGENDAMemorandum by the DirectorPOSSIBILITIES OF LARGE-SCALE SETTLEMENT IN AREAS ALREADY
CONSIDERED ON IN OTHER AREAS.

In the Memorandum relating to the second item on the agenda prospects have been stated of large-scale settlement in areas which have already been investigated. With regard to other possibilities for large-scale settlement, several factors have to be considered before a country can be regarded both as suitable and available. Political considerations have an important bearing on the question. There are some countries which are prima facie suitable for settlement on a considerable scale, but are either unwilling to receive refugees, or are willing to receive them in limited numbers or by infiltration. Unless there is a change of policy on the part of the Governments concerned, the possibilities must be regarded as too vague for practical purposes. There are other countries which must be clearly ruled out of account for climatic reasons. There are again others in regard to which there has been no final statement of policy, and which might be willing to receive refugees in considerable numbers if it were possible to place before them well considered schemes which would be assured of adequate finance. For the present purposes it will probably be sufficient to confine attention to possibilities which previous to the war were sufficiently tangible to merit further investigation.

(a) A preliminary enquiry has been carried out into the possibilities of permanent settlement in an island of the Philippines. It is understood that further enquiry will be necessary before definite plans can be formulated.

(b) There has been reason to suppose that the Government of Ecuador would be favourably disposed towards the settlement of refugees if a satisfactory scheme were placed before them. An accredited representative visited London a few months ago, when he discussed with the High Commissioner of the League of Nations and private organisations various proposals for settlement. Later, on his return to Ecuador, he asked the High Commissioner to arrange for a representative of the private organisations to confer with the Settlement Committee that was to be set up. The Ministry for the Colonies and the Central Bank of Ecuador were to have representations on this Committee. The scheme was said to contemplate the settlement of 10,000 families. The matter was referred through the British Emigration Planning Committee to the President's Advisory Committee for Political Refugees, and it is not known what progress has been made. While it is open to doubt whether the proposals so far made on behalf of the Ecuador Government are suitable, and in particular, whether the lands proposed for settlement are, from the point of view of climate, accessibility and communications, capable of colonisation by Europeans, there is reason to believe

that direct negotiations with the Government of Ecuador might be successful in attaining a practical scheme, if the finance of such a scheme were assured.

(c) From time to time suggestions have been made for colonisation in various states of South America, some of which have taken a large number of refugees by infiltration, e.g. Paraguay, Bolivia and Chile. It has not been possible for financial reasons to put before the Governments of these states self-contained schemes which would admit of the settlement of considerable numbers.

(d) With the approval of the French Government, an investigation was being made of the possibilities of settlement in New Caledonia, but this had not proceeded sufficiently far for an opinion to be formed regarding the prospects.

The above was the position at the end of August. It is inevitable that the war should raise new considerations. Most Governments will wish to review their previous policy regarding entry into their own territories. Again, while the emigration of persons of German origin or nationality into some countries might be desirable in normal times, it may raise political issues during a state of war. It is not possible at present to make any estimate of value of the prospects of large-scale settlement in any country.

ITEM 5 OF THE AGENDA.

Memorandum by the Director

The Problem of Financing Emigration and Settlement, including the Possibilities of Governmental Participation.

I. The Position previous to the War.

1. The methods of financing the refugee problem previous to the war were described by me in a memorandum written about the middle of July 1939, which I handed over to Mr. Wohlthat. This is reproduced below, with a few verbal amendments.

A.

Governmental Assistance.

The emigration of refugees from Czechoslovakia has been largely financed from the gift of £4,000,000 made by the British Government. The Belgian Government has undertaken the maintenance of 3,000 of the refugees who had been given temporary asylum in that country. The Dutch Government has undertaken the construction of a central training camp at large cost for the training and accomodation of a large number of refugees who have similarly received temporary asylum. For the rest, governmental assistance has been practically confined to the expansion of the necessary administrative services

to deal with immigration into their countries, and the grant of facilities for training camps and for housing accommodation on Government property or in Government buildings. Where emigration has been to countries of permanent refuge, e.g. British colonies, some expansion has been necessary of administrative services.

The British Government has accepted the contingent and very large liability for the provision of arterial communications in British Guiana when immigration there reaches the state of large-scale settlement.

B.

Liabilities for
which private bodies
are responsible.

Apart from the above, and the resources which refugees have themselves been able to provide, the finance of the movement has depended on charitable funds from private sources. These have had to finance, wholly or in part, expenditure on the following objects:

- (1) Relief in the country of origin.
- (2) Relief and maintenance in the countries of temporary refuge.
- (3) The cost of training.
- (4) Relief and maintenance in countries of permanent refuge for those who cannot at once earn their own livelihood.

(5) Expenses of transport, visas, etc. to countries of refuge.

(6) Expenses connected with the permanent settlement of refugees, whether by individual or group settlement.

(7) Overhead expenses.

There are hundreds of organizations working in various countries - Jewish, non-Jewish, and non-sectarian. Some are concerned only with the raising and allocation of funds; others are concerned purely with executive work and get the necessary funds from the financing organizations; others again combine the two functions. In England, for example, there is, apart from the large central organizations, a large number of local committees which raise the whole or part of their funds by local appeals. The same is the case in other countries.

There is another method of charitable contribution which, while it cannot be assessed accurately in cash, represents a very large sum, namely, the system of private hospitality, by which a family, a group or families, or a small committee accepts financial responsibility for the support and maintenance of individual refugees, and also in some cases the liability for the expenses of emigration. Many gifts have also been made in kind.

There are very few organizations at present with

independent finance which are concerned solely or even mainly with emigration and settlement.

Among these may be mentioned the following:

(1) The Jewish Colonisation Association (J.C.A.)

This administers a trust fund created some years ago for the purpose of the colonisation of Jews. Under the terms of the Trust the capital cannot be expended. The income is available for the colonisation of Jews in general, and during recent years a large part of it has been used for the colonisation of migrants from German territory, especially in South America. It has spent approximately £900,000 in connection with German refugees, of which about £800,000 has been spent on emigration and settlement.

(2) The Jewish Agency for Palestine.

The Jewish Agency has a branch known as the Bureau for the Settlement of German Jews in Palestine. Up to the end of 1938 the Bureau had spent approximately £1,000,000 directly for this purpose. Large sums have been spent indirectly for the same purpose by the Jewish Agency.

(3) The Refugee Economic Corporation of America.

This was formed in 1934, and up to the middle of 1938 about £50,000 of the authorised capital had been subscribed. The Corporation has financed the requirements of a number of individual settlers.

(4) The Plough Settlement of Kenya.

The subscribed capital of £10,000, the authorised capital £25,000. The Corporation has financed the settlement of a certain number of refugees in Kenya.

Among the organizations which are concerned with maintenance and relief as well as with emigration and settlement, the following may be mentioned:

(1) The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee.

