

Folder 4

SEP 1958

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL REFUGEES

 1938-1939 - Appropriation 198/91113.

Disbursements as of September 15, 1938
 Accounts of C.M.P. CROSS, Paris, France.

Voucher Number.	Account 1938	Payee	Purpose	Amount.
214	July	Various.....	Per Diem.....	\$ 469.75
243	"	Hayward G. Hill.....	Travel Expenses....	22.90
244	"	George L. Brandt.....	-do-	11.05
245	"	Estelle Wuest.....	-do-	4.62
246	"	William G. Conklin....	-do-	7.86
247	"	Inez Viterbo.....	-do-	8.96
258	"	Robert T. Fell.....	-do-	12.10
261	"	Jane Wilson.....	-do-	17.83
264	"	Various.....	Per Diem.....	222.00
1955	"	A. Natural, Coultre & Cie.	Transportation various objects Geneva-Evian-Geneva	87.28
1956	"	A. Burlet.....	Rent -Typewriter, tables & 3 chairs..	6.88
1957	"	Hayward G. Hill.....	Telegram.....	4.45
1926	"	Postes - Evian.....	Telegrams.....	1,438.32
1927	"	Manager, Hotel Royal, Evian.....	Rent office space..	599.04
1928	"	..... -do-	Postage.....	6.51
1929	"	..... -do-	Rental - La Salle automobile....	92.21
1930	"	..... -do-	Telephone charges, Evian, July 6-16.....	25.01
1931	"	..... -do-	Baggage handling, Evian, 34 pieces	8.90
1932	"	..... -do-	Official dinners by Mr. Taylor....	474.42
1933	"	..... -do-	Stationery and printing for Delegation....	13.05
2172	August	George L. Brandt.....	Travel Expenses....	125.55
2212	"	Various.....	Per Diem.....	278.00
2226	"	Raymond H. Geist.....	Travel Expenses....	128.94
2274	"	Various.....	Per Diem.....	186.00
2275	"	Margaret S. Duffley...	Travel Expenses....	29.12
2276	"	Hayward G. Hill.....	..... -do- ...	119.75
2278	"	Eleanor O'Sullivan....	Salary, Aug. 16-21..	20.00
2279	"	George L. Brandt.....	Per Diem.....	70.00
3926	"	Poste 44 - Paris.....	Telegrams.....	27.52
3927	"	Manager Hotel Royal, Evian.....	Long distance telephone, July 5-13.....	10.47
3928	"	Poste 44 - Paris.....	Telegrams.....	222.21
3952	"	Jean Mézière.....	U.S. Share of Expenses General Secrétariat	692.19
3953	"	E.A. Toner & Co.....	Printing - dinner table plans...	4.27
3954	"	A. Webster & Co.....	Envelopes - Invitation cards.....	8.30
3955	"	Frederick H. Dowley...	Hire auto-9 days London.....	131.90
3956	"	Romeike & Curtice Ltd.	Sibscription for Press clippings	7.69

<u>Voucher Number.</u>	<u>Account 1936</u>	<u>Payee</u>	<u>Purpose</u>	<u>Amount</u>
3957	August	Robert T. Pell.....	Telephone - London - Paris.....	\$ 7.33
3958	"	Western Union Tele- graph Company..	Telegrams.....	11.97
3959	"	Theatre & Ticket Co.	Messenger for Delegation - London.....	17.58
TOTAL.....				<u>\$ 5,631.93</u>

OCT 1958

October 13, 1938

MEMORANDUM OF A MEETING OF MR. RUBLEE
WITH LORD WINTERTON. Mr. Pell, Mr.
Reilly and Mr. Williamson were present.

Lord Winterton opened the conversation by reminding Mr. Rublee that he had shown him a copy of the British draft ^{Statement} ~~agree-~~ment which it was proposed to submit in confidence to the Director. He reminded Mr. Rublee also that he had asked for comments on the British statement, not that he could promise to make any changes, but that it would be useful to have Mr. Rublee's ideas.

Mr. Rublee replied that he must be frank and say to Lord Winterton that the statement in its present form was wholly unsatisfactory in that it gave no indication of the numbers the United Kingdom or the Colonies would be willing to receive. He felt that it was no advance over the Evian Statement, and he was sure that upon reconsideration, the British Government could put forward a better case for the real contribution it was making towards a solution of the refugee problem.

Mr. Pell pointed out that a lot was being done in England in the way of retraining involuntary emigrants. Possibly the British Government might wish to strengthen this portion of their statement. They might, too, be willing to indicate to a greater extent what might be done by the Colonies.

Lord Winterton replied that he, too, would have to be perfectly frank. He said that his Government would not be able to indicate numbers which might be received either for the United Kingdom

or the Colonies. The British Government had no influence over the Dominions. They made their own decisions, and Mr. Rublee would have to deal directly with them in precisely the same manner as he would deal, say, with the French Government. He would not wish to raise Mr. Rublee's expectations falsely, and he must say, without mincing words, that in his opinion, any reference to numbers would be an invitation to anti-semitism.

Mr. Rublee said that that placed him in a very difficult position. It was quite useless for him to approach the German Government and to ask them to make a contribution in the manner of allowing emigrants to remove a portion of their property, unless he could tell the German Government that he had assurances that the pace of emigration from Germany might be increased with success, and that he had information which would lead him to believe that if the Germans would adopt an orderly system of emigration, he could find places where the emigrants might be settled.

Lord Winterton said that he fully realized the difficulties, but that he did not see what could be done to obtain commitments with regard to numbers from the various units of the British Commonwealth.

Lord Winterton then asked whether it was not true that France had declined to indicate the numbers of emigrants whom it

would be willing to receive. He said that the British Government had information to the effect that the French would not commit themselves as to numbers.

Mr. Rublee said that, on the contrary, he had information that the French were merely holding back, awaiting a British lead.

Lord Winterton observed that this was a matter which required further investigation.

Concluding this aspect of the discussion, Lord Winterton said that he was a great believer in experts. In consequence he suggested that Pell and Reilly should have a thorough discussion of the British plan, in order that suggestions might be made to the appropriate authorities for the strengthening of it in certain particulars. Lord Winterton said that he could not promise that the recommendations which Pell and Reilly might make would be accepted, but he thought that it would be useful to hear the point of view of the experts.

Lord Winterton then referred to the information which he had given Mr. Rublee at the previous meeting to the effect that he and experts of the Treasury and the Board of Trade were considering the financial aspect of possible negotiations with Germany. He said that he would not wish to underestimate the difficulty of arriving at a concrete conclusion, since at the

basis of the problem was the fact that Germany wished to sell more goods to the United Kingdom than it could pay for. It was, in consequence, very difficult, at a time when the present arrangement with the German Government was beginning to prove unsatisfactory, to formulate a proposal which could meet with the approval of the German Government. He understood, however, that Mr. Rublee wished to understand the difficulties in order that, when he went to Germany, he would not be in the position of accepting terms which would not be acceptable to the participating Governments. He would, therefore, steer Mr. Rublee away from certain aspects of the situation which might prove objectionable to the British Government, and essay at the same time to indicate what might be done in order to meet, say, a fraction of the way a plan such as that which Godman had proposed.

Mr. Rublee thanked Lord Winterton for his assistance in this respect, and observed that he had exchanged views with regard to this question with the American Government and was hopeful, as a result of a letter which he had received from M. Berenger, of discovering what might be the views of the French Government.

Mr. Rublee then observed that the longer he studied the problem, the more convinced he was that his negotiation with the German Government should not be long delayed. He wondered

if Lord Winterton had had some communication from the Foreign Office as to its views on his approach to Germany.

Lord Winterton said that a query had been addressed to Sir Neville Henderson towards the end of the previous week, but so far Sir Neville had not replied. He felt very strongly that the matter should be left in the hands of the British ^{and} American Ambassadors at Berlin.

Mr. Rublee then inquired whether Lord Winterton had had an opportunity to study the draft instructions which it was proposed to send to Mr. Wilson in Berlin, and which had been communicated, at Lord Winterton's request, to Mr. Reilly yesterday.

Lord Winterton replied that the matter was being studied by the Foreign Office. It was possible that the Foreign Office might suggest certain changes in these instructions. He personally had not had an opportunity to see them, but he understood that the matter henceforth would be taken up by the British Ambassador in Washington with the Department of State. It was possible that Reilly might be able to give Pell some information, and he suggested that Pell should keep in close touch with Reilly, who would undoubtedly be able to inform him of what was being done.

In conclusion, Lord Winterton said that he had read Mr. Rublee's report with a great deal of interest. However, he felt that it contained material of a very confidential nature

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which should not go beyond him, and he was therefore going to exercise his liberty as Chairman and to regard the document as confidential matter for his own exclusive information. He did not feel that it should be communicated to the other Vice-Chairmen. In fact, he would say, in all frankness, that he must regard the document as confidential between himself and Mr. Rublee, at least for the present.

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PRESIDENT'S ADVISORY COMMITTEE
ON POLITICAL REFUGEES

122 EAST TWENTY-SECOND STREET, NEW YORK

Hamilton Fish Armstrong
Paul Baerwald
Joseph P. Chamberlain
Basil Harris
Louis Kenedy
The Most Rev. Joseph F. Rummel
James M. Speers
Rabbi Stephen S. Wise
James G. McDonald, *Chairman*
Dr. Samuel McCrea Cavert, *Secretary*

George L. Warren
Executive Secretary

GRAMERCY 5-1185

Ref Lunch
10-24-38 October 24, 1938

Mr. Myron C. Taylor
71 Broadway
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Taylor:

You will recall sending me in your letter of October 11th copy of a draft of a communication from Mr. Rublee to Lord Winterton and the Vice-Chairmen of the Intergovernmental Committee. I sent you an excerpt from a letter from Mr. Cotton dated September 30th, London, with reference to this draft.

In the same mail in which I received your draft I received a copy of this communication from Mr. Achilles of the State Department. A study of the two copies and Mr. Cotton's letter develops the fact that the copy received from the State Department is a later draft which embodies the suggestions received in Mr. Cotton's letter.

For your files, therefore, I am enclosing a copy of this later draft.

Yours very truly,

George L. Warren

George L. Warren

Enclosure
GLW:J

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Communication from the Director to the Chairman
of the Intergovernmental Committee.

