

Folter 1

SECTION 1

THE WHITE HOUSE
Washington

November 23 1938

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

My dear Mr. Taylor,

The recent wave of extreme persecution which has swept Germany and which is continuing in many of its aspects has greatly increased both the difficulty of providing refuge and settlement for the unfortunate victims and the urgency for concrete action to meet the problem.

The Intergovernmental Committee on Political Refugees which your devoted and effective efforts created at Evian and launched at London has not yet produced the concrete results I had hoped. This has been due to forces and circumstances beyond the control of any of us, but I feel that the time has come when a special effort must be made to make the Committee's work really effective. We must produce them soon.

I have accordingly asked you to go again to London, as the representative of this Government and as my personal representative, to resume active leadership in this vital work and to undertake such negotiations as may be necessary to do so. I wish at this time to give you my views with regard to the future work of the Committee.

One. It is not yet clear whether the German Government will cooperate in any way toward a solution of the problem. There are nevertheless increasing indications that the German Government will either refuse to discuss the problem with representatives of the Committee or else will consent only to arrangements which would be unacceptable to this Government and to the other Governments represented on the Committee. In any event it seems improbable that the German Government will make any contribution which would be of substantial assistance in meeting the problem. Nevertheless, as long as there is any possibility whatever that the German Government may relax its persecution sufficiently to permit orderly emigration or may permit emigrants to withdraw from Germany a portion of their assets, no action should be taken which would reduce the possibility of obtaining such cooperation. I still consider it highly important for Mr. Rublee, as Director, to visit Berlin if this can be arranged; should

DECLASSIFIED
By Deputy Assistant Secretary of the U.S.
By W. J. Stewart Date JAN 15 1973

this not be possible and should the German authorities suggest a meeting of experts on neutral territory, the opportunity should not be lost. Beyond this, the situation has not clarified to a point where it is possible to give you instructions; you are, however, authorized, in your discretion, to discuss the general problem, directly or indirectly, with any official German contacts you may make either in Great Britain or on neutral territory. For the present, at least, it is not considered advisable for you to go to Germany.

Two. If the German Government will not cooperate, the work of the Committee must not only be continued but must be intensified to solve the problem without such cooperation. To this end the facts should be made a matter of record when all reasonable hope of effective cooperation with Germany has been abandoned. This should be done in a manner which will emphasize to Governments and individuals outside of Germany the fact that the refusal of Germany to cooperate makes it the more imperative that they accept their share of responsibility for meeting the problem without German aid. It should also be done with restraint in order that there may be no risk of unfortunate repercussions on persons within Germany.

Three. The most urgent aspect of the problem is obviously the finding of substantial opportunities for settlement. It is in this field that concrete results are most urgently necessary. There are many parts of the world which could accept substantial numbers of these people without injury to their economic or demographic organisms. It is rather to be anticipated that absorption of the special skills, intellect and energy of these people, especially if they bring with them a reasonable, if limited, amount of new capital, would be of definite benefit to the receiving countries through the development of new fields of activity. It is essential to create the proper spirit in the countries of potential settlement and to lead them to see this problem as one which is humanitarian in its urgency but from which they can draw ultimate practical benefit. Every effort should be made to develop this concept of the problem. Once it is created the development of concrete opportunities for settlement should be a comparatively minor problem.

(a) This Government is already accepting involuntary emigrants to the fullest extent permitted by law. I do not believe it either desirable or practicable to recommend any change in the quota provisions of our immigration laws. We

are prepared, nevertheless, to make any other contribution which may be in our power to make. You are authorized to make a public statement that this Government can, under its existing law, accept annually 27,370 persons from Germany. This does not include certain members of the learned professions whose admission is not subject to numerical limitation. While this Government is thus apparently doing as much, if not more, toward a solution of the problem than any other Government, you may add that it is nevertheless continuing to study actively any other possible means by which it might be able to contribute further toward a solution.

(b) The location of the Committee is advantageous for detailed negotiations with the Governments of Great Britain and the Dominions and with the other European Governments represented on the Committee. Every effort should be made to induce all of these Governments to make the maximum possible commitments with respect to the admission of involuntary emigrants and to commence immediately the execution of these commitments. With regard to negotiations with Governments in this hemisphere, while the role of the Committee is equally important, this Government will gladly supplement its appeals by direct diplomatic approaches to the Governments concerned.

(c) It is realized that many countries are prepared to admit larger numbers of involuntary emigrants than they are willing publicly to admit. The commitments to be sought at the forthcoming meeting should accordingly be of two kinds: public and confidential. The public statements, which should be specific, will be of value not only in providing actual opportunities for settlement but also in inducing other countries to make similar commitments. The confidential commitments should concern each Government's contribution over and above what it is prepared publicly to announce. It goes without saying that both types of commitments should be the maximum possible of attainment.

Four. It is contemplated that the European Members of the Committee, except for those having overseas possessions, can make their principal contribution through granting temporary refuge to involuntary emigrants and through the establishment of facilities for retraining them, particularly in agriculture. The French, Danish, Swiss and Netherlands Governments have already shown a liberal spirit in this field and efforts should be made to induce them to expand their efforts and to induce the other European Members to provide similar facilities. In view of the emphasis which practically all overseas countries place upon their desire to receive agriculturists, the provision of

facilities for real training in this field should be stressed. It is believed that Jewish, Catholic and Protestant charitable organizations in the countries concerned can be counted upon to make substantial financial contributions toward the carrying out of this work.

Five. Active consideration should be given at the forthcoming meeting to arrangements for financing the establishment of involuntary emigrants in such territories as may be available for their settlement. It is believed that, once opportunities for settlement are provided, financial resources for the establishment of large numbers of involuntary emigrants can be found. It is realized that much of the burden of this financing will fall upon private individuals and organizations in the United States and England. While consideration should be given to all practicable measures for financing such settlement, including even a recommendation for governmental appropriations coupled with the execution of a concrete plan, it is suggested that the possibility of floating an international loan for this purpose be not overlooked. Consideration might also be given to the creation of a refugee settlement corporation in conjunction with the Intergovernmental Committee to administer such funds as may be raised.

I know that it is unnecessary to emphasize to you the importance which I attach to the Intergovernmental Committee continuing in existence until the problem of political refugees from Germany is substantially solved. It has had to face many discouragements and it will presumably have to face more. Whatever these discouragements may be, whether from the German Government or from the countries of settlement, I know that they will but increase your determination to carry on this work to a successful conclusion.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

MAY 1938

Returned with thanks to the
Ambassador. The attached pamph-

CLARENCE K. STREIT

let on population may interest
him. If so, he can keep it for I
can get another in Geneva from the
author. It is just out. C.S.

The New York Times



REPORT OF THE
OVERSEA SETTLEMENT
BOARD
May 1938

*Presented by the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs to
Parliament by Command of His Majesty
June 1938*

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REPORT OF THE OVERSEA SETTLEMENT BOARD,
MAY, 1938.

The Oversea Settlement Board was appointed in February, 1936, "to consider and advise the Secretary of State upon specific proposals for schemes of migration within the Empire and upon any matter relating to oversea settlement which may be referred to it by him". An Interim Report, for the period February-July, 1936, was published in November, 1936, (Cmd. 5314).

For the greater part of the period during which the present Report has been under preparation the Board has been constituted as follows:—

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON, M.P.* (*Chairman*).

MR. E. G. MACTIG, C.M.G., O.B.E.

MR. A. P. WATERFIELD, C. B.†

MR. E. T. CRUTCHLEY, C. B., C.M.G., C.B.E.

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MR. C. R. PRICE,

MR. W. J. GARNETT, M.B.E. } *Joint Secretaries.*§

* Succeeded to the title of Duke of Devonshire in May, 1938.

† Relinquished his membership of the Board in April, 1938, on taking up his duties as a member of the Palestine Partition Commission and was succeeded by Mr. E. Hale.

‡ Became a member of the Board on the 1st September, 1937, in succession to Brigadier-General J. J. H. Nation, C.V.O., D.S.O., one of the original members of the Board, whose term of appointment expired on the 31st August, 1937.

§ Mr. G. F. Plant, C.B.E., the first Secretary of the Board, relinquished his appointment in November, 1937, on retirement from the Public Service.

The staff required for the work of the Board is supplied by the Dominions Office, and provision for their salaries and for incidental expenses is included in the Vote for the Dominions Office [Class II, 4]. The cost of printing and publishing this Report is estimated by His Majesty's Stationery Office at £38 15s.

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To the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs.

INTRODUCTION.

1. On the 27th July, 1936, we had the honour to submit an Interim Report (Cmd. 5314) giving our views on the renewal of the Empire Settlement Act, 1922.

2. We are glad to know that these views were generally acceptable to the Government and that legislation has since been passed through Parliament which is substantially in accordance with the recommendations which we made.

3. In our Interim Report we stated that the advice which we were then tendering was based upon a preliminary review of the situation. We have since been able to give closer consideration to the problem, and in doing so we have taken full advantage of the work and experience of those who have preceded us in the administration and study of Empire migration and settlement. A very large amount of practical experience in dealing with schemes of State-aided migration has been acquired both by the Government Departments and by the Voluntary Organizations concerned with assisted migration under the provisions of the Act of 1922, and the results of this experience have been freely placed at our disposal. Since the United Kingdom Government embarked in 1922 upon State-aided migration, much thought has been devoted, both in official and unofficial quarters, to the questions of policy and administration involved, and within the past few years two valuable contributions have been made to the study of these questions, namely, the Report of the Economic Advisory Council Committee on Empire Migration (Cmd. 4075) and the Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Migration Policy (Cmd. 4689). In addition to examining this material, we have heard further evidence from individuals and bodies interested in migration, and we feel that we are now in a position to submit to you in the form of a further Report our considered views on the more general aspects of migration between the United Kingdom and the Dominions of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the Union of South Africa, with which we are primarily concerned. It is our hope that this Report will not only be of assistance to the United Kingdom Government, but that it will also serve to promote the full resumption of the policy of assisted migration embodied in the Empire Settlement Acts, 1922-37.

4. In the third paragraph of our Interim Report we said that we were encouraged to think that the improvement of economic conditions overseas and the evidence that the idea of Empire migration was again being viewed with greater favour in the Dominions pointed to the probability that certain oversea

Governments might be prepared to co-operate before long in schemes for the gradual revival of assisted migration on certain lines. The recent announcement made by the Government of the Commonwealth of Australia regarding the resumption of assisted migration from the United Kingdom to Australia is most encouraging, but, apart from this, the developments which have taken place since our Interim Report was prepared have fallen short of the hopes which we then expressed.

5. The problem before us is how to strengthen the Empire as a whole by means of migration from the United Kingdom to the oversea Dominions.* It is a problem which cannot be solved unless the Empire Governments concerned in it are prepared to take into account not only considerations of internal policy but also their responsibilities in relation to other members of the Commonwealth. The more closely we have studied the problem of migration the more we feel convinced that it cannot be envisaged in its proper proportions in isolation from the graver questions of international politics which now confront statesmen in all countries, and we are confident that, for this reason as well as others, it will continue to receive close consideration from all the Governments concerned.

6. With this in view, we have felt it desirable to devote the greater part of our present report to an endeavour to develop the considerations which in our opinion make the question one of the first importance at the present time, to indicate the general conditions in which migration can take place and the part which can be played by Governments in facilitating a flow of migrants, and to suggest, in the light of our review of the position, what aspects of the problem call for further joint examination by those of His Majesty's Governments which are concerned.

7. We desire to make it clear at the outset that we fully appreciate that State-aided migration is only a part of a wider question and that most of the considerations to which we draw attention in our Report apply generally to migration and not merely to assisted migration. The creation of conditions which will favour a spontaneous movement of population is even more important than the encouragement of migration by direct Government assistance.

* By this term, where used in this Report, we mean Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the Union of South Africa.

CHAPTER I. THE INTERNATIONAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL BACKGROUND.

8. We begin by endeavouring to describe the background of facts and ideas which must be taken into account in considering migration policy.

A.—International Considerations.

9. Throughout the world at the present time a keen interest is being displayed, both within and without the Empire, in the development of the more sparsely populated countries, and the opportunities of settlement therein. A sign of the increasing attention which the subject is attracting is to be found in the fact that certain questions relating to migration came up at the League of Nations Assembly last year and will be discussed at the International Labour Conference in 1938. The ventilation of these questions is the natural consequence of post-war conditions, and more particularly of the restrictions imposed since the war on entry into former countries of immigration and of the resultant pressure of population in certain countries of Europe.

10. We are faced to-day with the juxtaposition of two distinct ideas. On the one hand, there is a tendency in certain countries towards extreme nationalism and economic self-sufficiency, and, on the other, there is a prevalent idea (which exists not only in these countries but in the United Kingdom itself) that there are unlimited vacant areas in the British Empire capable of easy and profitable development.

11. Actually, investigations undertaken in recent years go to show that the possibilities of extending the area of agricultural development in, e.g., Canada and Australia, are much smaller than is generally believed. Indeed, the absorption of additional population in primary industries in the oversea Dominions seems likely to depend rather upon the more intensive cultivation of areas already settled and proved suitable for cultivation. Nevertheless, the figures of density of population lend *prima facie* support to the prevalent belief: and we ourselves have assumed without question as a legitimate hypothesis that each of the oversea Dominions is capable of supporting a population substantially larger than at present.

12. It follows, in our view, from the considerations to which we have referred that the problem of migration and settlement within the Empire must be regarded from a wide international aspect as well as from that of the domestic interests of the British Commonwealth of Nations. It is, from this point of

view, a factor in the whole problem of the preservation of friendly international relations and as such its importance and urgency does not need to be stressed.

B.—Importance of British stocks as a source of increased population in the Dominions.

13. Within a generation the British Empire has undergone a remarkable change in that the Dominions have attained a status of free and equal partnership with the United Kingdom and one another in a British Commonwealth of Nations and have reached a position of importance and influence in world affairs.

14. These developments open up new lines of thought, among which the following seem to us of special importance in relation to the subject of our enquiry:—

(i) The Dominions share with the United Kingdom a parliamentary form of government, wholly British in origin and characteristic of the British peoples, which in a time of violent political upheavals throughout the world has shown itself to possess an inherent stability such as few other forms of government have displayed.

(ii) If, as we believe, the general methods and principles of international policy for which the members of the British Commonwealth stand deserve to exercise a continuing and increasing influence in international relations, it is well that they should be supported by nations which carry weight in the councils of the world because they are populous, prosperous, and united by a common outlook.

(iii) Both in the political and in the economic sphere the peace and prosperity of the world are becoming more and more dependent upon effective consultation and co-operation between nations. The British Commonwealth of Nations has established a new form of constitutional and political relationship which, without prejudice to the individual freedom of the component nations, produces active co-operation between them on matters of common concern. An important element in the success of this form of relationship is a community of ideals and aims, founded, in the main, upon a common origin.

(iv) Trade between the United Kingdom and the overseas Dominions plays a predominant part in the economy of the Dominions, and represents a substantial share of the total trade of the United Kingdom. If this trade is to be fostered and enlarged it is desirable that the ties of kinship between the United Kingdom and the Dominions should be developed and strengthened.

(v) From the point of view of the defence of the people and territories of the various parts of the Commonwealth, the importance of adequate and homogeneous populations in the overseas Dominions is manifest.

15. The above considerations strongly suggest not only the importance of developing the overseas Dominions to the fullest possible extent, but also the desirability of bringing about such development as far as possible by people of British stock. These arguments are re-inforced, in our view, as regards importance and urgency, by the present population trends both in the United Kingdom and in the Dominions which we proceed to discuss in the following paragraphs.

C.—Population Trends.

BIRTH RATE.

16. In respect of the three factors which jointly determine the size and shape of the population, viz., birth, death and migration, the most significant event of modern times is the protracted fall which has occurred in the birth rate. In Great Britain the rate,* which had been maintained at a high level during the years prior to 1876, gradually but steadily fell from 36.3 per thousand of population in that year to a minimum of 14.7 per thousand in 1933. Since then there has been little change, though such as there is has been upward rather than downward. This is the first occasion since the onset of the decline when the rate has been more or less stable for as long a period as five years; but it is impossible to foresee whether the period is an unusually extended halt preceding a further fall or whether it is to prove to be a more significant turning point in the history of the rate. A falling birth rate has been a marked feature not only in most of the countries of Western Europe, but also in the United States of America and in the Dominions. In Australia the birth rate has fallen from about 27 per thousand in 1901-11 to 17.1 per thousand in 1936; and in New Zealand during the same period from about 27 to 16.6 per thousand. The birth rate in 1936 still remains relatively high in Canada at 20 per thousand† and in South Africa at 24.4 per thousand (white population only). These figures gain in importance if they are considered in relation to the "replacement" rate. We are advised that the birth rate equivalent to a full replacement rate‡ in Great Britain

* See graph in Appendix II.

† The comparatively high, although falling, rate of natural increase in Canada is almost entirely due to a high birth-rate in the French province of Quebec, the birth-rate in other Provinces, especially in the case of people of purely United Kingdom stock, tending to follow the general trends which have been noted in the cases of Australia and New Zealand.

‡ By "replacement" rate, we mean in non-technical language the birth-rate which will maintain the population at a constant level.

would be in the neighbourhood of 19½ per thousand at the present time so that the average rate actually experienced during the past five years (1933-7), viz., 15 per thousand, is only about 77 per cent. of the par value. In the case of Australia and New Zealand the corresponding figures appear also to be slightly below parity.

17. Estimates have been made of the future population of Great Britain (on the hypotheses that there is no change in the rate of mortality and that there is no migration), on two alternative fertility bases, viz.:—

(a) that the fertility rate will on average be maintained at the level which obtained in the years 1933-6;

(b) that the rate will fall gradually in the next 20 years to about 70 per cent. of the level assumed in (a) and thereafter remain constant.

It is estimated on basis (a) that the population of Great Britain (excluding persons temporarily abroad—mainly men in the Armed Forces and the Mercantile Marine), which was 45,600,000 in 1935 would reach a maximum of about 46,500,000 in 1950 and by 1970 would have fallen to 44,200,000. On basis (b) it is estimated that the population would reach a maximum by about 1942 and fall to a figure of 39,300,000 by about 1970.

Estimates on somewhat similar lines have been made for both Australia and New Zealand. In the case of both of these countries it has been estimated that on basis (a) the populations would reach their maximum points about 1970, at figures estimated at 7,620,000 and 1,690,000 respectively, as against 6,730,000 and 1,490,000, in 1935. If the decline in the birth-rate should continue, the population would, of course, in each case reach its maximum peak at an earlier date. It will be understood that all these figures are merely forecasts based upon the specified arbitrary hypotheses as to the fertility rate.

DEATH RATE.

18. Concurrently with the fall in the birth-rate in Great Britain there has been a considerable reduction in the death-rate over the past sixty years, the present level being less than half that of the period prior to 1876, when allowance is made for the increased age of the current population.* There is, moreover, little reason to suppose that the decline has necessarily reached its limit and though the influence of mortality upon the future population of the country would not be so enduring as that of fertility, the immediate effect of any further fall in the former would be to delay any ultimate decline in the population—such as that indicated by the forecasts of the preceding paragraph—and at the same time to increase the maximum population

* See graph in Appendix II.

reached before the decline actually set in. Any such increase arising from a decline in the mortality rate would of course tend to consist of persons in the older age groups, and would not therefore materially affect the age groups from which migrants are normally drawn.

MIGRATION.

19. The remaining trend in population is the fall in migration. This fall (see footnote * below and graph in Appendix III) has come later than the fall in the birth-rate, and the period immediately preceding the War was the period of most active migration from the United Kingdom. During the War, migration almost ceased and the inward movement was greater than the outward. When migration was resumed after the War it never reached the levels attained in the years immediately prior to 1914, and from 1931 onwards the inward movement has exceeded the outward movement. Since 1930 more passengers and migrants of British nationality have left than have entered Australia and New Zealand. And this is also true since 1931 of Canada.

20. In this connection we have been furnished with an estimate showing what would be the effect upon the population

* Migrants of British Nationality from the United Kingdom to other parts of the British Empire, 1913-1936.†

Year.	Outward.	Inward.	Net Movement.
1913 ...	285,046	61,525	223,521
1914 ...	138,956	74,497	64,259
1915 ...	42,263	69,048	24,785†
1916 ...	28,036	42,889	14,853†
1917 ...	6,955	8,379	1,424†
1918 ...	8,265	6,072	2,193
1919 ...	115,369	67,018	48,351
1920 ...	198,594	63,877	134,717
1921 ...	136,777	52,547	84,230
1922 ...	118,410	49,687	68,723
1923 ...	157,062	44,438	112,624
1924 ...	132,217	47,356	84,861
1925 ...	105,225	42,339	62,886
1926 ...	132,306	39,079	93,227
1927 ...	122,733	42,184	80,549
1928 ...	108,982	46,170	62,812
1929 ...	106,900	43,949	62,951
1930 ...	59,241	51,442	7,799
1931 ...	27,151	53,181	26,030†
1932 ...	21,249	54,269	33,020†
1933 ...	20,760	44,642	23,882†
1934 ...	22,966	38,846	15,880†
1935 ...	24,256	35,785	11,529†
1936 ...	24,485	37,324	12,839†
1937 ...	26,111	34,167	8,056†

† Balance inward to United Kingdom.

‡ As from the 1st April, 1923, the figures are exclusive of passengers who departed from or arrived at ports of Eire.

of Great Britain of an annual emigration of 100,000 persons, consisting mainly of adolescents and young adults, assuming that it commenced in 1940. On the hypothesis (a) of paragraph 17 it is estimated that the population of Great Britain would increase to a maximum of about 46½ millions; this would be attained and more or less maintained over a few years centred round 1950, after which period a decline would begin. If, however, there were a net annual migration of the volume indicated above, equally divided between the sexes, and such annual migration were maintained for as long as twenty years, the population would reach its maximum of about 46 millions as early as 1940 and would thereupon begin almost immediately to decline, reaching 43½ millions by 1960. The loss would, moreover, be predominantly at the younger ages.

21. These trends indicate the seriousness of the present position. The continued growth in the population conceals the change which is taking place within it. Owing to the decline in the number of births per annum—the number has fallen between 1920 and 1933 from nearly 1,100,000 to under 700,000 per annum in Great Britain—the population is growing older in its composition. The comparison of the 1921 and 1931 census records of Great Britain shows this clearly.* The result follows that—unless the decline in the birth-rate is not merely stopped, but is reversed and is replaced by a substantial increase in the fertility rate—there will be, even before the maximum population is reached, a decline in the numbers of the population at the younger working ages and therefore of those available for migration.

22. It cannot be too clearly understood that a continued insufficiency in the number of births can never be compensated

* Great Britain.

Age.	Census figures.	
	1921.	1931.
I.	Numbers of population (in thousands).	
Under 15	11,940	10,825
15-25	7,562	7,790
25-45	12,454	13,226
45-65	8,230	9,638
Over 65...	2,583	3,316
Totals	42,769	44,795
II.	Distribution per 1,000.	
Under 15	279	242
15-25	177	174
25-45	292	295
45-65	192	215
Over 65...	60	74
Totals	1,000	1,000

by a fall in the number of deaths. For while medical science and public hygiene may do something to maintain the existence of the population already in being it cannot create population, and unless successive generations adequately replace themselves the population must ultimately begin to decline.

23. What is true of Great Britain is true generally of the countries of Western Europe. Taking the year 1933, the birth rate, which in England and Wales was in that year 14.4, was in Sweden 13.7, in Germany 14.7, in Norway 14.9, in France 16.3, in Belgium 16.5, in Denmark 17.3, in Holland 20.8 and in Italy 23.7 per thousand. All these rates show a heavy decline since 1923—ten years earlier. The plain fact is that the countries of Western and North-Western Europe are moving towards a stationary and then a declining population, unless the present tendency in the birth rate can be reversed.* These countries are ceasing to have the surplus population which they would wish to send out to new countries. On the other hand, in Poland and Russia and among the Mongol and certain other Asiatic races, birth rates are still on a much higher level and there is also much greater room for the reduction of death rates.

24. The total population of the world has expanded in the 20th century at a greater rate than even in the 19th century. It has risen from 1,500 millions in 1900 to over 2,000 millions in 1935. The pressure of population is not something that is passing. But the centres of pressure are changing, and the change is of the deepest significance for the British Commonwealth. The Dominions generally, as we have stated, show a rapidly falling birth rate, although there has been, in most cases, a slight recovery during the past year or two, and they have among them the lowest death rates in the world, so that their population composition is steadily ageing. The old countries of Europe have already a population fully equal to the development of their internal resources. But the Dominions have not yet reached that stage. If, therefore, their position is to be strengthened while yet population can be attracted from the countries from which their stocks have been drawn, no time should be lost.

D.—Decline in " Migration-Mindedness " in the United Kingdom.

25. Assuming that there is in the United Kingdom population to spare, or that it is thought desirable to spare, for the purposes

* In Germany there has been a sudden and material increase in the birth-rate since 1933 which cannot be dissociated from the administrative measures embarked upon partly for that specific purpose. The rates for the years 1933-6 were as follows:—14.7, 18.0, 18.9 and 19.0 per thousand population.

of migration, it remains to be considered how far that population is desirous of taking advantage of such opportunities as the Dominions offer. There are many factors which may be expected to affect the migration-mindedness of the population in this country. Migration is a matter of attraction and not of compulsion and consequently anything which reduces the attractiveness of the Dominions in the eyes of persons in the United Kingdom is a deterrent to migration. Some of the factors to which we refer have their origin in conditions overseas and others are based on the relatively favourable circumstances of this country.

26. Under the first heading we place the public realization of the hardships experienced during recent years by settlers overseas, and in particular the attention which has been attracted to the unfortunate experiences of some of those who took part in certain schemes of land settlement. This has no doubt led to a feeling of some hesitation as to the advantages of migration and particularly of land settlement as advertised in former years. It has, moreover, no doubt affected the attitude towards migration in general and has given rise to doubts whether the Dominions are now able to offer attractions equal to those which they have offered in the past.

27. The fact that migration has practically ceased for a period of nearly ten years has tended to weaken the tradition of migration which formerly existed amongst the people of the United Kingdom. The main stream of migration to the Dominions in the past has, as we point out elsewhere, consisted of the relatives and friends of those already comfortably settled overseas. The period of economic stress through which the Dominions have passed has not only impaired the ability of persons already in the Dominions to afford assistance to new arrivals, but it has also meant that there has been an interruption in the human flow which it will take some time to restore.

28. Amongst the factors related to conditions in this country we place foremost the growth of social welfare and security policies which has marked the progressive States of Western Europe even more than the countries of the New World, and tends to keep population at home. It is not simply the decline in the economic attractions of overseas States or the restrictions imposed by some of those States upon immigration which is responsible for the decline in migration, but a combination of social and economic conditions and policies which is making life in the countries of the old world more attractive. The recovery from depression which has been taking place in the United Kingdom and in other countries has given strength to the view that it is possible to provide employment and an improving standard of living for the existing populations, so far as they are fit for employment, within their own countries.

29. The development of United Kingdom social services has therefore played an important part in decreasing migration-mindedness in this country. Unemployment and health insurance, improved public assistance, contributory old age, widows' and orphans' pensions, improved educational and medical facilities, have all served to create a sense of social security and stability which in itself militates against the inclination to migrate. Unless there is an assurance that similar provision is available in the Dominions, even the potential migrant whose inclination is towards a life overseas will, particularly if he is married and has a family, hesitate to move and so forgo those benefits upon which he knows that he can rely at home.

E.—Attitude of the Dominions towards a resumption of Migration.

30. The evidence which we have obtained from various quarters as to the local position in the Dominions indicates that the unfavourable economic conditions which have affected most of the Dominions and have prevented migration in recent years are passing away and that the prospects for a renewal of migration have generally improved.

31. This process of improvement has been more rapid, however, in Australia and New Zealand than in Canada, where, according to such information as is available, unemployment is still considerable.

32. The Canadian Government are understood to take the view that conditions are still such as to preclude any material progress in the direction of assisted migration. Whatever the position may be at the present time, we feel that there may be possibilities of an early improvement in the situation. We are, moreover, impressed with the fact that in the Western Provinces a considerable foreign population from Eastern Europe is growing up.*

33. As regards Australia, we understand that, taking the Commonwealth as a whole, unemployment is rapidly being reduced to, if it has not reached, what may be regarded as a normal figure, and we have received evidence that openings exist which cannot be filled locally and which would be suitable

* Our point is not that foreign immigration is in itself undesirable but that it should bear a proper relation to the inflow of British stock; of some 10,000 persons who entered Canada from overseas during the year ended 31st March, 1938, only 2,972 were British. Some at least of the foreigners tend to settle in isolated groups and do not readily assimilate with the rest of the community.

for migrants from the United Kingdom. We refer more particularly to openings for boys for farm work, women for household work and workers in certain industrial occupations.

34. We have therefore been very glad to learn that the Commonwealth Government have recently decided, in co-operation with the United Kingdom Government, to resume the grant of assisted passages to (a) persons resident in the United Kingdom nominated by individual relatives or friends in Australia or by approved organizations there, (b) migrants specially requisitioned for by any State Government, such as household workers and youths for farm work, and (c) persons resident in the United Kingdom and possessed of certain minimum amounts of capital.

35. As regards New Zealand, we have formed the view that in some respects the underlying conditions are similar to those in Australia. It would seem that there are possible openings for women from this country for domestic work and probably also for artisans for employment in building and other industries. The figure of unemployment fell from 75,000 three years ago to an average of 39,700 a month during the last half of 1936. The figures for the last half of 1937 show a further fall to an average of 18,000 a month, and this latter figure is stated to include an unavoidable residue of unemployables. It is reasonable therefore to suppose that the present figure is rapidly approaching normal. But the New Zealand Government, while apparently fully realizing the extent to which the Dominion is underpopulated, tend to the view that until the number of unemployed has been further reduced the renewal of assisted migration is impracticable.

36. In the Union of South Africa the prosperity of the mining industry and great activity in the building and allied trades have caused an appreciable influx of skilled or semi-skilled labour from European countries generally; in addition, there is evidence of openings for a substantial number of women. Conditions in the Union differ materially, of course, from those in the other Dominions, and the presence of native labour governs the types of openings available to migrants from the United Kingdom. The two chief agencies for the settlement in the Union of migrants from this country are the 1820 Memorial Settlers' Association and the Society for the Oversea Settlement of British Women. Certain employers of labour in the Union, such as big mining corporations, are also taking direct steps to secure in this country technical mining experts as well as mine workers. A certain amount of migration has recently been taking place from the United Kingdom to the Union through these channels and the prospects for the future appear to be as promising as the special conditions of the Union permit.

CHAPTER II.

CONCLUSIONS TO BE DRAWN FROM THE FACTS.

37. Such being the circumstances which we have to take into account, what conclusions are to be drawn therefrom?

A.—Importance of Population Trends.

38. It is still too early to judge how far migration policy may need to be modified by the facts which we have summarized in paragraphs 16 to 24 above. It is, of course, conceivable that the downward trend in the birth rate of the United Kingdom may be arrested; and if that is so it may be possible for the purpose of planning migration to ignore its effects in the interval. But it would be altogether premature at this stage to assume that this will happen.

39. Hitherto nearly all Governments in considering migration within the Empire have made, either overtly or tacitly, two assumptions: first, that an increase in the population of the Dominions is intrinsically desirable; and secondly that there is a surplus population in the United Kingdom which it is obviously desirable to transfer to the Dominions in order to provide the requisite increase. But with the decline in the proportion of the population of the United Kingdom in the younger age groups, upon whom falls the national burden of supporting an increasing number of old people (and *a fortiori* if the forecast of a further decline should prove correct), this supposed surplus no longer exists; and with it the basis of the second of the aforesaid assumptions disappears.