This Committee was formed in 1914, and throughout the war and in the year following it did relief work of enormous value in the countries of Europe. It is financed by private charity in the United States of America and Canada, where an annual appeal is made for funds. I have not the figures for total expenditure up-to-date. But up to the end of December 1937 it had received and spent approximately £18,000,000. Of late years a considerable part of its income has been spent on work connected with refugees from German territory. A good deal of its work is done through direct agency, but it also grants very liberal subsidies to many organisations. Since 1933 it has spent more than £2,000,000 in connection with German migrants. Its yearly expenditure on this work has increased from approximately £80,000 in 1933 to £540,000 in 1938. During the first five months of 1939 it has already spent nearly as much as it did during the whole of 1938, and its budget for 1939 is based on a programme of £1,600,000.

(2) The Council for German Jewry.

This body was established in 1936 in order to organize support by the principal Jewish communities of the world for the emigration and training of German Jews. It took over most of the activities of the Central British Fund for German Jewry, which was formed in 1933 and was a purely British association. A general appeal has been made each year since 1933, except in the year 1937, in which no appeal was made since a special appeal was made in the previous year. Associated with the appeals of the Council there has been a Women's Committee, which has issued an appeal each year for women and children refugees. The total sum raised since 1933 amounts approximately to £2,750,000. The greater part of this has been spent assisting emigration through grants to various associations.

(3) The leading Jewish organisation in Holland, namely the Comité voor Bijzondere Joodsche Belangen has collected approximately £400,000 since 1933, of which rather more than £50,000 has been spent on emigration, the rest being required for the maintenance of refugees inside Holland.

Other organisations which have collected substantial sums are:

The Christian Council for Refugees from Germany and Central Europe	£80,000
The Society of Friends, Germany Emergency Committee	£59,000

International Hebrew Christian Alliance	£25,000
Verband. Schweiz. Israel. Armenpflegen	£121,000
Schweizer. Hilfswerk fur Emigrantenkinder	£30,000

Of the general appeals not sponsored by any specific organisation, special mention may be made of the Baldwin Appeal, to which subscriptions have been made exceeding £500,000

Figures are available for a few only of the many hundreds of small organisations that have made appeals. In the aggregate the sum collected by them has been large.

It is possible to make only a rough estimate of the total receipts of the charitable organisations. Their collections may be put at a minimum of £10,000,000 in cash. Taking into account the cost of hospitality, gifts in kind etc., the total contribution is not less than £15,000,000, and may be considerably higher.

By far the greater part of this amount has been subscribed by the Jewish community through successive appeals made by a number of organisations.

2. In addition to the above organisations, mention must be made of the Co-ordinating Foundation, a Trust Company registered in London with a capital of £200,000. The aims and objects of the Foundation have been stated in a very wide and general form. It was anticipated that the main function of the Foundation would be to act as

a link between the private organisations and the Internal Trust when established in Germany and that, in particular, it should act as the purchasing agency mentioned in the Confidential Memorandum communicated to Mr. Rublee. It was not intended that the Foundation should directly finance emigration, but its aims include the conduct of negotiations with Governments and private bodies for the purpose of furthering the permanent settlement of refugees. Proposals had in fact been made to Mr. van Zeeland, President of the Foundation, and its chief executive officer, that it should take up discussions with various Governments regarding the admission of refugees. The war prevented effect being given to these proposals, which are at present in abeyance.

3. Previous to the war the financial position was, briefly, as follows: With slight exceptions the whole burden of financing the movement was being borne by the private organisations. The non-Jewish organisations were reaching the end of their resources and were in fact unable to provide for the contingent liabilities which they had accepted regarding the emigration of refugees in temporary countries or refuge. The position of the Jewish bodies was increasingly difficult. Although private contributions had tended to increase, the growth of expenditure was greater than the growth of resources. This was due to the ever increasing number of refugees in countries of temporary refuge inside

and outside Europe who were dependent for their maintenance and support on private charity. As a result the organizations were finding it increasingly difficult to finance existing commitments, and were unable to provide the funds on a sufficient scale necessary to finance emigration. Their policy was inevitably a hand-to-mouth one, and they were unable to take a long view of the situation or to present to countries of permanent settlement fully considered schemes, backed by adequate finance over a term of years, which might offer an inducement to them to pursue a more liberal policy. At the same time, the Governments of those countries which had given temporary asylum to large numbers of refugees found themselves in a position of growing embarrassment. There was a lag between admission of refugees and their emigration and, as the number of alien Jews increased, the dangers grew of antisemitic feeling.

4. It was in these circumstances that, at the meeting of the Intergovernmental Committee held in London in July 1939, the Right Honourable the Earl Winterton M.P., Chairman of the Committee, made the following statement as Representative on the Committee of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom:

"In the very interesting and comprehensive report which he has made to the Committee, the Director has drawn attention to two most important and disquieting factors in

the existing refugee situation. The first is the very large number of refugees who are now in the countries of refuge and who cannot possibly remain in them indefinitely. I have today circulated to the Committee a memorandum in which it is estimated that there are now 40,000 refugees in this country, of whom at least half, if not more, must eventually be re-emigrated. The Committee knows that in the other countries of immediate refuge, the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Switzerland, Denmark, thanks to the very generous policy of the various Governments, there are many thousands of refugees who have been admitted to those countries, but who cannot settle permanently in Europe. Sir Herbert Emerson estimated that there are 150,000 refugees from Greater Germany in other European countries, and that approximately 60,000 of these are wholly or partly dependent on the charity of the private associations.

2. "This leads me to the second disquieting factor in the situation, namely that of finance. The vast number of refugees who must be supported in the countries of refuge are proving a very heavy burden to the private organisations which have hitherto borne the cost of their maintenance. So heavy is the burden that the private organisations are finding it exceedingly difficult to make any large payments for the permanent settlement of refugees either by infiltration or group settlement. The result is a vicious

circle. No long term policy of financing emigration overseas is possible because the burden of maintenance in countries of refuge is crippling the resources of the private organizations, while the cost of maintenance cannot be reduced so long as the rate of emigration overseas is inferior to the rate of immigration into countries of refuge from Germany.

3. "The result is that we are now faced with the possibility of a serious interruption in the procedure regarding refugees which has been adopted by the Governments of the countries of refuge. The voluntary organisations in those countries have accepted responsibility for many thousands of refugees in the expectation that they would be able to emigrate within a fairly short time. This expectation has not been fulfilled to anything like the extent anticipated, and the voluntary organisations are left with financial commitments which are so heavy that it is difficult to see how they can be met. Thus they are unable to undertake any further commitments for the constructive expenditure which is essential if the rate of emigration overseas is to be maintained or increased.

4. "His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have given very careful consideration to the serious situation which has come about. It is clearly necessary that large sums should be raised for the emigration of refugees but in

existing circumstances it is impossible for the private organisations to find these sums in the measure requisite for a satisfactory solution of the problem. His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have therefore reached the conclusion that unless the work of the Committee is to be seriously obstructed and the countries of refuge are to be left with large numbers of refugees who cannot be absorbed, it will be necessary to depart from the principle agreed unanimously at Evian, that no participating Government would give direct financial assistance to refugees.