First of all, I desire to express to you my appreciation of the hospitality of the British Government in receiving the Committee and the Office of the Director in London, and also my appreciation of the opportunity afforded me, at the session of the Committee on August 29th, to meet the officers of the Committee and to review with them the problem of involuntary emigration from Germany including Austria, with which the Committee and the Director is faced.

At the outset I wish to record the fact that it was a unanimous decision not only of the Evian Meeting but of the meeting of the officers of the Committee on August 29th that every effort should be made to work out the problem of involuntary emigration with the Government of Germany and that the officers of the Committee should request their respective Governments to instruct their diplomatic representatives at Berlin to consult and collaborate with each other as to the nature and the method of the formal inquiry to be made of the German Government, at a time deemed by them to be auspicious, as to whether it would be prepared to receive me and discuss with me a practicable solution of this problem. It is evident to me that without the assistance of the German Government in regularising emigration from the Reich, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to work out a plan to alleviate the situation.

I cannot stress too firmly my belief that the very heart of the problem lies in reaching a financial arrangement with the German Government whereby the property of involuntary emigrants in Germany may be transferred into foreign exchange for their use in other

countries. I noted with satisfaction that this view was held by the Officers of the Committee at the London meeting and accordingly, as you know, I took steps subsequently to ascertain from certain Governments, notably the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom and France, their views with regard to the financial problem. I need not add that I am greatly indebted to you and to the interested officials of the British Government for the opportunity which I was given for a preliminary exchange of views regarding the possibilities of transferring into foreign exchange the property of involuntary emigrants.

I would now like to put before you and outline in some detail my views as to what the next essential step in the work of the Committee should be.

As requested at Evian and reaffirmed at London, it is essential that the Governments which are represented through officers of the Committee should manifest their continued leadership in this effort by furnishing in confidence to the Chairman statements as to the number of involuntary immigrants they are prepared to receive for permanent settlement, and as to the number for whom they are willing to afford organised facilities for temporary residence and retraining with a view to migration overseas. To date information of this character has been received only from the United States and from the Dominican Republic. For the reasons outlined below, it is particularly urgent at this stage of the Committee's work that such statements should be forthcoming. Briefly, such statements are essential at the present time as a necessary preliminary to negotiations with the German Government, as a manifestation of leadership which is re-

quired to evoke response from countries adapted for final settlement, as an essential step in the interests of the countries of refuge and as a basis upon which those countries can formulate the contribution of which they are capable, and, finally, as a first indication of concrete results in the work of the Committee so necessary and urgent if the morale of the unfortunates with whom we are concerned is to be maintained.

1. A necessary preliminary to negotiations with Germany.

In the last analysis, it is clear that any hope of substantial accomplishment in eventual negotiations with the German Government will depend upon whether the Director, prior to such negotiations, will be in a position to hold out on behalf of the Committee reliable expectations that, assuming the German Government is prepared to make a satisfactory contribution, the world will be prepared to receive a very substantial number of involuntary immigrants each year over a period of years.

It is reliably estimated that, since the rise to power of National Socialism in 1933, a total of approximately 153,000 involuntary emigrants have, in one way or another, left Germany proper, and that, since the Austrian "Anschluss" in March of this year, a total of approximately 13,000 such persons have left former Austria - making an aggregate of approximately 166,000 involuntary emigrants who have left the Greater Reich since 1933. This record shows an average of approximately 33,000 persons per year, and it is clear that the tempo of involuntary emigration has increased in the last two years in spite of the stricter immigration policies universally adopted by the countries of refuge contiguous to Germany and also by many other countries. There can be no true forecast for the future on the basis of these figures since, as a consequence of the

independent pursuit by the German Government of policies causing involuntary emigration, the cumulative burden on the receiving countries has become intolerable. However, given these results as a measure of success in this matter from the standpoint of those in control of the policy of the German Government, it will be difficult to impress upon that Government the advantages of seeking a solution by mutual effort unless some assurances can be offered that the rest of the world will be prepared, under certain conditions, to receive from Germany in the future a larger number of involuntary emigrants than it has in these past few years.

This is not the moment to envisage a refusal of assistance from the German Government in the task of regularising involuntary emigration, which would inevitably lead to adoption by its neighbours in self defence of even more exclusive policies, damaging not only to potential emigrants but to the interests of the German Government and the estimation in which it stands before the world. On the other hand, if there can be reliable ground for expectation that arrangements can be made for a planned exodus of a greater number annually than has hitherto been the case, an opportunity will be afforded to those in control of German policy to reach a decision on broad grounds, in fact favourable to the unfortunates with whom we are concerned, and in furtherance of the domestic policies of the Reich which result in involuntary emigration.

2. Leadership required before response from countries of final settlement can be anticipated.

There are particular reasons why this request is made at this time by the Director to the Governments represented by officers of the Committee.

It is recognized that each of the Governments so represented is faced with its own special difficulties in formulating definitely at this time what its contribution can be. It is also realised that ultimately, if substantial numbers are to be moved, places of final settlement must lie in the relatively undeveloped portions of the world which possess the resources and the capacity to absorb new settlers. The Director has in mind the obligation imposed by the Evian Resolution to negotiate with countries of final settlement and also the definite indications which have already been received by the Committee or communicated to him as to the possibilities of settlement in certain hitherto undeveloped portions of the world.

However, the Director feels strongly that the Governments represented by officers of the Committee should indicate their contributions to the solution of our problem before a further approach is made to the other participating Governments of countries which offer possibilities of final settlement. The latter Governments are awaiting the leadership of the former, among whom are the important colonial powers of the world. It is essential, therefore, at this stage in the efforts of the Committee that each Government now addressed make its contribution by assurances both as to numbers of involuntary emigrants who can be permanently received and numbers who can be afforded temporary residence and retraining on an organised basis.

Of those Governments now addressed which are capable of absorbing substantial numbers, it may be safely said that all of them are making or will shortly be prepared to make a satisfactory contribution in this direction. There remains however the need for special effort in seeking settlement possibilities in colonial possessions and in developing facilities to aid associated countries, who are necessarily in less

direct contact with the problem, in the selection and adaptation of suitable immigrants. This effort, in the best tradition of modern Empire building, should constitute ultimately the most important contribution which the mother countries of Europe could make. If an adequate program is to be achieved, much will depend upon whether this additional contribution is forthcoming with a view to aiding in the settlement of substantial numbers overseas.

Leadership is required not only from the colonial Powers but from all Governments now addressed. Whatever may be the form of contribution of which they are capable, the prestige of their example is required. It is not widely realised in countries outside Europe what intelligent cooperation between the Government authorities and responsible private organisations have been able to accomplish in finding non-competitive openings for involuntary emigrants who, after investigation, are found to be willing to pursue occupations and trades in which there is a deficiency or lack even in highly industrialised and densely populated countries, or in the matter of transplanting going businesses hitherto indigenous to the country of origin to enrich a country prepared to organise the reception of these people on an intelligent basis. It must be recalled to the countries of the new world that their rise to the status of great Powers and their economic development was largely based upon the tradition of receiving generously from Europe those people who are forced to leave not only to find economic opportunity but notably to find freedom. Unfortunately, misapprehensions now prevail in certain quarters to the effect that the old world wishes to shove off upon the new the immediate burden which, under prevailing conditions of disorderly exodus, involuntary emigration now brings to the receiving country. The overseas possessions and associated dominions of these leading

countries, and particularly the other countries of final settlement, must be led to realise that, if involuntary emigration can be organised, the receiving countries will have the opportunity to acquire human assets of incalculable value. No better example of this can be found than in the Americas. No one can question that these countries have been enormously enriched by having, ever since their inception, opened their doors to people, most of them oppressed or without economic hope in their mother countries. No one can doubt that history would repeat itself for the benefit of these same countries and others willing and able to receive the involuntary emigrants coming from Germany and Austria. There can be no doubt as to the capability of these persons long part and beneficiaries of the culture and technical achievements of two countries renowned for both these aspects of civilised life. Nor can there be any doubt, in view of the successful experience of the private organisations in retraining these persons as qualified agriculturists and skilled handicraftsmen, that this talent and ability can be readapted to meet special needs. If their reception can be intelligently prepared, these persons will constitute not "refugees" but an element which will enrich the receiving countries.

It may be further anticipated, assuming for the moment concrete results from eventual negotiations with the German Government on the transfer problem, that countries of final settlement will also appreciate the fact that the aggregate of tangible wealth, which would accrue to a country willing to receive involuntary immigrants in substantial numbers, would be significant. It would be premature at this time to say more in this connection, except that the Director has received indications to the effect that, assuming that satisfactory arrangements can be made with the German Government, outside financial assistance from private sources

might be available to assist in financing involuntary emigration. This would necessarily result in capital being made available for the development of countries of final settlement.

Given the shock caused by publicity regarding the magnitude of the problem, and the obvious difficulties of regularising the existing chaotic conditions of exodus so as to permit an orderly migration over a period of years, it is understandable that the response of the countries adapted for final settlement by reason of their resources and their needs, should wait upon the leadership of the great Powers represented by officers of the Committee.

3. Necessity of leadership in the interest of countries of Refuge and as a basis upon which those countries can formulate the contributions of which they are capable.

Those countries contiguous to Germany, which are faithful to the generous tradition of granting asylum, since 1933 have borne and, to a considerable extent, continue to bear the immediate brunt of involuntary emigration from that country. However, given the cooperation of other Governments not immediately faced by the grave external and internal problems presented by the fact of common boundaries with the country of origin, it may be anticipated that the countries of refuge will be prepared to make their contributions not only with a view of the broader problem but in their own self-interest.

The disorderly character of the present exodus from Germany, resulting from intensification of pressure since the absorption of Austria and recently aggravated by widespread illegal entries apparently countenanced by certain local authorities of that country, has given rise to the problem with which the Committee is concerned. Because of these conditions, the countries of refuge have a particular interest in

the problem within the immediate mandate of the Committee. They must also be conscious that it constitutes a phase of the broader international problem of refugee nationalities and minorities which, if allowed to accumulate and drift, must have disastrous consequences to all European nations as well as to the people immediately concerned. In so far as migration can contribute to a solution of the broader international problem, vigorous cooperation to prove by example, in the limited task before the Committee, that success is possible, must be in the interests of these nations.