40. The question therefore whether, in the actual conditions of to-day, large-scale migration from the United Kingdom to the Dominions is so desirable that it needs active encouragement must be re-examined and can no longer be assumed as an axiom. The United Kingdom Government, taking a comprehensive view of the problem, is bound to enquire:—

(a) Whether individual migrants will be more valuable citizens of the Commonwealth either through greater productive capacity, greater fertility, better disposition for external defence, or otherwise, in one of the oversea Dominions than if they had remained in the United Kingdom; and also

(b) whether, even if the balance of argument under these heads is in favour of migration, the gain would outweigh the weakening of the United Kingdom which the aggregate loss of so many individual migrants will bring about.

41. These are very difficult questions, and we should hesitate at this stage to advise with any confidence that they can both

be answered in the affirmative. So far as the individual is concerned, however, the spirit of adventure in our race is still alive, and we have no doubt at all that there are many thousands of persons in the United Kingdom for whom migration to the Dominions offers the prospect of a better life, healthier, more carefree, and with greater chance of material prosperity for themselves and their progeny, than they dare anticipate in their old homes. It seems to us eminently desirable that such persons, as individuals, should be encouraged to move freely from one part of the Commonwealth to another, wherever they may have the greatest opportunity for self-development, and that no merely theoretic calculations of the future consequences of such movements in the mass ought to be allowed at this stage to obstruct the migration of the individual.

42. Nevertheless, having regard to the estimate in paragraph 20, it is clear that if there were any prospect of a rapid and large expansion of migration from the United Kingdom, it would become necessary to examine the problem on the lines suggested above as one of urgent practical importance, and to consider whether the needs of the State conflict with the interest of the individual in this respect. But we see no likelihood of this in the near future; and in the meanwhile it seems to us that it would be definitely contrary to the general interest to recommend that there should be any change of migration policy on this ground.

43. We think it sufficient, therefore, at this stage to recommend that the Governments concerned should from now onwards bear constantly in mind the effect of migration on the population of the United Kingdom, and should examine afresh, and with the greatest care, the question whether, if the decline in that population is found to persist, it can be regarded as in the interest of the British Commonwealth as a whole that migration to the Dominions should continue to be encouraged. But it should be possible to conduct this examination continuously without interrupting progress, and if the conclusion should be in the negative, to correct the position.

B.—Importance of early action in the interests of the Dominions.

44. On the other hand, nothing in the population argument weakens the first of the two assumptions referred to in paragraph 39, namely, that an increase in the population of the Dominions is intrinsically desirable. On the contrary, it greatly strengthens the case for early action in the case of any Dominion in which the future trend of population is expected to be stationary or downwards. It is, however, necessary to attach to this assumption the proviso that such increase must be brought about without weakening the position of the United Kingdom to such an extent as on balance to militate against the good of the British Commonwealth as a whole.

45. The importance of early action, from the point of view of the Dominions, is emphasized still further by the international considerations to which attention is drawn in paragraphs 9-12 above. To give an example, without seeking to prove that an increase in the population of the Dominions is desirable merely in order to strengthen their capacity to defend themselves in the event of war, it is manifest that the larger the population of a Dominion, the better it will be able to defend itself if attacked, and that from this point of view an increase of numbers is desirable, always subject to the proviso stated in the last sentence of the preceding paragraph.

46. We have constantly met with the contention that so long as unemployment exists in the Dominions it is impossible to contemplate the encouragement of further migration. We feel that this cannot be accepted as a general principle, since the matter is clearly one of degree. Even in this country at the present time when economic conditions have greatly improved, there still exists, side by side with a shortage of certain kinds of skilled labour, a large number of unemployed. Similar conditions may be expected to exist in the Dominions since, even in the past, when the flow of migrants was at its highest, and generally prosperous conditions prevailed, the unemployment figures in the Dominions were by no means negligible. It does not moreover follow that the effect upon the level of employment of introducing new migrants need be unfavourable; on the contrary, provided that they are carefully selected and are introduced in accordance with the general principles referred to in this Report, the expenditure of their earnings should create a new demand for goods and services which may be expected to have a stimulating effect and so lead to increased employment. It is, of course, for the Dominion Governments to judge when the unemployment figure has receded to a "normal" level. But we feel that it would be reasonable to ask any Dominion Government which uses the existence of unemployment as an argument against migration to examine the figures very closely in the light of what has been said above, and in particular to make proper allowance for the unavoidable residue of persons who are unemployable. In this connection we would again emphasize the urgency of the problem: to wait until the unemployment level has been reduced to any arbitrary figure may well mean waiting until it is too late.

47. In the course of the foregoing analysis of the position we have expressed the opinions that unless the decline in the United Kingdom birth-rate is corrected it can no longer be assumed as axiomatic that the migration of large numbers of persons from the United Kingdom to the Dominions is in the interest of the Commonwealth as a whole, and that in any event the number of persons in the United Kingdom who are willing to migrate is not

to-day, and is not likely to be in the near future, sufficient to increase the population of the Dominions to any very substantial extent. We have also laid stress on the urgent need for prompt action, both on international grounds and in view of the fall in the birth-rate in the Dominions.

48. It seems to us to follow logically that whilst, for the reasons we have given above, it is of primary importance that as large a proportion as possible of the new population migrating to the Dominions should be of British stock, the possibility of supplementing the movement by extending a larger measure of encouragement to settlers from other European countries is one that deserves careful consideration. If we are right in thinking that the population trends in the United Kingdom give little encouragement to the view that the United Kingdom will be in a position to supply settlers in sufficient numbers to provide the whole of those additions to their populations for which the circumstances of the Dominions call, we cannot help feeling that, in addition to the encouragement of migration from the United Kingdom, the admission of a carefully regulated flow of foreign immigrants of assimilable types, preferably from those countries whose inhabitants are sprung originally from the same stock as ourselves and who share our outlook in many directions, has much to commend it. The incorporation of assimilable settlers, whether of Northern or other European extraction, would itself be not only a source of permanent enrichment to the life of the Dominions, but would at the same time increase their capacity for absorbing migrants from this country. It should, moreover, lead to increased trade between the countries from which the migrants go and the country in which they settle, and should thereby make a contribution towards what we regard as the urgent need of the world to-day, the more open door to trade and population. We fully recognize, of course, that the policy to be adopted in regard to non-British European immigrants is entirely a question for the Dominion Governments themselves, but we think it desirable to call attention to this conclusion which is to be drawn from the population trends.

CHAPTER III.

MIGRATION ESSENTIALLY A QUESTION OF PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES.

49. A successful migration policy requires full co-operation and partnership between the respective Governments. We lay particular stress on this, because it is too often assumed by enthusiastic supporters in the United Kingdom of Empire Settlement that all that is needed is action by the United

Kingdom Government, and that if only that Government were willing to take a sufficiently far-sighted view and to spend enough money, the problem would be solved. On this subject we feel that we cannot do better than quote the views expressed by the Inter-Departmental Committee on Migration Policy in paragraphs 52 and 53 of their Report (Cmd. 4689) which were as follows:—

"There has been a tendency, which has grown stronger in recent years, to regard the acceptance by the Dominions of migrants as being, from the United Kingdom point of view, a duty which the Dominions owe to the Mother Country, and from the Dominion point of view as a form of assistance which they are prepared, not without hesitation and even reluctance, to extend to the Mother Country if it can be done without detriment to themselves. We do not believe that there is any justification for such an attitude of mind and we are certain that it is seriously detrimental to the prospect of a successful policy of assisted migration. In our view, the Government of the United Kingdom should not afford assistance to persons to migrate overseas unless the Governments of the Dominions express themselves as anxious to receive the migrants and ready to join in making all the necessary arrangements to give their settlement a real prospect of success. It is important that this view should be fully appreciated both in this country and in the Dominions.

"For this reason, among others—i.e., because, if it is to be successful, a policy of assisted migration must be regarded as a co-operative undertaking by the two communities concerned for the benefit of both, and not as an acquiescence by the immigrating community in an operation directed solely to the relief of the emigrating community—it seems to us right that the financial burden of any assistance which it may be decided to render to migrants should be equitably shared between the two communities."

50. We feel it necessary to emphasize once again this principle because the United Kingdom Government is constantly being urged to press forward independently with schemes of migration or to urge them upon reluctant Dominions. Thus it is often contended that the United Kingdom Government would be justified in bearing 100 per cent. of the cost of a migration scheme if the Dominion Government concerned were not willing to contribute financially. We believe that this conception is unsound not only from the point of view of the Governments but of the migrant for the reasons given by the Inter-Departmental Committee (paragraphs 47 and 48 of Cmd. 4689) which we again quote:—

"It is, in our view, of great importance that the migrant should, from the earliest possible moment after his arrival in his new country, regard himself as a citizen of that country, with all the rights and obligations of such citizens. It is equally desirable that the Government and people of that country should regard the migrant from the first, in practice if not in law, as a full citizen of that country dependent upon and responsible to his new Government and his new fellow citizens alone for the rights and obligations of a citizen and a neighbour.

"Hitherto the tendency—at any rate of the assisted migrant—has been to look backwards to the Government of the United Kingdom for further assistance and support, and this tendency has been encouraged

by the fact that, for some considerable time after his arrival, he is apt to be regarded both by his neighbours and by the Government of his new country as belonging to a special 'migrant' class still dependent to some considerable degree upon the United Kingdom Government. Experience of the actual working of the Empire Settlement Act shows that this tendency has been the cause of much failure and disappointment in the past, and we are of opinion that similar failure and disappointment in future can only be avoided if the migrant understands from the first that his country of settlement is his country, its Government his Government, and its citizens his fellow citizens."

51. These general considerations are in themselves sufficient to indicate that co-operation between the two Governments concerned is essential. By this we mean that the receiving country should not merely acquiesce in a scheme or even be prepared to bear an equal share of the cost but that it should take at least as active a part in the matter as the giving country.

52. The facts to which we have drawn attention in Chapters I and II emphasize another aspect of the matter, namely that, from the point of view of this country alone, having regard to the population trends, to the demand for skilled labour and to the inevitable changes in the relative proportions in the various age groups, it can no longer be suggested that the acceptance of migrants by the Dominions is a form of assistance which they can extend to the United Kingdom.

53. The readiness of the United Kingdom Government to co-operate with the Dominion Governments has been demonstrated by the passage in 1937 of the Empire Settlement Act which has extended for fifteen years the powers of the Secretary of State to participate in agreed schemes, and has enabled him to make contributions to such schemes up to a maximum of £1½ million a year. It was made clear at the time of the passage of the Act that if this sum should prove to be inadequate owing to the desire to put wider schemes in force, the United Kingdom Government would be ready to introduce at once further legislation with a view to providing the necessary funds.

54. Further, with a view to rendering still more effective the work which can be carried out by voluntary societies, who have played an important part in the past in the movement of migrants, the Act of 1937 empowers the Secretary of State to contribute up to a maximum of 75 per cent., instead of the previous maximum of 50 per cent., of the expenses of any agreed scheme under the Acts, other than a development or land settlement scheme or one to which an overseas Government has agreed to contribute.

55. Although schemes of Government-assisted migration have been generally in abeyance since 1931, assistance has been extended by the United Kingdom Government to a number of voluntary societies which, owing to the special nature of

their work, have been able to carry on their activities continuously, e.g., the Society for the Oversea Settlement of British Women, the 1820 Memorial Settlers' Association, the Scottish Immigrant Aid Society, the Anglo-Canadian Education Committee, and the Fairbridge Farm Schools Society. The last-mentioned Society has received substantial assistance towards capital and maintenance costs as well as passages, in respect of their Farm Schools in Western Australia and more recently in Canada and New South Wales, and assistance on similar lines has been extended to a Farm School on Fairbridge lines which has been established by the Northcote Trust in Victoria and to the Dr. Barnardo's Homes Farm School in New South Wales. Assistance has also been given towards the keeping in being of certain voluntary organizations overseas, whose migration work has necessarily been suspended during the depression, but who have continued to carry out after-care work in respect of those migrants who proceeded to the Dominions before the depression began.

56. The United Kingdom Government have made it clear that they are ready, whenever Dominion Governments signify their consent, to re-open the assisted passage agreements in respect of any suitable categories of migrants. They have also expressed their willingness to consider all such questions as the best methods of selecting migrants, their training or testing in this country or overseas, and the most suitable machinery for the provision of after-care after their arrival overseas.

57. The Secretary of State has appointed the Oversea Settlement Board to advise him upon specific proposals for schemes of migration within the Empire, and there is thus a body available to examine any scheme falling within the scope of the Empire Settlement Acts which a Dominion Government may put forward or be prepared to support.

58. We feel therefore that the United Kingdom Government have not only shown their readiness but are also equipped to co-operate fully with Dominion Governments in plans for the promotion of assisted migration in favourable conditions.

CHAPTER IV.

GENERAL CONDITIONS FOR MIGRATION.

Economic and Financial Considerations.

59. In the preceding chapters we have dealt with the importance and urgency of the question of migration in its general aspects and have indicated the need for a planned policy of co-operation between the Governments of the various parts of

the Commonwealth. We now proceed to consider the conditions in which such migration can take place and how far Governments can play a part in creating these conditions.

60. The problem of migration cannot be dealt with apart from the general economic problems of the Empire. A successful transference of people is dependent upon favourable conditions.

61. It is evident from an examination of the statistics of migration that the flow of migrants is greatest in time of prosperity and that a high rate of flow is a symptom of favourable trade and economic conditions. Only in rare instances in modern times has a considerable migration movement been brought about merely by a desire to escape from a bad standard of living at home. Moreover, modern developments have made countries increasingly inter-dependent, and recent experience shows that cycles of prosperity and depression do not usually occur in isolated groups of countries or in single continents but tend to be world-wide, and to affect primary producing countries and industrialized countries alike and more or less simultaneously.

62. While, however, immigration is primarily dependent upon favourable economic conditions this does not mean that even if times are difficult there may not be greater opportunities in the new countries than in the old ones, particularly as there are grounds for believing that once recovery has got under way it may make more rapid progress in the former. It is essential that the process of migration should be one of attraction, not compulsion, and preferably that this attraction should be natural and not artificially developed. People will normally be disposed to migrate only if they feel that there are definite hopes of a better life overseas for themselves or, if not for themselves, for their children, and unless conditions in the Dominions are such as to warrant such hopes, the United Kingdom Government would not be justified in encouraging the migration of people from this country.

63. The United Kingdom Government, for their part, have made it their object to do everything in their power, having due regard to their political and economic relations with foreign countries and their own domestic interests and responsibilities, to foster trade relations between the United Kingdom and the Dominions so as to provide markets for Dominion produce and in other ways to create those conditions of renewed prosperity in which satisfactory migration should be able to take place. It is, of course, common knowledge that the conclusion of the Ottawa Agreements opened a new chapter in Empire trade relations and the considerable expansion of the trade between the

Dominions and this country which has resulted therefrom in the last few years has been noteworthy.

64. The Dominions, for their part, in addition to their natural advantages, are generally well equipped in railways, roads, public utilities and administrative machinery to maintain a population many times greater than that which they have at present. No great capital outlay on such services should be involved in the absorption of substantial numbers of new migrants; indeed, the result should be a general reduction of taxation and overhead financial burdens through a spreading of the charges for the upkeep of these services over a greater number of people.

65. It has been suggested that no further steps can be taken by the Dominions to absorb new settlers unless they can secure a still greater share of the United Kingdom market for their primary produce and unless further capital from the United Kingdom is made available for the utilization of their existing equipment.

66. As to the first of these considerations, we have already referred to the United Kingdom Government's readiness to help in providing markets for Dominion produce. We are satisfied, however, that it would be impracticable to attempt to deal with migration as a matter of bargaining, e.g., on the lines that, in return for specific undertakings by the United Kingdom Government to absorb increased quantities of Dominion produce, the Dominion Governments would undertake to receive more migrants from the United Kingdom.

67. Past experience has shown that it is not possible to set off the introduction of a given number of migrants against an introduction of a given amount of capital. The results of the £34,000,000 Agreement of 1925 between the United Kingdom Government and the Government of the Commonwealth of Australia, which was primarily intended to stimulate development in Australia, show that, in spite of the inducements offered in the form of cheap money, the loans issued under the Agreement for general development amounted to not more than £4,300,000. There is no evidence that the expenditure of this sum led to any material absorption of additional settlers. The experience gained in the working of this agreement shows the difficulty in linking up such schemes directly with migration, and the danger of an incentive to uneconomic expenditure.

68. We doubt whether any direct action by the United Kingdom Government for the promotion of a flow of capital into the Dominions would be justified as a measure of migration policy, and we believe that opportunities for the investment of United Kingdom capital must be created as the result of the policy of

the oversea Governments themselves. If these opportunities for investment exist and if the policy of the oversea Governments is such as to create a feeling of confidence in industrial and financial quarters in this country, there seems to be little doubt that a flow of capital, in so far as it is available for investment outside the United Kingdom itself, will automatically take place.

Secondary Industries Overseas.

69. In the past the main stimulus, at any rate in Australia and New Zealand, for the absorption of new population from the United Kingdom in the Dominions came from the expansion of primary production. A prominent feature of the policy of all Dominion Governments in more recent years, and especially in Australia, has been the greater concentration on secondary production. There is now a growing tendency to look to the development of manufactures as a much more important factor in the absorption of additional population than was formerly the case. To quote Mr. Lyons, the Prime Minister of Australia, "if ever Australia is to resume immigration to increase population and provide stronger defences for the country such a policy will have to be preceded by greater development of secondary industries". The development of secondary industries in the Dominions should, by expanding their own resources, result in creating conditions more favourable to migration than has been possible with developments taking place mainly in the primary industries. It should, moreover, create types of openings in the Dominions such as could more easily be filled in existing circumstances by people from this country, the bulk of whom are accustomed rather to industrial employment than to work upon the land.

70. The trend in the direction of industrial development is the logical outcome of the desire of a growing country for diversified employment. The wealth of a country is created not merely by its foreign trade but by the production of goods among its own people and by the building up by the community of an increasing equipment for its own good life. This movement has been accelerated by the difficulties attending the marketing of primary products at profitable prices during the depression years and by the feeling that an expanding export market for primary products cannot necessarily be expected in the future. There has also been the fact that mechanisation applied to agriculture has tended to diminish the proportion of the population which could find employment in primary production. The need for providing employment for labour surplus to the demand of primary industry has made it necessary to explore other avenues of employment and has given a great impetus to the development of the local production of manufactured articles previously imported from abroad.

71. It is, of course, not within our province to express any opinion whether the establishment of a particular industry in a Dominion is desirable or economically practicable; and facts which we cite in the following paragraphs are designed merely to illustrate the extent to which the establishment of such industries may lead to the provision of opportunities for greater employment in the Dominions and for migration from this country.

72. The expansion of secondary industry which has taken place in Australia is illustrated by the fact that the total number of factories, which was 12,555 in 1907 and 15,431 in 1918-9, had risen to the figure of 24,894 in 1935-6. Horsepower has increased nearly tenfold from 220,600 in 1907 to 2,146,000 in 1935-6. The number of persons employed in factories, which was 195,700 or 50.2 per thousand of the population in 1907, had increased to 492,100 or 73 per thousand of the population in 1935-6. Of the 3,300,000 persons gainfully employed in Australia 520,000 are directly employed in manufacturing as compared with about 550,000 engaged in rural production. The total value of factory production in 1935-6 was estimated at £162 million and agricultural, pastoral and other rural production at £200 million. The Commonwealth Government claim to have created, by means of the tariff or other measures, conditions necessary to enable overseas manufacturers to make favourable decisions with respect to the future manufacture of the following commodities in Australia:—aeroplanes, alkali products, paper pulp, newsprint, steel sheets for motor bodies, and other products. The capital required for the manufacture of these goods would be approximately £10,000,000.

73. During the past few years the local manufacture of aeroplanes has been started in Australia with a capital of £600,000. The Australian Paper and Pulp Company Limited raised £1,000,000 capital last year to finance the establishment of the paper-pulp industry in Victoria. Advances have been made since 1932 in the production of machine tools and improvements have been made in the production of electrical equipment and machinery of all kinds. A very considerable extension has taken place in the manufacture of wool textiles and cotton goods, in the production of felt and carpets, and in a long list of industries from bakelite to tinplate. The large new motor car body building and assembling factory of General Motors (Holdens) Limited at Melbourne is now in full production and is capable of an output of 35,000 vehicles a year.

74. Whilst there is no doubt that secondary industries in Australia will continue to expand as the population increases, it appears improbable that the rate of increase during recent years will be maintained, as during those years industries were being established to supply the local demand for manufactured

articles previously imported. With the satisfaction of that local demand the rate of development must be expected to fall. On the other hand, any increase in the population increases the home market, and the more the range of home produced goods expands the greater becomes the potential value of each additional resident consumer in that market.

75. In Canada industrial development began much earlier than in the other Dominions and secondary industry has for many years been a marked feature of the economy of the Dominion. The gross product of factories increased from \$368 millions in 1890 to \$1,166 millions in 1910 and to \$1,381 millions in 1915. This development was encouraged by conditions peculiar to Canada, amongst others its proximity to the great industrial centres of the United States, its abundant raw material supplies, its immense sources of water-power, and the market provided by the expanding West. Secondary industry in Canada was sufficiently advanced to be able to take advantage of the practical suspension of imported goods which occurred during the period of the Great War, and continued to expand steadily until 1929 when the gross value of the products was \$4,000 million and the number of persons employed 694,000. Between 1917 and 1932 the total horsepower employed increased from 1,664,000 to 4,157,000 an increase of 150 per cent. in fifteen years. Canada's manufacturing industries were adversely affected by the economic depression and in 1933 the value of production had fallen by 50 per cent. and the number of employees to under 500,000. In recent years, however, there has been some recovery.

76. In New Zealand the development of secondary industries has proceeded less rapidly than in the other Dominions. In 1910 the value of factory production in New Zealand was £29 millions and the number of persons employed 46,000. In 1935-6 the figures were £90 millions and 86,500 respectively. Of the 5,536 manufacturing establishments in the Dominion, 2,952 have come into existence during the last twenty years. New Zealand has ample supplies of water power and hydro-electric schemes have been developed in recent years. The interest of the Dominion Government in the further development of manufacturing is shown by the appointment of numerous Commissions to enquire into the possibility of industrial expansion in general and in specific industries and the present New Zealand Government have declared it their policy to foster local secondary industries and have recently announced plans for the development of iron ore deposits and the establishment of the iron and steel industry in the Dominion. Industrial expansion is limited by the size of the available market and the secondary industries in New Zealand find it difficult to compete with the products of large-scale enterprises established in more densely populated countries.

77. In the Union of South Africa secondary industries are also expanding rapidly. The gross output of secondary industry in 1911 was a little over £17 millions, half of which was due to the processing of primary products. By 1921 the value of industrial production had increased to £98 millions and in 1935 the value had risen to £131½ millions. The number of persons employed in industry increased from 55,000 in 1911 to 180,000 in 1921 and to 266,000 in 1935, of which about one-half was European. Anxiety regarding the gold-mining industry stimulated the encouragement of other forms of production and steps were taken to establish the iron and steel industry which did not, however, come into existence until 1933. It is estimated that secondary production increased six-fold in South Africa between 1911 and 1935. In addition to the iron and steel industry, companies have recently come into existence for the manufacture of motor-car bodies, wire cables, rubber tyres and rubber products, paper, and asbestos products.

78. Development on these lines must largely depend, of course, upon the extent to which economic conditions in any Dominion favour private enterprise. An aspect of the question which has interested us is the success which has attended the establishment in the Dominions of branches of certain United Kingdom industrial concerns. This method of establishing local industries, viewed from the migration aspect, has the obvious merit of facilitating the transfer of industrial workers from the United Kingdom to similar work in the Dominions and thus not only enlarges the occupational field for migrants but facilitates their absorption. The *immediate* effect in numbers on migration of the establishment of local industries in this way is, of course, not very marked—in fact, a comparatively small amount of direct migration may result from the expenditure of large amounts of capital. But as in the case of other types of industry sooner or later successful enterprises of this kind must result in an increased demand for labour and expanding opportunities for new types of migrants.

Correlation of Labour Demand and Supply.

79. A greater measure of planned co-operation than has existed in the past is in our opinion desirable if full advantage is to be taken of the opportunities afforded by industrial expansion in the Dominions for the absorption of migrants from this country. Hitherto reliance has been placed upon the operation of the nomination system, and the requisitioning from time to time of particular classes of workers. But the nomination system depends for its working upon the existence in the Dominions of persons with relatives and friends in this country possessing the necessary qualifications, and while valuable results have been achieved in the past by this system, we doubt

if it is sufficiently flexible to provide for the recruitment of skilled workers for expanding industries. It seems to us that it is desirable that there should exist in the Dominions, in so far as it does not exist already, machinery through which the current needs of the Dominions for specific types of workers may be ascertained as precisely as possible and through which these needs may be correlated with the supply of skilled labour available in the United Kingdom. It will, of course, be understood that when we refer to the problems of the supply of labour we are considering solely the methods by which labour can voluntarily avail itself of the opportunities which the Dominions offer.

80. We desire to emphasize that we envisage migration as a means of enabling people from this country to take advantage of opportunities overseas which actually exist or could be created if the necessary labour were available, not as a process which would displace Dominion labour. The negative attitude which organized labour in the Dominions has sometimes been disposed to adopt towards assisted migration seems to have been based largely on the fear that it might adversely affect the standards of living of workers in the Dominions. That might, admittedly, be the effect of assisted migration if its aim were merely to transfer to the Dominions the largest possible number of migrants, without any regard to the opportunities open to them on arrival. But we are confident that the United Kingdom and Dominion Governments realize how important it is to ensure that migration does not proceed at a rate in excess of the capacity of the Dominions to absorb migrants and that they will take every possible care so to direct the policy of assisted migration as to avoid the least cause for any fear on the part of labour in the Dominions that standards of living are being endangered. The type of Government-assisted migration which we specially advocate in this Report, i.e., by infiltration, is, of course, designed to ensure that assistance is given only where openings overseas exist or are in prospect.

81. In other words, migration policy should be directed to creating wider opportunities for settlement in the Dominions whilst at the same time providing reasonable safeguards for the standards of living in the countries of settlement. It is not a matter of the transfer of surplus labour from one part of the Empire to another, without regard to the economic condition and labour requirements of the receiving country; its objective should be the redistribution of the productive population to the utmost economic advantage of the Empire as a whole. We feel confident that the active co-operation of organized labour, both in this country and in the Dominions, will not fail to be forthcoming for the achievement of such objectives. Interchange of views between organized labour in the Dominions

and in the United Kingdom upon migration policy would, of course, much enhance the value of such co-operation. It would, *inter alia*, facilitate arrangements such as those to which we have referred in paragraph 79 for ascertaining the precise needs of a particular Dominion for labour of various types, and in many ways would, we feel sure, be of the greatest possible assistance to those responsible for framing migration policy in the light of the objectives which we have described.

Settlement by "infiltration".

82. As regards specific methods of migration, these are comprehensively dealt with in the Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Migration Policy (Cmd. 4689) with whose views we find ourselves in general agreement. In particular we are in agreement with the general basis of that Report, which is that reliance should be placed primarily upon what is described as "infiltration," namely, the settlement on the land or otherwise of single individuals or families in existing communities as and where they may find room for themselves or room may be found for them. Statistics show that of the 173,295 persons who were assisted to proceed to Australia during the period 1923-31 all but 3.75 per cent. were settled by the process of infiltration. The most fruitful means by which infiltration can be assisted is in our view the system of nomination, whereby individuals or groups of persons resident overseas may nominate persons resident in this country for the grant of an assisted passage, the nominator accepting responsibility for the person nominated in the initial stages of settlement. The statistics of assisted migration to Australia for the period 1923-1931 show that of the 173,295 persons who were granted assisted passages during the period no less than 113,575 or 65 per cent. were nominated by relatives or friends already settled in Australia. In the case of New Zealand, of the 43,306 persons granted assisted passages between 1923 and 1931, 35,310 or 81.5 per cent. were so nominated. Migration through this channel has the advantages that it calls for the minimum of Government interference, that it provides a balanced movement of men, women, and children, and that the number of migrants automatically expands or contracts in accordance with the openings for employment available. We regard the nomination system as constituting the most important and the most hopeful means of securing a steady flow of population from this country to the Dominions and if those Dominion Governments which formerly participated with the United Kingdom Government in schemes of assisted passages could see their way to reopen the nomination system forthwith a very important step forward in the direction of restarting the flow of population would have been taken. We therefore

heartily welcome the decision of the Government of the Commonwealth of Australia to re-open the assisted passage scheme for this class of migrant.

83. We do not propose in this Report to deal with the relative merits of particular forms of migration, which we feel have been adequately discussed in the Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Migration Policy. We desire, however, to draw special attention to the important contribution which women are able to make towards the settlement and development of the oversea Dominions, not only as potential wives and mothers, and in the case of single women as household workers, but also by virtue of the special professional qualifications which an ever increasing number of women now possess as teachers, nurses, etc. Were the Dominions able to provide opportunities for young women of these types, they would, in our view, be able to attract a number of very desirable settlers.

84. As we have already pointed out in Chapter III, the United Kingdom Government have made it clear that they are ready, when the oversea Governments signify their willingness to co-operate, to re-open the assisted passage schemes in respect of any categories of migrant regarded as suitable by the Dominions. In addition to this, however, we are impressed with the extent to which migration by "infiltration" would be facilitated by the introduction, when the time is ripe, of a system of general reduced passage rates such as is outlined in paragraphs 95-97 and 99-100 in the Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Migration Policy (Cmd. 4689) which are printed as an Appendix to this Report.

Large-scale Land Settlement Schemes.

85. It follows from what we have said in paragraph 82 that we do not favour schemes of large-scale land settlement such as that advocated by the Empire Development and Settlement Research Committee, and the scheme put forward by General Hornby for settlement in Canada. It must be remembered that in times when migration from this country attained a greater volume than is likely to be reached again, the overwhelming proportion of migrants went overseas to fill a natural economic demand and only a very small minority under schemes of organized land settlement. We see no reason to suppose that conditions will be more favourable in the future than they have been in the past for large-scale land settlement schemes and apart from the fact that the number of people who can be settled under such schemes is entirely disproportionate to the expenditure involved, the risks of failure are so great and the consequences of such failures would be so serious, that we cannot recommend that the United Kingdom Government

should participate in schemes of this nature, save in very exceptional circumstances and then only if they were assured that the Dominion Government concerned approved the scheme and were prepared to co-operate financially and otherwise in carrying it out. There is, however, no evidence that such co-operation or financial participation on the part of the Dominion Governments in the schemes referred to above is likely to be forthcoming.

" Migration-mindedness " and Schemes of Social Insurance.

86. In a previous section of the Report (Chapter I. D.) we have referred to certain factors which may be expected to affect the migration-mindedness of the population in the United Kingdom. Our observations upon this subject would be incomplete without reference to certain suggestions which have occurred to us with a view to overcoming the tendencies to which we have referred. Migration—or at any rate assisted migration—has in the past been regarded mainly in terms of agricultural settlement. The demand of the Dominions has been limited to those prepared and able to engage in work upon the land. The tendency in the future will, we think, be to rely less upon primary industry as the avenue for the absorption of migrants and to place greater reliance upon secondary industry as affording openings for new population. To the extent to which this change takes place the attraction which the Dominions offer to a largely industrialized population such as that of the United Kingdom will no doubt be increased.

87. The improvement which has been taking place in the economic conditions of the Dominions and the fact that unemployment—certainly in the case of Australia—has now fallen to what would have been regarded in pre-war days as normal will also tend to restore in this country confidence in the prospects afforded by the Dominions.

88. We regard the effect on migration-mindedness of schemes of social insurance as of the utmost importance and from that point of view it is in our opinion desirable that everything possible should be done to reduce the existing disparity in this matter as between the United Kingdom and the Dominions. Whilst it may not be feasible to have at any time a completely uniform system of insurance, pensions and other devices for safeguarding social security, it should at least be possible to devise means whereby a person can pass from one community to another with the minimum of disturbance to his sense of social security. Reciprocity on any scale is of course impracticable until such time as there exist in the Dominions schemes of social insurance comparable with those existing in this country.