5. "His Majesty's Government are, for their part examining the manner and extent to which private subscription to an international fund to assist in defraying the expenses of overseas emigration of refugees might be encouraged by Government participation, possibly on a basis proportionate to the amount of private subscription, and I would earnestly invite my colleagues to lay these considerations before their Governments and to communicate their views to me without delay. If other Governments are prepared to agree to this change of principle, and to cooperate in such participation, His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom will take the initiative in proposing a scheme for the purpose."

2. The effects of the War on the Finance of Emigration and Settlement.

Governmental
Assistance.

It is understood that in view of the war His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom find it impossible to contemplate any new financial commitments which are not directly related to its prosecution, and that therefore they cannot usefully proceed at present with the formulation of the scheme for financial assistance mentioned in the statement of the Right Honourable the Earl Winterton, M.P., reproduced above. On the other hand, so far as refugees in England are concerned, it is hoped that the liberal policy adopted by the British Government will result in many of them becoming self-supporting, and will thus afford relief to the private organisations. In so far as it may be necessary to intern a certain number, they would be a charge on the state, and the same is presumably true of those interned in France. It is understood that the Trust Fund which has been constituted by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom to assist refugees from Czecho-Slovakia, until such time as the balance of the British loan becomes available, will continue to operate, subject of course to such modifications in its application as the war may make necessary.

Private
Finance.

In belligerent countries, and particularly in Great

Britain and France, the war cannot fail to have the most serious effect on the extent to which private resources will be available for assisting the refugee problem. So long as the war lasts there is no hope of a general appeal such as that made by Lord Baldwin being launched in those countries. The general feeling is one of determination to prosecute the war to a successful issue, and to devote private resources to this end. The fountain of charity will flow more freely, but the stream will be directed towards objects which are inseparably connected with the war, such as Red Cross activities, and there will be little if any disposition to divert assistance to other channels. Such help as is given will be of an individual character and small in amount. Moreover, the large changes which the war has already created in the circumstances of individuals, and the still greater uncertainty which it creates concerning the future are very effective influences at the present time. These considerations must inevitably bring practically to an end new contributions from the general public. On the other hand, it is to be hoped that existing commitments will generally be honoured, and that private individuals or groups of individuals who have given guarantees for the maintenance of refugees, whether adults or children, will continue to honour them, although cases will arise in which the guarantor is unable to do so owing to the change in his material

circumstances.

Similar considerations will affect the extent to which Jewish sources are willing or able to continue the very generous assistance they have given hitherto. It seems probable that British Jewry, for instance, will regard it as their first duty to assist with their resources towards the prosecution of the war, and that they will take the view that they are not justified in accepting new commitments unless these can be shown to be directly relevant to the furtherance of the war. It seems probable that the efforts of the Jewish communities in Great Britain and France will at best be restricted to the maintenance and support of the refugees at present in those countries, and to the provision within available resources of the costs of emigration for a limited number of individuals.

Little information has been received of the effect of the war on the private contributions in neutral European countries of temporary refuge. The countries mainly affected are Holland, Belgium and Switzerland. It is to be apprehended that the private organisations of those countries will find it more difficult to raise the funds necessary for maintenance and support, and that they will have to ask for greater help from external bodies such as the Joint Distribution Committee and, at the same time, to seek relief through emigration to countries of permanent

settlement. It may be hoped that, in addition to the United States of America, the neutral countries, and in particular the Scandinavian countries, will maintain the splendid humanitarian traditions of the past. (memorandum ends)

Lord Winterton: Well, gentlemen, there remains the last item on the agenda, and I would wish to submit to my colleagues a suggestion on that point. The last item of the agenda, taken in conjunction with the President's emphatic reference in his speech yesterday, and the subject matter of it, raises questions of great importance and magnitude as I said yesterday. It is so important that I would like to requote to my colleagues what the President has said in connection with this Item 6:

"I have suggested that the current task is small in comparison with the future task. The war will come to an end some day; and those of us who are realists know that in its wake the world will face a refugee problem of different character and of infinitely greater magnitude.

"Nearly every great war leaves behind it vast numbers of human beings whose roots have been literally torn up. Inevitably there are great numbers of individuals who have lost all family ties -- individuals who find no home to return to, no occupation to resume -- individuals who for many different reasons must seek to rebuild their

lives under new environments.

"Every war leaves behind it tens of thousands of families who for very many different reasons are compelled to start life anew in other lands.

"Economic considerations may affect thousands of families and individuals.

"All we can do is to estimate on the reasonable doctrine of chance, that when this ghastly war ends there may be not one million but ten million or twenty million men, women and children belonging to many races and many religions, living in many countries and possibly on several continents, who will enter into the wide picture -- the problem of the human refugee.

"I ask, therefore, that as the second great task that lies before this Committee, it start at this time a serious and probably a fairly expansive effort to survey and study definitely and scientifically this geographical and economic problem of resettling several million people in new areas of the earth's surface."

My Government would wish to give most complete and sympathetic consideration to any proposals made by the United States Government in this connection. But they would have to be considered, if justice is to be done, in a concrete form. I therefore invite the American delegation, if they would be good enough to do so, to prepare a draft

of these proposals. It ought then, I submit, to be considered by our expert advisers in consultation with our Acting Secretary, Mr. Morris, because the question of the constitution of the Committee must inevitably arise, and they will have to consider what change, if any, would be necessary to give effect to any proposals made. Then we could meet in conference next week to hear their report. Even so, we might very likely have to consult our Governments before we can make a recommendation to the whole Committee.

In suggesting this course, I am most anxious to avoid giving the impression of wanting to delay a decision. On the contrary, I feel, both as Chairman and as the United Kingdom representative, that in courtesy alike to the President and to our hosts, the United States Government, we ought to give immediate and complete consideration to any proposal made so that the decision may be reached at the earliest possible time; but I think the procedure suggested will most effectively achieve this result.

Mr. Taylor: Mr. Chairman, we are very sympathetic with the suggestion which you have made that the discussion of this matter, Item 6, be postponed until the meeting of next week, and that in the interim a technical committee be set up and have its report ready for next Wednesday or Thursday, whichever day you appoint for the meeting. I

think that a technical committee made up of representatives of the Government that are participants in this conference, will be able to clear away a great many uncertainties and produce something that will be useful and constructive for our consideration at that time. It seems to me that to engage in a discussion of it in advance of that would lead us down perhaps many wrong paths that we could very easily avoid by the other procedure.

The Honorable Dr. Loudon: May I ask one thing more? I have been instructed by my Government that, under the present circumstances, they do not consider it advisable to extend the scope of the Committee because this might lead to consequences which, owing to the war, cannot be foreseen. This instruction, of course, was received before I listened to the speech of the President of the United States. Now, if we are going to discuss the report of a technical committee next week, I would very much appreciate it if it could be arranged to have the report circulated one or two days before the meeting will take place in order that I may, if necessary, ask my Government for instructions.