Under existing conditions it cannot be expected nor is it desirable, pending formulation by the Committee of an adequate program along the lines later outlined, that countries of refuge should admit involuntary emigrants from Germany, who have no expectation of migrating further and whose reception is not assured by friends or relatives, in greater number than the current resources of the private organisations will permit. It is only frank to admit that the situation has continued to deteriorate since the Evian Conference, and that, if existing conditions of exodus are not shortly modified, the countries of refuge will be forced to adopt even more stringent measures to protect their borders. In negotiations with the German Government, the Committee will lend its collective weight to the representations already made to that Government by particular countries of refuge that the pressure upon their borders has become intolerable. In return, although limited in the ability to absorb numbers permanently, there are definite contributions which countries of refuge can make.

In the first place, unless failure should result in the attempt to secure the assistance of the German Government and failure should not now be anticipated, countries of refuge can continue to give asylum

up to the limit of available means where it is clear that "refoulment" would mean disaster to the individual concerned. To a select class among these and other involuntary emigrants of similar origin now within their borders who are willing as a means of finding a new life to enter the service of the country which grants asylum, that country might afford such opportunity and also special preference in the acquisition of rights of citizenship. In the second place, countries of refuge can assert in principle that, if the efforts of the Committee are successful in opening up settlement possibilities overseas, they will be generous in receiving a substantial number of involuntary emigrants, in addition to those now within their borders, for temporary residence pending further migration. Finally, there is the immediate contribution which countries of refuge can make in the matter of retraining.

There are substantial financial advantages to be gained if retraining for agricultural life can take place in Germany, even though from the standpoint of effectiveness, it is preferable that training take place in the various countries of final settlement. However, in the case of involuntary emigrants coming from Germany some transitional phase and temporary residence in countries of refuge appears inevitable, and there are also the substantial numbers now residing in these countries who, if they are to emigrate, must be retrained there. For such people, countries of refuge should afford land and organized facilities for retraining under Government auspices. Also, where such countries possess colonial empires with settlement possibilities, even though undeveloped and sparsely inhabited by European stock at the present time, it is felt that they should look to the retraining of a very substantial portion of the number of involuntary emigrants now residing in the home country as a means of adapting these people for eventual settlement in

their colonies. It is recognised that any statement by the mother country of its willingness to plan for the mass colonization, necessarily involved, presupposes that sufficient money will be available in large part from private sources.

The Director feels that segregation of involuntary emigrants in special centres, unless definitely for the purpose of retraining, would be a retrograde step. However, if done for that purpose, and after consultation with the private organisations most experienced in the development of overseas settlement which fortunately are located in the countries of refuge, it can be anticipated that the interests of the involuntary emigrants would be advanced and that savings would result to the Governments and the private organisations active in relief work in those countries. It is unnecessary to recite the reasons which have lead countries of refuge to limit or deny the right to work to the involuntary emigrant. Legally stateless and without the means or opportunity for self-support, he becomes the "refugee". Continuing nevertheless to be treated as a self-sufficient individual, he becomes a source of difficulty to the local police and administrative authorities, and indirectly a heavy drain upon Government resources. There would be advantages to all concerned if the involuntary emigrant, without personal resources or relatives or friends, without any hope of migrating further, and without special qualifications making him eligible for absorption in the life of the country where he finds himself, should be afforded the opportunity of retraining upon land in special centres established under Government auspices. However, commitments from the local private organisations that they would contribute to such centralized projects on the scale which they now contribute to local relief should be a prerequisite of any such scheme. It is essential that they continue to

bear their share of the financial burden. The contribution of the authorities would consist for the most part in establishing such districts under Government auspices and in furnishing land for the purpose. The authorities could thus more easily keep track of the numbers and status of individual involuntary emigrants, would realise savings in internal administration and avoid the danger inherent in the congregation of refugees and alien elements in urban centres.

It is acknowledged that the burden of existing numbers of involuntary emigrants within their borders should be lightened as soon as possible, and, in this connection, the interests of countries of refuge will be served if the efforts of the Committee are successful in opening up places of settlement overseas. The Director recognises that in taking advantage of these openings there should be a fair allocation between involuntary emigrants coming directly from Germany and those of German and Austrian origin now residing in countries of refuge which cooperate in the work of the Committee. It is to be hoped that concrete results in finding overseas outlets for this limited class of involuntary emigrants might lead to renewal of normal migratory movements, and thus ultimately contribute to relieve the more comprehensive burden of existing numbers which, in important countries of refuge, is largely made up of other refugees and alien elements. Given assurance from the Governments now addressed as to cooperation with respect to other aspects of the task, the Director believes that the tradition of generosity and intelligent self-interest of countries of refuge will guarantee cooperation on their part.

4. Contributions from Governments essential as basis for mobilization of private resources and to maintain the morale of involuntary emigrants.

If the cooperation of the private organisations and individuals who now give money and their effort and in the past have given so liberally of both, is eventually to be mobilised for a supreme effort, a manifestation of leadership by the Governments now addressed is essential. Unless these organisations and individuals believe that the Governments concerned will cooperate substantially in the way of opening their doors to involuntary immigrants, they cannot be expected to organize their efforts for an appeal to the charity of the world to give upon a scale which might materially assist in solving the problem of financing involuntary emigration.

Even more important is the fact that high hopes have been raised in the hearts of the unfortunate people whose fate is our direct concern. The Director is convinced that if their morale is to be maintained, under the increasingly difficult conditions and under circumstances where any approach to an adequate solution requires time, it is of crucial importance that Great Britain, France, the Netherlands and Brazil should now join with the United States in leadership by stating what definite contributions they are prepared to make.

With the above ideas in mind the Director wishes to suggest a definite program regarding the number of involuntary emigrants, both those within and those who have left the Greater Reich, for whom eventual provision should be made in places of final settlement and for whom more immediate provision should be made either in places of settlement or in places of temporary refuge, over the period of the next five years.

The maximum number of potential involuntary emigrants in the Greater Reich with whom the Committee may have to concern itself was estimated, at the meeting of the Committee in London on August 4th, to

be 616,900 persons. It was pointed out that this total included many who, due to old age, disability or for other reasons, would be unable to leave the country. On the other hand, the above total did not include those involuntary emigrants who had left the country of origin and who remain in a refugee status for the most part in countries of refuge contiguous to Germany. The number of these persons, estimated by the High Commissioner of the League of Nations to be 35,000 at the time of the "Anschluss", is believed to approximate 50,000 at the present time. In the light of these considerations and on the basis of the most recent information, the basic total for the immediate consideration of the Committee in formulating a program for the next five years should be placed at not less than 500,000 persons.

This total, large as it is by necessity, would seem within the resources and capabilities for absorption of the participating Governments. It means an average of 100,000 persons annually over the period of the next five years. Naturally, the aggregate total presupposes the ready and continued cooperation of the German Government and the average annual figure could not be attained in the initial stages until the significance of that cooperation could be understood by the rest of the world; nor until the necessary technical facilities could be created to facilitate the selection and adaption of immigrants to the special needs of the various countries.

Also, it should be emphasized that the Director does not entertain expectations that the world outside Germany is willing or able to absorb destitute people, nor does he look forward, except in special cases, to colonisation or mass settlement methods on a large scale. The Governments now addressed are asked to state the numbers they are prepared to receive upon the assumption that a solution of the problem of financing involuntary emigration is independently arrived at, by negotiation with Germany or

otherwise. In other words, the Governments concerned are asked to furnish such statements upon the explicit understanding that the immigrants to be received will either themselves possess sufficient resources or arrive with sufficient guarantees to comply with existing requirements of law. Assuming a solution of the basic financial problem and the gaining of time necessary for adequate retraining and to permit an orderly exodus over a period of years, the Director believes that the numbers suggested could be absorbed under the prevailing method of immigration by infiltration of individuals, families and small groups, and without departure by the Governments concerned from the selective policies embodied in the existing immigration laws and practices of so many of them. 500,000 persons means roughly 140,000 families. The experience of the present exodus from Germany has shown how surely we can rely upon the ability of an individual who has had the initial chance to emigrate, whether he be worker or even child, to draw after him eventually the remaining members of his family.

In view of the public statement of the President of the United States in initiating the call for the Evian Conference, there reaffirmed and significantly developed by the representative of that country, now a Vice-Chairman of the Committee, so as to fit into a program extending over a period of years, as now proposed, we may rely upon the United States to receive currently involuntary emigrants of German and Austrian origin up to the limit of its quota law - approximately 27,000 annually - and thus ultimately to account for at least one quarter of the aggregate total envisaged for the program.

Confidence that the program is practicable in so far as numbers are concerned will be justified if Great Britain, on her own behalf and on behalf of the Colonies, and the Dominions on their part, can give assurances that the Empire will match in the immediate future, in numbers to be absorbed each year, the contribution of the United States; and if in due course the Dominions will afford further cooperation, commensurate with their resources, so that the figure for the Empire will be gradually increased substantially above that level. In the case of Great Britain, it is felt that the immediate assurances which she is able to give for herself, the colonies and the Indian Empire should approximate 15,000 persons annually; in other words more than one half the total Empire contribution of 27,000 persons to be desired in the immediate future. This figure would include persons of all categories and in the case of the mother country, persons received not only for permanent settlement but with a view to adaption for later emigration to other parts of the Empire. The 15,000 would not, however, include the substantial number which, pending a final solution of the long-standing difficulties in Palestine, Great Britain, in the exercise of the responsibilities of her mandate, will currently grant permission to settle there. In addition to the contribution as to numbers to be received for permanent settlement, it is hoped that Great Britain will not only use her good offices in discussions with the Dominions but that, in the exercise of her normal function as cradle for emigration to the Empire, she will also establish retraining facilities for a substantial number of involuntary emigrants and permit the expansion of the successful experiment in educating young persons of German and Austrian origin within her borders with a view to producing emigrants reared in British traditions and hence acceptable to the Colonies and the Dominions.