89. Something has been done to meet this latter difficulty by the United Kingdom legislation of 1929 which provided that persons in receipt of old age, widows' and orphans' pensions under the United Kingdom contributory scheme of 1925 should be entitled to continue to receive these pensions overseas and also for insured persons to continue to contribute from overseas in order to retain their eligibility for ultimate pensions.

90. The ideal to which we look forward is the existence in the Dominions of a system of social services providing benefits, as nearly as possible of equal value to those in force in the United Kingdom, for which migrants would be eligible on a basis of reciprocity. The existence of such a system would remove one at least of the influences—and in our view not one of the least important—which tend to hamper the re-distribution of population between the United Kingdom and the Dominions. We therefore note with interest that His Majesty's Governments in Canada, in the Commonwealth of Australia, and in New Zealand have under consideration the question of the extension of provisions for social insurance in their respective countries.

91. In these circumstances we consider it most desirable that so soon as in any Dominion a scheme of social insurance comparable with that in operation in the United Kingdom becomes effective, the United Kingdom Government and the Government of the Dominion concerned should at once explore the possibility of establishing forthwith the utmost measure of reciprocity of which the scheme will permit. We are, therefore, glad to note in this connection that the Commonwealth Government in its recent announcement regarding its migration policy included in it a statement that in any legislation which might be introduced concerning social insurance provision would be made for reciprocal arrangements with the United Kingdom.

Assisted and Unassisted Migration.

92. In this report we have considered migration primarily from the point of view of Government policy and have necessarily dwelt upon the manner in which Governments may be able to encourage and facilitate the movement of migrants from the United Kingdom to the oversea Dominions. The most obvious means of affording such encouragement is by the grant of assistance towards passages, but we fully appreciate that directly-assisted migration is but a part of a much wider question and we have therefore stressed the even greater importance of creating so far as possible such general conditions as will stimulate a flow of population between the United Kingdom and the Dominions which will proceed without Government assistance.

93. The largest migration movements of the past have taken place without Government assistance, and even during the years 1922-31, when a large measure of Government assistance was available, approximately 50 per cent. of the total migration to Canada, Australia and New Zealand consisted of persons who proceeded overseas entirely at their own expense and who received no Government assistance of any kind. The increased cost to the individual migrant at the present time of transferring himself successfully from the United Kingdom as a settler overseas is, however, a deterrent to migration and this factor operates particularly in the case of the more expensive journeys to Australia and New Zealand, where assisted migrants have for many years constituted the larger proportion of the movement (60 per cent. in the case of Australia and 53 per cent. in the case of New Zealand). If this deterrent effect is to be eliminated so as to leave the natural forces of attraction to operate in this respect as fully as before and on a nation-wide scale, this can clearly only be done by some form of Government assistance.

94. It is generally conceded, however, that the receipt of Government assistance is apt to encourage in the migrant a tendency to rely upon Governments for support and to regard Governments as responsible for his subsequent welfare. It is for this reason that we, with the Inter-Departmental Committee on Migration Policy, attach importance to the introduction under appropriate conditions of schemes of general reduced passage rates, which, while bringing the cost of the passage within the reach of the average person desiring to proceed overseas, yet leave the settler on arrival overseas in the category of an unassisted migrant. The immediate problem, however, is to restart a movement of population and for this a considerable measure of Government support is necessary. But we strongly commend to the consideration of the various Governments concerned the desirability of aiming ultimately at a policy which, while generally facilitating the movement of population within the Empire, will involve the minimum of supervision. For certain classes of migrants, e.g., children, juveniles and possibly also single women, a measure of supervision will always be desirable, but no large stream of migration can be looked for except as a free and spontaneous movement of population taking place in response to the natural economic attractions of oversea countries. There must, we feel, be numbers of people in the United Kingdom who are either outside the scope of the assisted passage schemes, or are not attracted by such schemes, to whom life and a career in the Dominions should make an appeal. Members of the professional classes (of both sexes) would form a class of settler who should be able to make an important contribution to the development of the national life of the Dominions and the fact that such persons were attracted by conditions overseas would encourage other sections of the community to follow their example.

Contacts between the United Kingdom and the Dominions.

95. The psychological factor is very powerful in the problem of migration, and with conditions of living and of sociability improved as they have been in the old countries it is desirable to take steps to remove as much as possible the sense of isolation and separation. The more intercourse there can be between the various parts of the Empire, and particularly between the United Kingdom and the Dominions, the better. For example, any steps which could be taken to cheapen the means and increase the frequency of communication by post, telegram and telephone would help to remove the sense of separation. We welcome the recent developments which have taken place in these directions and also the progress which has been made with Empire Broadcasts. In this connexion, we suggest that consideration might be given to the encouragement of visits of representative workers to the Dominions in order to see conditions for themselves, and similarly of visits of representative workers in the Dominions to the United Kingdom. There is also much to be said from the same point of view for the initiation or expansion, as the case may be, of organized visits or temporary interchanges of school children, teachers, and others as between the United Kingdom and the Dominions and for the cheapening of the cost of return tickets between this country and the Dominions so as to encourage individuals both in this country and in the Dominions to obtain first-hand knowledge of other parts of the Empire.

96. Much more might be done in our opinion to familiarize the population of this country with the Dominions and the conditions of life overseas. We have in mind particularly the giving of greater prominence to the Empire in the curricula of schools. Considerable attention has been given to this matter in the past and some progress has been made but we feel that the time is opportune for a further advance. Films of the right type are a valuable medium for promoting increased knowledge of the Dominions not only in schools, but in the community as a whole, and the experience of the Empire Film Library at the Imperial Institute shows that where suitable films are available they are much in demand. Any steps which may be found possible should in our view be taken to facilitate and expand the distribution and display of films having a real educative value in this direction. It is of course equally important that in the Dominions use should be made of films for familiarizing peoples overseas with conditions in the United Kingdom.

Supply of Information to Prospective Migrants.

97. In the two preceding paragraphs we have indicated the general importance, from the point of view of migration, of all practicable means being taken to provide the peoples of the

United Kingdom and the Dominions with a fuller knowledge of each other and to foster a mutual understanding of different conditions of life and ways of thought. It is, of course, even more essential that when a substantial volume of migration is in contemplation or is taking place, there should be machinery through which full, impartial and reliable information of all kinds which would be likely to be of interest or of value to the prospective migrant may be made readily available. During the period following the War when migration was actively proceeding, very extensive arrangements were made for rendering available or disseminating such information throughout the country. The offices of the Dominion, State and Provincial Representatives in London were, of course, fully supplied by their Governments with particulars of prevailing economic conditions and of the employment position in various occupations overseas, and these particulars were not only made available to applicants direct, but were communicated regularly to the United Kingdom authorities. The information was also made available to the public through the medium of the Oversea Settlement Department of the Dominions Office, the Ministry of Labour Employment Exchanges, Voluntary Societies engaged in migration work and the local Migration Committees which had been formed, with official encouragement, in a great number of cities and counties. Advice to intending migrants was given by the Oversea Settlement Department (and by the Society for the Oversea Settlement of British Women, acting as the Women's Branch of the Department) individually by means of personal interviews, as far as possible conducted by officers personally acquainted with conditions overseas, and by correspondence. The Department also undertook the publication of handbooks, revised at frequent intervals, containing a great deal of detailed information about each Dominion on such general matters as climate, educational facilities, social legislation, wages and cost of living, as well as particulars as to the general types of openings and the schemes of assistance available for settlers. In addition there were special handbooks dealing with the practice of professions in the Dominions and pamphlets on a great variety of special subjects such as training facilities in this country and openings and welfare arrangements for women and juveniles. The pamphlets had a wide distribution through such channels as Ministry of Labour Employment Exchanges, local Migration Committees and voluntary societies. The Ministry of Labour Employment Exchanges also had special arrangements for supplying information on oversea settlement and employment, and there were special officers employed on this work. Publicity through qualified lecturers, through films and broadcasts was also carried out and local Migration Committees were of great assistance in certain of these directions.

98. During recent years, these activities have necessarily either ceased altogether or been carried on at a much reduced scale. We assume that when migration revives the machinery for fostering migration through such means will be brought into operation again or, where it already exists, expanded and, if necessary, adapted to meet the changed needs. But having regard to what has been said in Chapter I.D as to the factors which may be expected to affect or which have affected the migration-mindedness of the people of this country, we feel that consideration should be given to the question whether, even before a specific demand arises, arrangements could not be made for a more ready supply of information as to conditions overseas, and for generally bringing before the public a picture of the several Dominions as they are to-day. The objective would be to promote a fuller consciousness of the present and future potentialities of the Dominions, not necessarily with a view to encouraging any immediate large movement of migrants, but rather with a view to providing a background against which the individual may be enabled to weigh up the situation when an opportunity presents itself for taking up life overseas.

CHAPTER V. SUMMARY.

99. The problem before us is how to strengthen the Empire by means of migration from the United Kingdom to the oversea Dominions. It is both a difficult and an urgent problem, and it can only be solved if the Governments and peoples concerned realize its importance and are prepared to co-operate wholeheartedly in the measures necessary for its solution. It is a problem which cannot be studied in isolation, and it is necessary to examine the background of facts and ideas which must be taken into account in any attempt to plan migration policy.

100. The problem is also one of importance in view of the interest shown throughout the world in the development of the less closely settled countries and from this point of view migration must be regarded from a wide international aspect as well as from that of the domestic interests of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

101. Although the population possibilities of the oversea Dominions are often exaggerated we have assumed as a legitimate hypothesis that each is capable of supporting a substantially larger population than at present.

102. We believe that the full development of the oversea Dominions, important as it has at all times been on political, economic and social grounds, will add weight not only to the influence of each of the Dominions in which it takes place but

also to that of the British Commonwealth as a whole in the councils of the world. This development should be brought about so far as possible by people of British stock.

103. Both in the United Kingdom and the Dominions the birth rate of the British stock shows a downward trend and the population is growing older in its composition. The seriousness of this situation is obvious from the point of view of the social and economic life of the community and of defence.

104. Migration from the United Kingdom to the oversea Dominions since 1919, despite a large measure of State assistance, has never approached in volume that of the years prior to 1914, and from 1931 onwards the inward has exceeded the outward movement.

105. Migration is a matter of attraction and not compulsion and there are a number of factors which may contribute to a decrease in the migration-mindedness of the population of the United Kingdom.

106. The unfavourable economic conditions which have discouraged migration in recent years appear to be passing away but the progress made towards a renewal of migration has not thus far been commensurate with the improvement in economic conditions. It should, however, be noted that the Government of the Commonwealth of Australia have recently decided to reopen the assisted passage scheme for certain classes of migrants, and that industrial prosperity in the Union of South Africa has resulted in increased migration from the United Kingdom during the last year or two.

107. The position of the oversea Dominions as relatively thinly populated areas facing a highly competitive world demands that the natural increase of population should be supplemented by immigration, and action should be taken without loss of time while the United Kingdom is still able to supply migrants. It can no longer be assumed as axiomatic that the migration of large numbers of persons from the United Kingdom to the Dominions is in the interests of the United Kingdom, if those interests could be considered in isolation from those of the Dominions. Even now, it is only from the point of view of the strengthening of the Empire as a whole that the encouragement of migration from the United Kingdom can be justified. The resumption of migration on a large scale would, unless the present population trends are checked, diminish still further the future population of the United Kingdom. In our opinion, however, no merely theoretical calculation of the consequences of population movements should be allowed to affect migration policy.

108. It follows that if the Dominions are to obtain the United Kingdom migrants whom they need it lies with them to create

the conditions which will attract such migrants, and to co-operate in measures for enabling new migrants to take advantage of the opportunities which await them overseas.

109. We recognize that, having regard to the nature of population trends, both in the United Kingdom and in the Dominions, it may be desirable that the growth of British stock in the Dominions from natural increase and migration should be supplemented by a carefully regulated flow of other immigrants of assimilable types.

110. A regular flow of migration will require full co-operation and partnership between participating countries. A planned policy will be essential. The burden of any financial assistance to encourage migration should be equitably shared.

111. Migration should not be dealt with as a matter of bargaining: it should not be directly related, e.g., to the question of increased markets for Dominion produce, nor is it possible to set off the introduction of migrants against the introduction of a given amount of capital. Direct action on the part of the Government of this country for the promotion of a flow of capital into the Dominions would not be justified as a measure of migration policy and if opportunities for the investment of capital from the United Kingdom are to be created it must be as the result of the policy of Dominion Governments themselves.

112. The development of secondary production in the Dominions has progressed rapidly during recent years. In our view the growth of secondary industries in the Dominions should have an important effect on the capacity of the Dominions to absorb migrants from the United Kingdom, not only because such development should enable the Dominions to support a larger population, but also because it provides a wider and more attractive occupational field for migrants from this country.

113. A greater measure of planned co-operation than has existed in the past is in our opinion desirable if full advantage is to be taken of the opportunities afforded by industrial expansion in the Dominions for the absorption of migrants from this country. It seems to us desirable that there should exist in the Dominions, in so far as it does not exist already, machinery through which the current needs of the Dominions for specific types of workers may be ascertained as precisely as possible and through which these needs may be correlated with the supply available in this country.

114. Every possible care should be taken so to direct the policy of assisted migration as to avoid giving the least cause for any apprehension on the part of labour in the Dominions that standards of living are being endangered. If it is recognized that policy is directed towards creating wider opportunities for

settlement in the Dominions while at the same time providing reasonable safeguards for the standards of living in the countries of settlement, we feel confident that the active co-operation of organized labour both in this country and in the Dominions will not fail to be forthcoming. Interchanges of views between organized labour in the Dominions and the United Kingdom would, of course, much enhance the value of such co-operation.

115. As regards specific methods of migration, our view is that financial assistance should not be given, save in very exceptional circumstances, to schemes of land settlement and development, but that reliance should be placed primarily upon "infiltration". A process of infiltration can most effectively be facilitated by the nomination system, whereby persons resident in the United Kingdom may be nominated by individuals or approved organizations overseas for the grant of assisted passages. The reopening by the Dominions of a flexible nomination system would be the most hopeful method of bringing about once more a steady flow of population. We heartily welcome the steps which the Government of the Commonwealth of Australia have already taken in this direction. Facilities for the migration of single women are especially important.

116. The effect of social insurance schemes on migration-mindedness is of the utmost importance and as soon as any Dominion Government adopts a scheme of social insurance comparable with that in operation in the United Kingdom we think that the United Kingdom Government and the Government of the Dominion concerned should at once explore the possibility of establishing forthwith the utmost reciprocity of which the schemes permit.

117. Whilst we have dealt primarily with the question of assisted migration we attach the utmost importance to the creation of conditions such as will foster the free and spontaneous movement of population, with the minimum of Government supervision, in response to the natural economic attraction of oversea countries and of widening the scope of the classes to which migration appeals. For this reason we favour the establishment under appropriate conditions of reduced passage rates which while bringing the cost of the passage within the reach of the average person desiring to proceed overseas yet leave the settler on arrival overseas within the category of an unassisted migrant.

118. Everything possible should be done to familiarize the population of this country with the Dominions and the conditions of life overseas, for example, by giving greater prominence to Empire subjects in the curricula of schools and by making an increased use of such media as films. Any means of bringing about closer intercourse between the various parts of the Empire

should be encouraged, e.g., by the cheapening of methods of communication, the encouragement of visits by representative United Kingdom workers to the Dominions and of representative Dominion workers to the United Kingdom, organized visits or temporary exchanges of school children, teachers and others, and reduction in the cost of return tickets between this country and the Dominions.

119. When a substantial volume of migration is in prospect or is taking place machinery should be provided, as in former years, for making available full and reliable information regarding the Dominions and for giving advice to the intending migrant as to the best means of achieving his objective. Even before a definite demand manifests itself, it may be desirable to consider means for a more ready supply of information as to conditions overseas and for assisting the public generally to visualize the Dominions as they are to-day.

DEVONSHIRE,
Chairman.

C. R. PRICE,
W. GARNETT,
Joint Secretaries.

May, 1938.

APPENDIX I.

GENERAL REDUCED PASSAGE RATES.

Extract from the Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Migration Policy (Cmd. 4689).

95. Assuming the existence of conditions overseas which will attract a substantial volume of unassisted migrants, these will inevitably be considerable numbers of persons who would make admirable settlers and who desire to migrate, but who are prevented from doing so by inability to provide or secure the money necessary for the conveyance of themselves and their dependents overseas. It appears to us that the Government should provide assistance within certain limits to meet this difficulty.

96. The following considerations should be taken into account in connection with any such scheme:—

(a) It is desirable that the migrant should be made to feel as far as possible that he is in fact an unassisted migrant, proceeding independently and on his own resources. For this reason the assistance should preferably be provided in the form of a reduced passage and not of a free passage; and it should be open to all migrants who are prepared to travel third-class and not merely to such migrants as produce evidence of need.

(b) In fairness to the Shipping Companies and to avoid repercussions on their higher-class and tourist fares and on their inward passage rates, it should be made clear to the public that, while the acceptance of the general reduced passage rate* does not in any way derogate from the independence of the migrant, it is an uneconomic rate which the Companies could not afford to provide without assistance from the Government.

(c) It is important that any general reduced rate should be withdrawn if and when conditions become adverse to successful migration. In so far as the existence of such a rate had the effect of inducing persons to migrate in unsuitable conditions, or with doubtful prospects of success, it would be definitely uneconomic.

(d) The general reduced rate should, if possible, be an inclusive rate to the final place of settlement. It was a definite drawback to the £10 rate to Canada which was in operation from 1929 to 1931, that the migrant desiring to proceed to the Prairie Provinces or British Columbia found that a substantial additional sum was required to carry him from the port of arrival to his place of settlement. If and when conditions appear to justify such a scheme in the case of Canada, consideration should, in our opinion, be given to the possibility of establishing an inclusive ocean and land rate from any point in Great Britain or Northern Ireland to any point (a) east of and including Montreal, (b) west of Montreal and east of and up to and including Winnipeg, and (c) west of Winnipeg. In view of the far greater proportion borne by the ocean fare to the land fare in the case of Australia and New Zealand, it would perhaps be possible to establish an inclusive fare from any point in Great Britain or Northern Ireland to any point in Australia or New Zealand.

97. In the light of these considerations the general reduced passage rates for migrants paying their own way which we would regard as suitable are in the region of £10, £12 and £14 respectively for the three areas into which Canada is divided in the preceding paragraph, and of £17 10s.

* The term "general reduced rate" is used to describe a passage rate open to all migrants paying their own way, as distinct from the special nomination rate.

in the case of Australia and New Zealand.* We are of the opinion that the cost of a scheme of this kind should not be borne by the United Kingdom Government alone, but should be equitably shared between the Governments and/or public or private organisations concerned, and that in no case should the share of the United Kingdom Government exceed 50 per cent.

99. It is to be observed that, inasmuch as a general reduced passage rate must be open to all migrants (see paragraph 96 (a)), its benefits will inevitably be extended to a number of migrants who would otherwise have been willing and able to pay the ordinary fare; and that to this extent Government expenditure in providing a cheap fare is ineffective in producing additional migration. The figures relating to the £10 passage rate to Canada† (in the case of which the cost to the United Kingdom Government was £4 7s. 6d. per adult) would appear to show—although it is impossible to draw conclusions from these figures with any confidence—that probably not more than one-third of the number of those who travelled at the reduced rate would have migrated at the ordinary rate. Provided that the cost per head to the United Kingdom Government of the cheap rate is not too high, it would appear to us to be worth while, on account of the wider considerations involved, to incur this ineffective expenditure in the provision of general reduced passage rates.

100. For the reasons stated in paragraph 96 we should regard the introduction of general reduced passage rates for migrants to the Dominions as the most effective measure of stimulating satisfactory migration within the Empire as soon as economic circumstances become favourable to such migration. It would enable many who would otherwise have been unable to migrate to do so without thereby being treated by the overseas Governments as though they were "assisted" migrants or being limited to certain areas or certain classes of occupation, and to find their own level with the minimum of disturbance to the social structure and external markets of their new country. Moreover, it affords no encouragement to the belief, which has prejudiced many migration schemes, that the migrant is not in the last resort dependent upon himself for his success or failure.

* The present full ocean fare to Quebec is £17 5s., and the present rail fare from Quebec to (a) Montreal is \$4.90, (b) Winnipeg \$25.00, (c) Vancouver \$46.25. The present full ocean fare to Australia or New Zealand is £38.

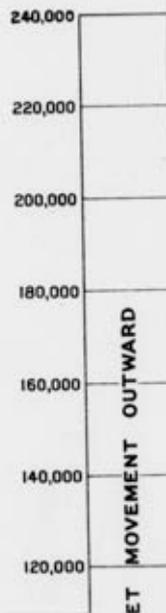
† The figures in the following table show the total numbers of migrants to Canada in the year 1928, and in the years 1929, 1930 and 1931 during which the £10 rate was available:—

	<i>Assisted under Empire Settlement Act.</i>	<i>Paying their own way at the ordinary fare (£18 15s.).</i>	<i>Paying their own way (£10 rate).</i>	<i>Total.</i>
1928	24,890	29,819	—	54,709
1929	21,012	7,272	37,274	65,558
1930	8,327	5,340	17,407	31,074
1931	1,239	2,814	3,567	7,620

It will be seen that there was an increase in the movement of persons paying their own way from the United Kingdom to Canada of 46 per cent. in 1929 over 1928. Unfortunately, economic conditions proved adverse in 1929 and the succeeding years, and it was therefore impossible to subject the £10 rate to an effective test. In fact, owing to the decrease in sailings, it was decided to discontinue the rate in October, 1931.

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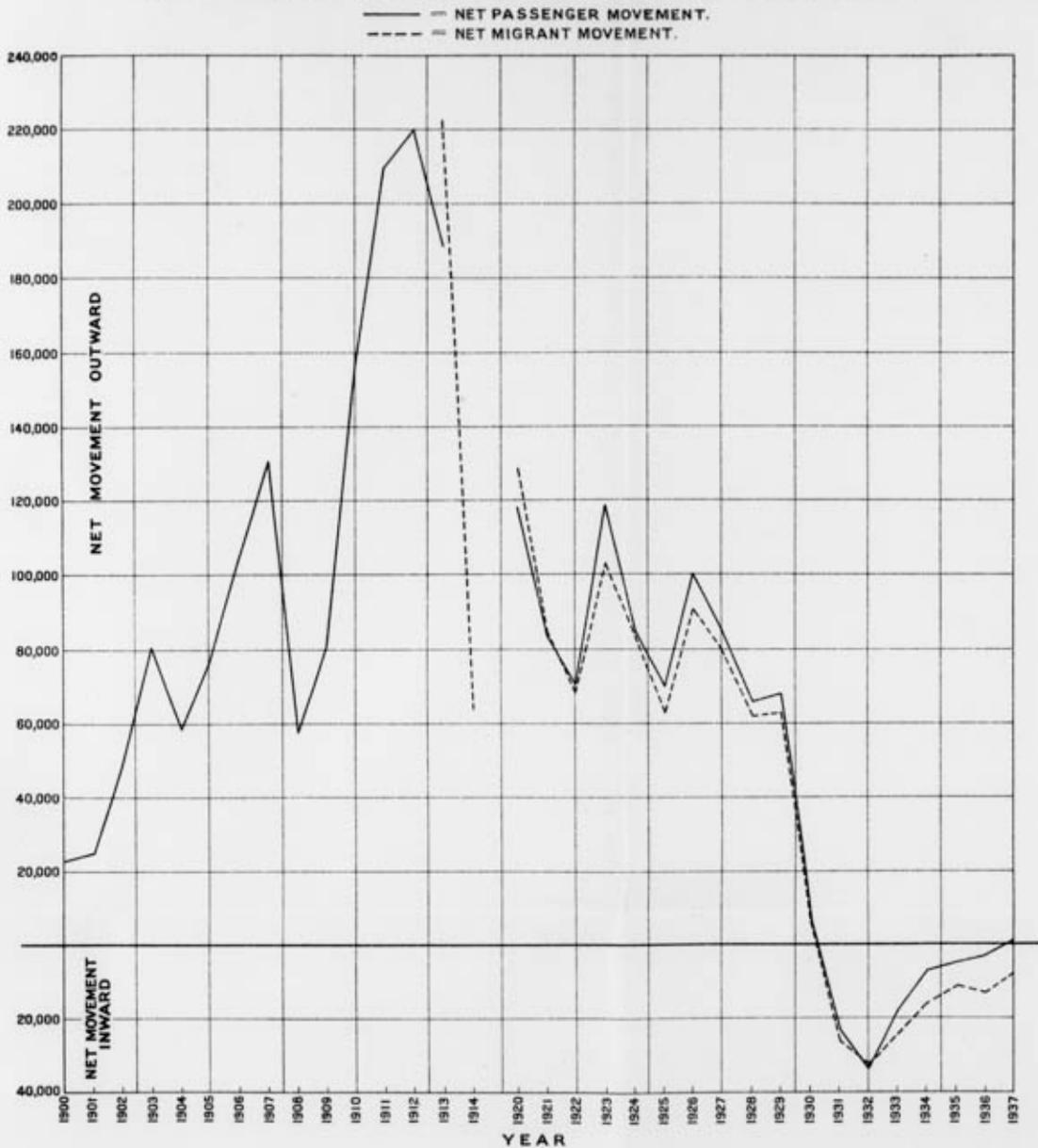


APPENDIX II

EXCESS OF OUTWARD OVER INWARD MOVEMENT OF (A) PASSENGERS, AND (B) MIGRANTS:
OF BRITISH NATIONALITY FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM TO OTHER PARTS OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE - 1900-1937.

Notes (1) Annual Migration figures were not published before 1913.

(2) From the 1st April 1923, the figures are exclusive of passengers who departed from or arrived at ports of Eire.



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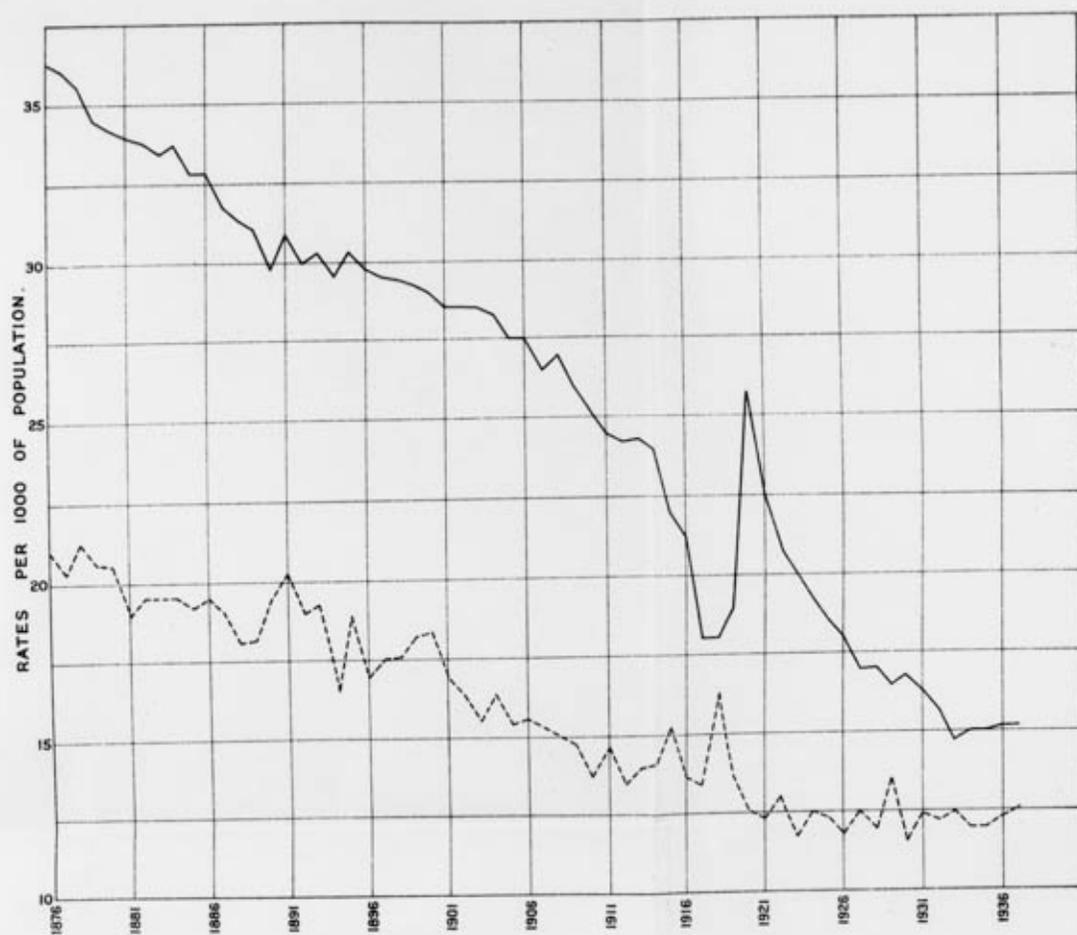
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APPENDIX III

CRUDE BIRTH AND DEATH RATES IN GREAT BRITAIN. 1876-1936

— BIRTH RATE.
- - - DEATH RATE.



JUN 1958

MAIDA VALL 3769.

National Contribution
"FREELAND"
LEAGUE FOR JEWISH TERRITORIAL COLONISATION

69 ABERDARE GARDENS,
LONDON, N.W.6.

June 24th.1938.

The Hon. Myron C. Taylor
Chairman of the Refugee Conference
in Evian
c/o American Embassy
Paris

Dear Sir,

On behalf of the "Freeland League" for Jewish Territorial colonisation I have the honour to transmit to you the enclosed memorandum. Our movement has the support of influential circles of British Jewry and also enjoys the sympathy of important non-Jews in England and the British Empire. It has branches in the various countries of Europe.

The "Freeland League" intends to send representatives (the Chairman - Mr. L. Kessler and the Hon. Secretary - Dr. I. N. Steinberg) to Evian who will be at your disposal to further illucidate any points with regard to the memorandum and to the program of our movement.

I should much appreciate if you could already now make an appointment to see our representatives in Evian.

I am, dear Sir,

Yours faithfully

Dr. I. Steinberg

MAIDA VALE 3769

"FREELAND"

LEAGUE FOR JEWISH TERRITORIAL COLONISATION

69 ABERDARE GARDENS,
LONDON, N.W.6.

24th. June 1938.

To the Chairman and the Delegates of the Conference
for Refugees in Evian.

The "Freeland League" for Jewish Territorial Colonisation welcomes the Conference in Evian called by the generous initiative of President Roosevelt, as the first long-range attempt to treat the problem of refugees on a basis of statesmanship and international cooperation.

The present persecution of Jews in Germany differs in important respects from others which history unfortunately records. At the time of the Spanish Inquisition it was possible for threatened victims to change their religion, and thus place themselves outside the net of the Inquisitor. Further, opportunities existed for emigration into many countries of Europe which at that time harboured only a fraction of their present-day population. Again, the systematic spoliation of

the victims of their property did not take place, and emigrants were enabled to re-establish themselves in new countries with a facility which is denied them to-day. Moreover, the transfer of the basis of persecution from a religious or political footing to a pseudo-racial basis, enhances, in a way that scarcely be described, the cruelty of the case. The persecution spares neither young nor old, man, woman or child. We are dealing here with the deliberate and planned extinction of a community, only differing from the Armenian persecutions in that it is not done in a moment with a knife, but in cold and slowly protracted pogrom, whose agony continues from year to year. The persecution is associated with every conceivable humiliation and insult, and we would refer in this connection to the account given by Mr. James MacDonald, the former Commissioner of Refugees in the Report with which he laid down his office. Unhappily, since his departure the venom of the persecution has been greatly accentuated.