Mr. Taylor: Could not the Technical Committee meet on Friday of this week?

Lord Winterton: Certainly, Mr. Taylor.

Mr. Taylor: That would allow adequate time.

Lord Winterton: I should also like to consult my

Government similarly.

(The delegates present nominated their representatives to sit on the Technical Committee).

(After a discussion of a communiqué to be issued to the press by the Intergovernmental Committee, the meeting, at 1:15 o'clock p.m., was adjourned until 3:00 o'clock p.m., Thursday, October 26, 1939).

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The text of the communiqué is as follows:

Upon the invitation of President Roosevelt the officers of the Intergovernmental Committee met at the White House on October 17, 1939. The Secretary of State opened the second meeting at the Department of State on the afternoon of October 17 and a third meeting was held on the morning of October 18 when the Committee adjourned until Thursday, October 26, 1939. Those who attended the meeting included Lord Winterton, Chairman and Paymaster General in the British Government; Sir Herbert Emerson, Director; the Honorable Myron C. Taylor, Vice Chairman representing the United States of America; His Excellency Senor Don Felipe Espil, the Argentine Ambassador; His Excellency Count de Saint Quentin, the French Ambassador; His Excellency Mr. Carlos Martins, the Brazilian Ambassador; Dr. A. Loudon, the Netherlands Minister; and Mr. James G. McDonald, Chairman of the President's Advisory Committee on Political Refugees.

The meeting, at the second session, heard a report on the current refugee situation by the Director and discussed the various ways in which the refugee problem might be met. Particular attention was given to the new aspects of the situation due to the outbreak of war.

At the third session, the officers discussed what President Roosevelt had described in his opening statement as the "short-range problem", including the problem of emigrating those individuals and families who are at this moment in countries of temporary refuge and who, for the sake of the world and themselves, should be placed in permanent domiciles as rapidly as possible.

The meeting was of the opinion that this problem could still best be solved partly by infiltration, that is individual immigration, and partly by an initiation of settlement projects. The meeting took note, with particular satisfaction, of the fact that the Dominican Government, with great foresight and generosity, had responded to the appeal of the Intergovernmental Committee for opportunities of settlement. The meeting also heard with satisfaction that the Government of the Commonwealth of the Philippines had responded in a similar manner. Mr. McDonald reported that engineering and economic studies had recently been completed and that practical steps, including financing, in the initiation of settlement were being taken.

The meeting was informed that similar studies in other areas would be undertaken promptly.

The Committee also took note of the fact that the Coordinating Foundation, whose Executive President, Mr. Paul van Zeeland, will be present at the meeting next week, is mandated to work with individuals and organizations to investigate the suitability of places of settlement and future resettlement plans.

A tribute was paid by the meeting to the unstinted generosity over a period of years of the private organizations.

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CONFERENCE of OFFICERS
of the
INTER-GOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL REFUGEES

State Department,
Washington, D. C.
October 26, 1939 - 3 p.m.

PRESENT

(Same as noted for the October 18, 1939,
meeting, except:

Dr. Carl Bruggmann, Minister of Switzerland - Not Present

Hon. Paul van Zeeland, President, Coordinating
Foundation - Present.

Lord Winterton: Gentlemen, the sitting of the Conference is resumed. The first item on our agenda of today is to have the letter from the Dominican Government to the Dominican Corporation read.

Mr. Pell: Mr. Warren has the text.

Lord Winterton: I suggest it be placed in the record. Mr. Warren has copies of the letter for distribution.

Mr. Warren: I might summarize it for you very briefly. It reviews the history of the negotiations, starting with the original creation of the Inter-Governmental Committee, and then outlines the various conditions which the Dominican Government has accepted in anticipation of the organization of a corporation which will undertake the settlement of refugees. The conditions are very generous and very broadly stated, and in effect form the basis of what will later become a specific contract between the corporation to be formed and the Dominican Government.

The proposal is to undertake a trial settlement of 500 families in the first instance. Briefly, those immigrants recommended by the corporation will be exempt from the existing \$500 head tax; their goods, chattels, tools and equipment will be admitted free; they will be treated as citizens and will be enabled to acquire citizenship within two years. The funds for the initial settlement have already been made available.

Lord Winterton: Gentlemen, Your Excellencies, it gives me great pleasure to learn of the progress that has been made in this scheme. I think we all hope it will prove to be a great success. I take it we all agree that this letter should be placed on the record.

(The letter referred to is as follows:)

Office of the Dominican Legation

October 25, 1939.

Mr. George L. Warren, Secretary

President's Advisory Committee on Political Refugees,
122 East 22nd Street,
New York City.

Dear Mr. Warren:

It gives me great pleasure to hand you herewith a duplicate of the letter which I have today delivered to Mr. James N. Rosenberg at the luncheon at which you, he and I have participated.

I take this occasion to express the deep appreciation of my government for your splendid cooperative efforts in the many conferences which we have had, and for the valuable cooperation which we have had from the President's Advisory Committee on Political Refugees, particularly of Mr. McDonald, its Chairman and of yourself, its Executive Secretary. It is needless for me to say that in the practical work of the plans which we have now agreed upon, my government and I personally are counting on the active cooperation of the President's Advisory Committee and especially on

your continued and effective personal interest in this important undertaking.

Faithfully yours,

(Signed) A. PASTORIZA

October 19, 1939.

Mr. James N. Rosenberg
New York City.

Dear Mr. Rosenberg:

When the President of the United States initiated the Evian Conference a year and half ago for the noble, humanitarian purpose of aiding the resettlement of refugees, the Dominican Republic informed Mr. Myron C. Taylor of its willingness to receive and give an opportunity for livelihood and permanent homes to 100,000 refugees; such refugees to come to our country over the course of such number of years as may be necessary to enable them to establish themselves soundly and permanently as useful and self-supporting citizens of the Dominican Republic. Practical progress along these lines has only recently become possible, following the creation of the Inter-Governmental Committee, and the steps which have been taken by the nations of the world which have participated in that movement. Following our announcement to Mr. Taylor, surveys as to economic, agricultural and other opportunities in the Dominican Republic have been made at the instance of the President's Advisory Committee on Political

Refugees and upon the completion of the surveys and the favorable reports which were made as to settlement possibilities in our country, we have entered into conversations with your colleagues and yourself which have led to a definite proposal from you and them making possible the beginning of the work of settlement as soon as all preliminary arrangements can be completed.

On Tuesday last, October 17th, President Roosevelt, in welcoming Lord Winterton, Chairman of the Inter-governmental Committee, and his colleagues, stated that "active steps have been taken to begin actual settlement made possible by the generous attitude of the Dominican Government". As you know, this statement has reference to the matters which have for some time been under discussion.