The primary contribution of France and the Netherlands, and also of other countries of refuge prepared to cooperate with the Committee, should consist in the immediate assurance that they will be generous in receiving additional persons when assurances are received that such persons may eventually migrate overseas or the burden of numbers now within their borders is alleviated. Within the limits of available means these countries should continue in the generous tradition of granting asylum; and opportunity might be offered to a select class to serve the state with assurances of citizenship in the future and ultimate absorption in civil life. It is also felt that France should give assurances now that, assuming resort to mass colonisation methods should seem advisable to the Committee at a later date and cooperation then assured to meet the heavy financial burdens necessarily involved, she will plan for the settlement in hitherto undeveloped portions of her colonial Empire of a number approximating the number of involuntary emigrants of German and Austrian origin now within her borders. It is assumed that this conditional commitment would involve approximately 30,000 persons to be settled during the five-year period. Where such practice has not already been established or a policy of segregation adopted merely as a means of solving their own internal problems, the countries of refuge should furnish land and organized facilities for retraining. The opportunity for retraining should be afforded all involuntary emigrants of German and Austrian origin fit for readaption to life overseas now residing or hereafter received in such countries, who are dependent on relief from organized sources and who have no chance of being permanently absorbed. In this connection, the advice, cooperation and assistance of the experienced private organizations is essential.

In addition to the above, all the participating Governments, and primarily the European powers, can contribute by helping the private organizations to establish technical facilities which are adequate to assure selection of emigrants to meet the various and special needs of the countries of settlement. The Director is gratified to note the initiative in this matter of the private organizations and Government authorities in Great Britain.

If facilities for selection can be secured, it is hoped that the Dominions will shortly be in a position to give definite assurances as to the numbers they can receive for permanent settlement so as to complete the contribution of the British Empire so as to match, and eventually exceed, that of the United States. In this connection, the Director is glad to note reports of a recent speech of a high official of the Australian Government that the Commonwealth may be prepared to receive a substantial number of involuntary emigrants from Germany and former Austria.

Given such assurances from the leading nations (a) with regard to the numbers for permanent reception approximating one half the desired annual total in the immediate future, (b) with regard to reception of additional numbers for temporary residence, and (c) with regard to adequate retraining, we may anticipate with confidence that, as the great countries of Latin America, following the leadership of Brazil, come to appreciate the values in human intelligence, skill, and ability thus available, and as vigorous action is taken to discover settlement possibilities in hitherto undeveloped territories of the world, the reception of the balance of the annual quota will follow to complete the program.

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The published account.
THE TIMES SATU

SETTLING THE REFUGEES

LONDON TIMES 12/5/38

LONDON TALKS

DIFFICULTIES FACING COLONIZATION

FROM OUR DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENT

Some slow, but possibly steady, progress in schemes for settling German refugee Jews in oversea territories was made at yesterday's meeting of the Evian sub-committee in London.

Mr. Bouchker-Andree (the Netherlands) declared that his Government were looking into the possibilities of accepting Jewish settlers in their Empire—particularly, it was understood, in Dutch Guiana and the West Indies. The difficulty about the Dutch East Indies was that there was so much cheap native labour that European settlers would find it hard, or impossible, to make a living.

Then M. Bérenger (France) said that France would find room for 10,000 Jews in her Empire if Great Britain and the United States together could produce a noteworthy scheme.

It is understood that the French Government have in mind the central part of Madagascar among other areas which they think suitable for Jewish settlement.

BRITISH SUGGESTIONS

Lord Winterton repeated in detail the British Government's plans already outlined by Mr. Chamberlain in the House, including settlements in Guiana and schemes for Kenya and Tanganyika. In a report on the Guiana area presented to the League in 1934 an official investigation had reported it to be an entirely healthy district, suitable for European settlement. Part of the land is now used for horse and cattle grazing, but it could profitably be put to the plough. The rainfall is moderate; the temperature between 71deg. and 91deg. The chief difficulty would be cost—not only for developing the land, but for providing communications from the coast.

Lord Winterton referred to the Australian Government's offer to take 15,000 Jews in three years. He mentioned also the Palestinian Jews' request to be allowed to take in 10,000 Jewish children. Here was a matter which could hardly be settled out of hand. A watch had to be kept on the coming round-table conference between Jews and Arabs, but Lord Winterton certainly did not speak out of sympathy with the scheme.

AMERICAN CONCERN

Mr. Taylor (America) told of President Roosevelt's concern for the refugees and of the American hopes of raising a large fund for relief.

All this part of the meeting was devoted to long-term schemes, the success of which is entirely dependent upon the success of the short-term, and urgent, scheme for giving the refugees temporary homes while waiting for their permits to go to their new settlements. And in this short-term, and primary, scheme less satisfactory pro-

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The release

Statement for the Press.

The Chairman, the Vice-Chairman, and the Director of the Inter-Governmental Committee to continue and develop the work of the Evian meeting held an informal meeting in London to-day.

The representatives present were:

Lord Winterton (United Kingdom), Mr. Myron Taylor (U.S.A.), Senator Berenger (France), M. Lobo (Brazil), M. Beucker-Andreas (Netherlands), M. Le Breton (Argentina), who had been invited by the Chairman to act as Vice-Chairman.

The Director submitted a report on the work which had been done since the last meeting of the Chairman and Vice-Chairmen. He was able to state that the prospects for the refuge and settlement of involuntary emigrants from Germany were steadily improving, but that the establishment of orderly conditions of emigration continued to depend in a large measure on the attitude of the country of origin.

After reviewing the work of the Committee in all its aspects the meeting considered the future procedure of the Committee and decided to leave it to the Chairman, in consultation with the Director, to summon a meeting of the full Committee in the near future. It was considered that a full meeting should in any event be held early in the New Year.

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Naramoto

Note on Interview with Dr. Schacht on
15th December 1938.

Lord Winterton, who was accompanied by Mr. Rublee, Sir Frederick Leith-Ross and Mr. Brooks, received Dr. Schacht on 15th December. He was introduced by Mr. Montagu Norman, who then withdrew. Lord Winterton introduced Mr. Rublee, explaining that he was the executive head of the Intergovernmental Committee.

Dr. Schacht said that he wished to pass no judgment on what had happened in Germany, but to review the facts of the position as he found them. It was clear that the Jews would have no future in Germany, that they would be driven out and that in the meantime, unless some change took place, they would be badly treated. On grounds of humanity alone, therefore, it was desirable that something should be done. He had, therefore, developed a scheme which was acceptable to General Goering.

There were in Germany 800,000 Jews (as defined under the Nuremberg decrees of 1933), of whom some 200,000 were elderly and must remain in the country until they died out. Of the remaining 400,000 it was estimated that 150,000 were wage earners, and his scheme envisaged the departure of 50,000 of these each year for three years. As they were placed abroad - and this was a matter for the Intergovernmental Committee and the Governments concerned - they would no doubt be followed by the dependants whom they had left behind. It seemed to him desirable, if they could not immediately be placed in the countries of permanent settlement, that temporary refuge should be found for them.

Under his scheme each Jew would be given the equivalent of 10,000 gold marks, this sum to be provided from the balance of Jewish property in Germany, estimated at 6 milliards of marks. This was roughly 25% of the Jewish property, and compared favourably with the amount which any Jewish refugee was at present able to take with him, after suffering 25% flight of capital tax, 25% loss on the sale of his property, and 90% loss on the remainder on conversion into foreign currency. These $1\frac{1}{2}$ milliards of marks would be put into a trust fund in Germany, and it would be part of the arrangements that one at least of the trustees represented the Jews. He hinted that Mr. Rublee might be so appointed.

No payments would be made direct from the internal trust fund to the Jews, but it would serve as a guarantee for an external loan from world Jewry providing the means for the settlement of Jewish refugees abroad. The individual refugee would receive the equivalent of the 10,000 gold marks in foreign currency from the external loan fund, which would be reimbursed from the proceeds of the export of German commodities. The German manufacturers of these commodities would be paid from the internal trust fund. The marks used for this purpose would not of course be the property of the Jewish settlers themselves but would be advanced to them out of the body of Jewish property in Germany, and some arrangement would have to be made for these advances to be reimbursed by the settlers ultimately to the owners of this property. In estimating the amount available under the external loan it was, of course, necessary to take account of interest and amortisation charges, which would perhaps amount to 6% per annum. He estimated that it would be necessary to raise the equivalent of five hundred million marks each year for three

years by way of the external loan, but the amounts required would be clearly reduced by each occasion on which a refugee was placed immediately in profitable employment outside Germany, so that he would not need subvention to the extent of the equivalent 10,000 gold marks. It will be seen thus that the essence of the scheme was that no foreign exchange would be released by Germany for the purpose of Jewish migration, and the transfer of Jewish resources to other countries must take the form of an increased purchase of German goods.

Dr. Schacht said that he had explained this plan to Lord Bearsted, who had undertaken to consider it. The incidence of the scheme fell on world markets and was not, of course, either a purely British or purely American problem. He could see no alternative which was in the least likely to be acceptable to the German Government, and he was anxious to know whether communications on this basis could be pursued. He felt that the humanitarian aspect of the matter should be the charge of the Evian Committee, but that the financial aspect should be handled by the Jews themselves.

Mr. Rublee said that he was interested in the scheme, which had obvious possibilities, and he would like to consider it carefully. At first sight he could see difficulties which would require further discussion, but, speaking off-hand, it seemed to provide a basis which he would explore with the British and American Governments in the first instance. He emphasised that all the associated Governments would eventually have to be approached if a feasible plan were acceptable, and that he was particularly anxious, if the principle of the plan proved to be worth

pursuing, to come to Berlin for the necessary examination in detail.

Dr. Schacht said that there would be no difficulty in doing this. He added that it was an essential condition of the plan that during its operation the Jews would be allowed to live peaceably in Germany, and also that those 200,000 who could not, in the nature of things, be expected to migrate would be allowed peaceful conditions for the remainder of their existence.

Lord Winterton thanked Dr. Schacht for his explanation, which he said would be immediately and carefully examined. It would be difficult to make any statement before Dr. Schacht's departure, and he was anxious that consideration of the scheme should not be prejudiced by excessive haste.

Dr. Schacht said he quite understood this: all he wanted to say on return to Germany was that he was in contact on this point and that the contacts would continue.

Lord Winterton and Mr. Rublee said that this was precisely their view.