This policy of persecution which is a major factor of Nazi-policy, has led to the creation of masses of refugees. By her purely internal legislation, without any consideration for the interests of other states, Germany, (including now the

territory of the former Austria) has deprived hundreds of thousands of her Jewish and so-called "non-Aryan" citizens of their civil rights and their property and is forcing people whose families have been settled for centuries in Germany, to leave their native land as destitute refugees. Fears are well-founded that other states, harbouring minorities within their boundaries, may apply similar measures in the mistaken idea that they may thereby overcome their own internal difficulties. Thus Roumania has recently undertaken the investigation of the national status of her whole Jewish population, while in Poland authoritative personalities in government circles demand the exodus of a large portion of its Jewish population.

It is unnecessary to dwell further on the unspeakable human suffering inflicted on these, personally innocent, refugees who, together with their children, endure in a time of peace all the terrors of war, never knowing from one day to the next what is in store for them. But even without considering the human aspect of the problem, it must be clear, that the influx of dispossessed men and women must have political, social and economic repercussions in all other states. It is obvious that by creating a multitude of actual and masses of potential refugees in their countries, the governments concerned are in effect interfering in the internal

affairs of other countries. The continued existence of this unprecedented situation in modern Europe is bound to spread unrest in the world.

The refugee problem has become an international problem which can be solved only by the international cooperation of states.

This is why we - and with us certainly all minorities threatend with persecution - hope that the Conference will first of all formulate its protest against the barbarous persecution which has been conducted with ever growing intensity by the Nazi-government since 1933. It would be of the utmost significance if the representatives of the nations assembled in Evian were to demand that the outlawing, expropriating and expelling of sections of population on account of their being Jews, should stop. This would give encouragement to the distressed masses in various countries, now looking panic-stricken into the future, and at the same time would be a warning to other governments against adopting measures regardless of their effect on the rest of the world.

Already to-day masses of refugees are scattered throughout the world, and doubtlessly greater numbers will soon follow. Thus a great plan of relief must be worked out corresponding to the enormous distress and reconcilable with the interests of the states receiving them.

Two lines of action have so far been developed, both of which must be credited with considerable success. The well-known Jewish R e l i e f organisations have saved many thousands of refugees and their families from starvation and despair, by assisting them to emigrate to other countries, by education and economic readjustments. The Z i o n i s t World Organisation has transplanted many thousands of German Jews to Palestine, where they, and especially the younger generation, have found a home and the security to work.

Yet it has become evident in recent years, that these two methods alone cannot solve the problem. Jewish charity, magnanimous though it has shown itself to be, cannot procure inexhaustible means, especially when the disaster affects ever growing numbers of sufferers. It can ease the sufferings of individual families, but it cannot - by its very nature - alter the position of the Jewish communities concerned. Moreover, there

is the danger that the infiltration of Jewish individuals may have certain undesirable consequences; for competition with the established population is likely to result in economic and social conflicts. Thus the refugee problem is not solved but only postponed and transplanted.

The Zionist movement early recognised the hopelessness of mere philanthropic and planless emigration, and owes its success to the constructive nature of its program. Its achievements in Palestine are now obvious to all observers, and have been publicly recognised in the authoritative report of the Royal Commission presided over by the late Lord Peel. The immediate possibilities of Palestine, however, fall far short of the pressing needs for emigration. The natural increase of the Jewish population in Poland alone is about 40,000 a year, and it is evident, that Palestine cannot now absorb the masses of emigrants from other countries of Europe as well.

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There is no more doubt, that for a satisfactory solution of the problem of refugees it is necessary to find another large territory for close settlement. Empty spaces suitable for colonisation on a



large scale, still exist within the British Empire and elsewhere.

If such a scheme is to succeed, certain conditions must be satisfied.

- 1) the area must be sufficiently large to permit a colonisation on a large scale and to allow of the future expansion of immigration.
- 2) the area must be otherwise uninhabited or scarcely populated so as to avoid competition with the native population.
- 3) it should be clearly understood that the movement has no political aspirations. The settlement would consider itself as a part of the state granting the territory, and the settlers would become its citizens.
- 4) the settlement should be planned to provide the essentials of a communal life on the natural basis of agriculture, artisanship and industry.
- 5) the means of colonisation should be provided by financial institutions on business lines. No doubt Jewish communities will be prepared to assist towards raising the necessary funds, but to assure success it would be essential to secure an internationally guaranteed loan or financial help in some other

approved form.

The practicability of such a scheme is no less obvious than its urgency. Large numbers of capable, industrious men and women are ready to do pioneering work. Should the possibility of a new land, where they could live and work in security and peace, flash before the eyes of the Jewish masses, their imagination would be kindled and even larger numbers would be ready to undergo training. From helpless and hopeless refugees they would turn into purposeful immigrants, willing to devote their hitherto thwarted energy to constructive labour.

It is safe to predict that settlement on the lines here suggested, would be advantageous also to the country granting the territory. Not only would areas now idle be brought under cultivation, but the settlers would be certain to make important contributions to the larger economic and cultural life of the country as a whole.

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We are not blind to the many difficulties in the way of such a plan. This Conference may be unable itself to arrive at any decision regarding the choice of territory. But it would be a fact of historic significance if the Conference of Powers

were to express its general approval of the solution here suggested and were to initiate steps for the further study and prosecution of the idea.

In the meantime the immediate needs of the Jewish refugees call urgently for consideration. Every country, the world over, could do much to remedy the evils now existing, by relaxing restrictions on entry now in force, and by organising relief. Yet such plans for dealing with immediate needs would be greatly facilitated if at the same time preparations are made for colonisation on a large scale.

Great human needs always have demanded great solutions. A solution will be found to-day if the representatives of the nations show vision and statesmanship. In their distress the Jewish citizens ask the other nations, firstly to protect their human rights to live and work in their native lands and, secondly, to transform a painful process of emigration into a creative one, to the benefit of humanity at large.

For the "Freeland League"

Hon. President

Charles D. Seligman

Sir Charles D. Seligman

Hon. Chairman

L. Kessler

L. Kessler

Hon. Secretary

Dr. I. Steinberg

Dr. I. Steinberg

From the Minant. Jan 29/38
Refugees.

M E M O R A N D U M

on certain aspects of the connection of the International Labour Office with the work of international assistance to Refugees.

The first international body set up by the League of Nations to deal with the Russian refugee problem, the earliest of such problems to present itself, was in effect the development of an organisation established immediately after the war to deal with the question of repatriation of prisoners of war. The new refugee organisation was organised as a High Commission for Refugees and the High Commissioner was the late Dr. Nansen.

Experience soon proved that the original elements in the question of the organisation of international assistance to refugees under the League of Nations were:

- 1) The provision of the necessary administrative funds to pay the salaries and office expenses of the officials engaged in the work;
- 2) The question of the political protection of the refugees, regarding such aspects as their juridical status and the disabilities from which they suffered owing to their lack of consular protection in the countries of refuge;
- 3) The distribution and co-ordination of funds for feeding, relief and charitable work generally; .
- 4) The organisation of facilities for migration and settlement, either by the provision of the necessary identity papers and visas, or by the obtaining of labour contracts enabling employment to be obtained on arrival in the country of refuge, or both;
- 5) Plans for assisting settlement and for finding employment for refugees in the countries of greatest refugee concentration.

These five elements have remained constant in all international work of this sort, but, in accordance with the emphasis placed upon one or other of the elements, so from time to time the machinery for accomplishing the work has changed in character.

At the beginning, all the functions enumerated above were performed by the High Commission for Refugees, which obtained the whole of its administrative funds from the League of Nations. This arrangement continued until 1925, when, for various reasons, it was decided to try the experiment of placing the functions of finding employment and organising migration under the International Labour Office. The other functions, such as political protection and expenditure of charitable funds, were maintained theoretically under the League of Nations, as the International Labour Office was unable to accept responsibility for them. After some considerable experience it was finally decided in 1930 that it was impossible for the International Labour Office to continue the work and that it should be returned to the League of Nations.

The reasons for this step were, firstly, ^{the fact} that the International Labour Office was not by its constitution capacitated for the organisation of active settlement work, and, secondly, because of the five major elements enumerated above, at the most, only two - and not the most important - seemed to be nearer the category of the International Labour Office functions than to those of the League of Nations. Furthermore, it was realised that any connection of the International Labour Office - an essentially non-political body - with political refugees would necessarily make for complication in the relations of the Office with the Governments from whose territories the refugees had been forced to leave.

At this juncture it began to be increasingly realised that a separate international body, with a fairly loose connection with the League of Nations, presented the most advantageous type of organisation.

In 1930, therefore, plans were made to set up the Nansen Office, and it has remained until to-day the principal Geneva organisation dealing with refugees. It is interesting, however, to note that although the Nansen Office does, in fact, concern itself with all the five elements previously enumerated, it nevertheless receives its right to deal with the question of the quasi-consular protection of the refugees in virtue of a special arrangement made by the League, with whom responsibility for that

particular function is invested by the Assembly.

Shortly after the formation of the Nansen Office, and with the appearance of the problem of the refugees from Germany, a High Commission was set up, with headquarters in London, to deal with these particular refugees.

It should be added that the International Labour Office has no official connection with the London High Commission for Refugees from Germany, and that its only connection with the Nansen Office is that the Director of the International Labour Office, in a personal capacity, is represented on the Governing Body of the Nansen Office. It will, therefore, be seen that since the transfer of the refugee work from the International Labour Office back to the League of Nations, the connection of the Office with the refugee work has been of the very slightest, and has, in fact, been limited to the supply of general information on labour questions to the competent bodies when this has been requested by them, and to the personal representation of the Director on the Governing Body of the Nansen Office.

On the 5 October, 1937, the Assembly adopted a resolution asking the Council of the League to prepare for the 1938 Assembly a plan covering international assistance to refugees.

The Council set up a small Committee to deal with this question.

At its one hundred and first session in May the Council received a report from this committee and sent it to the States Members of the League, to the United States Governments and to the Brazilian Government. It also requested the Secretary General to consult with Judge Hansson, the President of the Governing Body of the Nansen Office, and with Sir Neil Malcolm, the High Commissioner for refugees coming from Germany, to draw up a detailed plan based on the recommendations of the report of the Council.

The proposals of the Council Committee for the future work were, roughly, the following:

- 1) It was decided to create a single organisation for all the categories of refugees in which the League was interested, that is to say, for those under the Nansen Office and for those under the High Commissioner for refugees from Germany.

2) It was decided that this new organisation should be directed by a person to be named by the League of Nations as "High Commissioner for the Refugees placed under the protection of the League of Nations". This High Commissioner is to be assisted by a small staff, none of whom are to be refugees or ex-refugees, and the administrative expenses, including the salary of the High Commissioner, are to be voted from the ordinary budget of the League. The functions of the High Commissioner are to be more or less as follows:

a) He is to be charged with the application of the International Convention covering the legal status of refugees;

b) He is to facilitate co-ordination of the work of charitable assistance; and

c) He is to assist, as far as possible, governmental and private efforts concerned with the emigration and definite settlement of the refugees. For this purpose he is to maintain contact with interested Governments and with the private organisations dealing with the refugee questions.

It is also suggested that he should maintain a system of representatives of his High Commission in the various countries where the refugees are.

It is suggested that the next Assembly should name this High Commissioner at once, so as to enable the preliminary arrangements for the transfer to be made, seeing that the existing Nansen Office and the present High Commission for refugees from Germany are both to be liquidated by the 31 December 1938.

It is understood that the detailed plan which the Secretary-General, Judge Hansson and General Malcolm are to prepare is to be such as to allow the new High Commissioner some latitude regarding the accomplishment of his task. For example, the question of the seat of the new High Commission is to be left open. Furthermore, this plan will not be completed until the results of the Evian Conference are known.

It will be seen therefore that the International Labour Office can hardly be regarded as amongst the bodies in Geneva who are considered by the authorities as having competence in the general question of refugees

and that it would apparently fall to the League of Nations to provide such expert assistance as might be asked for by the Conference.

On the other hand, the Office is interested and expert in certain questions of migration and colonisation. Part of its duty under the treaty is to disseminate information on all questions such as those which have a social implication, and, in fact, in the periodical publications of the Office a great deal of information has appeared from time to time which might be of considerable interest to those concerned with the questions of finding employment for, and assisting the migration of the various categories of refugees. Annexed to this Memorandum is a collection of all such notices as have appeared during the last three years. It is possible that they may be of use to the U.S.A. Delegation, and perhaps to the Conference as a whole.

It is of course obvious that the dividing line between a migrant and a refugee is extremely **hard** to draw.

In this Office, in which as regards matters of migration we have to deal chiefly with Governments, efforts have always been made to establish a definite distinction, and this distinction has been found to repose, in practice, upon the fact that the ordinary migrant leaves the country of his birth for the country of his adoption in possession of a national passport which enables not only his protection by the consuls of his country but also his automatic return to his own country if that should become necessary.

A refugee, on the other hand, leaves as the result of sudden political and economic pressure, usually of a pressing character, and does not enjoy the right of automatic return to his country based on his possession of a national passport.

It is the understanding of the Office that the United States Government ^{called} ~~decided to call~~ the forthcoming inter-Governmental Conference on Refugees, and that arrangements have been made to hold it in Evian.

It is further understood that since it is to be held in France the French Government has taken over the

responsibility for the organisation of the Conference, and that the League has been asked by this Government to assign translators to assist it in the work of the Conference.

✓ The assignment of additional personnel of this character from the Office could be effected if such a request were made.

29.6.1938.

5/25/38
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MEMOIR

ON THE PROJECT OF A JEWISH AGRICULTURAL SETTLEMENT
OVERSEA .

The fact that thousands of Viennese Jews are put under the necessity of looking out for a new existence has induced us to consider the creation of new possibilities of life for them .

The actual critical state of world economics leaves little possibility for the working Jew, thrown out of employment or profession, to find labour as employee or simple worker; even specialists would hardly be able to find a position in economic life . This refers as well to industry as to agriculture . The sole possibility for this people lies in the colonisation of virgin soil in under- peopled countries.

The general overproduction of agricultural products on all international markets may constitute to a certain degree a hindrance to such colonial schemes, nevertheless it is evident,

that the existant possibilities of sale would be hardly influenced to their disadvantage by settlements living in general from the products of their own ground. In any case it will last at least two years till our future agricultural settlements will be able to put their products on international markets . Nevertheless the intentions of emigrating Jews are by no means going so far as they have the sole desire to possess a roof overhead and to earn their daily bread .

The unnatural apportionment of professions amongst German Jews, which is the result of a long historical evolution (more than thousand years of confinement in ghettos in combination with the fact, that even in the last century German Jews had been excluded from so many professions, not by law , but practically) is now one of the most conspicuous motives of antisemitism . In our opinion the actual status can only be radically amended by a total regrouping and transition to more agricultural and mechanic occupations in Jewish colonies. The sole solution of the Jewish problem therefore consists in the reconduction of Jewry to agricultural and colonial work , involving by itself a stoppage to further expansion of intellectual callings amongst them .

This work of reconstruction on agricultural basis by no means implies the necessity of abandoning the cultural level already attained by Austrian Jews .

A rather primitive standard of culture constitutes by no means a principal condition for agricultural progress, on the contrary, the high educated cultivator has many advantages on his side; an instant in point is that of the high cultivated Danish peasant, so successful in dairy on rather bad and sandy soil. We therefore resolved to proceed working on a sound scientific and technical basis and to do all in our power to transform our over- educated town - people into high cultivated farmers and colonists.

Each agricultural settlement would consist of approximately 500 families, about half of which would be sent in advance as pioneers to the adoptive country in order to clear the virgin land for tillage and these would have to do the hardest work. As soon as the most primitive necessities of life would be secured, the rest of our group would follow from Europe. Only absolutely sound and capable persons are enlisted as pioneers and these would begin working on a detailed scheme.

Till now our main occupation was to assemble people, willing to do agricultural labour, to examine their qualification for their new vocation and to train the unschooled ones for agricultural and technical work. Moreover referees have been designated for the technical, constructive, agricultural and sanitary preparative work to be achieved. These have already set to work and done it as far as possible.

The following

G E N E R A L P L A N

has been worked out for our colonising activity, giving the outlines and subject to even radical changes according to local requirements.

The general conditions for the creation of the projected agricultural settlement are:

1) Every settler has to engage himself to cultivate his ground strictly in conformity with detailed plans, worked out by the referees and to exercise besides of his agricultural activity a profession according to his education or later training, necessary to secure the prosperity of the colony.

2) Machinery and implements have been secured according to detailed plans and will be carried along with us from Vienna.

3) The main point is to ensure the self-supply of rather a great number of people, therefore our adoptive country has to care for the concession of productive lands, suitable for intense cultivation. Of course we could only subsist under a climate appropriate for Europeans.

4) The German Government has to give us the permit for emigration and for carrying with us the necessary machinery and implements . In conclusion the foreign Jewish organisations have to grant us moral and material assistance .

The group of pioneers consists of :

- 105 married couples,
- 105 unmarried men at the age of 18-30 years,
- 53 " " over 30 years,
- 51 single women at the age of 19-30 years
- 17 single women over 30 years ,
- 45 boys under 18 years,
- 36 girls under 18 years .

The pioneer- group comprises the following professional subdivisions:

- 1) technical group : about 50 persons, engineers, technicians, metal workers , woodworkers, builder's workmen ,
- 2) group of handicraftsmen : 20 master- craftsmen : one upholsterer, tinsmith , butcher , smoked meat butcher, baker , miller , saddler , shoemaker, tailor, tanner, rope- maker , cooper , hat- maker, slater, turner , watchmaker, farrier , shipwright ;
- 3) agricultural labourers : all members have pledged themselves to do agricultural work , when necessary, without discrimination, even those of the foregoing groups . Excepted are only our medical men ,who, apart from their medical activity, are employed in the administrative and educational service .

In Vienna there will be remaining a rear guard command, which has to form further groups out of the persons and families registered as members, according to the requirements and instructions had from the colonial headquarters .The training courses for these persons will be continued .

As soon as we shall be honoured with positive news or a promise from the part of the Australian Government a commission will be formed and leave for Australia . This commission will consist of the organising managers, the chief agronomical expert , the chief technical expert and a physician and will be charged with the following tasks :

- 1) to come to a definite agreement as to the concession of the area in question,
- 2) to inspect and survey this area ,
- 3) to undertake precise investigations with regard to the nature of labour to be done and to work out the necessary amendments to our plan of organisation in strict accordance with actual local requirements .

Now this commission sends it report with instructions and marching order to the leaders of Vienna, which have to fulfill them, providing for the additional wants of the colony (purchase of machines , implements , outfitting), according to dispositions received .

Until the arrival of the main body of the pioneer -

group the experts have to procure themselves reliable information as to the customary working methods of the adoptive country and its sanitary conditions, working out the necessary addenda to the plan of organisation. Whilst the experts of our commission on the spot are occupied in this way, the organising managers of the commission have to care for accommodation in the eventual halting places for the main body of the group, according to detailed marching order. Whilst all persons, capable to do hard labour, are proceeding towards the colony without hesitation, the women and children are to remain in a halting place until the necessary barracks are erected in the colony. Until arrival of the pioneers the organising manager has to provide for all building materials for the first barracks, not to be had on the spot, in order to avoid any delay. As in Australia timber construction is prevailing, we shall adopt this method for buildings.

Now begins the practical labour of foundation:

Whilst all workmen of the agricultural group are busy to clear the land for tillage, the technical group has to fit up the tractor, brought from Vienna, in order to supply mechanical energy. If wood is available on the spot, a frame saw will be erected to supply timber. A provisional plan is being built (temporary barracks, temporary central kitchen, closets, temporary water - conduit) vide annex No 1.

As soon as cleared land is available, vegetables and other suitable plants are cultivated to smother the alimentation of the pioneers, which in the beginning is based in general on victuals, bought in the neighbourhood, vide annex No 2. As soon as the first vegetables are ripe and the temporary barracks built, women and children, left back in a halting place will be fetched. Now labour is actively pushed forward.

The following technical plant is projected:

- 1) a fitting shop to reassemble and fit up the machines brought from Vienna and to place them at the proper location.
- 2) a carpenter's yard for further treatment of logs,
- 3) further frame saws according to requirements,
- 4) a joinery,
- 5) a permanent power station on waterpower basis or if not feasible on wood-gas basis, supplied by generator, built of refractory materials and motor,
- 6) a working yard for the manufacture of air-bricks,
- 7) an engine-house containing all stationary machines,
- 8) a mechanical workshop,
- 9) a forge and fitting shop.

Details vide annex No 3.

After creation of the carpenter's yard and the first temporary barracks 25 carpenters under a master-carpenter will begin to manufacture in series the elements of construction of the permanent wooden dwelling-houses in standardized types. These would be stocked until clearance of ground is so far advanced as to allow the erection of the houses at their proper locations. This work will not be undertaken until the first crops are gathered in and must be finished before the cold time is coming. Therefore all available hands of the colony will be applied to this labour.

Should no wood be available, other materials, to be had on the spot, will be employed for the construction of the permanent dwelling houses. Our chief expert of the investigative commission on the spot has to gather the necessary informations with regard to this question, rectifying our technical plan, if necessary. In this case he has to send a report per airmail to our Vienna engineers, ordering them to purchase the necessary additional materials or implements, which would then be carried from Vienna by our pioneer-group.

Our technicians for constructional work dispose of a long practical experience not only in timber-work, but also in stone- & brick-structure, in building under use of reed, of plaster of Paris paving slabs and of concrete.

Regarding our agricultural program we can only give some general hints as to our intentions:

- 1) The main object of farming in the settlement will be the self-supply of foodstuffs for the settlers. Therefore first of all vegetables, cereals, fodderplants, and later on fruit will be grown.
- 2) Particular attention will be devoted to stock-raising and dairying.
- 3) In a later period, after having cleared sufficient ground for tillage, farming, cattle-breeding and dairy will be developed, so as to furnish products for sale. No raw products, but only final products will be put on the market to ensure higher prices.
- 4) For the clearance of soil there will be available mobile motor-driven saws and a squad of manual workers.

As agricultural work can only prosper under constant care for weeding, all available hands will be used for this purpose. It is for saving labour in the homes, that a central kitchen will be created and the unemployed female hands will be available for weeding and other labour.

Agricultural machinery and implements carried with us from Vienna are enumerated in annex No 4. Changes will be made by instruction of our agronomical expert (of our investigative commission on the spot) in agreement with the agricultural authorities of the adoptive country.

For water supply there will be a special squad of well-sinkers, whose activity is described in Annex No 1. Probably the machines and implements, now at our disposal, will not be sufficient, therefore the technicians of our investigative commission have to pay special attention to this point.

Canalisation would be commenced according to requirements. A special squad will be trained for this purpose.

For masonry of every description a small staff will be available, disposing only of hand-tools .

Electric light will be installed as soon as possible .

An important item will be the creation of a chemical laboratory according to annex 5 . This department will be enlarged as soon as possible in order to produce preserves of any description for exportation .

The sanitary service would be in good hands with our medical men, accompanying the group . As soon as possible an infirmary will be created ; a staff of nurseries will be chosen amongst women . The necessary medical apparatus and instruments are of private property, but would be held at the disposal of the community . A pharmaceutical equipment is in preparation .

In order to dispose of a well - trained and well - organised fire-brigade an adequate number of men will undergo a special training .

As means of conveyance there will be available private automobiles , motor-cycles, bicycles, but, in general, carts, drawn by animals, made by our cartwrights and smiths to design . In case of impassableness of ground for motorized vehicles, horses will be bought for transportation of persons and goods .

Of course we shall endeavour to remain in constant contact with the next town or village, either by vehicles or horsemen . In case of a navigable river being in vicinity, canoes and boats will be built to plans by our shipwrights .

For alarm sirenes will be disposed suitably, to be audible even in the fields . Reflectors and acetylen lamps will be brought from Vienna .

Carrying and possession of firearms would be only allowed under special regulations and the most severe control of the managing board of the colony and the local authorities . Eventually the weapons will be kept in an arsenal belonging to the community .

We Austrian Jews have the firm intention to do pioneer and high-culture work for us and for our adoptive country . Our decision to create a settlement , prosecuting all branches of agriculture with zeal and vigour, is born under the stress of circumstances and time , but corresponds at the same time to an old and high ideal of the Jewish people: to return to a native ground of their own .

In the course of long centuries, we Austrian Jews have given ample proof of being not only a good-hearted people , but also excellent citizens and we will always conscientiously endeavour to do our duty in our adoptive country .

Vienna , May 25th 1938

Address for letters :
Siegfried David,
Vienna , (Germany , Gau Austria)
IX, Schwarzspanierstrasse No 15

For the Committee of Organisation

Friedrich Jäger, Siegfried David

Annex No 1

INITIAL TECHNICAL PROGRAM ,

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to be accomplished by our technical squad immediately on arrival in our adoptive country .

Our technical group consists of : 6 engineers, 7 technicians, 20 metal - workers, 12 wood workers, 7 mechanics, 5 builder's workmen .

The initial technical program includes the following 7 items :

I) Provisional Water - supply : Water will be drawn either from a natural source and conducted to the central-kitchen, or a well will be bored in proximity of the kitchen. If water is drawn from a river, it would have to pass a filter-plant. A centrifugal pump will be brought from Vienna .

Our water service will dispose of a squad of trained well - sinkers , equipped for deep drilling with drilling tools , boring bars and core-bits. The derrick will be constructed on the spot of wooden frame-work.

Water conduit : either wooden troughs or bored wooden pipes. Special boring apparatus for this purpose will be carried from Vienna . Wooden parts in permanent contact with water will be impregnated to prevent rotting . Wooden or concrete reservoirs and filter plants will be installed in economy to suit local wants . For domestic supply well columns will be used, provided with outlets and wooden water-cocks. Overflowing water will be used for watering cattle . All parts of fountains or wells will be made in economy and in standardized types by our carpenters and the mechanical workshop. In a later period douche installations will be made in the same manner .

II) Power supply :

Above all the locomobile with wood fired boiler and the tractor, both carried from Vienna , will be set in operation in order to drive a frame saw, fitted up at the same time and a centrifugal pump, according to momentary requirements .

As permanent stationary power plant a generator for wood-gas is planned , in order to produce adequate power for all purposes . Only the blower, the decanter, the scrubber and the gas pipes are carried from Vienna, whilst the generator itself is built ceramically on the spot . The wood gas will drive a 20 HP motor, carried from Vienna, fitted with a normal gas regulator and a spare carburettor in order to allow a later adaptation to oil fuel . As soon as there will be available unemployed hands, the generator plant will be extended to its double volume to ensure continuity of gas supply during cleaning period .

Doubling of generator will allow continued operation without breaks, during one week, as charging of fuel will be possible when running .

Should hydraulic energy be available a wooden under-shot waterwheel will be fitted between 2 floating rafts. Dimensions would be chosen to suit local conditions . Power transmission by a rope pulley in connection with a wooden bevel gear system . All wooden component parts will be made in economy . Only the iron rope - pulley will be carried with us from Vienna .

III) Wood - working . production of air - bricks .

In a well - wooded country a frame-saw will be fitted up, otherwise air- bricks will be made . Assembling of tractor and of framesaw will take place contemporaneously . Only the metal parts of the frame saw and the saw blades are carried with us from Vienna, whilst the wooden parts and the concrete foundations are made on the spot. Additional frame - saws will be fitted up when wanted .

Should wood supply be insufficient, the first temporary barracks will be made of airbricks, made on the spot .The wooden moulds for the bricks will be made in economy .

IV) Construction of first temporary barracks and of the central kitchen in combination with a baker's oven . ^{these barracks}

According to building materials available will be made either of wood , or bricks or stones to plans drawn up to the purpose .The roofs will be made of shingles, covered with asphalted card-board (made in economy in a later period).

At the outset the central kitchen will only exist of a cookery stove, covered by a mere shed . The stoves and the baker's oven will be adapted to wood firing . All buildings will be coated with a preservative paint .

V) Construction of a temporary erecting shop for reassembling and mounting of all machines carried from Vienna .

VI) Creation of the necessary network of communications .

VII) Installation of latrines .

ANNEX No 2 .
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Victualling of the Colony until first crops are got in .
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The quantities of victuals required until first crops are got in depend on various factors, as time of arrival, climate etc.

Specifying in the following the requirements of a single adult person per month, we shall be able to calculate the requirements of the whole colony for any period desired by simple multiplication .

The following quantities of victuals are required for the alimentation of an adult person during one month :

bread meal	.....15 kilograms	=	0.33 Cwt
legumes	.....4 "	=	0.08 "
potatoes or mandioka	.....20 "	=	0.4 "
fat substances	.....2 "	=	0.04 "
meat	.....6 "	=	0.32 "
vegetables	.....12 "	=	0.24 "
salt	.....0.5 "	=	0.01 "
sugar	.....2 "	=	0.04 "
	<u>61.5 "</u>		<u>1.23 Cwt</u>

+++++

Therefore the requirements for 500 persons during 6 months would figure up to (the above quantities x 3000)

bread meal	.....45 English tons ,
legumes	.....12 " "
potatoes	.....60 " "
fat substances	.....6 " "
meat	.....18 " "
vegetables	.....36 " "
sugar	.....6 " "
salt	.....1.5 " "

It is evident that only part of the vegetables must be bought, as our plantations of vegetables will yield fresh vegetables in less than 6 months .

To cover our requirements in meat cattle will be bought according to financial situation, & ttened in economy and slaughtered later on .

To inaugurate our program of cultivation the following quantities of seeds are required :

grains of cereals.....	25 Engl tons
seeds of legumes.....	5 " "
potatoes.....	0.5 " "
vegetables	quantities of seed not important

180 pieces of horned cattle must be bought as primary bovine stock, further 200 pieces of small cattle .

Annex No 3 .

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Definite technical program .

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I) Technical plant .

The colony will probably be located in a region, destitute of communications and at considerable distance from human dwellings. Therefore the complete machinery and technical outfit to erect a permanent technical plant will be carried from Vienna, allowing us to execute all repairs in economy.

The projected technical permanent plant is subdivided into the following sections :

A) Central lighting and power station : The building would be a mere shed on posts and concrete foundation. It will contain all stationary machinery, supplying or requiring energy for operation. The working machines would be conveniently located, eliminating any possibility of interfering one with the other, allowing to use each of them separately and unimpeded by the others. There will be suitable outside transmission gears, affording the possibility of driving machines in adjacent shops or located outside. The machinery of the station comprises :

- 1) for light supply : 1 synchronised dynamo generator of about 15 k VA with annexed exciting dynamo.

Measuring instruments : 3 voltmeters, 400 V
3 ammeters, 40 Ampères,
1 wattmeter,

For the exciting dynamo : 1 voltmeter,
1 ammeter

Accessories: for the main circuit : 6 fuses,
2 lever switches, one for the light station
and one for the outer mains ; a bipolar commutator for the wattmeter, 8 controlling switches for the measuring instruments, 1 tachometer .

- 2) 2 screw-cutting lathes : height of centres about 250 mm, bed with gap, length of spindles 1500 and 2000mm; both equipped with face plate, driving plate, stays, cutterhead, circular grinding device, compound and parting slide,
- 3) 1 shaping machine with vice and vertical milling device, lift about 300 mm,
- 4) 1 cold saw, 12 inches,
- 5) 1 grinding spindle, duplicate, with grinding device for twist drills,
- 6) 1 hand power screw punching press, spindle 60 mm,
- 7) 2 standard drilling machines, 16 mm
- 8) 1 grinding device for saw blades (automatic)
- 9) work benches with 3 parallel vices, 1 bench-vice, 1 surface-plate,
- 10) 1 anvil with stand,
- 11) 1 Acetylene welding apparatus ; the gas generating recipient will be made in economy & located outside for less danger of fire; oxygen in cylinders must be bought in our adoptive country.

These machines will secure entire independence of the colony with regard to repairs ; even simple machines and tools will be made in economy .

B. Forge and fitting shop : the building would be a mere shed, located in proximity of power station or even contiguous, but separated by a partition, to shelter light station from sparks . The outfit consists of:

- 2 black-smith's forges and chimneys with accessories,
- 2 anvils,
- 1 work bench with 1 parallel vice and 3 flange vices,
- 1 straightening plate,
- 1 swage block .