It need hardly be said that our government is deeply appreciative of President Roosevelt's statement. We wish, however, to make it clear that the government of the Dominican Republic is not actuated only by humanitarian impulses, but by a realization that just as the United States has been built into a great nation through emigration of hardy and useful settlers and pioneers, so we in our country also recognize the need and desirability of having such pioneer refugees settle and take part in the constructive progress of our country, which has been rapid and sound during the last decade. In our various conversations with Mr. George L.

Warren, Executive Secretary of President Roosevelt's Advisory Committee on Political Refugees, yourself and your colleagues, we have all agreed that it is essential that such a settlement program should begin on a moderate scale and that it requires careful selection of the right kind of human material. Through the action of your colleagues and yourself, sufficient funds have now been allocated to make possible a beginning of this important project at an early date. Hence, it is appropriate that you should now have the following statement of the position of the Dominican Government which I have the honor to represent.

1.- Following the preliminary surveys made by the experts sent to my country by the President's Advisory Committee, my government invites further visits in order that fully detailed plans may be worked out with the utmost promptness.

2.- With the aid of the President's Advisory Committee and in cooperation with your colleagues and yourself, we propose that steps shall be taken overseas for the selection of a first unit of approximately five hundred refugee families, Jewish and non-Jewish. These refugee families are to be selected for their fitness in this pioneering work upon the soil which they will principally engage in, and also for their fitness in industry and production as well as in the necessary professional technical and skilled supplementation required for a balanced economy. In the discussions which

we have all had, there has been unanimity as to the wisdom of making a modest beginning with about five hundred families so as to avoid the pitfalls and dangers of initiating too large an undertaking at the outset.

3.- Through appropriate legislation, I am satisfied that my government will take such steps as to give adequate assurances that such settlers shall enjoy full civic, economic and religious rights, the same as are accorded to all citizens of my country; that they shall have the right after a reasonably brief period, say of two years, to acquire their naturalization in accordance with our laws. I beg to assure you that our government, which is keenly desirous of making this undertaking a milestone in the difficult refugee problems which confront the world, will take all appropriate steps to see to it that there shall be no discrimination against such settlers but that they shall be given an honorable, just and equal opportunity so that they may pursue their occupations and life free of molestation and persecution, and that our government will take appropriate steps to carry out such purposes. In conformity with these general statements, our government will be prepared to take steps so that settlers may be permitted to import, duty free, not for sale, but for their use on the soil, such tools, equipment, materials, etc. as may be needed to establish them as economically self-supporting.

4.- As a result of the discussions with you, and according to information received from you and your colleagues, it is contemplated that at an early date a corporation will be formed by your colleagues and yourself which shall at the outset receive a sufficient amount of paid-in capital as agreed upon, to initiate the undertaking along the lines above described. Such corporation will be permitted to maintain an office, and its representative, experts and others will be accorded full rights to fully conduct this enterprise within my country. Such corporation, as all other humanitarian enterprises in my country as well as the enterprises for agricultural colonization under the control of the Department of Agriculture, will be exempted from any taxes. We shall be glad, provided the State Department of your country agrees, to give its official representatives such diplomatic or quasi-diplomatic privileges as may seem advisable. It is to be understood that the corporation shall pay or provide all the expenses for the transportation of the proposed settlers, their landing and their care on arrival in my country. We recognize that temporary housing may have to be provided for such settlers. To that end, my government will allocate an adequate piece of land for the free use of the settlers for an initial, reasonable period of time until they shall find their permanent homes. We shall facilitate in every way the efforts of the corporation

to be formed, in the selection and erection of such suitable housing, which can be accomplished by use of material, largely if not entirely existent within my country. My government will also cooperate with the corporation for suitable employment of the settlers in agricultural work, road building and other similar activities, it being expected, however, that the bulk of these first settlers will engage in farming or in related enterprises. My government will also facilitate and aid in the transportation of the refugees to my country and in their reception and care upon their arrival, and in securing appropriate legislation to expedite the carrying forward of the project herein discussed by appropriate statutes as to emigration, labor and other laws assuring full civil and economic rights and safeguards. My government will also take appropriate steps to aid in the selection of suitable lands for agricultural purposes and for the acquisition of such lands by the corporation, either through lease or purchase at fair terms for the benefit of the settlers; and also the government will further be ready to enter into discussion with the corporation looking toward the giving of options to the corporation for larger adjacent suitable agricultural lands for later and greater settlement which is contemplated.

The question of unmarried young men and girls who are to come with this first group has been given much thought by

my government, and I am happy to say that I have been able to make satisfactory arrangements for them. It is my understanding that the corporation to be formed will bring a small number of such young people to my country, and will construct a suitable dormitory, school house and agricultural training grounds for their care, upkeep and education.

Through the intense, humanitarian, benevolent interest of a Dominican patriot, I am confident that arrangements will be made for financing the care of these young people for a period of two years so that they will be able to receive instruction in the religions in which they were born, as well as secular education which will fit them for citizenship in the Dominican Republic, and it is confidently hoped that the future will prove that they will turn out to be valuable acquisitions to our future national life.

The corporation to be formed shall have by appropriate act of our government the right to purchase, lease, acquire or dispose of tracts of land, initiate industries, etc., provided such activities shall be in line with the general governmental policies of my country. We shall encourage the corporation to aid the establishment and development of industries; particularly at the outset, handcraft industries for the settlers.

The corporation is to have the right at its own expense to maintain an adequate, competent technical staff for the

guidance of the settlers.

The selection of the settlers shall be recommended by the corporation but subject to the approval of my government. The corporation is to make every effort to use in the development of its projects all material, equipment and manpower which may be available in my country and which shall be appropriate for its purposes. The corporation is to have the right to equip and maintain receiving and training camps for the settlers. Should the corporation acquire lands or properties, it shall have the right to lease, sell, sublease or otherwise cede any or all of such properties to the settlers on terms to be arranged between the corporation and the settlers. My government will, at all times, assist the corporation in the selection of all necessary tracts of land on fair and advantageous terms. The government will permit the settlers to form purchase, sale or credit group cooperatives along such lines as may not be inconsistent with our general governmental policies. The education facilities, both in school and university in my government, shall be available to the settlers on the same conditions as those which apply to all citizens of my country. The settlers shall have full right to the protection of our courts and of the other branches of my government, as have all other citizens of my country.

Based upon this letter, my government is prepared to

enter into a definite agreement with the corporation about to be formed. I understand that you will wish to submit any such proposed agreement to the President's Advisory Committee, to Mr. Myron C. Taylor and to the State Department of the United States for approval. This will be entirely satisfactory to the Dominican Government.