Sir Frederick Leith-Ross referred to certain difficulties which he saw in the scheme, particularly as to the possible price level of the German goods, and enquired whether it was an indispensable part of the scheme that the interest on the loan raised abroad was to be linked with actual exports of German goods. He enquired whether the German Government would consider a guarantee independent of the actual goods exported provided German exports increased materially as a result of the raising of the boycott. It seemed to him that the scheme would be facilitated if there was more elasticity on this point.

Dr. Schacht said that, provided the principle of an increase of exports was clearly accepted, any variation of the

scheme he had proposed would, of course, be re-considered by him.

Lord Winterton said in conclusion that Mr. Rublee and he attached great importance to the continuation of the conversation which had now begun, and for which they had been pressing for some months. There had been some difficulty in the past and he hoped this would not continue.

Dr. Schacht said that there would be no further difficulty in this respect. If Mr. Rublee would intimate to him fairly soon that conversations on the basis of the scheme he had outlined were practicable, he would immediately arrange for Mr. Rublee to visit Berlin.

Lord Winterton added that he would be glad if Dr. Schacht would make it clear to General Goering that both at the Evian Conference and subsequently he and the other officers of the Committee had done their best to confine the approach to the problem of the Jews by the associated Governments to the practical and business side of the matter and to exclude any political references or unnecessary heat. Both Mr. Rublee and he had, therefore, avoided any expression of opinion as to the treatment of the Jews, often at the risk of criticism.

Dr. Schacht thanked Lord Winterton for receiving him, and withdrew.

UNDATED

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EXTRACT FROM
POLITICAL REFUGEES IN ANCIENT
GREECE
BY E. BALOGH

"One of the most difficult and disturbing problems of recent years is that of the political refugee. Not a year has passed since the first Great War which has not seen thousands of people forced to flee from their home countries on account of their race, nationality, adherence to a party or an ideology. All efforts on the part of civilized states to divert this stream of unwilling emigrants into orderly channels have, up to the present, been without major success. Yet there have been refugees at all times, and the problem is a very old one.

"It has occurred to us that something may be learnt to help to solve our contemporary problems by comparing them with corresponding situations in ancient Greece, especially as we are able to judge those events without resentment or partiality. Although our investigation arose out of present-day problems, we have taken care, in dealing with the refugee question in Greece from B.C. 600 to c. 300, not to interpret the evidence of ancient sources in the light of modern events.

"In fact, in certain periods the political refugees were, as in our own time, so numerous in the Hellenic world that they were able to exercise a decisive influence on the trend of history; but although the modern and ancient phenomena of the political refugee may appear to be similar, the causes are not identical. There is an apparent correspondence in the events; but the origin of the Hellenic refugee problem is to be found in completely different sociological circumstances and in conditions of life which should be carefully distinguished from our own. Our main task, therefore, is to ascertain the conditions underlying the ancient development, and at the same time to investigate what efforts were made to solve the problem."

"We have, however, to bear in mind continually that the legal positions for the various types of exiles never constituted the reality completely, and were, as a rule, merely an outward show. Moreover, if we do not wish grossly to deceive ourselves, we must make due allowance for the social outlook, the economic structure and the ideas which moulded Greek society. For instance, the religious conceptions, changing as they were during the different periods, belong to the hidden undercurrents whose influence on the problem with which we are concerned cannot be underestimated. In many cases in fact this influence was decisive."

"Up to now no modern analogies can be found to the successful Athenian amnesties of B.C. 403 and 401. Timoleon's 'new deal' amnesty in Sicily or to Alexander's amnesty for a whole civilized world. In the author's opinion we should here take a lesson from Hellenic statesmanship in the interests of a happy future for all mankind. The solution of the refugee problem in modern times was entrusted to the League of Nations and, after that body's decline, to an international Committee established by the World Conference on Refugees held at Evian. But from the very beginning the real crux of the problem, the repatriation of the refugees, could not be faced because the political situation from Spain to Russia and China did not permit such a step. Instead, an attempt was made to find a solution by absorbing the daily increasing stream in sparsely populated countries and especially in the colonies of the great powers.

"Meanwhile, in all countries the homeless had to struggle for existence. As political uncertainty increased and many states came to practice economic seclusion, the struggle became even more difficult. From year to year the general crisis assumed a more desperate and ruinous aspect. New forms of government were intolerant, and produced necessarily a problem that became daily more and more pronounced. It is today merely a symptom of that malaise of the 20th century that can be cured only by a general military, moral and economic pacification throughout the whole world, towards which all enlightened statesmen should strive with every means at their disposal.

"For this reason, all attempts at finding a partial solution of the modern refugee problem are, in our opinion, doomed to failure. No solution can be found until an improvement in world conditions takes place in the political, social and economic spheres, so that we enjoy at least that standard of safety which was our grandfathers' lot. As long as the conditions remain which compelled and will compel millions of human beings to leave their home countries, all hopes of solving the problem must be abandoned. We are able to alleviate the lot of the victims, we cannot change it for the majority.

"This conclusion may appear hard and inhuman. But it is better to give the bitter, unvarnished truth to countless despairing people and, what is more important, to their friends than to arouse hopes that cannot be fulfilled without a fundamental change, however kind the intentions. The remedy is still the repatriation of the exiles as in the days of Greece. All other measures are insufficient. Genuine pioneers and certain elements with special qualifications will be

absorbed

absorbed by suitable countries, as was always possible. But the majority of refugees are and must be ruined without an agreed repatriation on fair terms, in spite of all the goodwill of those who assist them. A change for the better means, at the same time, a new and more civilized order of our world, and that is the only cause worth fighting, suffering and dying for during and after this war."

The breath-taking crises of the last few days have shaken the structure of peace to its foundations. Out of them, thank God, has come agreement giving greater promise for enduring peace than Europe has seen for many years.

This play of mighty forces has far outshaded the problem I am to describe to you tonight, but their adjustment and the present promise of real stability brings both new hope and urgency for its solution. A stable European order based on justice and good-will can have no place for such a source of rancor and unrest.

For five long months I have seen a world of suffering, of mental and moral and physical anguish, of bleak uncertainty and stark hopelessness. It is a world in which thousands of our fellow human beings, of different races and creeds and of all walks of life, find themselves suddenly uprooted from long-established homes, torn from family ties, and cast adrift in strange lands to find such refuge as they can.

Exiles, it may be said, have trekked their weary way down the ages from the earliest times. The great migrations have, however, been borne along by hope of new lands and opportunities. Waves of exiles seeking escape from

social,

social, political or religious intolerance have been many, but until now they have been relatively small. The refugees were readily absorbed in the greater stream of economic migrants and pulled along by the attraction of new fields of opportunity.

Today we are faced with a new situation. The tides of economic migration have filled many of the previously undeveloped portions of the world to a point where the gradient of economic opportunity is slight and many of the less developed countries have erected barriers to preserve for themselves such advantages as they retain. The great economic migrations have ceased. The world, though still unevenly populated, has reached a stage in which great numbers of immigrants are no longer welcome anywhere. Within the past quarter of a century not only the United States, but most other countries into which immigration had been practically unlimited, have felt the need of imposing both quantitative and qualitative restrictions. These restrictions are the natural effect of the desire of these countries to maintain their existing economic organization and racial and national composition. Nor is that all. The world-wide economic dislocation of the past decade has, temporarily at least, everywhere reduced economic opportunity to a minimum, forced millions out of employment

employment and placed enormous burdens upon private and governmental assistance.

The impact of the depression and resultant unemployment was particularly severe in the United States. This country was, however, protected by a carefully planned immigration law limiting the annual admission of aliens of any nationality to two percent of the number of foreign-born individuals of that nationality resident in the United States in 1890. This is a wise and ample safeguard of our economic and demographic organization. Under it we are permitted annually to admit 27,370 aliens born in Germany, including Austria. This is but one fiftieth of one percent of the population of the United States--but it provides for the admission of more involuntary emigrants than does the present legislation of any other country. To some this number seems large--but such a minute fraction of the population of the United States can have at most a microscopic economic or social effect upon this country. To others it seems very small--but it can be considered so only in comparison with the former almost unlimited immigration into this country.

It is in these circumstances that we are faced with the problem of finding new homes and new means of livelihood for hundreds of thousands of human beings, and of doing it with the greatest possible speed. To anyone who

has come into contact at first hand with this tragic exodus, there can be no thought of apathy or prejudice, only a deep feeling of compassion and a realization that we are witnessing one of the most tragic happenings of modern times; tragedy, moreover, which is for the most part entirely unnecessary and avoidable.

These people are beating at the gates of any country, near or far, in which they can find refuge. The peoples and governments of the world are faced with an urgent problem which is not of their own choosing or their own making but which, whether they like it or not, they cannot ignore. Our task is neither to condone nor to condemn--it is to find a solution of the problem which has been forced upon us, to seek to replace the present chaotic exodus by orderly emigration; to seek the settlement of these people in new homes with a minimum of suffering and their integration into new societies to the best advantage both of the refugees and of the receiving countries.

5 min.

The need for urgent action was recognized by President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull almost immediately after the Anschluss. No international agency adequate to deal with a problem of this magnitude and urgency existed. The Nansen Office of the League of Nations had done noble work but was strictly limited by its charter to activity on behalf of Russian, Armenian and other Near Eastern refugees. It had
never

never dealt in any way with German refugees, and it was due to go out of existence at the end of the present year.

The International Labor Organization has done much and valuable technical work in the field of migration for settlement, but it has always considered that the refugee problem, as such, did not come within its province.

The High Commission for Refugees coming from Germany had done able work in inducing countries in which these emigrants had taken temporary refuge to grant them legal status equivalent to that of other aliens and had been able to facilitate the emigration of a certain number of them to overseas countries. It, too, was scheduled to go out of existence at the end of the year. Even were it to be maintained, it could not hope, due to its connection with the League, to deal with the German Government, and it lacked the practical power of a governmental organization.

Recognizing the vastness of the problem and the need for an effective international organization, able to deal with the problem in its broadest aspects and backed by the full power of governments, the United States Government on March 23 invited thirty-two other governments to cooperate in seeking a basic long-range solution of the problem.