II) Wood - working Equipment : Working of wood will probably require a comparatively large staff of workmen , therefore all members irrespective of their original profession and agricultural training shall attend already in Vienna a special course of practical training in wood working. The following mobile machines(motor - driven) will be available for felling of trees :

- 2 chain tooth saws, cutting - length 1.2 metres as a maximum,
- 1 electrical horizontal saw , cutting length 1.2 metres (maximum) .

The surplus of felled trees, not momentarily used, will remain on the spot until branchery is dry enough for combustion. Then logs will be freed from thicker branches and later on peeled; then again left on the spot for seasoning; then roughly dressed by axe and brought to the saw-mill .

The saw - mill will be erected in proximity of power -station and will comprise :

- 1 circular saw : only the metal parts are carried with us from Vienna viz .: the saw spindle mounted on ball- bearings, 5 circular saw blades, diameter 50 - 70 mm. The saw will be driven by the shafting , mounted outside the power station .
- 2 frame saws : only the metal parts are brought from Vienna, viz.: the saw blades and the 2 complete driving gears, comprising 2 shafts with fast , loose and fixed centre pulley .
- 1 thicknessing machine for planks : only metal parts are brought from Vienna , viz.: shaft and complete driving gear .

The wooden component parts of these machines will be made on the spot . The sawn timber will be stocked in a yard for later use .

Carpenters' yard and joinery :

Our joiners will have to make the wooden parts of our machines according to workshop drawings of our engineers, already worked out in Vienna , further the wooden constructive parts of permanent buildings, such as stairs, doors, windows, shutters etc.

Complete outfit (of private property) already available.
The activity of our carpenters has already been dealt in our memorial itself .

Annex No 4.

Farming area and equipment .
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To ensure the self- supply of 500 colonists the following
minims of arable ground are required :

for growing of cereals	140 hectares	=	346 acres
" " " legumes	30 "	=	74 "
" " " potatoes	20 "	=	49 "
" " " maize for feeding purposes.....	100 "	=	247 "
" pastures	120 "	=	297 "
" vegetables.....	10 "	=	25

therefore the minimum area to be cleared
for tillage totals.....420 hectares = 1038 acres
+++++

Though in fact the soil of the semi-tropical country
of the colony may probably produce far greater yields than
the following figures, the above area, under ordinary Euro-
pean field conditions, may yield annually the following
crops (taken as a basis on average European productiveness
of soil)

- 200 English tons of cereals
- 30 " " " legumes
- 180 " " " potatoes
- 80 " " " vegetables .

This would be enough not only to cover ordinary con-
sumption, but to afford sufficient quantities of seed for the
next agricultural period .

With regard to cattle breeding a 3 year's turn is
planned, yielding an average surplus of
60 pieces of horned cattle per annum, with an output
of ca 18 engl. tons of butcher- meat available for consump-
tion .

For agricultural purposes the following staff will be
permanently occupied (after clearance of soil for tillage) :
For minding cattle about 20 persons.
" cultivation of cereals 50 persons
therefore staff totalling 70 persons .

A first essential would be the clearance of soil for
tillage and for this work all available hands of the colony
will be employed, except a small staff for the most urgent
initial technical program .

- List of agricultural machinery and implements :
- 2 tractors with ploughs (trailers) ,
 - 8 ploughs ,
 - 1 mowing machine equipped with motor ,

- 1 thrashing machine
 - 1 hoeing machine,
 - 1 assortment of harrows , brakes and drags ,
 - 1 soil scratcher ,
 - 1 cultivator ,
 - 1 sowing machine with device for strewing clover-seed,
 - 1 chaff cutter,
 - 1 rough grinding mill,
 - 1 flour mill,
 - 1 movable pump for liquid manure ,
 - 1 milk skimmer ,
 - 1 milk cooler ,
 - 1 hand sawing machine,
 - 1 maize sheller ,
 - 3 hand hoeing ploughs ,
 - 2 treadle sharpening machines for scythes,
 - 1 hay rake apparatus for hay making,
 - 1 turnip cutter
 - 1 shaping machine and several other machines.
- The greater part of these machines (of private property)
is already available .

Further will be carried from Vienna various complete sets of spare pieces for replacement of defective parts in order to avoid irregularities of working, which could easily become catastrophic, when occurring during the short time of harvest .

List of agricultural hand tools :

- 5 sets of sharpening anvils for scythes and hammers,
- 25 flat picks,
- 25 mattocks ,
- 25 picks ,
- 25 dung forks ,
- 25 turnip forks ,
- 10 hay forks,
- 25 scythes ,
- 25 whetstones,
- 10 sickles ,
- 1 grindstone ,
- 1 grindstone for the blades of mowing machine ,
- 25 chains for horned cattle ,
- 25 ropes for horned cattle ,
- 25 spades and shovels of various kinds ,
- 25 iron hand rakes ,
- 25 cramps ,
- 10 stable lanterns,
- 3 awnings,
- 25 scythe -rings with keys,
- 50 metres heavy draught chains ,
- 50 metres heavy draught ropes ,
- several other tools

Chemical program, to cover the requirements
+++++++of the colony .

I) Production of solid and soft soap : in substance would be tried to obtain good results by rather primitive , improvised methods. The technical outfit would consist of the following apparatus:

- a) 1 reservoir of steel - plate with delivery-cock , containing the solution of the lye. Would be fitted up on the spot on simple wooden under-frame (dimensions 1.5 x 0.75 x 0.75 metres)
- b) The boiler for the soap, mounted on foundation of masonry, containing about 200 -250 litres , with discharge -cock. This would be a stationary permanent plant .
At the outset an iron kettle on iron trestle would be sufficient .
- c) tubs of sheet iron, containing 20 -40 litres for transportation of soap suds, will be carried with us from Vienna. In the outset flat wooden tubs would do as well .
- d) wooden moulds to make the soap blocks (dimensions 0.5 x 0.3 x 0.3 metres) will be manufactured on the spot to design .
- e) 4 iron beaters , similar to those for slaking lime, will be carried with us from Vienna. The wooden stools would be made on the spot .
- f) about 50 metres of steel - wire, 0.5mm thick for the construction of a device for cutting the bars of soap .
Caustic potash and caustic soda must be bought on the spot . Staff comprises a foreman and 2 workers .Cost- price of this outfit about R. M 200.-

II) Production of non alcoholic and of fermented refreshing beverages .

Non alcoholic beverages : These are an important factor in keeping the colonists in good health. A soda water apparatus is brought from Vienna . Carbon dioxide in steel bottles must be bought on arrival. For the initial work a number of siphon bottles is brought from Vienna .

Aromatised carbonated beverages : fruit essences will be brought from Vienna and manufactured in economy in a later period .

Alcoholic fermented beverages: would be made using fruit from our own gardens. Sweetening with sugar or saccharine. Will be made on simple household receipts, Literature is at hand .

- III) Production of means of preservation of timber against rotting : The simplest means for conservation of wood, particularly of those parts, that remain underground, is to have them coated superficially. Another method is the impregnation with wood tar or carbolineum; both would be manufactured in economy .
- IV) Production of preserving paints of wood and iron against rotting and rust .
Raw materials must be bought on the spot. Only a grinding mill for dyes will be brought from Vienna . Cost price about M 30.-
- V) Preparation of insecticides and disinfectants as well as of preservatives against inroads of plant diseases .
These would be prepared by our chemical laboratory to suit local requirements. Only a sprayer is brought from Vienna
- VI) Extraction of oil out of vegetal raw materials: An oil press and a filter plant will be carried with us from Vienna .
- VII) Chemical laborstory .
The laboratory has the task to make all examinations, tests and research work. In a later period it will manufacture cosmetic preparations, such as dentifrices, hairwash and shaving cream to cover the want of the colonists .
The technical outfit comprises :
1 decimal balance, maximum load 200 kilograms,
1 common druggist's scale, maximum charge 5 kilograms,
1 precision balance, and all regular accessories for laboratory work . Part of the outfit (of private property) is already available. The rest must be bought (cost-price about M 500.-.)
The laboratory will also be at the disposal of our medical men, who co-operate in preparing the outfit.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

HUNDRED-AND-FIRST SESSION OF THE COUNCIL

MINUTES

EIGHTH MEETING (PRIVATE, THEN PUBLIC).

Held on Saturday, May 14th, 1938, at 4 p.m.

President: M. MUTERS.

The Members of the Council were represented as follows:

<i>Belgium:</i>	M. VAN LANGENHOVE.
<i>Bolivia:</i>	M. COSTA DU RELS.
<i>United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland:</i>	VISCOUNT HALIFAX.
<i>China:</i>	M. WELLINGTON KOO.
<i>Ecuador:</i>	M. QUEVEDO.
<i>France:</i>	M. BONNET.
<i>Iran:</i>	M. BAHRAMY.
<i>Italy:</i>	—
<i>Latvia:</i>	M. MUTERS.
<i>New Zealand:</i>	MR. JORDAN.
<i>Peru:</i>	M. GARCÍA CALDERÓN.
<i>Poland:</i>	M. KOMARNICKI.
<i>Roumania:</i>	M. COMÈNE.
<i>Sweden:</i>	M. SANDLER.
<i>Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:</i>	M. LITVINOFF, later M. SOURITZ.

Secretary-General: M. J. AVENOL.

4051. Treaty of Mutual Guarantee between Germany, Belgium, France, Great Britain and Italy, done at Locarno on October 16th, 1925: Postponement of the Question.

The PRESIDENT proposed the postponement of Item 17 on the agenda of the session, "Treaty of Mutual Guarantee between Germany, Belgium, France, Great Britain and Italy, done at Locarno on October 16th, 1925".

The President's proposal was adopted.

4052. Participation of the League of Nations in the New York World's Fair (1939): Communication by the Secretary-General.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL said the statement which he wished to make to the Council related to the participation of the League of Nations in the New York World's Fair, to which the Council, when consulted at its last session, had given its consent.

He had stated at that time that he hoped to inform the Council during the present session of the appointment of a General Commissioner responsible alike for the preparatory work in connection with the construction of the League Pavilion and the working of the Pavilion during the Exhibition. Shortly afterwards, he had consulted certain experts—namely, the Commissioner of the Swiss Pavilion at the Paris Exhibition, the Assistant Commissioner of the Hungarian Pavilion, the Assistant Commissioner of the British Pavilion and the Commissioner of the Vatican Pavilion.

As a result of that consultation, he had decided not to appoint a General Commissioner until after the construction of the Pavilion. What was needed now was to draw up plans for the Pavilion. That was work which called for great experience and imagination. The Council would understand that the League of Nations had not much in the way of goods to exhibit. The exhibition should be primarily pictorial—that was to say, suggestive of the work of the League.

He had requested one of the experts, the Commissioner of the Vatican Pavilion, to be good enough to undertake, as Technical Adviser, the preparation of complete plans for the Pavilion. The plans would be submitted to him in a few days; and, if they were approved, the work would enter into the more active phase of construction. He hoped somewhat later to be able to inform the Council of the name of the General Commissioner who would be in charge of the Pavilion during the Exhibition.

The Council took note of the Secretary-General's communication.

4053. **Question of the Opening Date of the Nineteenth Session of the Assembly and of Subsequent Ordinary Sessions: Proposals by the Representative of the United Kingdom.**

Lord HALIFAX said that, under the standing rules, the nineteenth session of the Assembly would normally begin on September 5th, 1938. That meant that the Council would meet on September 2nd, which would be rather early for his Government and might also be inconvenient for others. He wondered whether on this occasion it would not be possible for the Assembly to meet on September 12th. He would suggest that the Council should consider authorising the Secretary-General to communicate with all the Members of the League on the matter and act according to the views of the majority.

He took the opportunity of warning the Council that His Majesty's Government proposed to suggest the inclusion in the Assembly agenda of a motion to revise the standard rule on the date of convocation, with a view to putting the date rather later in September than the date at present fixed.

The PRESIDENT said that the first paragraph of Rule 1 of the Rules of Procedure stipulated that the Assembly should meet in general session, commencing on the second Monday in September, provided that the second Monday did not fall later than the 10th. If the second Monday fell later than the 10th, the session was to begin on the first Monday. It would seem perfectly proper to instruct the Secretary-General to ask the Members of the League to state their views on this matter and to authorise him to act on the decision of a simple majority. He invited the Council to decide first as to the date of the 1938 Assembly.

M. KOMARNICKI supported Lord Halifax' first proposal. There was no lack of precedents. The Assembly had often met as late as the end of September.

M. SANDLER said that, if a decision had to be taken at once, he would be obliged to make a reservation; but he had no objection to the consultation of Governments. He merely wished to warn the Council that some Governments might have difficulty in accepting an adjournment of the date fixed in the Assembly Rules of Procedure for the opening of the session.

M. BONNET supported Lord Halifax' proposal.

Lord Halifax' proposal to consult the Members of the League as to the postponement, until September 12th, 1938, of the opening date of the nineteenth session of the Assembly was adopted.

The PRESIDENT wondered, in regard to Lord Halifax' proposed alteration of the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly, whether the Council itself should take the initiative in the matter, or whether it should be left to the representative of the United Kingdom Government to take the necessary steps under the Assembly Rules of Procedure.

Lord HALIFAX said that his Government would take steps in due course for the inclusion of the question in the Assembly agenda.

The PRESIDENT observed that, in that case, the Council was not called upon to take any action for the present.

4054. **Question of Alexandretta: Expenses of the Commission appointed to supervise the First Elections in the Sanjak.**

M. Sadak, representative of Turkey, came to the Council table.

M. Wellington Koo presented the following report and resolution: ¹

¹ The letters exchanged by the President of the Council and the Secretary-General on this subject have been circulated ² to the members of the Council.

¹ Document C.182(1).1938.X.

² Document C.108.1938.X.

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* I need therefore only recall that, on January 31st last, the Council appointed a Committee to consider the modifications which might be made in the electoral regulations. The decision of this Committee, which included the representatives of France and Turkey, involved an extension in the programme laid down for the elections and a corresponding increase in expenditure.

* In order to permit the full complement of electoral officials to proceed to the Sanjak without further delay, it was necessary for the Secretary-General to obtain authority to incur extra expenditure before the next ordinary session of the Council. This authority was given by the President of the Council who, under Article XII of the Rules of Procedure, may, in the interval between sessions, take financial measures of an urgent character which fall within the competence of the Council.

* Since the Commission arrived in the Sanjak, it has realised that, in order to be ready for all eventualities, it would be wise to provide a further¹ extra credit of approximately 100,000 Swiss francs.

* The French and Turkish Governments have agreed to meet the total expenditure to be incurred, on the understanding, naturally, that the strictest economy will be observed.

* I have the honour, therefore, to propose the adoption of the following resolution:

" The Council,

" In confirmation of the decision taken by its President on March 23rd, 1938;

" Having regard to the unexpected delays which have occurred in connection with the work of the Commission appointed to supervise the first elections in the Sanjak of Alexandretta:

" Authorises the Secretary-General, in accordance with Article 33 of the Financial Regulations, to draw on the Working Capital Fund to an amount not exceeding 1,000,000 Swiss francs, instead of 700,000 Swiss francs, as provided in its resolution of September 29th, 1937, to meet the expenses of the Commission appointed to supervise the first elections in the Sanjak of Alexandretta;

" Notes that the Governments of France and Turkey undertake to repay the sums thus advanced by the Secretary-General in equal proportions from time to time during the continuance of the work of the Commission."

M. BONNET, while agreeing that the amount of the advances for covering the work of the Commission appointed to supervise the first elections in the Sanjak of Alexandretta should be raised to one million Swiss francs, wished to recall the imperious necessity, to which the Secretariat had already referred, of realising every economy compatible with the proper working of the Commission.

M. SADAK, representative of Turkey, fully endorsed the desire of the French representative as regards economy.

He was particularly anxious that the electoral operations should be concluded on the stipulated date. He would therefore point out that it must be understood that the paragraph of the report regarding the additional credit of one hundred thousand Swiss francs did not imply any delay in the electoral operations.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL said that the need for economy which had been urged by the representatives of France and Turkey was clearly imperative; and he would not fail to keep a strict watch in that connection. But the expenditure was obviously determined by the duration of the activities of the Commission, and over those he had no influence.

M. Wellington Koo did not doubt that the Council, in adopting the resolution, would take note of what had been said.

The resolution was adopted.

M. Sadak withdrew.

4055. Vote of Thanks to the President.

Mr. JORDAN said that a number of difficult and important questions had arisen in the course of the present session of the Council. He was sure he was voicing the sentiments of all the members of the Council in expressing his appreciation of the impartiality and tact with which the President had dealt with them.

Lord HALIFAX and other members of the Council seconded Mr. Jordan's remarks.

The PRESIDENT thanked Mr. Jordan and also his other colleagues on the Council. What the Council had been able to achieve in the course of the session was due, not to his services, but to the general spirit reigning among all its members, and to the good-will and co-operation which had been displayed.

(The Council went into public session.)

¹ In addition to the 200,000 francs authorised by the President of the Council.

4056. **Work of the Advisory Committee on Social Questions at its Second Session.**

M. GARCÍA CALDERÓN presented the following report and resolution:¹

" The members of the Council have received the report on the work of the second session of the Advisory Committee on Social Questions² which sat from April 21st to May 5th, 1938.

" The chief questions dealt with by the Committee were:

- " Applications of International Organisations to be appointed correspondent members;
- " Placing of children in families;
- " Illegitimate children;
- " Recreational aspect of the cinema for the young;
- " Rehabilitation of adult prostitutes;
- " Methods of prevention of prostitution;
- " Summaries of annual reports on traffic in women and children;
- " Re-arrangement of the questionnaire on annual reports.

" In addition, the Committee added the following questions to its agenda for its next session:

- " Principles adopted in the organisation and administration of welfare work among the young;
- " Training of persons engaged in social work;
- " Family desertion.

" I propose to refer now only to those points which seem to me to deserve special attention or which call for action or approval on the part of the Council.

" I. *Administration and Organisation.*

" As two of the four vacancies on the Committee were filled by the Council at its hundredth session on January 25th, 1938, the number of Governments represented on the Advisory Committee is now twenty-three.

" My colleagues will remember that at the ninety-sixth session of the Council all the organisations belonging to the former Advisory Commission were appointed correspondent members of the Advisory Committee on Social Questions. Since then, six more international organisations have applied for appointment. The Advisory Committee considered their applications and came to the conclusion that these organisations were eligible for appointment as correspondent members under the principles laid down last year. It accordingly decided to recommend that the Council should appoint these six associations for the same period as the other correspondent members; thus the appointments of all the correspondent members will expire simultaneously in 1939.

" I have therefore the honour to submit the names of the following international organisations and to suggest that the Council request the Secretary-General to invite them to become correspondent members of the Advisory Committee on Social Questions:

- " International Committee of Schools for Social Service;
- " International Co-operative Women's Guild;
- " Catholic International Union for Social Service;
- " Permanent Committee of the International Conference on Social Work;
- " Associated Countrywomen of the World;
- " International Association of Children's Court Judges.

" II. *Child Welfare.*

" The following three questions—placing of children in families, illegitimate children and recreational aspects of the cinema for the young—have been on the agenda of the Advisory Committee for several years.

" 1. As regards the study on the placing of children in families, this is the fourth stage of the Advisory Committee's investigation into the treatment of neglected and delinquent children. The Committee had before it the final report on the placing of children in families prepared according to the plan adopted in 1937. After making certain amendments, the Advisory Committee approved the report as a whole and decided to publish it in two volumes.

" 2. The question of illegitimate children has occupied the Committee's attention for several years. Various aspects of the question of illegitimacy had already been studied when the Committee decided to re-examine the material at its disposal and drew up a plan for the further study of this question. The documentation was accordingly examined and a report was submitted to the

¹ Document C.179.1938.IV.

² Document C.147.M.88.1938.IV.

Committee, which dealt primarily with the legal aspects of the matter. The Committee suggested that this report should be submitted to Governments for revision and completion, and should then be published as the first volume of the study on the position of the illegitimate child. The Committee decided to continue a study on the social aspects of illegitimacy.

* 3. The recreational aspect of the cinema is also a question that the Committee has studied for several years. At the present session, a comprehensive report on the subject was before the Committee. The Committee considered that the cinema had become a subject of great social importance and, although it was still difficult to estimate its effect on the outlook of the young especially, it was suggested that its advantages far outweighed any disadvantages. The Committee decided that the report should be published after it had been completed in the light of the discussion which had taken place.

* The new questions to be dealt with by the Committee were the subject of very full discussion in committee or sub-committee. These questions, as indicated above, were: the principles adopted in the organisation and administration of welfare work among the young, the training of persons engaged in social work, and family desertion.

* 4. As regards the first question, the Committee agreed that the study should at present be limited to a selected number of representative countries chosen from among those which are represented on the Committee.¹ It was agreed that the study should show on broad lines how welfare services for the young are co-ordinated and administered. The Committee suggested that the information required should be obtained from material already available at the Secretariat or from the Governments and the delegates of each of the countries selected or concerned, and that the completed report should be submitted to the Governments concerned for their approval.

* 5. In view of the importance of the second question—the training of persons engaged in social work—it was referred to a sub-committee. This sub-committee is to meet during this year and draw up a plan of work.

* 6. With regard to family desertion, the Committee requested the Rapporteur to bring before it, in the form of a report, information available on this subject in order that the Committee might be in a position to decide in what direction it wishes to pursue the study of this question.

* I therefore propose that the Council request the Secretary-General:

(1) To submit the report on the legal aspect of illegitimacy to the Governments of Member States for their comments, prior to its publication.

(2) To consult the Governments of the Argentine Republic, Belgium, the United Kingdom, Canada, China, Denmark, France, Japan, Mexico, Poland, the United States of America, Uruguay and Yugoslavia as to the principles which they adopt in the organisation and administration of welfare work among the young, including social assistance, and to ask them to indicate the part played by the authorities and the voluntary organisations respectively; and when the report on this subject is completed, to submit it to these Governments for their approval.

* III. *Traffic in Women and Children and in Obscene Publications.*

* 1. The Committee noted with satisfaction that the international conventions for the repression of traffic in women and children and obscene publications had received new ratifications. It noted that fifty States were now parties to the International Convention of 1921 for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children, forty-eight States to the International Convention of 1923 for the Suppression of the Circulation of and Traffic in Obscene Publications, and twenty-four Governments to the Convention of 1933 for the Suppression of Traffic in Women of Full Age, which came into force on August 24th, 1934. The Committee hoped that more countries would soon adhere to the last-named Convention.

* 2. The Committee took note of the present state of the study of the enquiry on the rehabilitation of prostitutes. The Committee emphasised the importance of ensuring the widest possible circulation among public authorities, voluntary organisations and doctors concerned with the problem, of the booklet on Social Services and Venereal Disease,² constituting one part of the enquiry. It was informed that, following the procedure decided on in 1937, another part of the study dealing with the antecedents of prostitutes would soon be published, and that the third and final part dealing with rehabilitation measures in general would probably be published before the next session of the Committee. It was decided that the conclusions of the whole enquiry should be circulated to the Committee before publication.

* 3. A draft plan of work on the prevention of prostitution was presented by the Rapporteur, and adopted in a revised form. The Committee recognised that social and economic issues were

¹ The following countries were selected: Argentine Republic, Belgium, the United Kingdom, Canada, China, Denmark, France, Japan, Mexico, Poland, the United States of America, Uruguay, Yugoslavia.

² Document C.6.M.5.1938.IV.

involved, and was in favour of restricting the study to direct preventive measures and practical recommendations. In a discussion in which two experts were invited to participate, many observations and suggestions were made which will be taken into consideration in preparing the report. The Committee authorised the Rapporteur and the Secretariat to prepare a report, and invited Dr. Kemp of the University Institute on Human Genetics, at Copenhagen, and Dr. Cavaillon, Inspector-General at the Ministry of Public Health, at Paris, to be responsible for the sections dealing respectively with factors of a physical and psychological nature and the reduction in the demand for prostitution.

" The report will be discussed by the Committee before publication.

" 4. The Committee noted with satisfaction that the number of Governments submitting reports on the traffic in women and children, which decreased continuously from 1932 to 1936, increased slightly last year. For the 1936/37 summary, nineteen Governments sent in reports as compared with fourteen in 1935/36. The Committee, however, expressed regret that many Governments still failed to send in annual reports, and emphasised the value it attached to these reports, which assisted it in carrying out the duties entrusted to the League under Article 23 (c) of the Covenant.

" The possibility of revising the questionnaire was discussed. There was general agreement that the summary of answers on obscene publications gave a much better picture of the subject than the answers on traffic in women and children, and the Committee considered that the questionnaire on obscene publications did not require revision. It recommended, however, that the summary of annual reports on obscene publications (which so far has been published jointly with the summary on the traffic in women and children) should appear as a separate document.

" As far as the questionnaire on traffic in women and children was concerned, the Committee considered that many changes in the general situation had taken place since it was first drawn up, and that it was desirable to adapt it to the new development of the Committee's work. The Committee also wished the answers to distinguish more clearly between national and international cases of traffic, and to give more information on the repressive measures taken by Governments. The suggestions made by Governments for the re-arrangement of the questionnaire were examined, and special attention was paid to the proposal for standardising statistical information sent in by the United States of America.

" The Committee finally recommended to the Council the adoption of the revised questionnaire which is printed in Annex 5 of the Report of the Work of the Committee in 1938.¹ This new questionnaire makes a clearer distinction between international traffic in women and children and national traffic, and contains new questions which aim at obtaining useful information on legislative and administrative progress in dealing with the prevention and repression of traffic in its widest aspects. Questions which appeared in the previous questionnaire and produced replies of little value only, have been deleted or modified. I think that my colleagues will agree that the questionnaire proposed by the Advisory Committee on Social Questions is a considerable improvement on the questionnaire at present in use.²

" I therefore have the honour to propose that the Council should request the Secretary-General:

" (a) To send the new questionnaire to the States Members of the League and the non-member States which are signatories of the Conventions for the suppression of traffic in women and children and obscene publications;

" (b) To draw the attention of these States to the new dates for the submission of reports;

" (c) To express to those States its hope that, as a result of this new questionnaire, a greater number of reports will in future be sent to the Secretariat.

" 5. The chief questions dealt with under the heading of traffic in women and children and obscene publications (and especially the question of the re-arrangement of the questionnaire) were studied by the Standing Sub-Committee on Traffic in Women and Children, which met for the first time this year. The Advisory Committee is of the opinion that this new procedure has justified the hope that it will enable closer attention to be given to these questions in future, and, at the same time, will facilitate the transaction of the various other questions in this field entrusted to the Committee.

" In conclusion, I propose the adoption of the following resolution:

" " The Council notes the report of the Advisory Committee on Social Questions on the work of its second session and adopts the present report and the recommendations contained therein."

The resolution was adopted.

¹ Document C.147.M.88.1938.IV.

² Document C.T.F.E.524.

4057. **International Assistance to Refugees.**

(a) **REPORT OF THE COUNCIL COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO DRAW UP A PLAN FOR INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE TO REFUGEES.**

M. COSTA DU RELS presented the following report and resolution:¹

* I.

* The Committee appointed by the Council on January 28th, 1938, in pursuance of the resolution adopted by the Assembly at its eighteenth ordinary session regarding the preparation of a plan for assistance to refugees, met in Paris on February 14th and 15th, 1938, and at Geneva during the hundred-and-first session of the Council.² The Committee heard statements by the High Commissioner for Refugees coming from Germany and the President of the Governing Body of the Nansen International Office for Refugees. It also noted the invitation addressed by the United States Government to a number of Governments in regard to the setting-up of a special committee, composed of representatives of a number of Governments, to deal with certain aspects of the refugee problem. The proposals mentioned hereunder are not intended to prejudice or to conflict with the work of the aforesaid committee.

* From the information laid before the Committee, it appears that the number of refugees recognised as such by the League of Nations is approximately 600,000. In the case of the so-called Nansen refugees, emigration could only afford a partial solution, on account of the insufficiency of the capital available and the limited number of outlets. As was suggested in the special report submitted in 1936 by the President of the Nansen Office (document A.27.1936.XII), the real solution of the problem is rather to be found in the absorption of such refugees by their countries of refuge. Such absorption would appear to be already in progress, and, in the nature of things, must proceed in future even more rapidly.

* As regards the refugees from Germany, emigration and settlement in oversea countries are proceeding. Of approximately 150,000 refugees who have so far left Germany, close upon 120,000 have already reached the countries in which they are to settle permanently.

* Although the problems raised by the existence of two categories of refugees are of a different character, it would appear that both can be solved within a limited time.

* II.

* 1. The Committee noted that, under the decisions taken by the Assembly at its eighteenth ordinary session, the Nansen International Office for Refugees and also the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees coming from Germany, are to be discontinued as from the end of 1938 but that, for the reasons set out above, the problem of refugees recognised as such by the League of Nations cannot be regarded as solved at the present time. Many States Members of the League which have refugees in their territories consider that co-operation within the framework of the League is still indispensable.

* 2. The Committee took the view that a single organisation might be set up, for a limited period, to take the place of the two existing organisations.

* 3. The proposed organisation would be directed by a person designated by the League of Nations, as High Commissioner for Refugees under the protection of the League of Nations. The High Commissioner would be assisted by a small staff comprising neither refugees nor former refugees.

* The High Commissioner's duties would be as follows:

* (a) To superintend the entry into force and the application of the legal status of refugees, as defined more particularly in the Conventions of October 28th, 1933, and February 10th, 1938;

* (b) To facilitate the co-ordination of humanitarian assistance;

* (c) To assist the Governments and private organisations in their efforts to promote emigration and permanent settlement.

* The League's financial contribution would be allocated to the High Commissioner's administrative expenses, and should not in any case be used for the relief or settlement of refugees. The creation of a single organisation may be expected to lead to economies in administrative expenditure.

* 4. The High Commissioner would be in continuous contact with the Governments concerned.³

* 5. In the performance of his duties, the High Commissioner might also establish contact with Liaison Committees representing the private organisations dealing with refugee questions.

¹ Document C.189.1938.XII.

² This Committee consists of the representatives of Bolivia, the United Kingdom and France.

³ An inter-governmental commission, on which all the interested Governments would be represented, might be set up to work in liaison with the High Commissioner.

* 6. With the consent of the Governments concerned, the High Commissioner would be assisted by representatives in the principal countries of refuge.

* The High Commissioner would be authorised to submit to such Governments the names of the persons best qualified, in his opinion, to undertake this work. These representatives should be neither refugees nor former refugees.

* III.

* The Committee desires to draw the attention of the Council to the fact that a relatively short time will elapse between the decision which the Assembly is called upon to take in regard to the work of international assistance for refugees and the expiry of the mandate of the two League organisations now dealing with refugees.

* The Committee therefore suggests that the Council should instruct the Secretary-General, after consultation with the President of the Governing Body of the Nansen International Office for Refugees and the High Commissioner for Refugees coming from Germany, to draw up, for consideration by the Assembly, a detailed plan on the basis of the proposals contained in the present report.

* The Committee also recommends that the Assembly, if it approves the foregoing conclusions, should proceed, at its next session, to nominate a High Commissioner, in order to facilitate the transfer of powers.

* IV.

* The Committee has the honour to submit to the Council the following resolution:

‘ The Council,

‘ Having examined the report of the Committee appointed to draw up a plan for international assistance to refugees:

‘ Takes note of the proposals contained in the report which has been submitted to it;

‘ Instructs the Secretary-General:

‘ (1) To transmit this report, for observations, to the Governments of the States Members of the League of Nations and, for information, to the Governments of the United States of America and the United States of Brazil;

‘ (2) To prepare, after consultation with the President of the Governing Body of the Nansen International Office for Refugees and the High Commissioner for Refugees coming from Germany, a detailed plan on the basis of the proposals of the present report.