I close with the following statement:

If, with God's blessing, this initial undertaking, modest though it may be, can succeed, I trust that my country may have contributed, in collaboration with yours, to the solution of grave world problems by blazing a path, founded not merely on humanitarian principles, but on renewed recognition of the well established fact that the right kind of human material, given a fair opportunity, can and will become important elements in the upbuilding of countries of immigration. In his notable address on October 17th, President Roosevelt referred to the vast refugee problems which are daily being aggravated and increased by the exigencies of war and persecution; and to the vast numbers of human beings whose roots have literally been torn up. He pointed out that there are today, many vacant spaces on the earth's surface where, from the point of view of climate and resources, European settlers can live permanently. I trust that my country can do its share in pointing the way toward a wise, just and humane solution of these vast problems, so closely related to world peace. This

my country offers wholeheartedly to do. All the more important will it become that we proceed gradually, seeing to it, step by step, that healthy and sound progress shall be made.

With these thoughts in mind, I am glad that there has been full agreement in the conferences which have led to this letter on the point that the beginning must be on a modest scale. Later steps will depend on many considerations. I emphasize this point, about which we are in full agreement, because we realize that as soon as the work begins and shows progress, there are apt to be early and pressing appeals from unfortunate refugees for the further opening of our doors; appeals to which we shall not wish to be deaf, but which we can meet only in due time.

No other arrangements for settlement purposes will be made by my government excepting after conferences and consultations with officials of your organization.

Trusting that this effort which follows the noble initiative of the President of your country may meet with success, I am

Yours very sincerely,

(Signed)

A. PASTORIZA,
Andres Pastoriza,
E.E. and Minister Plenipotentiary.

Mr. Taylor: I think, Mr. Chairman, if I may say so, some special recognition should be given to Mr. McDonald and Mr.

Warren, and the private organizations who have financed and who have carried on this very important study with respect to Dominica. The names of the members of the Commission,- and the one who supervised its organization is Dr. Bowman,- should form a part of our record. Those names can be supplied hereafter, if you approve of my suggestion.

Lord Winterton: Should we place it in the record in form something like this, that the Conference hears the suggestion with great satisfaction, and then proceed to mention the names of those gentlemen who contributed to the success of the plan? If that is agreed to, then we will suggest that our Technical Committee, or our experts, draft the actual terms of the reference.

Sir Herbert has suggested to me privately that in that reference in our record we might also mention the Dominican Government.

Mr. Taylor: And General Trujilio.

Lord Winterton: I have the following statement to make in regard to the report of the Technical Committee:

The Technical Committee appointed by the officers of the Intergovernmental Committee for the purpose of preparing a draft communique to be issued after the fourth meeting of the officers scheduled to take place on October 26, 1939, respectfully submits the following text:

Communique

"The officers of the Intergovernmental Committee, at their fourth meeting at Washington, on October 26, 1939, recognized that there was an urgent need for further openings for the permanent settlement of refugees included within the present mandate of the Committee, and further recognized that, as the President of the United States of America pointed out in his inspiring statement of October 17, the problem of involuntary migration might be greatly increased. They considered it necessary that surveys should continue of all possible openings for the permanent settlement of involuntary migrants in various parts of the world, special regards being paid to the scope for the development of natural resources by engineering, irrigation, and similar schemes. While such surveys would have reference to the existing mandate of the Intergovernmental Committee, the meeting observed that the collection of material of this character would be of general value in contributing towards the solution of the refugee problem in its wider aspects, and would be of particular value to the Committee should it at any future time wish to increase the categories of involuntary migrants within its mandate.

"The meeting considered that the results of all surveys made either under the aegis of the Coordinating Foundation or by private organizations should be communicated to the

Director, and, at his discretion, to the participating governments."

Gentlemen, Your Excellencies, that proposed communique has been communicated privately to the heads of all delegations, and I take it we are in agreement that it should be adopted.

That then disposes of point 6 of the agenda.

We welcome here this afternoon Mr. Van Zeeland, who was prevented by untoward events in the Atlantic from getting here the other day, and I would invite Mr. Van Zeeland, if he will, to address the Conference.

(Applause.)

Mr. Paul Van Zeeland: Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen: There are many aspects of the refugee problem that are so familiar to you that it would be extremely difficult for a newcomer like myself to add any light to the problem. The matter, as I have seen it, has been fully covered and explained, and the situation fully reviewed in the notes which have been submitted to the Committee. It has been brought out in these notes that real and considerable achievements have already been realized in helping refugees to find new homes, and from a careful reading of the proceedings of your meeting of last week I have gathered the impression that your Conference has been able to effectuate a very good "mise au point" of the problem.

In spite of all that, I let myself be convinced that it would not be useless if I would sum up before you several of the reflections and temporary conclusions which I have been forming after the many contacts I have had on this question in the last period. Of course I will say nothing new, and you will probably think that I am repeating things that you know better than I do, but it seemed to me that it would be useful, in spite of that, for me to come before you and express the views that I have formed in a private capacity.

It appears to me that the problem is to be approached basically as a non-sectarian, non-racial, and non-discriminatory problem, and that the solution to be devised shall be open in the future as in the past to all refugees, irrespective of the cause of their migration.

The war, as has been so duly exposed to you, has brought many changes in the problem. The changes are such that nobody could, safely or accurately, forecast what will happen to this problem at the end of the war; but it seems to me that we can safely accept two views: one of immediate character, and another of long-range theoretical character.

First, that the problem is going on and that the search for a solution must be continued and pushed as strongly and as quickly as possible, and in this connection it becomes, besides your activity, the activity of the private organization and of the Coordinating Foundation.

Secondly, there is a fact that should not be overlooked, and which is, to a certain extent, new. It is that, on the one hand, the world has become legally occupied, and, on the other hand, that migrations of some kind, either purely voluntary, or under social pressure, or again under economic pressure, not to mention the political pressure, are a constant fact in history, and are probably a necessary element for the maintenance of a social and economic equilibrium in the world. If that is so, the necessity of devising ways and means for an orderly kind of migration is due to retain the attention of the leaders.

When it comes to the actual problem of refugees I maintain that it presents two different aspects which are, of course, closely related and which react upon one another, but which should be clearly distinguished. The first is the problem of upkeep, maintenance, and relief of the refugees in the way of migration, and the other is the definite settlement of the refugees in new, permanent conditions of life.

Of course the necessity of keeping alive the refugees in migration until they are definitely established cannot be disputed in any way, but let us not forget for a moment that if a constructive scheme for a new, permanent settlement on a certain scale would receive an actual beginning of execution, the prospects opened by it would react so as to facilitate the actual solution of many questions concerning the relief

and the transitory asylum of the refugees.

Not being mandated to speak for my country here, I will just say, in passing, that it covers the question which you have, in my opinion, very clearly covered, I mean the special situation of the small neutral countries in Europe such as Holland, Switzerland, Sweden, and Belgium, where so many temporary refugees are waiting for a definite solution of their difficulties.

So we come to the necessity of expediting the definitive settlement of the refugees. The pressure is such that no method whatsoever, small or large, quick or slow, for obtaining that purpose could, in my opinion, be neglected or set aside.