Certain broad principles were made clear at the outset. No country would be asked or expected to receive a greater number of refugees than was permitted by its existing legislation.

legislation. The financing of the emergency emigration must be undertaken by private organizations rather than by governments. There was no intent to discourage or interfere with the work of existing organizations but rather the desire to supplement their work in the broadest possible way and to deal with aspects of the problem with which they were unauthorized or unable to deal.

President Roosevelt also appointed an Advisory Committee, under the chairmanship of Mr. James G. MacDonald, whose wide experience as former High Commissioner for Refugees coming from Germany and in other fields has made his cooperation invaluable. This Committee coordinates the activities of the many private organizations in this country which have in the past few years done monumental work for these unfortunate people.

The French Government graciously invited the meeting to be held on French soil, and, President Roosevelt having done me the honor to ask me to represent this Government on the Intergovernmental Committee, I met at Evian on July 6 with the representatives of thirty-one other governments.

The prospect at the outset was discouraging in the extreme. There was little realization of the magnitude of the problem and very little disposition on the part of any country to accept substantial numbers of refugees. It was contended that the existing organs of the League
were

were adequately equipped to deal with the problem, and fear was expressed lest any new organization would both needlessly duplicate their efforts and detract from the prestige of the League. Many of the governments were apathetic and their delegates lacking in any instructions other than to attend the meeting and find out what this Government had in mind. In this atmosphere we set to work.

Fortunately there were a number of delegates present who almost immediately grasped the nature and magnitude of the problem and the spirit with which it was proposed to proceed, men who were in a position to influence their governments accordingly. Among these were Lord Winterton of Great Britain, Senator Berenger of France, Minister Lobo of Brazil, and Ambassador Le Breton of the Argentine. Without the spirit, ability and humanitarian zeal of these and other delegates the meeting could not have been a success. As soon as other governments, particularly those of Britain and France, came to share our view that the urgency of the problem required a continuing organization with broader powers than those possessed by any existing organization, progress was rapid. On July 14, only eight days after the conference had met, a resolution was adopted setting up the machinery necessary to

attack

attack the problem along the broad lines essential to its solution.

10 min.

That resolution recognized that "the question of involuntary emigration had assumed major proportions and that the fate of these unfortunate people has become a problem for intergovernmental deliberation."

(It recognized that "the involuntary emigration of large numbers of people, of different creeds, economic conditions, professions and trades, from the country or countries where they have been established is disturbing to the general economy", and that "in consequence, countries of refuge and settlement are faced with problems, not only of an economic and social nature, but also of public order".)

It recognized that "it is essential that a long-range program should be envisaged, whereby assistance to involuntary emigrants, actual and potential, may be coordinated within the framework of existing migration laws and practices of Governments".

It considered that "if countries of refuge are to cooperate in finding an orderly solution of the problem before the Committee they should have the collaboration of the country of origin and are therefore persuaded that it will make its contribution by enabling involuntary

emigrants

emigrants to take with them their property and possessions and emigrate in an orderly manner."

It recommended that "the Governments participating in the Intergovernmental Committee shall continue to furnish the Committee, for its strictly confidential information, with details regarding such immigrants as each Government may be prepared to receive under its existing laws and practices".

It recognized that "in view of the fact that the countries of refuge and settlement are entitled to take into account the economic and social adaptability of immigrants, these should in many cases be required to accept, at least for a time, changed conditions of living in the countries of settlement".

(With regard to the documents required of immigrants by the countries of refuge and settlement, it recommended that the participating governments, in cases where the usually required documents were found not to be available, accept "such other documents serving the purpose of the requirements of law as may be available to the immigrant".)

The resolution specified that the continuing committee should be composed of such representatives as the participating governments chose to designate, that it should have a chairman, four vice chairmen and a "Director of

Authority".

Authority".

The essence of the Committee's task is contained in the two following sentences defining the duties of the Director:

"He shall undertake negotiations to improve the present conditions of exodus and to replace them by conditions of orderly emigration. He shall approach the Governments of the countries of refuge and settlement with a view to developing opportunities of permanent settlement".

That is the heart of our problem, and the degree of success which meets the Director's efforts on both points will be the measure of success which not only this Government but all other governments achieve in meeting this world problem.

The permanent Intergovernmental Committee is now actively functioning in London. It is most fortunate in having as Chairman the able and distinguished Lord Winterton, who is giving enthusiastic and constructive attention to its work, and in having as Director ^{the} Honorable George Rublee, whose vision, energy, and long experience in delicate negotiation both in this hemisphere and in Europe render him especially qualified for the task.

Overpowering as the problem seems, it is not, it cannot be, insoluble. We are not thinking in terms of miracles but of hard work and determination. Facing the basic fact that new homes and lives must be found for these

people--

people--and no thinking person can for an instant believe that there is any possibility of changing the policies which are forcing these people from their former homeland-- the problem is basically one of bringing order out of the present chaos. It is unthinkable that the emigration of these unwanted people from Germany cannot be accomplished in a more orderly and humane manner and equally unthinkable that the rest of the world cannot absorb them in a manner which not only would not be injurious to the economic organization or racial composition of the countries of refuge but would actually be of benefit to them.

15 min.
In the precipitate flight of these persons there has been no time in most cases for any considered choice as to their ultimate destination, and no chance for investigation of the economic opportunities awaiting them. There has been no thought for the interests of the receiving country and little opportunity for those countries to select such emigrants as could most usefully be absorbed into their national economies. Many of these countries have adopted new and severe restrictions upon immigration to prevent an influx of penniless and unselected refugees. Were those countries in a position to exercise a certain degree of selection, and were the emigrants in possession of a reasonable, even if limited, amount of capital, many countries

countries would be able profitably to accept substantially greater numbers than is the case at present.

Our problem involves to a considerable degree the question of placement. In dealing with the resettlement of several hundred thousand people we naturally cannot deal with the placement of individuals. We can, however, ascertain what opportunities exist in the various less developed countries, what types of immigrants each country desires and how many it believes can usefully be absorbed into its economic and social organism. At the other end we can ascertain the age and occupational distribution of those who must emigrate. The information obtained at each end must be coordinated and made available at the other end and to the private organizations who must be responsible for the actual placement of individuals.

We will also, I hope, be able to promote to a considerable degree the training of these involuntary emigrants, particularly the youth, in preparation for the new lives they will be called upon to lead.

(Even scientists and members of the learned professions-- of whom there are comparatively large numbers among these emigrants--find few opportunities to carry on their work in other countries. Opportunities for technicians, handicraftsmen, skilled artisans, and similar types are even fewer,

fewer, but there is nevertheless a demand for their services in many countries if suitable placement can be effected. Opportunities are fewest for those engaged and trained in commerce, for those whose work is in trade rather than in production by the hand or by the brain.)

All nations consulted have indicated willingness to receive workers on the land, but unfortunately there are relatively few agriculturalists among these emigrants. The solution of our problem will, I believe, require that a considerable number of emigrants be specially trained or retrained in agriculture or in other pursuits for which a demand exists.

It is gratifying to know that this work of preparation for new lives is already making progress. Specialized schools for the practical training of emigrants already exist in Germany and in France, Switzerland and other countries of Europe. In Vienna alone manual courses are now being given to 2,000 students; language courses in English, French, Spanish, Portuguese and Hebrew to 2,750 students, and courses in all branches of agriculture have a combined enrollment of more than a thousand. These young men and women are giving themselves heart and soul to this training for new lives abroad. They emerge in due course suitably prepared for absorption and integration

into

into new economies, and, perhaps most important of all, equipped with a strong and healthy morale.

(Most of the involuntary emigrants who have left Germany during the last five years have done so as individuals rather than in groups. They have established contact with close or distant relatives and friends in the countries of immigration who have assisted them both to make the journey and to integrate themselves into the new community after arrival. This method will undoubtedly continue to provide for the bulk of persons who must still leave Germany, especially for those well endowed with intellect or skill.)

(There has been much discussion of mass migration. The idea of finding vast undeveloped areas and of creating in them entirely new communities appeals strongly to the imagination. With only a very few and very minor exceptions, however, no project of this type has yet been found practicable. Suitable undeveloped areas are very scarce, cooperation must be developed with the countries of immigration, land must be purchased, water supply, roads and housing must be provided. Naturally the capital investment required is very great. Experience has shown that, in addition, great expense is required to get one family to the new land and maintain it until income from crops becomes

becomes available. This type of migration appears at present to offer little promise, but we cannot afford to ignore any possibility which may contribute toward a solution.)

20 min

The contributions which private organizations in this country and abroad have made to relieve the suffering of these unfortunate people run into tens of millions of dollars. The human kindness and generosity which have made these contributions possible is to me a real proof of human worth. During the next few years there will be great need for further generosity, but it cannot continue indefinitely. It must be used not merely to relieve suffering but gradually to end the need. Every effort must be made to ensure that this charity is productive, that every possible dollar goes toward making these involuntary emigrants self-supporting and wealth-producing members of their new communities.

Very few of these emigrants were objects of charity or in need of it under normal conditions. Nearly all of them were self-supporting, a number of them were wealthy. Their total wealth in Germany has been variously estimated at from two to six billion dollars, and even the lower figure would be more than enough to reestablish half a million persons elsewhere were it possible to use it.

Despite

Despite the difficulties involved, I am confident that means can be found which will be acceptable both to the German Government and to the governments of the countries of refuge whereby a considerable portion of this wealth can be saved for the emigrants to enable them to find, reach and establish themselves in new homes.

I am also confident that the German Government will recognize that extreme persecution is unnecessary to accomplish the emigration of these unwanted people from Germany and that, if it is to have the cooperation of the other governments of the world in solving this problem, it must to some extent relax the unceasing pressure which is driving these people to flight rather than to organized emigration. It is the sincere desire of the participating governments to be helpful to the German Government where they can, and in a manner consistent with their laws and interests, in finding a method of ending a situation which must inevitably give rise to rancor and misunderstanding.

In closing, I wish again to emphasize that no change in the immigration laws of any country, based upon conditions elsewhere rather than upon its own economic and demographic interests, is considered to be either desirable or necessary in carrying out the Committee's program.

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There are many parts of the world which could absorb additional population with definite economic, social and cultural benefit. To be welcome, however, the immigration must serve not to reduce existing employment and wealth but rather, by the use of brains, energy and special skills, to create new employment and wealth.