‘ (3) To transmit the present report, together with the detailed plan, to the Assembly, with any observations he may have received from Governments.’ ”

M. Costa du Rels recalled that the 1937 Assembly had asked the Council to have the plan for international assistance to refugees ready before the next ordinary session of the Assembly. The proposals he had placed before the Council, on behalf of the Committee, constituted a basis which should, in the opinion of the members of the Committee, facilitate discussion by the Assembly, which was the organ competent to take a decision. The proposals were conceived on broad lines of common humanity, and should make it possible to carry on, within the framework of the League, an essential work of international assistance, the credit for which had long been assigned by public opinion to the League.

In the course of its discussions, the Council Committee had been informed of the invitation addressed to certain Governments by the Government of the United States of America with a view to the appointment of a special committee of representatives of a number of Governments to deal with various aspects of the refugee problem. The Council would doubtless endorse the Committee's sincere appreciation of that high-minded initiative on the part of the Government of the United States of America.

The Council Committee had not failed to take that initiative into account in drafting the proposals before the Council, and had taken care that they should not prejudice, or hamper, any decisions which the Conference convened by the Government of the United States of America might be led to take. In the circumstances, the Committee had further thought it desirable to suggest that its report should be transmitted for information to the Government of the United States of America and to the Government of Brazil, the latter State having intimated its readiness to support the action taken by the Government of the United States of America.

M. Costa du Rels wished sincerely to thank his colleagues on the Committee, M. Michael Hansson, Chairman of the Governing Body of the Nansen International Office for Refugees, and Sir Neill Malcolm, High Commissioner of the League of Nations for Refugees coming from Germany, all of whom had spared no effort to enable the Committee to bring to a successful conclusion the task entrusted to it by the Council.

M. LITVINOFF observed that, as the Soviet Government did not fully agree with the scope of the work of the organisation which had been envisaged, it had abstained from participating in the discussions that had taken place in connection with the drafting of the report. For the same reason, he would abstain from voting on the resolution.

The resolution was adopted, the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics abstaining.

(b) DESIRABILITY OF EXTENDING THE AUTHORITY OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES COMING FROM GERMANY TO COVER REFUGEES COMING FROM THE TERRITORY WHICH FORMERLY CONSTITUTED AUSTRIA.

M. COSTA DU RELS presented the following report and resolution: ¹

* At its private meeting on May 11th, 1938, the Council entrusted the examination of this question to the Committee which it had instructed during its one-hundredth session to deal with the refugee question.

* The Committee came to the conclusion that it would be difficult in future to distinguish between refugees coming from Austria and those coming from other parts of Germany, even when such refugees had left Austria before the events of March 1938. It might be maintained that no action in the matter was necessary, since the mandate of the High Commissioner for refugees coming from Germany could be interpreted as applying to all refugees from the territories at present forming part of Germany. The Committee nevertheless thought it desirable that the situation should be clarified by means of a formal decision. It has therefore decided to recommend the Council to authorise the High Commissioner for Refugees coming from Germany to interpret his mandate as applying to refugees coming from Austria.

* The Committee, while noting that it is for the Assembly, at its next session, to take a final decision in the matter, has considered it desirable, in view of the urgency of the question, to ask the Council to authorise the High Commissioner to act on the lines recommended. It has previously ascertained that the High Commissioner is in a position to undertake these new duties without asking for new credits.

* The Committee proposes, accordingly, that the High Commissioner, in agreement with the Secretary-General, should consult the Governments concerned on the subject of the application to refugees coming from Austria of the provisions of the Convention concerning refugees coming from Germany, signed at Geneva on February 10th, 1938, and, if necessary, of the Provisional Arrangement of July 4th, 1936, on the same subject.

* Finally, the High Commissioner would be asked to submit to the next session of the Assembly a report on the position of the questions regarding Refugees coming from Austria and on the results of his consultations with the Governments concerned.

* Should the Council endorse the proposals made by the Committee, the latter has the honour to submit to it the following resolution:

" The Council,

" Having taken note of the report of the Committee entrusted with the examination of the desirability of extending the powers of the High Commissioner for Refugees coming from Germany to cover refugees coming from the territory which formerly constituted Austria:

" Approves the conclusions set out above by the Committee;

" Authorises the High Commissioner to interpret his mandate as applying to refugees coming from Austria, until a final decision on the subject has been taken by the Assembly at its next session;

" Instructs the Secretary-General to transmit the present report for information to the Governments of the United States of America and of the United States of Brazil."

M. Costa du Rels recalled that the Council had been asked by the Governments of the United Kingdom and France to consider the desirability of extending the authority of the High Commissioner for Refugees coming from Germany to cover refugees from the territory which formerly constituted Austria.

That question also had been referred to the Council Committee appointed to draw up a plan for international assistance to refugees. In the present case, only a question of interpretation was involved. Nevertheless, the Committee had thought it desirable to recommend the Council to make a pronouncement, and to authorise the High Commissioner for Refugees coming from Germany to interpret his terms of reference as applying to refugees coming from Austria.

While not losing sight of the fact that the final decision rested with the Assembly, the Committee had been unanimously of the opinion that the question referred to it was urgent, and that it would therefore be expedient for the Council to take a decision during the present session.

Should the Council adopt the Committee's recommendations, the High Commissioner for Refugees coming from Germany would be able to approach certain Governments at once with a view to ensuring that refugees coming from Austria were treated in the same way as refugees of the other category with whom the High Commissioner was at present concerned.

M. COMNÈNE observed that the present problem was really one of emigration. It was a problem of the greatest importance, calling for the very special consideration, not only of the League of Nations, but of all members of the human community. It therefore went beyond the necessarily restricted limits of the report before the Council. The more acute aspects of the problem, which from time to time became apparent, were indicative of deeply rooted causes with which no comprehensive effort had been made, up to the present, to deal on carefully thought out, properly planned lines. It was clear that the time had come to abandon the empirical, and often purely sentimental, methods which had too often been adopted in that connection, and, while paying due

¹ Document C.188.1938.XII.

regard to current realities, to look for new methods on a scientific and humanitarian basis, in the light of the experience already available.

In accepting therefore the resolution proposed by the Bolivian representative, the Roumanian representative reserved his Government's right to revert to the question, and to submit in due course concrete proposals based (to paraphrase the Rapporteur's own words) on the broad lines of common humanity.

M. KOMARNICKI had no objection to the adoption of the resolution, and appreciated the humanitarian spirit in which it had been conceived. He ventured, however, to point out that, in the Polish Government's opinion, the problem dealt with in the report now before the Council was far more complicated than would appear from that document, and called for more comprehensive and energetic measures.

The question of emigration in general, and Jewish emigration in particular, should not be considered solely in relation to certain *de facto* situations calling for an urgent solution.

Prevention was better than cure. That should be the principle underlying collective efforts—and they were becoming more and more necessary and more and more urgent—to solve the problem of settling Jewish peoples in areas where they would have opportunities for normal economic and social development.

Mr. JORDAN said that the proposal to extend the authority of the High Commissioner for Refugees coming from Germany to cover refugees from the territory which formerly constituted Austria had the full support of New Zealand, which warmly approved the continuance of all possible endeavours to mitigate the lot of those refugees.

Mr. Jordan took the opportunity to express the hope that the treatment meted out to the Jews of Austria in the early days of the German occupation would give way to a more enlightened form of treatment and that, if forced emigration were the policy of the German Government, more enlightened treatment would be accorded during the period elapsing before such emigration was completed.

The resolution was adopted.

4058. **Neutrality of the Swiss Confederation within the Framework of the League of Nations**
(continuation).

M. Motta, representative of Switzerland, came to the Council table.

M. SANDLER presented the following report and resolution:¹

1. By communications dated April 20th and 29th, 1938, the Swiss Federal Council raised the question of Switzerland's neutrality within the framework of the League of Nations before the Council of the League. In a memorandum attached to the second of these two communications, the Swiss Government submitted its desiderata to the Council; they were also developed by word of mouth by the representative of Switzerland at the Council meeting of May 11th, 1938.

2. The special situation in which the League of Nations has recognised Switzerland to stand in its capacity of Member of the League was defined by a resolution of the Council dated February 13th, 1920. The resolution in question did not give rise to any discussion in the Assembly. It should be observed, as regards the respective competence of the Council and Assembly, that this is not a question which, under the Covenant, falls within the exclusive competence of either the Council or the Assembly. Both organs of the League are accordingly competent in the matter.

The Federal Council was in fact concerned that the League of Nations should consider its application at the earliest possible date.

3. The Swiss memorandum contains observations of a general character on which, in present circumstances, there is no occasion for the Council to pronounce.

The consideration which, in the Council's opinion, makes it possible to settle the case of Switzerland in the light of its special features is the peculiar position of Switzerland, with its traditional standing as a perpetually neutral Power. This neutrality, which was recognised by the Treaties of 1815, is an uncontested principle of international law. The principle was confirmed by the Treaty of Versailles in Article 435. The Council of the League of Nations in its resolution of February 13th, 1920, recorded that "Switzerland is in a unique situation, based on a tradition of several centuries . . . explicitly incorporated in the Law of Nations". It stated that "the perpetual neutrality of Switzerland and the guarantee of the inviolability of her territory . . . are justified by the interests of general peace".

In consideration of the position of Switzerland as a perpetually neutral State, the Council of the League agreed in 1920 that Switzerland should not participate in measures of a military character. The Swiss Government now asks the Council to go further in this direction, and to recognise that Switzerland will not participate in any sanctions whatsoever.

To prevent any misunderstanding, it should be made clear that Switzerland will not participate in any measures of the kind contemplated in Article 16, whether such measures are adopted in application of Article 16 or in application of some other article of the Covenant.

Having regard to the very special position of Switzerland, and being informed of her intention while not participating in future in putting sanctions into operation to continue at the same time to co-operate in every other respect with the League of Nations, the Council of the League is to-day disposed to comply with the Swiss request.

¹ Document C.191(1).M.103(1).1938.V.

" 4. In accordance with the policy of abstention which it proposes to follow, the Swiss Government will not participate in decisions with regard to the putting into operation of sanctions by the organs of the League of Nations.

" 5. The Council of the League of Nations notes with satisfaction the assurances given by the Federal Council in London in 1920 to the effect that Switzerland is prepared for any sacrifices for the defence of Swiss territory under all circumstances, and further takes note of the strengthening of the Swiss defences of which it is informed by the Federal Council's memorandum.

" 6. The Swiss Government has proclaimed through the mouth of the Swiss representative of the Council its loyalty to the League of Nations and its desire to continue to collaborate with the League. The members of the Council will be in agreement in appreciating this collaboration. Accordingly, subject to the discontinuance of participation in putting sanctions into operation, the position of Switzerland as a Member of the League, and as the State on whose territory the headquarters of the League is situate, remains unchanged. To-morrow, as to-day, the position of Switzerland will remain unaltered as regards all the provisions of the Covenant, except those relating to sanctions, and Switzerland will continue to accord to the organs of the League all the freedom required for the exercise of their activities.

" 7. The representative of Switzerland has been at pains to make clear that he has no intention of dealing with anything except the case of his own country, leaving entirely unaffected the position of other Members of the League as regards the scope which they attribute to Article 16 of the Covenant.

" It is obvious that the request of the Swiss Government, and any action which may be taken thereon, cannot in any way affect the positions thus taken up or prejudice any decisions which may be taken within the League.

" 8. I have the honour to submit the following resolution to the Council:

" The Council of the League of Nations,

" In presence of the Swiss Government's memorandum, dated April 29th, 1938;

" Having considered the requests put forward in the memorandum of the Swiss Federal Council, and explained by the representative of Switzerland at the meeting of May 11th, 1938;

" Having regard to the special position of Switzerland resulting from her perpetual neutrality which is based on age-long tradition and recognised by the Law of Nations;

" Recalling that, by its declaration made in London on February 13th, 1920, the Council recognised that the perpetual neutrality of Switzerland is justified by the interests of general peace and as such is compatible with the Covenant:

" Approves the report of the representative of Sweden;

" And, in these circumstances, takes note that Switzerland, invoking her perpetual neutrality, has expressed the intention not to participate any longer in any manner in the putting into operation of the provisions of the Covenant relating to sanctions and declares that she will not be invited to do so;

" And places on record that the Swiss Government declares its determination to maintain unaltered in all other respects her position as a Member of the League, and to continue to give the facilities which have been accorded to the League for the free exercise by its institutions of their activities in Swiss territory."

M. MOTTA, representative of Switzerland. — I have the honour to state, on behalf of the Swiss Federal Council, that we unreservedly accept the resolution the Rapporteur has just placed before you. I note that the request submitted by Switzerland to the Council of the League of Nations has received satisfaction in a perfectly valid form.

I am anxious to give expression to our deep gratitude to the Council, in particular, to the President, M. Munters, and the Rapporteur, M. Sandler. We cannot but admire the desire for impartiality, the lofty views and the thorough knowledge of the subject which the latter has displayed in drawing up his report. I should like to address special thanks to the Secretary-General, M. Avenol, for his great kindness and to all his collaborators for their assistance.

The Council has extended to the Confederation that friendly understanding we expected. Swiss public opinion will appreciate that. This proof of confidence will be regarded as a further element binding us to the great Geneva institution, the greatest end of which, peace, is (as Lord Halifax so happily put it the other day) greater than the League itself.

Switzerland will continue loyally to support the ideal of collaboration and good international understanding, toward which she has always aspired, and will continue to aspire. As I said before, she will not shrink from the sacrifices imposed by her geographical situation. She has always been ready—and she will always be ready—to defend her soil, and the air above it, by every means in her power, in the general interest of all States and more particularly in that of her neighbours.

M. BONNET. — We have listened with interest to the remarkable report presented by the representative of Sweden, and to M. Motta's statements.

The Council is called upon to take a decision relating exclusively to the position of Switzerland which, as was recognised in 1920, is in a unique situation. In consideration of the special nature of Switzerland's position, the report concludes that the request of the Federal Council should be met.

It goes without saying that a State cannot of its own initiative withdraw from obligations imposed on it by membership of the League. Indeed, in bringing such a matter before the Council, a country recognises the authority of the Council as the body competent to decide whether it is compatible with the Covenant to take note, or not, of the said State's intentions and consequently to refrain, or not to refrain, from inviting it to participate in such joint action as is provided for in the Covenant.

The decision we are called upon to take cannot in any way affect the attitude adopted by other Members of the League with regard to the application of Article 16 of the Covenant.

The French Government considers that the Covenant retains its full force; and it is in this belief that I propose to vote for the resolution before us.

Lord HALIFAX. — In declaring my readiness to support the resolution which is before the Council, I desire to say that His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom has always had a sympathetic understanding of the unique situation of Switzerland. This understanding is not only reflected in the various treaties and resolutions which recorded it, and to which His Majesty's Government is a party, but is based on the realisation of the value to Europe of the maintenance of the traditional neutrality of the Swiss State, a neutrality which, His Majesty's Government notes with satisfaction, the Swiss people are prepared to defend in all circumstances. My Government has never doubted the loyalty of the Swiss Government to the League of Nations, nor its desire to continue to collaborate with the League. As a Member of the League, it also notes with peculiar satisfaction that the Swiss representative has proclaimed that Switzerland will continue to accord to the organs of the League all the freedom required for the exercise of their activities.

In supporting the resolution submitted to the Council, I should like to pay a tribute to the work of M. Sandler for the tact and ability with which he has dealt with this intricate and important question.

M. COMNÈNE. — My Government has very carefully considered the memorandum submitted by the Federal Council. From the outset, we had the impression that the Swiss point of view was acceptable; and M. Motta's admirable statement to the League Council on May 11th further strengthened our conviction. M. Motta reminded us of the circumstances which have led his great country to adopt its age-old policy of neutrality, and laid stress at the same time on the conditions existing at the moment when Switzerland accepted the new regime established by the London Declaration of February 13th, 1920. We well remember under what auspices the League of Nations was founded. We are aware of the guarantees our institution hoped to be able to secure for its Members. Those guarantees were to be the counterpart of the various obligations assumed—obligations by which the exercise of the sovereign rights of certain States is still conditioned in many other spheres.

When we look backwards and recall the brilliant prospects which the authors of the Covenant held out to those who were prepared to accede to it, and then reflect how few of these expectations have been realised, we can readily understand the point of view of the representative of Switzerland.

Without seeking to establish any connection between the Swiss memorandum and M. Motta's statement on May 11th on the one hand, and the speech made here on the same day by the representative of Chile on the other hand, we cannot but think of the international obligations for which, as M. Edwards reminded us in his speech, there is to-day no equivalent, obligations which were formerly counterbalanced by the effective collective guarantee of security.

The passage in the Swiss memorandum concerning the failure of this counterpart to materialise is owing to the fact that the United States of America did not see its way to accede to the Covenant, while four important countries have since withdrawn from the League, goes far outside the limits of the question of Swiss neutrality, and raises the far more complicated and more general issue of the relations between certain States and the League of Nations.

On this grave issue, I do not propose to linger, because I feel that the point we have now to consider is the real character—I might even add, the unique character—of Swiss neutrality. Article 435 of the Treaty of Versailles fully recognised the exceptional character of Swiss neutrality. It is on the Peace Treaties, therefore, as the foundation of existing conditions in Europe, and on the Covenant of the League of Nations which forms Part I of the Peace Treaties, that we base our belief in the conformity of the Swiss demand with the rules of international law by which our continent is at present governed.

Since Swiss neutrality is not only recognised and confirmed, but specifically stated to be compatible with the Covenant of the League, in the very international instrument by which the League was called into being, it is plain that there can be no objection to the resumption by Switzerland of complete neutrality.

It is clearly not for me to discuss how legal effect is once more to be given to the Treaties of 1815, or to estimate to what extent the new regime of complete neutrality, which it is proposed explicitly to recognise in the case of Switzerland within the framework of the League of Nations, can be legally binding on Powers which have withdrawn from the League, but which, from the fact of their former membership, have implicitly accepted the regime established by the London Declaration of 1920.

I am glad to see that the report and resolution proposed by M. Sandler—after giving certain particulars which it was essential that we should have—rule out any possibility of the unique case of Switzerland being taken as a precedent by other States Members as regards one of the obligations explicitly laid down in the Covenant. Whatever difficulties may be encountered in the application of the Covenant, and Article 16 in particular, the recognition of complete neutrality is inconceivable in the case of any other Member, seeing that Articles 3 and 4 provide that the Assembly and the Council are to deal with all questions affecting the peace of the world, while Article 11 explicitly states that "any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the Members or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League".

Recognition of a system of neutrality in the case of any other State Member would be outside the competence of both the Council and the Assembly, for the simple reason that it would be liable to involve a negation of the Covenant itself.

Legally, therefore, the recognition of such a system would require an amendment of the Covenant.

The question also arises whether, after the entry into force of the Briand-Kellogg Pact, with its elimination of "the gaps" in the Covenant of the League, there can be any question of a system of neutrality, since such a system necessarily presupposes the legitimacy of war under international law.

Trusting, as I do, that Switzerland will for ever remain in the happy position of those serene regions of which we read in antiquity, those *civitates Dei* which are immune from the scourge of war, I hasten to congratulate the Rapporteur on the wise solutions he has suggested. Their great merit is that they enable us to avoid fresh difficulties which might otherwise have hampered the operations of the League, to which we are so sincerely and so loyally attached.

M. LITVINOFF. — I wish first of all to express my appreciation of the work done by our Rapporteur and the efforts he has made to meet some of the observations which I made during the exchange of views among the Members of the Council. Unfortunately, he was evidently not in a position to give satisfaction on all points. I have already had occasion to express before the Council my anxiety as to its competence to decide the question under discussion. I have in mind not so much its legal as its political competence. It seemed to me that the question was too important for the Council to assume responsibility for its final settlement. After all, it is a question of violating the constitution of the League of Nations, founded on an equality of rights and obligations, and of creating a new category of League Members which are guaranteed a special status without any responsibility.

I know that, in 1920, the Council dealt with the question of limiting the responsibility of Switzerland, and adopted an appropriate decision. At that time, however, it was not a question of freeing Switzerland from responsibility, but only of determining the scope of measures in which Switzerland was to participate, equally with other Members of the League, against violators of the Covenant. Now, however, it is proposed to liberate a Member of the League from any obligations whatsoever. The difference, therefore, is one not of quantity but of quality. Furthermore, in 1920, Switzerland was freed from participation in military sanctions, which were not obligatory under the Covenant itself, whereas now it is a question of economic sanctions, the obligatory character of which cannot be disputed. The seriousness of the question will be emphasised still further in what I have to say later. I therefore continue to think that a question affecting the rights and duties of all League Members ought to be handed over to the League Assembly, which lies only three months ahead.

On the substance of the question, I must admit that the arguments expressed here in favour of satisfying the request of Switzerland have not convinced me. It seems to me that Swiss participation in economic and financial sanctions is entirely compatible with neutrality. International theory and practice know of no case in which the refusal by a State to maintain commercial and financial relations with some other State engaged in war has been considered a breach of neutrality. At all events, this was recognised, not only by the League of Nations, but by the Swiss Government itself in 1920, when Switzerland was being freed from participation in military sanctions. Thus, for example, in the resolution then adopted by the League Council it was stated that, in accordance with her declarations, Switzerland recognises and proclaims the duties of solidarity which membership of the League imposes upon her, including therein the duty of co-operating in such economic and financial measures as may be demanded by the League against a Covenant-breaking State. Nothing has happened since then to justify the League departing from this principle. I cannot find convincing the argument that the League of Nations lacks universality, or that it has not in some cases carried out its obligations towards the victims of aggression. The League was not more universal in 1920 than at present, since then, too, there were absent at least three great Powers and a certain number of smaller States. As for the incapacity of the League to adopt sanctions in all cases provided under the Covenant to which reference has been made, this circumstance diminishes rather than increases the obligations of Switzerland and, consequently, it is quite impossible to draw from this argument the logical conclusion that Switzerland ought to be set free from her obligations altogether.

However, I should be prepared to consider the desire of Switzerland to be freed from the obligations, in respect of other League Members, imposed on her by Article 16 of the Covenant whilst at the same time remaining a Member of the League—that is to say, taking part in all its non-political activity—but it would seem perfectly logical and politically justifiable to put forward the counter-demand that Switzerland, for her part, should set free the other League Members from their obligations in respect of herself. The League Covenant imposes on all its Members certain undertakings in regard to mutual defence. While renouncing participation in the defence of other League Members, Switzerland cannot expect of them an undertaking to defend her.

It is sufficient to read through the Covenant to realise its essentially reciprocal nature. The League of Nations does not undertake to defend any State whatsoever, but only its own Members. The fundamental article—Article 10—of the Covenant says quite plainly that "the Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League". You will note that the reference is not to all States, but only to Members of the League. Article 16, which deals with sanctions, refers to Articles 12, 13 and 15, which, once again, deal only with disputes arising between Members

of the League. Article 17 even provides for cases of the defence of League Members against attack by non-members of the League, but in no way provides for the opposite course.

The reciprocity of obligations, in my opinion, follows also from the principle of the equality of States—a principle which presupposes that they have identical rights and identical mutual obligations. I am speaking, of course, only of independent States.

It might have been expected that when the Swiss Government approached the Council with a request to free it from obligations in respect of other Members of the League, it would have itself declared that it thereby set free the other States from any such obligations towards Switzerland. The exchange of views which Members of the Council have had with the Swiss representative, however, has revealed that Switzerland, while renouncing any obligations imposed on her by Article 16 of the Covenant, is unwilling to give up any of the rights and privileges which she gains in respect of that same article.

I should like also to remark that the defence of Swiss neutrality does not by any means enter into the obligations of the League. The neutrality of Switzerland is guaranteed by other international treaties, which remain in force, just as do all the undertakings of the States participating in those treaties. I do not in any way wish to deprecate the importance of maintaining the independence of Switzerland. Nor do I venture to assert that under no circumstances will the League or its individual Members come to the aid of Switzerland in the event of an attack upon her or a violation of her neutrality. But this aid can be afforded only as a voluntary act, and not in virtue of Article 16 of the League Covenant.

I should like to assure the Council that, in the present case, I am far from being concerned at the question of the possible undertakings of my country in respect of the Swiss people for whom it cherishes the deepest sympathy and respect. If there were any certainty that our decision would refer only to Switzerland, one might, in spite of considerations of logic and justice, make an exception in her case. I regret to say that I have no such certainty. On the contrary, the discussion which has taken place among the Members of the League Council, and certain passages in the report itself, have convinced me that the Swiss question is the thin end of the wedge, the purpose of which is to open a breach through which may pass similar demands on the part of other States. This is confirmed by the energy with which some Members of the Council have resisted any attempt to emphasise the exceptional position of Switzerland. There will be nothing surprising to me if other States, later on, demand a similar privileged position for themselves also, renouncing all obligations in respect of other Members but maintaining the privileges which arise from those Members' obligations towards themselves. For such purpose, there will not even be any necessity for special decisions by the Council or the Assembly; it will be sufficient, in virtue of the precedent established to-day, to make a unilateral declaration and merely ask the Council to take note of it.

Such a situation can lead only to the final collapse of the League. That is why I insisted on the confirmation of the reciprocal character of obligations under Article 16, in order to give warning to other Members of the League that their self-liberation from their obligations will call into question their right to the protection of the League. I failed, however, to carry my point.

The Council knows that, during the last two years, an obstinate attack on the League of Nations has been going on, not only from without, but also from within. Among other means, this attack is carried on by attempts at arbitrary interpretations of League obligations in the direction of their relaxation, and the gradual but complete wiping out of those obligations—and consequently of the entire League—by unilateral declarations and individual breaches of League decisions, sometimes even by threats to leave the League.

The League of Nations was not invented and was not created by the Soviet Government, and the Soviet Union would suffer less from its liquidation than all the other Members. Recognising, however, at a particular stage of the development of the League, the value and necessity of the League as an instrument for the preservation of peace, the Soviet Union considers itself bound to defend the League's existence against both external and internal destroyers. That is why, as the representative of the Soviet Government, I refuse to share responsibility for decisions which inevitably lead to the destruction of the League or indirectly facilitate its liquidation. It is for this reason that I declare that neither my conscience nor the instructions of my Government permit me to accept the report and resolution placed before us; I shall therefore abstain from voting thereon, in order not to make use of my formal right to obstruct the passage of the resolution, which is desired by the members of the Council.

M. KOMARNICKI. — In adopting the report and resolution, which I have the honour to support on behalf of my Government, we are paying tribute to Switzerland, a country which has always served the cause of peace throughout its long history. Its distinguished representative, President Motta, has described—with that dignity which has won for him universal approval—the main lines of Swiss policy for the future in accordance with the permanent interests of his country.

The report, which is the result of lengthy deliberations conducted with great tact and ability by M. Sandler, Rapporteur, takes account of all points of view; and paragraph 7 in particular safeguards the attitude adopted by the different States with regard to the scope of Article 16 of the Covenant. It is in this spirit that I shall vote for the report and its conclusions.

Mr. JORDAN. — The New Zealand Government will support the proposal before the Council. Since the matter of Swiss neutrality is before the Council, I should like to ask the Swiss representative one question: Can we have an assurance that there will be absolute freedom for

representatives of the foreign Press to transmit accounts of our proceedings so far as they are made available to them, and freedom also to transmit such comments as they may think fit?

M. COSTA DU RELS. — The Bolivian delegation readily appreciates the reasons of a fundamental and exceptional character which have led the Swiss Government to ask the Council of the League of Nations to recognise the resumption by Switzerland of complete neutrality.

The unique situation of Switzerland in this matter is recognised in various international instruments; but it must not for that reason be allowed to constitute a precedent. On this point, I am in complete agreement with the representative of France. The Covenant of the League is binding on all its signatories. They cannot, by a unilateral statement in the Council, or by action on their own account, divest themselves of any or all of their obligations.

My country, which is respectful of treaties freely entered into and desirous that they shall be loyally observed, could not view without apprehension the spread of any contrary doctrine, which would not only mark the end of the League, but would also introduce anarchy in international relations.

Subject to the above explanation, I shall vote for the draft resolution, my vote in the circumstances being indicative of the cordial sympathy which my country feels for the noble Swiss nation. Bolivia has been called the American Switzerland; and we do not fail to find in this happy comparison some alleviation of our unfortunate geographical situation!

M. Wellington KOO. — In the opinion of the Chinese Government, the request of the Swiss Government for recognition of her perpetual neutrality is justified by the unique character of the case. Historically, geographically and in the light of the relevant international instruments, Switzerland, whose loyalty to the League in submitting her case to the Council for approval deserves to be noted, has special reasons to support her application to the Council. The Chinese Government has no objection to the acceptance of it by the Council, as in its view it can in no way create a precedent for the future.

The question, however, in its implication, may have an important bearing upon the future of the League of Nations. The wording in part of the report and the resolution now before us, as well as the debates which have taken place in the Council on the question, seem to cast certain doubts in regard to the question of the nature and extent of the obligations of the Members of the League other than Switzerland towards one another. The fundamental principle of the reciprocity of obligations has been questioned by a number of Members who are not and cannot in the nature of things be in precisely the same situation as Switzerland.

The Chinese Government holds the view that sanctions under Article 16 of the Covenant, other than military sanctions, are not optional but obligatory. No Member is entitled to divest itself of these obligations by a unilateral declaration of its intention. Since these obligations have been assumed collectively, no discharge from them can be effected except by a collective act of approval. The Chinese Government attaches the greatest importance to this established principle of the Covenant, and any doubt thrown upon its intangibility is a cause of anxiety to my Government lest the very foundation of the League of Nations should be undermined.

In view of the tendency now current in certain States Members of the League of Nations to abandon their obligations under the Covenant by a unilateral declaration of their intention, the Chinese Government finds it the more necessary, so far as it is in its power, to safeguard the sanctity of the Covenant.

For these reasons, the Chinese Government, while approving the request of the Swiss Government before the Council, and appreciating the work of the eminent Rapporteur, M. Sandler, feels unable to subscribe to the report and the resolution, and therefore, in accordance with instructions, I shall abstain from voting.

M. VAN LANGENHOVE. — The Swiss Government's request to the Council, of which M. Motta has been the eloquent advocate, commands a generous measure of sympathy on our part.

In announcing my Government's acceptance of the resolution taking note of Switzerland's intention not to participate any longer in the putting into operation of the provisions of the Covenant relating to sanctions, I am concerned explicitly to note that it is clear from the report (for which its author, M. Sandler, deserves the Council's gratitude) that the resolution expresses no view whatsoever as to the scope of Article 16 of the Covenant, and does not in any way affect the position taken up by Governments in relation to the same.

M. BARRAMY. — The urgent and exceptional arguments adduced by the Swiss Government in support of the resumption by Switzerland of complete neutrality were in themselves so convincing that I felt able, from the first moment when the question was raised, to support the view of the majority. I am glad to see now that the proposals have been accepted unanimously. On behalf of my Government, I accept the resolution in its entirety.

M. MOTTA. — I have no intention of reverting to the substance of this question. All that is necessary has been said. I have paid scrupulous attention to all that has been said here to-day, which is indeed a notable day for Switzerland. Not a word has escaped me.

I should like to thank all the members of the Council who, in one form or another, have expressed sympathy for my country.

I must now reply to a question put to me by the representative of New Zealand with regard to the Press. This is my reply. The Federal Constitution proclaims the principle of the liberty of the Press; the Swiss people is warmly attached to the observance of this principle. I can therefore give the assurance that the representatives of the foreign Press will always be free to send to foreign newspapers any communications or comments they may think fit on questions dealt with by the League of Nations.

M. SANDLER. — In the course of the negotiations which, as Rapporteur to the Council, I had to conduct, I found considerable agreement among my colleagues from the first in regard to the reception to be accorded to the Swiss Government's request. I found on all sides a generous appreciation of the motives which had led the Swiss Confederation to submit to the League of Nations a question of the utmost importance for Switzerland. On the other hand, I found considerable differences of opinion in regard to the form of the decisions to be taken by the Council, as also in regard to the facts and findings to be embodied in the report. I conceived it to be my duty, as Rapporteur, to spare no effort to present a report taking account, as far as possible, of the opinions held, whether concordant or divergent. The result of the joint efforts of myself and my colleagues is before you; and I am happy to observe that agreement appears to have been attained.