All methods to settle people definitely somewhere should have recourse to, concurrently, I will mention first, infiltration and the use of every possible opportunity for individual settlement in old or new countries in Europe or elsewhere, in the United States or in Palestine, in the neutral countries or Europe or in the newer countries of South America. All administrative facilities should be continued as they have been in the past, sought for, and extended as far as possible. But I think we may recognize the fact that even all that would not be sufficient, and that finally all possibilities for the establishment of new settlements anywhere in the world on any scale, big or small

should be examined and studied and promoted as quickly as possible.

This method of new settlements commends itself for many reasons in addition to the one that has just been invoked. Its use will facilitate and enlarge continuation of infiltration in countries where otherwise fears of saturation might arise more quickly. It will facilitate also the continuation of the liberal attitude of the countries of temporary asylum. But above all, - if I may here just touch an aspect which, in my eyes, is very important, above all, new settlements, if successful, and if made in accordance with sound economic principles, might, at a certain stage, be considered as one of the many elements which will be required at a certain time in order to reorganize again on a sounder basis the economic life of the world.

But of course the establishment of new settlers on any scale in any country must, to be successful, reflect a series of rules and principles arising out of numerous past experiences, be these experiences successful or unsuccessful.

It seems to me that good ideas might be found in the study of the relative or excellent successes achieved in several circumstances by the formulae of more or less autonomous territories.

The possibility of creating, for definite economic purposes, privileged international companies has already been

emphasized in several international meetings or conferences. The possibilities inherent in such privileged companies, so far as refugee settlements are concerned, should, in my opinion, be carefully examined and eventually utilized.

From modern developments in the technique of production, it seems to me that in the beginning new settlements should be established, not exclusively but principally upon agriculture on a subsistence basis. Immediately after that, at a very early date, small industries, especially related either to the immediate needs of the community and/or the use of agricultural products should be and could be envisaged. It should not be forgotten that the new methods of transportation for man and for power render possible the establishment of semi-urban agglomerations which can be made consistent with semi-agricultural life, under certain conditions of climate and soil.

But immediately comes to your mind the question of financing. If I have insisted so much upon the necessity of distinguishing between the two aspects of the problem, of relief and maintenance on the one hand, and permanent settlement on the other, it is because this distinction applies, in my opinion, duly to conclusions as far as financing is concerned.

In the first case, obviously, it is charity which must come to the top and the money must be brought in by strong

appeals to humanitarian and charitable purposes.

On the contrary, the question of permanent settlement should be considered, treated, and solved, at least to a very large extent, on an economic basis. I know some of the difficulties of such a proposal. I know that this opinion does not meet with unqualified approval; but it seems to me that it is both in the moral and material interests of the refugees as a whole that the approach to this part of the problem should be made, as far as possible, on an economic basis. This brings with it many conclusions. First, it means that the sums put at the disposal of the refugees for permanent settlement will not be given but loaned to them -- and here comes the very important problem of interest or no interest. On the other hand, it means that the formulae to be adopted for raising the money should be based upon the investment idea, at least to a limited or definite extent. There are precedents in history, but they do not apply exactly to our circumstances. So new formulae should be evolved. It would take some imagination and also especially the collaboration of prominent people in business life, but from the studies already made I have gathered the definite impression that most of the objections usually made against the approach of that problem could relatively easily and practically be met. It is not the time nor the place to go into any details, but from what I have heard and studied I would be very

surprised if satisfactory formulae could not be devised by practical business men.

Now the most important point is that rapidly a beginning of concrete realization is reached. It would not matter, in my opinion, if this beginning were very small, provided the direction chosen and the concept of the scheme are such that it might duly expand in accordance with circumstances, necessities and possibilities.

I have been very gratified in learning of the progress that has been made in some of the schemes under review: the Dominican Republic scheme in particular, and the Philippine scheme, but, generally speaking, it seems to me that to hasten practical achievements a few requirements should be desirable.

First, that a certain unity of action, or at least some centralization, in some form of the many private efforts that are being made, and sometimes so successfully made, should be obtained. Of course it lies in the scope of effort of the Coordinating Foundation.

Second, it seems to me that it should be necessary to the greatest possible extent, to utilize all the competencies which have in the past, even in the remote past, or in the last circumstances, affirmed or reaffirmed themselves in any way, so as to get together all the good will possible.

And finally, I think it will surprise nobody if I insist upon the desirability, and I should say the necessity, of the

leadership in these circumstances of the United States of America. The generous and successful initiatives taken by President Roosevelt in this matter; the fact that the war is requiring the best energies of all citizens in the big countries in Europe; the thought also that in all large humanitarian and economic problems the United States people have always taken the most important share, all these things point clearly, as I said, to the desirability and maybe the necessity of the United States taking not only the actual burden but also the eventual reward, either moral or material, of such a magnificent enterprise.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, the Coordinating Foundation, of which I have accepted temporarily to direct the efforts, has, it seems to me, under the circumstances, as one of its primary duties, to help studying, centralizing, and realizing settlements of refugees in new places. The Foundation will have especially to find out whether and how the capital necessary to carry out such a huge enterprise can be raised. We have come to a point which might well prove to be a true crossroads. The few contacts I have had since my arrival here do not allow me to express any forecast as to the immediate possibility, but at least they have left me with a definite impression that there is here a will to come to broad achievements, and this seems to me enough to justify new and greater hopes, because,- and this will close these

few remarks,- I am fully convinced that, according to the proverb, "Where there is a will there is a way."

(Applause.)

Lord Winterton: Gentlemen, I should like to say on behalf of all of us, how fortunate we are to have associated, through his connection with the Foundation as President, so eminent a person as Mr. Van Zeeland.

Mr. Taylor: Mr. Chairman, I should like to associate our Government with the Chairman's observation in respect to Mr. Van Zeeland. I think that, in the character of our organization, representing as we do, as I constantly repeat, thirty-two governments in the present world unrest, with the cooperation of the Foundation which must represent a great body of opinion, not only opinion but the willingness or the ability to lend actual service to this cause, that we are vigilant and active, and contribute in a real way to the solution of the problems which are bound to arise in the very near future. So I hope, Mr. Chairman, that the full power and authority of the Intergovernmental Committee will be invoked under all circumstances in which they can be of use and service, because I believe that this question is one segment, one very important segment, in the unrest of the world of today.

Lord Winterton: Does any other delegate wish to speak

on Mr. van Zeeland's statement?

(No response.)

Lord Winterton: Then we will pass to the next business, which is the designation of a Secretary of the Committee.

When the Intergovernmental Conference took place we were fortunate in having, as our Secretary at that Conference, M. Jean Paul-Boncour of the French Foreign Office, and I might mention at the private dinner which was given to Mr. Taylor the other night I expressed my appreciation of M. Paul-Boncour's work. When that committee was constituted as a permanent body, following the Conference, Mr. Roger Makins of the Foreign Office was designated Secretary, and he also did most valuable work for the committee. About Christmas of last year, owing to his removal to another department of the Foreign Office, of our Foreign Office, it was no longer possible for him to continue as Secretary, and consequently Mr. Reilly of the British Foreign Office was appointed Secretary, and he in turn had to resign the secretaryship at the outbreak of the present war, because his service is required in another department of the government in our country, and Mr. Warr of the British Foreign Office was appointed as acting secretary. It was, however, represented to us, through the United States Embassy in London to the Foreign Office, that it would be probably convenient, for the purpose of this Conference if Mr. Morris took Mr. Warr's

place as acting secretary.