We have achieved international recognition of the existence and the urgency of the problem, and we have set up machinery which, if skillfully used, can solve it. We have accomplished our first objectives--but this is merely the barest beginning.

It is my considered opinion that if a degree of fair-minded cooperation between states of origin and of settlement can be effected by our organization, the baneful effects of the present situation can be immeasurably reduced. We must not, we cannot, fail.

The present situation has brought death to hundreds, disaster to hundreds of thousands, and fear to millions. Its repercussions have been acute and far-reaching. It has fanned the flames of hatred and added new fears and prejudices to a world already burdened with gigantic problems of unemployment, economic uncertainty and distress.

What is the answer? We and our colleagues, at Evian and now in London, have unfailingly kept alive in this

work

work our conception of the human relationships we have helped to build and which we would preserve for those who follow us. In all good conscience, we have at the instance of our President and our Secretary of State set up in an intergovernmental group a beacon of human sympathy and hope. We will carry it forward with unflinching zeal, energy and determination. May its appeal to all that is best in man bring to its support a better, a more humane and a more enduring attitude of mind everywhere to fulfill our rightful destiny as leaders triumphant in the cause of peace and justice.

There have been many great migrations through the course of history, and none have taken place without great suffering. They have been due primarily to the quest for land and new economic opportunities, secondly to the quest for escape from social, political or religious intolerance and bondage. Economic migrations have continued from long before the dawn of history down to the early years of the present century and represent by far the greatest migratory movements. Migrations caused by intolerance and persecution have been many but they have in the past involved comparatively small numbers of persons. The migrants were readily absorbed in the greater stream of economic migrants and pulled along by the attraction of new lands and new economic opportunities.

Today we are faced with a new situation. The tides of economic migration have filled many of the previously undeveloped portions of the world to a point where the gradient of economic opportunity is slight and many of the less developed countries have erected barriers to preserve for themselves such advantages as remain to them. The great economic migrations have ceased. The world, though still unevenly populated, has reached a stage in which great numbers of immigrants are no longer welcome anywhere. Within the past quarter of a century not only the United States, but most other countries into which

immigration

immigration had been practically unlimited, have felt the need of imposing both quantitative and qualitative restrictions. These restrictions are the effect of the desire of these countries to maintain their existing economic organization and racial and national composition. There are few countries today which have not felt these desires and acted upon them. ^{IP}Nor is that all. The world-wide economic dislocation of the past decade has, temporarily at least, everywhere reduced economic opportunity to a minimum, forced millions of wage earners out of employment and placed enormous burdens upon private and governmental assistance.

The impact of the depression and the resultant unemployment was particularly severe in the United States. This country was, however, protected by a carefully planned immigration law limiting the annual admission of aliens of any nationality to 2 per cent of the number of foreign-born individuals of that nationality resident in the United States in 1890. This is a wise and ample safeguard of our economic and demographic organization. Under it we are permitted annually to admit 27,370 aliens born in Germany, including Austria. This is only one fiftieth of one per cent of the population of the United States - but it provides for the admission of more involuntary emigrants than does the present legislation of any

any other country. To some this number seems large - but such a minute fraction of the population of the United States can have but a microscopic economic or social effect upon this country. To others it seems very small - but it can be considered so only in comparison with the former almost unlimited immigration into this country.

It is in these circumstances that we are faced with the problem of finding new homes and new means of livelihood for hundreds of thousands of individuals, and of doing it with the greatest possible speed. To any one who has come into contact at first hand with this tragic exodus, there can be no thought of apathy or prejudice, only a deep feeling of compassion and a realization that we are witnessing one of the most tragic happenings of modern times; tragedy, moreover, which is for the most part entirely unnecessary and avoidable.

These people are taking refuge in any country, near or far, in which they can find refuge. The peoples and governments of the world are faced with an urgent problem which is not of their own choosing or their own making but which, whether they like it or not, they cannot ignore. Our task is neither to condone nor to condemn - it is to find a solution of the problem which has been forced upon us, to seek to replace the present chaotic conditions of exodus by those of orderly migration; to seek the settlement of these people in new homes with a minimum of suffering and their integration into new

societies

societies to the best advantage both of the refugees and of the ~~the~~ receiving countries.

The need for urgent action was recognized by President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull almost immediately after the Anschluss. No international agency adequate to deal with a problem of this magnitude and urgency existed. The Nansen Office of the League of Nations was strictly limited by its terms

The High Commission for Refugees coming from Germany had done some work in inducing the European countries in which these migrants had taken temporary refuge to grant them legal status equivalent to that of other aliens - work similar to that which the Nansen Office had done in Italy, France, the United States and other countries. It had been able to facilitate the admission of a certain number of them to various countries. It, too, was hampered by lack of authority at the end of the year. Even were it to be maintained, however, it was in no position adequately to meet the task involved. No organization connected with the League could deal with the German Government. The terms of reference of the High Commission were strictly limited and it lacked the practical power of a governmental organization. Regarding the nature of the problem and the need for an effective international organization, it is to deal with

terms of reference to activity on behalf of Russian, Armenian and other Near Eastern refugees. It had never dealt in any way with German refugees, and it was due to go out of existence at the end of the present year.

The International Labor Organization has done valuable technical work in the field of migration for settlement but it has always considered that the refugee problem, as such, did not come within its province.

The High Commission for Refugees coming from Germany had done able work in inducing the European countries in which these emigrants had taken temporary refuge to grant them legal status equivalent to that of other aliens - work similar to that which the Hansen Office had done in this field for Russian and Near Eastern refugees - and had been able to facilitate the emigration of a certain number of them to overseas countries. It, too, was scheduled to^{go}/out of existence at the end of the year. Even were it to be maintained, however, it was in no position adequately to meet the task involved. No organization connected with the League could deal with the German Government. The terms of reference of the High Commission were strictly limited and it lacked the practical power of a governmental organization.

Recognizing the vastness of the problem and the need for an effective international organization, able to deal

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with the problem in its broadest aspects and backed by the full power of governments, the United States Government on March 23, invited 32 other Governments to cooperate in setting up an intergovernmental committee to facilitate the emigration and settlement of political refugees from Germany, including Austria.

Certain broad principles were made clear at the outset. No country would be asked or expected to receive a greater number of refugees than was permitted by its existing legislation. The financing of the emergency emigration must be undertaken by private organizations rather than by governments. There was no intent to discourage or interfere with the work of existing organizations but rather the desire to supplement their work in the broadest possible way and to deal with aspects of the problem with which they were unauthorized or unable to deal.

President Roosevelt also appointed a ^{distinguished} Advisory Committee, under the Chairmanship of Mr. James G. MacDonald, whose wide experience as former High Commissioner for Refugees coming from Germany and in other fields has made him of invaluable assistance. The purpose of this Committee is primarily to coordinate the activities of the many private organizations in this country which have in the past few years done monumental work for these unfortunate people.

The French Government graciously invited the meeting

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to be held on French soil, and, President Roosevelt having done me the honor to ask me to represent this Government on the Intergovernmental Committee, I met at Evian on July 6 with the representatives of 31 other Governments.

The prospect at the outset was discouraging in the extreme. There was little realization of the magnitude of the problem and very little disposition on the part of any country to accept substantial numbers of refugees. It was contended that the existing organs of the League were adequately equipped to deal with the problem and fear was expressed lest any new organization would both needlessly duplicate their efforts and detract from the prestige of the League. Many of the Governments were apathetic and their delegates lacking in any instructions other than to attend the meeting and find out what this Government had in mind. In this atmosphere we set to work.

Fortunately there were a number of delegates present who almost immediately grasped the nature and magnitude of the problem and the spirit with which it was proposed to proceed, men who were in a position to influence their Governments accordingly. Among these were Lord Winterton of Great Britain, Senator Berenger of France, Minister Lobo of Brazil, and Ambassador Le Breton of the Argentine. Without the spirit, ability and wholehearted cooperation of these men the meeting could not have been a success.

As soon as other Governments, particularly those of Britain and France, came to share our view that the urgency of the problem required a continuing organization with broader powers than those possessed by any existing organization, progress was rapid. On July 14, only eight days after the Conference had met, a resolution was adopted setting up the machinery necessary to attack the problem along the broad lines essential to its solution. ^PThat resolution recognized that "the question of involuntary migration had assumed major proportions and that the fate of the unfortunate people has become a problem for intergovernmental deliberation."

It recognized that "the involuntary emigration of large numbers of people, of different creeds, economic conditions, professions and trades, from the country or countries where they have been established is disturbing to the general economy", and that "in consequence, countries of refuge and settlement are faced with problems, not only of an economic and social nature, but also of public order".

It recognized that "it is essential that a long-range program should be envisaged, whereby assistance to involuntary emigrants, actual and potential, may be coordinated within the framework of existing migration laws and practices of Governments".

It considered that "if countries of refuge are to cooperate in finding an orderly solution of the problem before

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fore the Committee they should have the collaboration of the country of origin and are therefore persuaded that it will make its contribution by enabling involuntary emigrants to take with them their property and possessions and emigrate in an orderly manner."

It recognized the value of the work of existing organs of the League and the International Labor Organization and declared ^{that} the Committee should cooperate fully with them.

It defined the scope of the Committee's activity as covering "(1) persons who have not already left their country of origin (Germany, including Austria), but who must emigrate on account of their political opinions, religious beliefs or racial origin, and (2) persons as defined in (1) who have already left their country of origin and who have not yet established themselves permanently elsewhere".

It recommended that "the Governments participating in the Intergovernmental Committee shall continue to furnish the Committee, for its strictly confidential information, with details regarding such immigrants as each Government may be prepared to receive under its existing laws and practices and details of these laws and practices".

It recognized that "in view of the fact that the countries of refuge and settlement are entitled to take into account the economic and social adaptability of immigrants, these should in many cases be required to accept, at least

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for a time, changed conditions of living in the countries of settlement".

It declared that "the Governments of the countries of refuge and settlement should not assume any obligations for the financing of involuntary emigration".

With regard to the documents required of immigrants by the countries of refuge and settlement, it recommended that the participating Governments, ~~accept~~, in cases where the usually required documents were found not to be available, ^{accept} "such other documents serving the purpose of the requirements of law as may be available to the immigrant".