Certain statements or observations have been made by my colleagues during the present discussion. It would have been interesting to continue at the Council table, the discussion which, I may say, has already been proceeding, night and day, for some time past. Everyone will understand, however, why, as Rapporteur, I refrain from doing that.

I must refer, however, to one particular point made by the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, M. Litvinoff, in regard to the effect which the adoption of the report may have on the relations of other Members of the League with Switzerland. I have given very careful consideration to this question; and I am bound to admit that we are faced in this matter with a highly complicated problem, certain aspects of which are very extensive.

M. Litvinoff's suggestion that the position in that respect should be clearly defined is readily comprehensible; but I found it difficult to reconcile this suggestion with the conception of the Covenant which, so far as I have been able to see, prevails in the literature on the subject. The problem in any case is one which goes to the very roots of the League, since the latter is in principle called upon to deal with any question affecting the peace of the world.

In regard to other points raised during the discussion, I need only refer to the resolution and to the report, which form a whole.

Before concluding, I want to thank the representative of Switzerland, M. Motta, for the constant support he has given me; I venture to offer him my personal congratulations on the achievement of a successful settlement on an issue of such vital importance to the Swiss Confederation and to the Swiss people.

I should like also to thank all my colleagues. I know the extent to which I have had to appeal to their spirit of conciliation and good-will, which has never been lacking. Without their ready comprehension of the difficulties of my task, I should never have been able to carry it through to a conclusion. I can assure them of my grateful appreciation of their support, as also my thanks for the kind things that have been said of me in the course of the discussion.

It is further my duty and pleasure to express to the Secretary-General and the services of the Secretariat concerned my sincere thanks for their well-informed, efficient and unwearied assistance.

The resolution was adopted, the representatives of China and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics abstaining.

The PRESIDENT. — The debate to which we have listened and which culminated in the adoption of the report and the resolution submitted to the Council deserves, in my view, the widest attention. As regards both its practical consequences and its significance in relation to the doctrine of the League of Nations, the solution of the problem of Swiss neutrality is an event of the greatest importance. I am glad to observe that the preparatory work in the matter as well as the high level and the spirit of the subsequent discussion have led to a result which the League may register with a considerable measure of satisfaction.

I congratulate the Swiss Government on the achievement of the aim cherished by its people.

I repeat in the name of the Council our gratitude to the Rapporteur and to those who have helped him in his work, and I thank all my colleagues for the good-will and competence which they have given proof in the handling of this question.

M. Motta withdrew.

4059. **Application of the Principles of the Covenant of the League of Nations** (continuation).

M. Edwards, representative of Chile, came to the Council table

The PRESIDENT. — I beg leave to make, in the name of the Council, some brief observations. The Council, having heard the observations of the representative of Chile, as recorded in the Minutes of the third meeting of the present session, is bound to point out that, the Assembly being seized of the position, it is not possible to discuss the substance of the question therein set forth. The question of the application of the principles of the Covenant is included in the agenda of the Assembly, which will have before it the report on the subject prepared by the special Committee of the Assembly.

It appears to be of the utmost importance that delegations to the Assembly should be furnished with the requisite instructions to enable them thoroughly to discuss the important problems raised, and steps will be taken to communicate to the Members of the League of Nations the declarations made to the Council by the representative of Chile.

M. EDWARDS, Representative of Chile. — I wish in the first place, to thank the Council for the efforts that have been made to meet the points of view which I have had the honour to put forward on behalf of my Government; and I pay tribute to the very cordial spirit displayed by the members of the Council.

I am afraid, however, that we have reached a deadlock. The Council takes the view that it is not competent to discuss the substance of the question which my Government has submitted to it. My Government, on the other hand, believes that the provision in Article 4, paragraph 4, of the Covenant to the effect that "The Council may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world" gives the Council the widest powers to examine this problem.

It is obvious that the reforms themselves could only come into force after being ratified by the Members of the League whose representatives are members of the Council and by the majority of those who are Members of the Assembly. But there is nothing to prevent the Council from studying these reforms, since this question seems to us to come clearly within the sphere of action of the League. My Government did not even venture to ask the Council to go into the substance of the question. It would have been satisfied with a general statement as to the immediate urgency of reforms, leaving the study of them to some body with instructions to make specific proposals for submission to the Assembly in September.

Despite the efforts—which we greatly appreciate—made by certain great Powers, friends of Chile, and by other Powers with which Chile has fraternal relations, this simple solution, which would have met our wishes, was not adopted. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that a decision on these lines would have been a decision of procedure and not of substance, since Article 5, paragraph 2, of the Covenant expressly states that such questions, including the appointment of committees to investigate particular matters, shall be regulated by the Assembly or by the Council and may be decided by a majority of the Members of the League represented at the meeting. Unanimity was not therefore necessary in order to take such a decision.

The declaration of the Council's incompetence leaves the whole of this question—which we, and quite certainly a large number of States with us, consider to be of capital importance for the existence of the League of Nations—in suspense until the Assembly meets in September. It is obvious that, if no preparatory steps are taken before the next Assembly, the League will be in the same position then as it was in September 1936. To us it seems that the quite unfounded declaration of incompetence and the decision to do nothing for four months are both alike imbued with the same spirit of desperate resistance to reform of any kind, although they are couched in the courteous and inoffensive language to which I referred in my previous remarks.

The reports by the Committee of Twenty-eight, to which the Council refers, make no proposals of any kind. A fresh start will therefore have to be made as if nothing had occurred. After two years of fruitless effort, my Government, faced by the aggravation of the equivocal position in which the League is placed and the decrease of its prestige throughout the world, is not prepared to allow another long period of inaction to elapse during which the very life of the League will be at stake. The Members of the League are well acquainted with my Government's views, to which I have given expression on more than one occasion in the Assembly, in the Committee of Twenty-eight and in the Council. In my statement on Wednesday last, which was the logical climax of our long campaign, I indicated at length the main lines of the reforms which we advocate, without prejudging, as regards details, the verdict of the Members of the Council or other bodies entrusted with the study of the subject. Certain Members of the Council—or, let me say rather, certain persons—have thought to find in my statement of Wednesday last a change of attitude. They claim that the Chilean proposal which, they say, began as no more than an invitation to non-member States, has now been transformed into a motion for the immediate reform of the Covenant.

Permit me to recall the facts in chronological order in proof that this contention is without foundation of any kind. Ever since 1919, we have consistently championed universality as being essential for the League. For years, we were able to feel that the activities of the League gave ground for hope. But more recent events led us, in 1936, to emphasise more strongly this doctrine of universality. In doing so, we laid stress on the necessity of working toward that end and on the need for reform of the Covenant; we suggested as a contribution to the study of the question that it might be desirable to ascertain the views and wishes of non-member States. These ideas have not ceased to be advocated by the Chilean delegation in the different organs in which we have had occasion to express our views. Three months ago, M. Valdés-Mendeville again expressed this idea at the end of his statement in the Committee of Twenty-eight. "You will see," he said, "that all the facts tend to show that the reform of the Covenant is absolutely necessary, it being constantly borne in mind that we must aim at regaining that universality which is indispensable if our institution is to do useful work".

Our successive utterances have in reality been inseparable links in a logical chain of thought and, as I stated in my earlier speech, there is no possibility of detaching any one link from the rest, and (least of all) that which merely relates to procedure, in order to present it as the pivot of our attitude in defiance of our clearly expressed views.

We are the first to recognise that opinion amongst Member States is not uniformly at one with us in our appreciation of the position, although a statistical retrospect of the political activities of the League shows with the unanswerable argument of figures that, with its present legal structure and as regards the application of coercive measures, the League has never been able to find solutions for any political dispute.

Of the forty-two political disputes which have been dealt with by the League since it came into existence, eleven (relating almost without exception to matters connected with the liquidation of the great war) were the subject of a decision by the Council. The other thirty-one disputes have either been settled by direct negotiations between the parties, or have been referred to other international organisations, or have led to a note signifying withdrawal from the League of Nations, or have been abandoned or left in suspense.

This balance-sheet of results is, in the opinion of Chile, sufficiently eloquent to make comment unnecessary. But I note that the cold eloquence of the figures, cogent as it is, is not sufficiently cogent to shake the views which are held in favour of the maintenance of a *juridical status quo*, which to my Government appears to be fatal alike to peace and to good understanding between nations.

It is not without deep emotion that my country draws the moral of these discussions. But a conviction firmly embedded in the mind of my Government and of public opinion in my country makes it impossible for Chile to continue to belong to the League of Nations while articles of the Covenant which are unenforced and unenforceable continue to figure in theory as part of the political structure of the League as we know it.

It is therefore with deep regret that I have, on behalf of my Government, to announce the decision of Chile to withdraw from the League. Notice in the regular form will be given in due course.

We are not leaving the League in order to regain freedom to embark on action contrary to the principles of the Covenant. We are not leaving because the League has been able to address a single reproach to us during the eighteen years of its existence. We are leaving solely because it has been our desire to restore to the League of Nations the life which is ebbing from it, and because we have found ourselves faced with a position of impenetrable inertia in regard to reforms which can no longer be delayed.

I am in a position however to make the solemn declaration that the withdrawal of Chile from the League will in no way change the guiding rules of our international policy. Whether we are signatories of the present Covenant or not, our policy will be based, as it has always been in the past, on the principles which the Covenant proclaims as essential for the maintenance of peace and security.

All the pacific means of settling international disputes which are embodied in the Covenant have constituted, and still do constitute, the fundamental doctrine of our relations with all countries. The reduction of armaments to which the League of Nations was unable to give effect on a universal basis, was realised by Chile in a treaty with the Argentine Republic some eighteen years before the Covenant was signed. The instant and scrupulous observance of that treaty, far from compromising peace between the two countries, was the prelude of the closer fraternal bonds by which they are at present united.

We settled all frontier disputes with our neighbours long ago. Every form of conciliation and enquiry with a view to the settlement and prevention of international conflicts has been tried on frequent occasions by Chile, and has resulted in instruments which my Government has signed.

The withdrawal of Chile from the League of Nations will not therefore involve any moral severance. Chile will not seek refuge in the ivory tower of an incomprehensible isolation. She will co-operate with all nations, strengthening the cordial relations which she maintains with them in the pursuit of the ideal of peace and universal harmony which is her ideal also. We shall therefore continue to profess—if I may be permitted the expression—the same religion of international policy as the Members of the League. Chile is further prepared to continue her active co-operation with the Permanent Court of International Justice, with the International Labour Office, and with the technical organs of the League, of whose fruitful work, as I have already stated, we are warm admirers.

As regards the League of Nations as a whole, permit me, in conclusion, to express the fervent wish of my country for the reform of the present Covenant and its adaptation to the realities of international life before the expiry of the two-year period required for our effective withdrawal. Nothing would give my country greater satisfaction than to be able to remain a Member of an institution such as this, with which we have co-operated to the utmost of our ability for eighteen years.

M. COMNÈNE. — I listened with the keenest interest to the statement made by the representative of Chile on May 11th. I appreciated the seriousness of the considerations which led him to put forward certain views, the realistic character of which need not however inspire in us that note of pessimism which emerges from his utterance as a whole.

For my part, I have no need to restate the Roumanian attitude, which has been so clearly expressed by my predecessors, in regard to the problems raised by M. Edwards in his statements.

My country has always considered that the Covenant itself contains adequate provisions for its effectiveness. The idea of law clearly contains in itself all the elements of justice; and it is possible, as the representative of Chile suggested, to conceive of an association of nations without any coercive element.

But it remains to be seen whether justice without force, without "that organised will to make it respected", can ever have complete or positive value.

In the legitimate desire to make the League of Nations universal, we should not empty the Covenant of its substance, or transmute precise rules of international law into mere precepts of international morality.

I imagine that even the most implacable opponents of the League of Nations are agreed that law which is not backed by force is a metaphysical conception, worthy of respect indeed, but vain, and liable even to give rise to dangerous illusions.

To avoid any possible misunderstanding, we desire to repeat again in unequivocal language what was said in the discussions which took place in the Committee of Twenty-eight in regard to the fundamental principles of the organisation of peace—namely, that we cannot agree to any reform which would in any way affect the principle of the equality of States. That attitude was emphatically affirmed by none other than my august Sovereign in a speech on June 6th, 1936, when he said: "We will not accept any infringement of the principle of the equality of States". Roumania regards the enforcement of this principle as essential in all forms of international co-operation, since equality is the necessary corollary of sovereignty and independence.

Having briefly restated, as in duty bound, the Roumanian attitude in this matter, I will add that I am entirely in agreement with the President as to the action to be taken on the motion by the representative of Chile.

At the same time, I trust that circumstances will yet enable Chile to continue to co-operate with the League of Nations. The co-operation of Chile, like that of all the Latin-American countries, has been of the highest value to the League.

M. GARCÍA CALDERÓN. — In view of the painful announcement of an impending withdrawal from the League I cannot be silent. I feel bound to say that the desire expressed by Chile to leave the League on grounds, the strength of which was vigorously argued by her representative the other day and again to-day, has not received from the Members of the League the careful attention which such a step would seem to deserve. During our secret meetings, I had the impression that the prospect was viewed with a resignation which verged on the complacent. I have the impression—it may be a purely personal impression—that all possible means of conciliation, all possible steps and appeals to prevent a member of the family from leaving us have not been exhausted.

I will not insist—I said too much the other day—upon the analogy between the aims of the League and the spirit of Latin America, with its historic background, with its essentially human sense of the equality of peoples and races, the democratic equality of nations with different densities of population and different shades of colour. That, I fear, is a doctrine which is not as widespread as it might be. Let me add, laying modesty aside, that the presence of Latin Americans in this place is not, to my thinking, without its uses. One of the most distinguished and most respected journalists of Switzerland, the Director of the *Journal de Genève*, said three months ago that Latin America was the conscience of the League of Nations. That is an excessive, a splendid, compliment, which we shall try, not without misgivings, to deserve. The rôle of conscience, diffusing in sub-conscious spheres and obscure regions which have never known the light, the illuminant of clear and rigorous thinking; what a dangerous, what a disagreeable rôle!

But I will not prolong this pessimistic note, imbued as I am with the earnest hope that in the last resort, faced with the unhappy eventuality of other withdrawals, we shall become more reasonable, and shall not be content to stand by while the League becomes less and less universal, a veritable *peau de chagrin*.

I am certain I am voicing the sentiments of every Latin-American people when I express the hope that the day will come when Chile resumes in our councils the place she has always occupied with so much authority and so much devoted service to the common cause.

M. QUEVEDO. — I have had occasion, in the course of the exchanges of views that have taken place, to make my colleagues aware of the importance that my country attaches to the co-operation of Chile with the League, not merely on account of the unchanging friendship by which my country and Chile are united, but also because my Government has always been in favour of the maintenance and extension of the co-operation of all Latin-American States with the League. I cannot but add, what the members of the Council already know, how earnestly I have desired to find a formula which would be accepted by my colleagues while at the same time giving satisfaction to Chile.

Now, after listening to M. Edwards' announcement on behalf of his Government of the intention of Chile to withdraw from the League, I desire to give expression to my country's feelings, and to say that, in my opinion, the League of Nations will be the poorer for the loss of such eminently valuable co-operation. I hope that Chile will one day return to the League, where her place will always be ready for her, and that, in the immediate future, we shall always find her represented at international gatherings in America, lending to them the benefit of her open-minded outlook and her readiness to welcome any and every form of civilised progress.

M. COSTA DU REIS. — The decision of a Government to leave such an organisation as the League of Nations, in which countries are united in the defence of peace, is a serious matter. The point of view of the Chilean Government deserves the most respectful consideration. The departure of a great American nation, which has co-operated so actively in the work of the League, cannot be other than a subject for sincere regret.

We should like to hope that this decision will not be final. But, should it unhappily become final in spite of all our efforts at the next Assembly, our regret will be to some extent lessened by M. Edwards' announcement that Chile—friend and neighbour of my own country—will continue, though absent from Geneva, to co-operate on our American continent in the ideals of Geneva by serving the cause of peaceful understanding and international comprehension in which she has so effectively participated at Geneva.

M. Edwards withdrew.

4060. **Appeal by the Chinese Government** (continuation).

The PRESIDENT. — The Council has had several exchanges of views on the statement made by the representative of China on May 10th. It decided to set up a Drafting Committee composed of representatives of China, the United Kingdom, France, Roumania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the President of the Council acting as Chairman.

The Drafting Committee submits the following resolution to the Council:¹

" The Council,

" Having heard the statement by the representative of China on the situation in the Far East and on the needs of the national defence of China:

" I.

" Earnestly urges Members of the League to do their utmost to give effect to the recommendations contained in previous resolutions of the Assembly and Council in this

¹ Document C.192.1938.VII.

matter, and to take into serious and sympathetic consideration requests they may receive from the Chinese Government in conformity with the said resolutions;

" Expresses its sympathy with China in her heroic struggle for the maintenance of her independence and territorial integrity, threatened by the Japanese invasion, and in the suffering which is thereby inflicted on her people.

" II.

" Recalls that the use of toxic gases is a method of war condemned by international law, which cannot fail, should resort be had to it, to meet with the reprobation of the civilised world; and requests the Governments of States who may be in a position to do so to communicate to the League any information that they may obtain on the subject."

M. Wellington Koo. — In my statement before the Council on May 10th, I emphasised the fact of the continuation of Japanese aggression against China and urged the Council to take effective action, not only to discharge its obligations under the Covenant towards China, the victim of aggression, but also in the general interest of peace and security between nations. I drew special attention to the despatch by the Japanese military authorities of chemical warfare units to the Shantung front, and the danger of the Japanese troops resorting to the use of poison gas in their desperate attempt to undermine the heroic resistance of the Chinese army.

I have since had occasion to insist upon the application of Article 17 of the Covenant and the carrying into full effect of the Assembly resolution of October 6th, 1937, and the Council resolution of February 2nd, 1938, and presented to the Council a number of modest desiderata and several concrete measures for its consideration and approval. These measures are of two categories: those for restraining Japanese aggression and those for aiding China in her resistance thereto.

The text of the resolution now before the Council takes into consideration a few of my proposals but, while it shows some improvement of the previous resolutions, it still leaves, in the opinion of my Government, a great deal to be desired. To meet the situation I am, however, prepared, in the name of my Government, to accept the resolution in the confident hope that the needs of China in her valiant struggle, not only to defend her independence and territorial integrity, but also to uphold the cause of law and order in the world will be seriously and sympathetically considered and generously satisfied by all Members of the League who may be approached for the purpose, more particularly in assuring her of financial and material aid and of the facilities for purchase, transport and transit of arms and military supplies, facilities which should in no case be less than those which she enjoyed before the commencement of the present Japanese hostilities.

I wish also to make clear that my Government accepts the resolution on the understanding that the Council remains seized of the appeal of the Chinese Government under Articles 10, 11 and 17 of the Covenant.

M. BONNET. — I listened with special sympathy to what was said on Tuesday morning by the representative of China. The heroism displayed during long months by the Chinese people in defence of their independence and of the integrity of their territory has deserved the admiration of the whole world. Exalted by her patriotism, strengthened in her national unity, China has met adversity with a spirit of courage and sacrifice to which everyone is bound to pay a tribute, and has proved worthy of the moral support of which she was assured by the Assembly in its resolution of October 6th, 1937.

In accordance with the resolutions of the Assembly and of the Council, France has endeavoured, as far as possible, to grant assistance to China; and any recommendation which the Council addresses on this subject to States Members will be taken into very serious and sympathetic consideration by France.

The protection zone created under the auspices of her representatives at the edge of the French Concession has already saved the lives of hundreds of thousands of refugees, driven from their homes by the bombardment of the suburbs of Shanghai. Like other States, the French Government is also prepared to make a considerable contribution to the work of assistance undertaken under the auspices of the League with the object of preserving the civil population from the scourge of epidemics which threaten to break out over immense areas as an addition to the devastations of war.

The League of Nations, which has already solemnly condemned the bombardment of open Chinese towns, is now called upon to condemn, through the Council, the use of poison gases, from which both China and Japan have in the past undertaken to abstain. The French Government cannot fail to give its support to this request; and I hope that both these countries will refrain from a method of warfare which is disapproved of by the conscience of the world, which is condemned by treaties and which would aggravate by atrocious and unnecessary suffering, the evils that have already resulted from the conflict.

The work of development and progress in which the Chinese Government has been engaged for some years, with the co-operation of the technical services of the League of Nations, is at present suspended and threatened; and we are witnessing the tragic spectacle of a great nation compelled to divert its efforts from the fruitful task in which it was engaged in order to devote them solely to the defence of its liberty. It is the desire of the entire French people that so much courage and abnegation may shortly find their reward in an equitable agreement which will

ensure to China respect for her rights and legitimate interests, and again enable the Chinese people to place its age-old virtues of work and perseverance in the service of civilisation and peace.

Lord HALIFAX. — I should like to say a few words in warm support of the resolution now before the Council.

One portion of the resolution expresses the sympathy of this Council with China in the searching ordeal through which she is now passing. There is no country represented on the Council which would more earnestly desire to associate itself with this expression of opinion than my own.

The United Kingdom representative, it will be remembered, voted in favour of the Assembly resolution of October 6th, 1937, and of the Council resolution of February 2nd, 1938. His Majesty's Government has done its best, within the limits which the situation in the United Kingdom imposes upon it, to implement to the full its obligations to China under those resolutions. I can assure M. Wellington Koo that His Majesty's Government will continue as it has done in the past to give, in the words of our resolution to-day, serious and sympathetic consideration to any requests it may receive from the Chinese Government in conformity with those resolutions.

Allusion is rightly made in the resolution to the horror which is felt by the civilised world at the use of poison gas as a method of warfare. We earnestly trust that the information laid before the Council by the Chinese representative in his letter of May 9th, 1938,¹ will prove in the end to be unfounded. We think it, however, a wise precaution that those States which may be in a position to do so, should communicate to the League any information that they may obtain on the subject.

I shall vote in favour of the resolution.

M. KOMARNICKI. — The attitude taken up by the Polish Government since the beginning of the recent conflict in the Far East is well known.

My Government has always held that Members of the League cannot be committed by any action on the part of a single Power or group of Powers. Since the resolution before us is merely a reaffirmation of previous resolutions, I am compelled to adhere to my previous attitude of abstention.

I desire at the same time to state that I accept Part II of the resolution for the reason that it embodies a rule of general application—namely, the absolute prohibition of chemical warfare, without pronouncing on particular instances.

M. SOURITZ. — It is all to the good that the Council resolution should give some satisfaction to the legitimate wishes of China. Our own desire was that the resolution should be more concrete and definite and more in accordance with the seriousness of the situation created by the action of the aggressor. But we hope that what we decide here will nevertheless do something to help the heroic Chinese nation to continue the struggle for its independence.

M. WELLINGTON KOO. — I cannot refrain from expressing my appreciation of the tribute and the sympathetic words which have been addressed to my country by the representatives of France, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union. These words will, I am sure, be received with comfort in China by the Chinese people, in the thought that their great heroic struggle in defence of their national existence and for the cause of peace in general is not unrecognised by the great peace-loving nations of the Occident. I can assure them that those words will be received with a feeling of gratitude.

The resolution was adopted, the representative of Poland abstaining as regards Part I.

4061. Close of the Session.

The PRESIDENT declared closed the hundred-and-first session of the Council of the League of Nations.

¹ Document C.166.M.93.1938.VII.

Wetmore

*Flomice
May/38*

Preparation for the Emigration Conference.

1. The most urgent matter is to circulate to the Governments which have accepted the invitation some general plan of the scope and the programme of the Conference. That should be communicated to Governments at the earliest possible moment because (a) the European Governments at present seem to be in the dark about the Conference and are marking time: (b) it takes the European Governments some weeks before they can prepare instructions for their delegates to the Conference, and : (c) without some programme which has been considered by the Government Departments before the Conference meets, there is a danger of wasting time at the Conference in general talk.

Scope of Conference

2. It is suggested that the Governments should be informed that the primary purpose of the Conference is to adopt plans of a large emigration of Jews and non-Aryans from Greater Germany, including Austria; and an indication would be given of the numbers it is proposed to emigrate, namely 200,000 Jews and say 60,000 non-Aryans over a period of four years.

3. An attempt will probably be made to get the Conference to consider the Jewish problem in Poland, Roumania, and other countries of Eastern Europe. That problem, however, is too large to be dealt with mainly by emigration. It should be a subject for careful study; and it may be possible for the Conference to set up some Commission which will investigate it. But the practical work of the Conference should be concentrated on the more manageable

and limited task of finding a home for those who must leave Greater Germany.

4. The attempt may be made also to get the Conference to consider the future of the work of emigration and settlement for the Russian and Armenian refugees who have been hitherto under the care of the Nansen Office. The proposed League organization for refugees, which will take the place of the Nansen Office, and the High Commission for the German refugees, will be concerned ^{mainly} with the juridical status of refugees and not with emigration. But it is submitted that the question of emigration for the Russian refugees is one for examination at the next Assembly of the League and not for immediate measures at this Conference.

5. Another question which is likely to be pressed on the Conference is the evacuation ^{to} ~~of~~ countries overseas of part of the refugees from Germany and Austria who are now temporarily resident in the European countries, e.g. France, Holland, Switzerland. At the League Governmental Conference held at Geneva in February, when the Convention concerning the legal status of the German refugees was adopted, the delegates, ^{Holland and} from Switzerland in particular, stated that the question of emigration of refugees must be dealt with by an international conference. In any large plans of emigration and settlement, regard will no doubt be given to the inclusion of a certain number of those refugees now in European countries, who cannot be absorbed there and who are fitted for emigration. But the main business of this Conference must be the emigration of the mass now in Greater Germany who must be helped out. The evacuation of those who have found temporary refuge is a subordinate

a-spect; and the European Governments represented at the Conference should be urged to absorb as large a number of those refugees as possible, ~~and~~ ^{That} that would be a portion of their contribution to the solution of the problem which they should meet in response to the willingness of the U.S.A. and other countries overseas to admit ~~large~~ numbers from Germany *within their quota.*

Relations with Germany:

Another important matter to be considered as soon as possible before the convening of the Conference is the relation of the Government of the Reich to the Conference. Since a measure of co-operation of the Reich Authorities is necessary to the execution of any orderly emigration, it may be considered desirable to invite Germany to take part in the Conference by sending an observer if not a delegate. Failing that step, it would no doubt be arranged to communicate to the Reich Government as soon as possible the programme which it is proposed to lay before the Conference and to request that the recommendations of the Conference shall receive later the helpful action of the Reich. It may also be possible to obtain, by some informal communications with the heads of the Economic Ministry of the Reich or with personalities like Dr. Schacht, some indication of the way in which the Reich Authorities might participate in any financial plan required for the assistance of emigration. (I might mention that I was told by the Burgomeister of Vienna, and by a German official in the Economic Department of Vienna that they clearly recognised that any large policy of emigration must have some financial help from the Reich Authorities.)

Relations with the League of Nations:

If the League has not yet been informed officially of the programme of the Conference, it would be well to send formal notification as soon as possible. It might also be helpful if there were some personal communication to one or two of the principal officers of the League either directly or through Mr. Sweetzer who is a kind of Liaison Officer between the U.S.A. and the League. The technical assistance of the League Secretariat, in providing secretaries, translators, Press office, etc. for the Conference, should be of great use, and as long notice as possible should be given so that the necessary staff may be available at Evian.

Preparation of public opinion:

As soon as the staff of the Conference arrives from America, it would be well to prepare some publicity in the European and international press so that a sympathetic atmosphere for the programme of the Conference may be created. The point that should be stressed is not so much the sentimental or humanitarian aspect, which does not ~~always~~ always arouse the desired response, as the value of intelligent, energetic and well-trained immigrants to countries both in the New and the Old Worlds. It can be shown that the refugees from Germany during the last years have, in several countries, created employment for large number of natives of the countries.

Programme at the Conference:

Assuming that there is to be a plan for emigration of 200,000 Jews and 60,000 non-Aryans in the four years, the

broad lines of distribution which are suggested are :

- a) to the U.S.A. 27,000 a year, which is within the Quota.
- b) ~~To~~ the South American Continent, 13,000 a year
- c) to Palestine, 10,000 a year
- d) to the British Dominions, 5,000 a year
- e) to the European countries, ^{their colonies} 10,000 a year.

It may be considered well to make a specific reservation for the non-Aryans~~x~~ refugees as distinct from the full Jews, and the numbers above-mentioned contemplate the following ~~proportion~~ appropriation for the non-Aryans:

- a) to the U.S.A. 5,000 a year
- b) to South America, 3,000 a year
- c) to the British Dominions, 2,000 a year
- d) to the European countries, 5,000 a year.

(These figures are of course very rough, and no doubt something more considered will be worked out before the programme is communicated). The emigration to Palestine would be of full Jews only.

For the adoption of any plan, it is a primary necessity that the U.S.A. Government should be willing to give a definite lead by way of Administrative facilities for filling up the Quota. It is only if such a lead is given that other countries overseas and in Europe are likely to take a liberal attitude. There is a technical matter of the U.S.A. Quota which merits consideration: whether in the case of refugees from Austria, the nationality and not the place of birth may be regarded, because large numbers of the prospective refugees were born in places which are now within Roumania, Poland, or Czecho-Slovakia but were then part

of Austria-Hungary, and the quota for Roumania etc. is very narrow.

Financial Plan

A larger emigration programme would appear to require a financial plan on a different basis from that which has been adequate for the emigration from Germany during the last five years. Over half of the emigration hitherto has not required assistance of public funds; but the conditions of the Jews and non-Aryans in Austria are materially so much worse than the conditions in Germany that it is expected that two-thirds of those leaving Austria will need such aid. The contributions therefore of voluntary organizations, which have hitherto met the needs of assisted emigration, will not any longer be adequate, and it seems doubtful whether the Governments taking part in the Conference will be willing to make a grant of public funds for the assistance of emigration. The attempt will, it is hoped, be made to secure some Governmental contributions, but if it is not successful, or if the contribution is small, the fund for assisting emigration on a large scale may have to be obtained by some system of loan as was done for the Greek Refugee Settlement through the League of Nations in 1922-23. The annual amount which is envisaged for the assistance of emigration is £2,500,000 for a normal infiltration emigration, and £500,000 for settlement on the land; and that would mean a total loan of £12,000,000. In this connection it is emphasised that the main solution for the problem must be found by emigration into established communities and not by settlement in undeveloped countries. The cost of such settlement is many times greater per head than the cost of

emigration to developed countries; and the numbers which can be absorbed in the first period are very much smaller. At the same time, the settlement on the land and the opening of new areas for emigration in undeveloped countries are so valuable as a nucleus for future emigration that it is most desirable that specific funds should be made available for this purpose. The experience in Palestine, and to a less extent in Argentine, during the last five years, has been most encouraging; and schemes are already prepared for modest settlements on the land in Australia and in Kenya as well as in some South American countries.

The problem of assuring the interest and amortisation of the loan raised for emigration will have to be most carefully examined. It is suggested that the Government of the Reich should be asked to allow the property of the emigrants in Germany, which is placed in block accounts, to be held as a security for the loan, and the interest should be assured by authorising a certain amount of foreign exchange to be paid out each year from that fund. It is believed that the Jewish community could obtain the agreement of the individual owners of the property to be used for the execution of a general plan. Further the emigrant to whom a loan is made individually would give an undertaking to charge any property which he acquires in the new country with the repayment of the loan, and also ~~to~~ give his personal undertaking to repay.

The contributions from the voluntary organizations which are to be expected in at least an equal measure to those raised for German refugees during the last five years, and which

amounted to an average of £750,000 a year, would be required to provide for (a) relief in Germany and Austria; (b) the cost of training and re-training emigrants, and (c) the maintenance of refugees in European countries pending their emigration. It is contemplated that much larger funds than have hitherto been contributed will be made available for the help of the non-Aryan as distinct from the Jewish refugees. To this end, the help of great philanthropic corporations such as the Red Cross and the Rockefeller Foundation may be invoked.