Now the Secretary of the Committee is designated by the Chairman under our constitution after consultation with and agreement by two of the Vice-Chairmen, and although this Conference has no executive authority, which is vested in the whole Committee, it would seem to me to be a convenient occasion for designating a permanent Secretary instead of the acting secretary which we have at present. After consultation with and the approval of my colleagues of this Conference, the French Ambassador, and Mr. Myron Taylor, I designate Mr. Morris as the Secretary of our Committee. Mr. Morris has the advantage, which few of us around this table possess, with one or two exceptions, of being a young man who is already much interested in the work of the Committee, and I am sure he will fill this post which has been so admirably filled in the past, with equal facility and felicity. I have pleasure in designating Mr. Morris as Secretary.

(Applause.)

Lord Winterton: The next business is important also, and that is the designation of a Vice-Director to replace Mr. Joseph Harsh, resigned. Mr. Harsh was appointed Vice-Director for a term only. He gave valuable assistance to the Director in London, as Sir Herbert will tell you in a moment. He came originally on the understanding that his

services would be only required for a comparatively limited period, as he has other work to do. In fact we were allowed to make use of his services owing to permission given to him by a great newspaper which employs him, to leave the work of that newspaper for a short time in order to assist this Committee. The post is, therefore, at present vacant. I will ask Sir Herbert Emerson, if he will, to make some remarks on this matter.

Sir Herbert Emerson: I should like to associate myself with the remarks made by the Chairman regarding the services rendered by Mr. Harsch during the time he was Vice-Director. We had hoped to retain his services until April of next year, but it was a condition of the terms imposed by the newspaper, on which he is permanently employed, that if war broke out he should return to his post. When war began he had to leave the Committee, and I believe he is now busy reporting the events of the war.

I think it is very necessary to have a Vice-Director who will generally assist the Director and in his absence will be responsible for the executive action of the Committee. The suggestion has been made that in making that appointment it would be of value if someone was selected who was a national of one of the neutral countries of Europe, and I think myself, especially in view of the importance attaching to economic

investigations and inquiries, that in looking for such a man we should attempt to find one who had had practical training as an economist, and, if possible, some technical experience. At the moment I do not think we have anyone particularly in mind whom I could recommend to the Chairman for appointment, but if the suggestion commends itself to the officer I would, in looking for a suitable candidate bear these qualifications in mind and make corresponding recommendations to the Chairman.

Mr. Taylor: Mr. Chairman, I hope, in making the selection, you will not be governed by any consideration of economy, and I hope that you will select the most outstanding person that is available, because the service that he can render to Sir Herbert, to you, and to this Committee, is almost beyond imagination.

Lord Winterton: Speaking for myself, I should like to say that I personally would like to see some such appointment as the kind Sir Herbert suggested be made. I think it would be of great value, for many reasons, if we could have a national of one of the countries which he mentioned appointed.

The next business is the financial position of the Committee. I invite our Director to report certain facts in connection therewith.

Sir Herbert Emerson: There is very little to report since the full meeting of the Committee took place in the middle of July last. Certain arrears have been collected.

Canada has paid her arrears in full. A contribution has been received from the French Government and another also from Mexico. The expenses have been normal, and at the end of August, when the last balance sheet was returned by the bank, the Committee was in funds approximately to the sum of £2,400.

At the outbreak of war the expenditure was cut down to the minimum possible. The office of the Vice-Director remained temporarily in abeyance. Several of the employees were given notice that their services would no longer be required, and owing to the uncertainty about office conditions in London, and owing to the kindness of the Office of Works, we were able to get rid of the liability we then had for considerable office rent. It will be necessary to take some office accommodation in London, but on a smaller scale than previously, but at the moment, and taking into account the contribution which the Government of the United States makes, I do not think there is any anxiety for the future, for the immediate future at any rate, as the Committee is in sufficient funds to carry on without difficulty, at any rate for the next year.

Lord Winterton: Now, Your Excellencies, that concludes our business, unless any delegate has any other matter which he wishes to bring up. If not, I should like, as Chairman of the Conference, to ask my colleagues to pay some tribute, first,

to the President of the United States for his action in calling this Conference; secondly, to the State Department for all the arrangements that they have made for our comfort and convenience, and for their very material assistance towards what has been, I think, a useful and fruitful Conference.

I should like to say to their excellencies, the delegates, that it has been both an honor and pleasure to me to preside over our deliberations. Some of us have met in connection with the business of this Committee constantly in different places. We have sat around tables during our discussions in Evian, on several occasions in London, and now in the State Department; and others have been at the Conference in connection with the Committee for the first time. Some of us who have met here for the first time have had connections at other places. Perhaps I might mention the interesting fact that the French Ambassador, during the last war, visited a portion of the line in the battle on the plains of Gaza, visited a company in a battalion of which I was second in command, and spoke to a brother officer of mine who was killed shortly afterward, who had been a very great friend of mine and who was second in command of that particular company when I commanded it -- a rather interesting fact.

Well, I would like to say, in conclusion, that I hope we may all be associated in the future in this or some other work of value to humanity at large, because I think

we can say without conceit that all the nations represented around this table have made and can make a great contribution to that end.

Count de Saint-Quentin: I want to second the Chairman's remarks in expressing thanks to the President of the United States who once more takes leadership in a great and generous international cause that is so useful to our world and our civilization.

I also want to express my thanks to the State Department. The State Department, on every occasion, is very helpful and obliging, and now they have given us once more proof of it.

I want to thank Lord Winterton for his kind words in his reference to me, and for his recollections in regard to our previous meeting. It is true that I was near Gaza at the same time that he was there, and one of the great problems that confronted us was the Palestine refugee problem.

I remember the fact that I saw the second of the line where he was in command, and once more, on that day, I received a very hearty welcome from his second in command, and I also thank him for the cup of chocolate. It was very welcome, because it was very chilly in the plains of Gaza.

Mr. Taylor: Mr. Chairman, I wish on behalf of your host, the Government of the United States and President Roosevelt, to thank you and the other delegates who are assembled here in respect to this very important question,

and I thank you for the interest you have taken and the skill that you have shown in the conduct of these proceedings.

Lord Winterton: We are much obliged to hear your very kind words, and for myself I feel, and I am sure Sir Herbert does, that our journey, possibly a somewhat hazardous journey across the Atlantic, was fully justified by the importance of the matters we have discussed here, and especially by the contacts which our eminent directors have been able to make with so many of the individuals and associations in this country in connection with the refugee problem.

If there is nothing further the Conference will adjourn.

(Whereupon, at the hour of 4 o'clock p.m., the Conference adjourned.)