A particular effort will be required for the placing and assistance of the intellectual refugees, the doctors, lawyers, artists, etc. It may be feasible to get the Governments to agree to take a certain limited number of the members of these professions; and special funds may be appropriated for their re-adaptation to new professions.

Permanent organization:

It is suggested that the Conference will appoint a small International Committee as the body to watch over the execution of a four-year plan. The title for this body might be "The International Committee for the Emigration of Refugees". It would also appoint a very small Executive which would direct the measures of emigration and settlement, and would be in the closest touch with the voluntary organizations that are already engaged in that work. The Governmental Committee should not have representatives of all the countries sending delegates to the Conference; it might be enough for seven or eight Government

m-embers to be on it - from the U.S.A., two South American countries, Great Britain, Australia, France and Holland. Besides the Government members, there should be a few persons appointed by the Conference as experts in the problem, or persons who have special knowledge of the needs of the refugees. One or two of them might come from the principal Refugee organizations. It is hoped that one outcome of the Conference will be to commission the governing body which is set up to approach the Government of the Reich forthwith, with a view to obtaining its co-operation in the plan of emigration and settlement which is adopted. Subsequent negotiations with the Government of the Reich will be conducted by the Executive Director who, it is hoped, will be permanently in close touch with the Authorities of the Reich in working out an orderly four-year plan of emigration and a financial plan; it will be necessary therefore for the person appointed to be, as far as possible, persona grata to the Government of the Reich.

The Executive appointed by the Conference would report once or twice a year to this governing body, and it may be desirable to approach the League of Nations with a view to an agreement about the relation of the League High Commissioner for the refugees to the body in all matters of emigration and settlement. The Executive will be composed of two or three persons of whom the principal should be a person of recognised international position and with experience of this kind of problem. It might not be necessary for him to devote

his whole time if he already has other public activities, but it would be his major occupation. The League and the International Labour Office at Geneva should be invited to give the aid of their technical services, such as the economic and financial organisations of the League, and the Migration Department of the I.L.O. The seat of the office should, it is considered, be either in London or in Paris because it is there that the main work of the organizations is done; and there must obviously be the closest and most constant co-operation of the voluntary organisations with the Executive. It has not yet been determined ^{where} ~~where~~ the Office of the League High Commissioner for refugees, ^{according to the plan} which is to be adopted at the next Assembly, will be placed; the expectation is that it will be at London or at Paris.

The budget of the Executive, which would be of a modest amount, will, presumably, be covered by the Governments participating in the Conference. The League system for distributing the cost, ^{Immediate Action} on the basis of population etc., might be adopted.

As soon as the American staff arrive in Paris, it may be useful to have a meeting with one or two representatives of the European bodies which will, by that time, have worked out a draft plan and programme, and it is to be hoped that the American and the European advisers will be able to agree on a plan that can be sent out forthwith to the Governments concerned. It may also be possible to secure that all the European organisations, both Jewish and non-Jewish, may agree on a small

delegation which might be present at the Conference to give any advice and information, and which would be parallel with the small Committee coming from America. The Governments should be informed as soon as possible of the American representatives at the Conference and of the proposal that each country should have a single accredited delegate with one or more assistants, and such technical advisers as they please. The names and qualifications of the American members should be communicated also so as to give an indication to the European Governments of their standing.

It may be useful for the American delegation to have, as soon as they arrive, a summary of the Refugee Survey which has been made for the Royal Institute of International Affairs in England - with the aid of the Rockefeller Foundation - so far as it covers the refugee problem from Germany.

In accordance with Mr. Taylor's suggestion, charts will be prepared for the Conference and, if possible, to be communicated to Governments prior to the Meeting, which will show (a) the distribution of the Jews in the world; (b) the Jewish populations in Germany and Austria with some idea of their ages, professions etc. (c) the principal German regulations and practices affecting Jews and non-Aryans; (d) the societies and organizations already engaged in the work together with the sources of their funds; (e) the distribution in the proposed emigration plan and the proposed financing of the plan.

JUL 1938

COMITÉ INTERGOUVERNEMENTAL

EVIAN - Juillet 1938

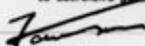
Carte d'Entrée

Délégation des Etats Unis d'Amérique

M^r The Hon. Myron C. Taylor

N° 1

Le Secrétaire général



Cette carte est strictement personnelle

July 6, 1938.

MR. TAYLOR'S SPEECH

~~Mr. Chairman:~~

(1) Some millions of people, as this meeting convenes, are, actually or potentially, without a country. The number is increasing daily. This increase is taking place, moreover, at a time when there is serious unemployment in many countries, when there is a shrinkage of subsistence bases and when the population of the world is at a peak.

(2) Men and women, of every race, creed and economic condition, of every profession and of every trade are being uprooted from the homes where they have long been established and turned adrift without thought or care as to what will become of them or where they will go. A major forced migration is taking place, and the time has come when governments--I refer specifically to those governments which have had the problem of political

refugees ...

refugees thrust upon them by the policies of some other governments--must act and act promptly and effectively in a long-range program of comprehensive scale.

(3) Mindful of the harrowing urgency of this situation President Roosevelt took the initiative of calling this meeting at Evian. The response of the more than thirty governments which were invited to participate has been generous and encouraging and the courtesy of the French Government in offering the hospitality of its territory to the meeting and in arranging the technical details of our reception calls for deepest appreciation and most profound thanks.

(4) At the outset, we must consider that we are dealing with a form of migration which presents peculiar difficulties. The earliest migratory movements of which we have record consisted in the migration of races which overran western and southern Europe in a concerted hostile

movement ...

movement of whole peoples, advancing as military or political waves on those areas of the world where a high standard of living was already established. Then came the colonization movements which were largely migrations by organized groups usually under direct political authorization essentially for governmental purposes. This was followed by the Nineteenth and early Twentieth Century migration which was movement by individuals and families on an enormous scale induced by unsatisfactory economic and living conditions in the countries of origin and promise of a higher standard of living in the countries of settlement. Now, we have a form of compulsory migration, artificially stimulated by governmental practices in some countries which force upon the world at large great bodies of reluctant migrants who must be absorbed in abnormal circumstances with a disregard of economic conditions at a time of stress.

(5) We must ...

(5) We must admit frankly, ~~indeed~~, that this problem of political refugees is so vast and so complex that we probably can do no more at the initial Intergovernmental Meeting than put in motion the machinery, and correlate it with existing machinery, that will, in the long run, contribute to a practicable amelioration of the condition of the unfortunate human beings with whom we are concerned. While, for example, our ultimate objective should be to establish an organization which would concern itself with all refugees, wherever governmental intolerance shall have created a refugee problem, we may find that we shall be obliged on this occasion to focus our immediate attention upon the most pressing problem of political refugees from Germany (including Austria). Accordingly, my Government in its invitation referred specifically to the problem of German (and Austrian) refugees and proposes that, for the purposes of this initial Intergovernmental Meeting

and ...

and without wishing to set a precedent for future meetings, persons coming within the scope of the conference shall be (a) persons who have not already left Germany (including Austria) but who desire to emigrate by reason of the treatment to which they are subjected on account of their political opinions, religious beliefs or racial origin and (b) persons as defined in (a) who have already left Germany and are in process of migration.

(6) Doubtless, some delegates will suggest that there is already established under the general supervision of the League of Nations a Commission for political emigrants from Germany and that the Council of the League of Nations on May 14, 1938, agreed upon a Resolution making recommendations with regard to the reorganization of this Commission and with regard to the Nansen Office whose distinguished head is the delegate of Norway. It is the firm belief of the American Government that the intergovernmental organization which it

is...

is proposed to set up at this meeting, the League Commission and the Nansen Office should be complementary and should work together towards a solution of the problem of political refugees in which the fate of so many hapless human beings is at stake. As evidence of my Government's intentions in this respect, I should like to propose, before we proceed further, that Sir Neill Malcolm, the League's Commissioner for refugees from Germany, should be invited by the Intergovernmental Committee to assist in its deliberations. Happily, as I have already observed, Judge Michael Hansson, head of the Nansen Office, is officially in attendance and will, I am sure, give us the benefit of his profound knowledge and wide experience.

(7) I shall not at this point dwell at length upon the technical aspects of the problem with which we shall have to deal. May I merely suggest that it will be advisable for us to exchange, for the strictly confidential information of the Committee, details regarding the number and ...

and the type of immigrants whom each government is prepared to receive under its existing laws and practices, details regarding these laws and practices, and indications regarding those parts of the territory of each participating government which may be adapted to the settlement of immigrants. Then, there will be the problem, which must be carefully considered, of documenting political emigrants who have been obliged to leave the country of their original residence in circumstances which render impossible the production of customary documents. It will also be incumbent upon us to consider the various studies which have been made in the respective countries of the problems of aiding the emigration and the settling and the financing of political refugees. I might observe, in this connection, that President Roosevelt has set up in the United States an Advisory Committee on Political Refugees whose Chairman, Mr. James G. McDonald, is at present at this meeting and will, I know, be prepared to furnish you with detailed information regarding his organization.

(8) You will have noted that my Government's invitation to this meeting stated specifically that whatever action was recommended here should take place within the framework of the existing laws and practices of the participating governments. The American Government prides itself upon the liberality of its existing laws and practices both as regards the number of immigrants whom the United States receives each year for assimilation with its population and the treatment of these people when they have arrived. I might point out that the American Government has taken steps to consolidate both the German and the former Austrian quota so that now a total of 27,370 immigrants may enter the United States on the German quota in one year.

(9) From the inception of this present effort in behalf of political refugees, it has been the view of the American Government that the meeting at Evian would serve primarily to initiate the collaboration of the receiving governments in their assistance to political refugees and

that ...

that the work would have to be carried forward subsequently in a more permanent form. It is the belief of the American Government that this permanent collaboration might be most effectively maintained by the regular meeting of the diplomatic representatives of the participating governments-- or such other representative as a participating government may wish to designate--in a European capital, and we hope that the French Government will agree that these meetings may take place at Paris. It might be useful if a Secretariat were to be established to assist the Intergovernmental Committee in its continued form in caring for administrative details--the expenses of this Secretariat to be borne by the participating governments on a basis to be recommended by this initial meeting.

(10) In conclusion, I need not emphasize that discrimination and pressure against minority groups and the disregard of elementary human rights are contrary to the principles of what we have come to regard as the accepted standards...

standards of civilization. We have heard from time to time of the disruptive consequences of the dumping of merchandise upon the world's economy. How much more disturbing is the forced and chaotic dumping of unfortunate peoples in large numbers. Racial and religious problems are, in consequence, rendered more acute in all parts of the world. Economic retaliation against the countries which are responsible for this condition is encouraged. The sentiment of international mistrust and suspicion is heightened and fear, which is an important obstacle to general appeasement between nations, is accentuated.

(11) The problem is no longer one of purely private concern. It is a problem for intergovernmental action. If the present currents of migration are permitted to continue to push anarchically upon the receiving states and if some governments are to continue to toss large sections of their populations lightly upon a distressed and unprepared world, then there is catastrophic human suffering ahead which can

only...

only result in general unrest and in general international strain which will not be conducive to the permanent appeasement to which all peoples earnestly aspire.

INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE

Evian - July 1938.

PROVISIONAL AGENDA

of the

First Meeting (Public) held at the Hôtel Royal
on Wednesday, July 6th, 1938, at 4 p.m.

1. Speech by H.E. M. Henry Bérenger,
Delegate of France.
 2. Appointment of the Credentials Committee.
 3. Speech by the Hon. Myron C. Taylor,
Delegate of the United States of America.
 4. Speech by H.E. M. Henry Bérenger,
Delegate of France.
 5. Speech the Right Hon. the Earl Winterton,
Delegate of the United Kingdom.
-

JEAN HERBERT

48, RUE DU GÉNÉRAL FOY, PARIS
TEL. : LANGRIS 78-88

129, RUE DE LAUBANNE - GENÈVE
TEL. : 28.285

Wiam 12.7.58

Dear Mr. Taylor,

I enclose one French and one English text of the three speeches given last night. As the secretary I brought with me cannot take English shorthand, I wrote the English text myself; I hope you will be able to decipher it. I must apologize for the fact that the rendering is rather loose; my notes were taken in the language into which I was interpreting, and I had to re-translate them, which never gives very good results.

Yours respectfully,

Jean Herbert

AFTER-DINNER SPEECHES

ROYAL HOTEL, EVIAN

July 11, 1938.

Mr. Taylor.

Gentlemen, the President of the French Republic.

Mr. Bérenger.

I shall not be quite so concise as our President. Being a Latin, I like to talk at some length - but I shall try to derive some inspiration from our President's American wisdom.

As head of the French delegation, I felt deeply moved by the way Ambassador Taylor drank the health of the President of the French Republic. M. Albert Lebrun is a remarkably straightforward and far-sighted man whom we all respect, appreciate and love. I am proud that a great American should have drunk his health. I shall inform him personally that the representatives of 32 nations here assembled have shared in the toast to him.

May I in exchange drink to the heads of the 32 states who have met here under the guidance of the United States Government represented in the person of Ambassador Taylor? President Roosevelt, who took the initiative of convening this Committee, is the actual

creator

creator of the work we have now begun. I hope that he will be able to lead us to final success, for the greater benefit of those unfortunate people for whom we have assembled.

I shall therefore take President Roosevelt as symbolizing in his person the heads of those 32 states. I drink to the great man who was bold enough to take the initiative of bringing this great problem into an official international forum.

Mr. Taylor.

There will not be many speeches to-night - at which you will certainly feel relieved. Since, however, I have come all the way from America for this work of mercy, I cannot allow this occasion to pass without saying a few words of the motives which brought us here, and also of the satisfaction which my fellow-members of the Delegation and myself have felt at the reception we were given on the fair land of France, and at the welcome of the distinguished Ambassador of France. I must say also how deeply moved I felt at the warm reception given in our gathering to the cause which we all have at heart.

There

There could be no worthier motive than the one which brought us together here. If we all do our duty as we should, as representatives of what I might call what remains of civilization, I feel confident that we can give to the world a contribution, the far-reaching effects of which are incalculable.

We enjoyed a feeling of security, and we had come to feel the deepest veneration for those ideals which man had evolved in the course of his age-long pilgrimage on this planet, and which had taken the form of codes, art, culture, etc.

Now we feel we are facing a great danger of losing them. No effort we can make will be too great to preserve those beautiful things which we have enjoyed in our civilized life.

It has been said that the inspiration for this meeting came from a land three thousand miles away. We reached it long ago after crossing tempestuous seas in a frail boat, and we were confronted there with all sorts of obstacles coming from man as well as from nature. But in spite of all that, we built there a civilization and a home in which we kept a warm feeling for the mother-country. Therefore, whenever we see

mankind

mankind persecuted and destroyed, whatever may be the race, color and creed, we respond to the call. For that reason we came here.

A very great light must have led us on the way here, a light which nothing can extinguish, the light of brotherhood, right and justice. No other cause could have brought me to these unexpected surroundings, but I am happy to be here. I am happy also to give all that I can give, to show the world that we - or some of us at least - still want to be reckoned as siding with right and justice.

This is not only a work of mercy for those unfortunate people whom we all long to help. A principle is involved. And there is one idea which always comes to my mind, in very simple words: "I was a stranger and he took me in; I was hungry and he fed me; I was naked and he clothed me." May God allow us to give the same assistance to all those unfortunate ones.

Lord Winterton.

M. Bérenger correctly interpreted the feelings of the old politician that I am when I implied I wanted to make a speech. I sat in the British House of Commons for 33 years, and I had to contest 10 elections

to

to retain my seat. Making a speech is therefore not an entirely new experience for me.

I feel sure I am expressing the feelings of all present if I ask you to drink the health of Ambassador Taylor, our host and President, for whom we all have the greatest affection and regard. He is certainly the right man to occupy the international position to which he was elected. Nobody could listen without emotion to what he has said. It is often alleged that we Britishers are not emotive. But I am sometimes given to being emotive myself. And I want to express also, in my own name, in that of my colleagues of the British Government, and I am sure in the name of you all, my great affection and respect for this eternal and essential part of humanity: France.

JEAN HERBERT

48, RUE DU GÉNÉRAL FOY, PARIS

TÉL. : LABORDE 78-82

129, RUE DE LAUSANNE - GENÈVE

TÉL. : 28.255

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There could be no warmer motive than the one
which brought us together here. If we all do our duty
as we should, as representatives of what I might call
what remains of civilization, I feel confident that we can
give to the world a contribution, the far-reaching effects
of which are incalculable.

JEAN HERBERT
48, RUE DU GENERAL FOY, PARIS
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129, RUE DE LAUSANNE - GENEVE
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JEAN HERBERT

48, RUE DU GÉNÉRAL FOY, PARIS
TÉL. : LABORDE 78-52

129, RUE DE LAUSANNE - GENÈVE
TÉL. : 28.255

3

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129, RUE DE LAUSANNE - GENÈVE

TÉL. : 26.255

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of you all, my great affection and
respect for this eternal and essential
part of humanity : France

(After-dinner speeches,
Royal Hotel, Evian,
11th July 1938)

Sent to

Samuel Cavert

Fed. Council of Churches,

297 4th Avenue, New York.

July 7/1938.

After consultation authoritative quarters convinced
situation Austrian nonaryans appalling stop Best
estimate half million additional to professing Jews
stop Situation many already desperate major catas-
trophy impending stop Impossible more than 3000
monthly leave Austria stop Cannot churches send
representatives without publicity make immediate
unobtrusive investigation preparatory obtaining
American relief.

i
Nevin Sayre

'NON-ARYAN' CHRISTIANS

MEMORANDUM on behalf of the INTERNATIONAL CHRISTIAN

COMMITTEE FOR GERMAN REFUGEES

For the EVIAN CONFERENCE, July 6th 1938.

1. 'Non-Aryan' Christians

No section of the post-War refugees will be more thankful for the action of the American Government in summoning the Inter-Governmental Conference at Evian than the 'non-Aryan' Christians. These 'non-Aryan' Christians are those victims of the persecution in Germany and Austria who are either full Jews converted to Christianity or Christians of partial Jewish race. Their position in Germany and Austria in the matter of racial persecution is the same as that of the Jews; but they are entirely without the resources, the organization, the experience and the racial appeal possessed by the Jews. This makes their case infinitely more pathetic, and intensifies their claim on international support. The Jews themselves recognise their difficulties and have on many occasions given generous help to individual refugees.

Both the High Commissioners for Refugees from Germany have emphasized the gravity of their situation, and

Mr. James MacDonald before he resigned took steps to call attention to it. Indeed, it was in order to appeal for funds to the Christian Churches of the world in a scheme worked out in detail in the office of the first High Commissioner, that the International Christian Committee ¹⁾ for German Refugees was set up on January 31st, 1936.

The extraordinary difficulty, however, of bringing the particular sufferings and heartrending isolation of the 'non-Aryan' Christians home either to the Christian Churches or to the public in different countries, is illustrated by the most disappointing result of the Appeal made in 1936, which realized only the minute sum of £10,000, nearly the whole of which came from the Churches in Great Britain. The funds thus raised did not, of course, by any means cover the many contributions from members of the Christian Churches to 'non-Aryan' Christians outside the Appeal, that is in support of the work of the Society of Friends, in connection with the Central Bureau for European Relief (Dr. Adolf Keller) in Switzerland; or in the United States; or for various centres such as Paris, Prague, Amsterdam, Zurich, Vienna and elsewhere;

1) The International Christian Committee, it should be made clear, is an Appeal body and not an executive organization, and has no staff or office in the least comparable to that of the Council for German Jewry.

but there is, unhappily, no doubt that the recognition of the needs of 'non-Aryan' Christians has been lamentably slight.

2. Their Mixed Condition

'Non-Aryan' Christians, prior to February 1933, always regarded themselves as GERMANS in the full sense of the word. Those Christians who had one Jewish parent (and a fortiori Christians with one Jewish grandparent) were never regarded by the Jews as fellow-Jews, nor did they regard themselves as Jewish. The whole classification 'Aryan' and 'non-Aryan' was not only utterly unscientific, but found before February 1933 no corresponding reality in the ordinary intercourse of life. Since February 1933 these 'non-Aryan' Christians have had to face a situation in which they no longer find themselves regarded as Germans and cannot either regard themselves or be regarded by Jews as Jews. They are a negative entity, so to speak. They are outcasts, like the Jews, in Germany, but because they are 'non-persons' - 'non-Aryan' - they have as 'non-Aryans' no similar community outside Germany on whose necessary and indisputable support they can count. Just as there is no recognised 'non-Saxon' or 'non-Celt' world to which 'non-Saxon' or 'non-Celt' individuals can appeal, so there is no 'non-Aryan' world to which 'non-Aryans' as such can appeal. This makes their case quite extraordinarily cruel.

3. Their Numbers

There are no official statistics of 'non-Aryan' Christians as 'non-Aryan' (unlike the Jews) has never been hitherto a recognised term in the German census. There are also all sorts of categories or grades of 'non-Aryan' Christians. Those that are known as 'mischlings' are persons with one Jewish parent. These suffer the full disabilities of the full Jew. There are others with one Jewish grandparent. They are not exposed to the same intensity of disability, but both they, and in some cases persons who cannot prove a 'pure' pedigree going back to 1800, are disqualified for certain professions or positions. There are also the Aryans who have married Jewish wives.

It is simply impossible to say, therefore, how many 'non-Aryan' Christians there are who are exposed to racial disabilities. That the total number of 'non-Aryan' Christians, including both those who suffer from full and those who suffer from partial disqualifications, seems to be very much larger than the total number of Jews is universally admitted. But for present purposes, bearing in mind the impossibility of exactness, owing to the absence of official statistics, until the new census has been taken, it would be probably as near the mark as we can get, to say that the number of 'non-Aryan' Christians suffering from disabilities under the Nuremburg

laws and the associated decrees would be at least as large as the number of Jews. There were 550,000 Jews in Germany in 1933, but while about 140,000 Jews have emigrated from Germany since 1933, the number of 'non-Aryan' Christian refugees is estimated at 15,000 (though the figure is challenged). There were 185,000 in Austria in March 1938. It would, therefore, seem to be a reasonable estimate to say that the total number of 'non-Aryan' Christians (as limited above) suffering disabilities similar to those suffered by the Jews at the present time would be about 730,000.

4. Their Future

It was pointed out above that the funds contributed from the Christian Churches and the public at large for the assistance of 'non-Aryan' Christians have been minute. Generous as the Jews have shown themselves to the Jews, and large as have been the sums which they have raised, it is believed that the Jews consider that voluntary contributions by themselves will not suffice for the settlement of the problem of Jewish emigration. Certainly most, if not all of the private organizations, are convinced that the financing of assistance and settlement schemes for refugees of any category cannot be carried out by private charity alone. A fortiori the 'non-Aryan' Christians from their very position as a "negative entity" would be condemned to complete help-

lessness with regard to the future unless the response for financing assistance and settlement schemes is undertaken by International Agreement to which the Governments are party - leaving aside the question at the moment of the form that Government assistance might take, whether by grant, loan or tariff. It would certainly be hoped that if such an International scheme were to be put out, the public at large and the Christian Churches would respond today in a far more satisfactory way to an appeal for their help.

It is therefore strongly hoped that the delegates to the Conference will see their way to promoting an adequate international financial plan for the settlement and assistance of 'non-Aryan' Christians in Germany and Austria, to which the Governments are party.

5. Emigration

The question of emigration from Germany and Austria in relation to the Jews has been closely studied by the Council for German Jewry; though the Jewish bodies have naturally a special connexion with Palestine for this purpose which does not belong to non-Aryan Christians. Considerations regarding age and re-training (as well as finance) and many other matters are much the same concerning non-Aryan Christians as with Jews. A mass evacuation of non-Aryan Christians is neither practicable nor desirable. But controlled emigration

of persons below the age of thirty-five should by all means be promoted. It ought to be pointed out, further, as a fact of peculiar hardship for non-Aryan Christians that non-Aryan Christian young men of military age who are by either 25 % or 50 % of Jewish origin are not allowed to leave Germany at the present time. Although they are subject to the harsh disqualifications and are deprived of their rights in the German State they are nevertheless regarded as fit to be German soldiers, and are, therefore, compelled to undergo military service. The injustice of this requirement is patent. It is hoped that Delegates to the Conference will bear this strongly in mind during their deliberations and will do their utmost to persuade the German Government that such an injustice should not continue.

It must be pointed out that non-Aryan Christians would bring very considerable assets with them to the receiving countries in the way of character, ability and intelligence. They would make most acceptable and fruitful colonists. In the view of most, if not all, of those who know them intimately they should not be treated as a secluded colony wherever they may be settled, nor should they be isolated as a special section of world society. On the contrary, everything possible should be done to find room for them to live with others in large communities. Indeed, the main solution of the

non-Aryan Christian problem ought, it is maintained, to be found to the utmost possible extent by infiltration. In this connexion it is greatly to be hoped that the different Governments may see their way to increasing the facilities for the admission of non-Aryan Christian (as well as other) refugees into their respective countries. It is also hoped that the British Delegates and other Delegates of countries having colonies or dependencies will give special care to investigate the opportunities which may exist for refugees in such colonies and dependencies. Further, it is hoped that every opportunity possible may be taken to encourage the Dominions and particularly Australia, New Zealand and Canada to favour the admission of selected refugees.

It is urged that the needs of the non-Aryan Christians with regard to settlement in countries outside Germany are of the utmost importance; and that as their numbers are very large the fullest possible attention should be paid to their requirements in emigration plans.

6. Conclusion

This Memorandum is specially concerned to call attention to the very exceptional character of the position of the non-Aryan Christians in Germany and Austria. It does

not, therefore, attempt to go into the various vital questions of administration or machinery, such as other organizations have rightly brought forward. It is, however, urged with great emphasis in regard to non-Aryan Christians, as well as in regard to Jews, that the Governments represented at the Conference should make it plain that the systematic persecution by the German Government of a large number of its citizens is a reproach to civilization, which civilized nations may not suffer in silence; and that everything possible should be done, both to save those who are persecuted and to prevent a further persecution.

(sig.) George Cicester
Chairman of the International
Christian Committee for German
Refugees.

July 1938.

Address:-

Bishop of Chichester,
The Palace,
Chichester,
England.

M. TAYLOR.-

Je vous demande de boire à la santé du Président de la République française.

M. BERENGER.-

Je ne serai pas aussi bref que notre Président. Les représentants d'une race latine aiment parler un peu plus longuement. Néanmoins je chercherai à m'inspirer de cette sagesse américaine.

En ma qualité de chef de la Délégation française, je suis très reconnaissant à M. l'Ambassadeur Taylor d'avoir bu, comme il l'a fait, à la santé du Président de la République française. M. Albert Lebrun est un homme droit et aux vues larges que nous apprécions, que nous respectons et que nous aimons. Je suis fier qu'un grand Américain ait bu à sa santé et j'en informerai moi-même notre Président. Je lui dirai aussi comment les représentants de trente-deux nations se sont associés à ce toast. Je voudrais, en échange, boire à la santé des chefs des trente-deux Etats dont les délégués se sont réunis à Evian sous la direction des Etats-Unis, représentés en la personne de l'Ambassadeur Taylor. Le Président Roosevelt, qui a pris l'initiative de convoquer cette Conférence, est vraiment le créateur du travail que nous avons entrepris. Je souhaite qu'il puisse nous conduire jusqu'au succès final pour le grand bonheur des malheureux dont nous nous occupons ici. Je voudrais par conséquent prendre le Président Roosevelt comme symbole des chefs des trente-deux Etats qui se sont fait représenter. Je bois à la santé du grand homme qui a osé prendre l'initiative de convoquer cette réunion et d'y faire discuter ce problème brûlant.

M. TAYLOR.-

Nous n'aurons pas beaucoup de discours ce soir et je suis sûr que vous en serez tous soulagés. Néanmoins, puisque je suis venu d'Amérique pour cette oeuvre de compassion, il ne m'est pas possible de laisser passer l'occasion qui se présente sans vous parler des mobiles qui nous ont amenés ici et de la satisfaction que mes collègues et moi éprouvons à la réception qui nous a été réservée sur la belle terre de France et, en particulier, par son distingué-Ambassadeur. Nous sommes très émus également de l'accueil chaleureux qui a été réservé dans nos réunions à la cause qui nous intéresse tous si profondément.

Il n'est pas de mobile plus méritoire que celui qui nous réunit ici. Si nous nous acquittons de notre devoir comme représentants de ce que je pourrais appeler ce qui reste de la civilisation, je suis persuadé que nous pourrons apporter au monde une contribution dont les conséquences lointaines seront incalculables. Nous jouissions d'un sentiment de sécurité et nous éprouvions une profonde vénération pour les idéals que l'homme, au cours de son pèlerinage millénaire sur notre planète, a exprimés sous la forme de codes, d'arts et de culture.

Nous nous trouvons maintenant menacés de perdre ces idéals. Nous ne pourrons jamais faire d'effort trop grand pour conserver ces belles choses dont nous avons joui dans la vie civilisée. On vous a dit que l'inspiration vient d'un pays situé à 5.000 kilomètres d'ici. Bien que pour y arriver nous ayons dû traverser des mers agitées sur un frêle esquif et bien que, dans cette terre

lointaine, nous nous soyons heurtés à tous les obstacles que nous opposaient l'homme et la nature, nous y avons construit une civilisation et des foyers dans lesquels nous avons conservé un sentiment chaleureux pour notre mère patrie. Aussi répondons-nous immédiatement lorsque nous voyons l'humanité persécutée et détruite, quelle que soit la couleur, la race ou la religion des victimes. C'est pour cela que nous sommes venus.

Il faut qu'une lumière bien grande nous ait guidés jusqu'ici. Mais cette lumière était telle que rien ne peut l'éteindre. C'était celle du droit, de la fraternité et de la justice. Aucune autre cause, sans doute, n'aurait pu m'amener ici, mais je suis heureux d'y être et je suis heureux aussi de ~~vous~~ donner tout ce que je peux pour indiquer au monde que nous sommes encore quelques-uns, tout au moins, qui voulons être comptés parmi les défenseurs du droit et de la justice. Il n'y a pas seulement ici une oeuvre de compassion pour les malheureux que nous voulons aider, il y a aussi un principe et quand je pense au travail que nous avons entrepris, il y a une idée qui me revient toujours : "J'étais un étranger et il m'a accueilli; j'avais faim et il m'a nourri; j'étais nu et il m'a vêtu." Que Dieu nous aide à donner ce même genre d'assistance aux malheureux dont nous nous occupons.

Je voudrais maintenant demander au doyen des délégués à la Conférence de nous dire encore quelques mots.

M. BERENGER.-

En vertu des pouvoirs qui m'ont été conférés par le Président de la Conférence, je donne la parole à Lord Winterton.

LORD WINTERTON.-

M. Bérenger a fort bien interprété les instincts du vieux politicien que je suis lorsqu'il a supposé que j'étais brûlé du désir de prendre la parole. J'ai siégé à la Chambre des Communes pendant 33 ans et j'ai dû faire dix campagnes électorales pour y conserver mon siège. Faire un discours n'est donc pas pour moi une expérience entièrement nouvelle.

Je suis heureux d'exprimer les sentiments de tous ceux qui sont ici en vous demandant de boire à la santé de l'Ambassadeur Taylor, notre hôte et notre président, pour qui nous éprouvons tous l'estime la plus affectueuse. C'est certainement l'homme qui était le mieux qualifié pour occuper la place que nous lui avons donnée dans cette assemblée internationale. Personne n'a pu écouter sans émotion ce qu'il vient de nous dire et je voudrais vous demander de lever votre verre à sa santé.

On dit souvent que les Britanniques ne sont guère susceptibles d'émotion, mais je dois avouer qu'il m'arrive parfois d'en éprouver et je voudrais exprimer en mon nom, au nom de mes collègues du Gouvernement britannique et au nom de tous les délégués qui sont représentés ici, notre respect et notre affection pour cet élément éternel et essentiel de l'humanité qu'est la France.

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