With regard to the constitution of the continuing Committee, the resolution specified that the Committee should be composed of such representatives as the participating Governments chose to designate, that it should have a Chairman, four Vice Chairmen and a "Director of authority".

The essence of the Committee's task is contained in the two following sentences defining the duties of the Director:

"He shall undertake negotiations to improve the present conditions of exodus and to replace them by conditions of orderly emigration. He shall approach the Governments of the countries of refuge and settlement with a view to developing opportunities of permanent settlement".

That is the heart of our problem, and the degree of success which meets the Director's efforts on both points will be the measure of success which not only this Government

ment but all other Governments achieve in meeting this world problem.

The permanent Intergovernmental Committee is now actively functioning in London, under the able and distinguished Chairmanship of Lord Winterton, and with the Honorable George Rublee, whose broad vision, energy, and long experience in delicate negotiation both in this hemisphere and in Europe render him especially qualified for the task, as Director.

Overpowering as the problem seems, it is not, it cannot be, insoluble. We are not thinking in terms of miracles but of hard work and determination. Facing the basic fact that new homes and lives must be found for these people - and no thinking person can for an instant believe that there is any possibility of changing the policies which are forcing these people from their former homeland - the problem is basically one of bringing order out of the present chaos. It is unthinkable that the emigration of the Jews from Germany cannot be accomplished in a more orderly and humane manner and equally unthinkable that the rest of the world cannot absorb these people in a manner which not only would not be injurious to the economic organization and racial composition of the countries of refuge but would actually be of benefit to them.

In the precipitate flight of these persons there has been no time in most cases for any considered choice as to their ultimate destination, and no chance for investigation of the

economic

economic opportunities awaiting them. There has been no more opportunity for choice in the cases of those who have gone to farther countries, and some of them have gone to practically every country on earth. There has been no thought for the interests of the receiving country and little opportunity for those countries to select such emigrants

grants as could most usefully be absorbed into their national economies. Many of these countries have been forced to adopt new and severe restrictions upon immigration to prevent an influx of penniless and unselected refugees. Were these countries in a position to exercise a certain degree of selection, and were the emigrants in possession of a reasonable, even if limited, amount of capital, many countries would be able profitably to accept substantially greater numbers than is the case at present.

Our problem involves to a considerable degree the question of placement. In dealing with the resettlement of ^{hundred} several/ thousand people we naturally cannot deal with the placement of individuals. We can, however, ascertain what opportunities exist in the various less developed countries, what types of immigrants each country desires and how many it believes can usefully be absorbed into its economic and social organism. At the other end we can ascertain the age and occupational distribution of those who must emigrate. The information obtained at each end must be coordinated and made available at the other end and to the private organizations who must be responsible for the actual placement of individuals. The Committee is now actively engaged in collecting and co-ordinating the information which the participating Governments are furnishing in accordance with the Evian resolution, and

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which private organizations with direct experience in dealing with these people in Germany and Austria are furnishing it.

We will also, I hope, be able to promote to a considerable degree the training of these involuntary emigrants, particularly the youth, in preparation for the new lives they will be called upon to lead.

Scientists and members of the learned professions - of whom there are comparatively large numbers among these emigrants - find opportunities to carry on their work in other countries with comparative ease. Technicians, handicraftsmen, skilled artisans, nurses and similar types find fewer opportunities, but there is nevertheless a demand for their services in many countries if suitable placement can be effected. Opportunities are fewest for those engaged and trained in commerce, for those whose work is in trade rather than in production by the hand or by the brain. New competition in commerce is never welcome and unfortunately there are many persons in the group with which ^{we} have to deal whose sole training has been in commerce.

There appear to be more opportunities for agriculturalists than for ^{any} other group. Most of the American Republics and a number of other Governments have informed us that such opportunities as exist in their territories are primarily for agriculturalists. This is natural in countries with relatively sparse populations, where the principal need is
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the development of the land. Unfortunately, there are relatively few agriculturalists among these emigrants. The solution of our problem will, I believe, require that a considerable number of emigrants be specially trained or retrained in agriculture or in other pursuits for which a demand exists.

It is gratifying to know that this work of preparation for new lives is already making progress. Specialized schools for the practical training of emigrants already exist in France, Switzerland and other countries of Europe. Many of these centers have been set up within Germany. In Vienna alone 120 manual courses are now being given, with an enrollment of 2,000 students; 109 language courses in English, French, Spanish, Portuguese and Hebrew are being given to 2,750 students, and four farm schools giving courses in all branches of agriculture have a combined enrollment of more than a thousand.

This training for emigration is of particular value in producing substantial numbers of young emigrants fitted for new lives abroad, suitably prepared for absorption and integration into new economies, and, perhaps most important of all, equipped with a strong and healthy morale.

Most of the involuntary emigrants who have left Germany during the last five years have done so through the process of infiltration. In other words, they have qualified for visas to countries of final settlement under existing immigration laws and practices. Either on their own responsibility or with the assistance of private organizations they have established contact with close or distant relatives and friends in the countries of immigration who have assisted them both to make the journey and to integrate themselves into the new community after arrival. This method will undoubtedly continue to provide for the bulk of persons who must still leave Germany.

There has been much discussion of mass migration. The idea of finding vast undeveloped areas and of creating in them entirely new communities appeals strongly to the imagination. With only a very few and very minor exceptions, however, no project of this type has yet been found practicable. Suitable undeveloped areas are very scarce, cooperation must be developed with the countries of immigration,

tion, land must be purchased, water supply, roads and housing must be provided before mass settlement is possible. Naturally the capital investment required is very great. Over and above the capital expenses of purchase and development, experience has shown that not less than \$2,500 is required for the expenses of getting one family to the new land and maintaining it during the first year until income from crops becomes available. This type of migration appears at present to offer little promise, but we cannot afford to ignore any possibility which may contribute toward a solution.

The contributions which private organizations in this country and abroad have made to relieve the suffering of these unfortunate people are phenomenal. Conservative estimates of the amounts spent for this purpose and to assist their emigration during the last five years place the total at not less than \$25,000,000. The human kindness and generosity which have made these contributions possible is to me a real proof of human worth. During the next few years there will be great need for further generosity, but it cannot continue indefinitely. That generosity

is the extent. Despite the magnitude of the problem, I am confident that means can be found which will be acceptable both to the German Government and to the Government

generosity must be used not merely to relieve suffering but gradually to end the need. Every effort must be made to ensure that this charity be productive, that every possible dollar go toward making these involuntary emigrants self-supporting and wealth producing members of their new communities.

Very few of these emigrants were objects of charity or in need of it under normal conditions. Nearly all of them were self-supporting, a number of them were wealthy. Their total wealth in Germany has been variously estimated at from two to six billion dollars, and even the lower figure would be more than enough to re-establish half a million persons elsewhere were it possible to use it. While wealthy persons in Germany have given much to improve the lot of the less fortunate, and some of this capital has been utilized to effect the settlement of emigrants in other countries, no effective way has yet been found to utilize any really significant portion of it for this purpose. Entirely aside from the willingness or unwillingness of the German Government to let this capital leave the country, the transfer problem involved is formidable in the extreme. Despite the magnitude of the problem, I am confident that means can be found which will be acceptable both to the German Government and to the Governments
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of the countries of refuge whereby a considerable portion of this wealth can be saved for the emigrants to enable them to find, reach and establish themselves in new homes.

I am also confident that the German Government will recognize that extreme persecution is unnecessary to accomplish the emigration of these unwanted people from Germany and that, if it is to have the co-operation of the other Governments of the world in solving this problem, it must to some extent relax the ~~unbearable~~ ^{unnecessary} pressure which is driving these people to flight rather than to organized emigration.

In closing, I wish again to emphasize that no change in the immigration laws of any country, based upon conditions elsewhere rather than upon its own economic and demographic interests, is considered to be either desirable or necessary in carrying out the Committee's program. The problem is essentially a practical one. There are many parts of the world, parts even of the United States, which could absorb some additional population with definite benefit. To be of benefit, however, the immigration must serve not to reduce existing employment but rather, by the use of brains, energy and special skills, to create new employment and wealth.

I repeat - our problem is a practical one. Only in its

urgency

urgency, in the suffering that each day's delay entails, is it essentially a humanitarian one. We cannot permit our efforts to fail, nor can we permit long delay in attaining success. We have achieved international recognition of the existence and the urgency of the problem, and we have set up machinery which, if skillfully used, can solve it. We have accomplished our first objectives - but this is merely the barest beginning. Our work must be carried forward with unflinching zeal, energy and determination.

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PROPOSAL FOR A RESOLUTION SUBMITTED BY THE CHAIRMAN.

THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE: Having met at Evian, France, from July 6 to July 16, 1938;

1. Considering that the question of involuntary emigration has assumed major proportions and that the fate of the unfortunate people affected has become a problem for intergovernmental deliberation;

2. Aware that the involuntary emigration of large numbers of people, of different creeds, economic conditions, professions and trades, from the country or countries where they have been established is disturbing to the general economy, since these persons are obliged to seek refuge, either temporarily or permanently, in other countries at a time when there is serious unemployment; that in consequence countries of refuge and settlement are faced with problems not only of an economic and social nature but also of public order, and that there is a severe strain on the administrative facilities and absorptive capacities of the receiving countries;

3. Aware, moreover, that the involuntary emigration of peoples in large numbers has become so great that it renders racial and religious problems more acute; increases international unrest; and may hinder seriously the processes of appeasement in international relations;

4. Believing

4. Believing that it is essential that a long-range program should be envisaged, whereby assistance to involuntary emigrants, actual and potential, may be coordinated within the framework of existing migration laws and practices of governments;

5. Considering that if countries of refuge or settlement are to cooperate in finding an orderly solution of the problem before the Committee they should have the collaboration of the country of origin and are therefore ~~persuaded that it will~~ make its contribution by enabling involuntary emigrants to take with them their property and possessions and emigrate in an orderly manner;

6. Welcoming heartily the initiative taken by the President of the United States of America in calling the Intergovernmental Meeting at Evian for the primary purpose of facilitating involuntary emigration from Germany including Austria, and expressing profound appreciation to the French Government for its courtesy in receiving the Intergovernmental Meeting at Evian;

7. Bearing in mind the resolution adopted by the Council of the League of Nations on May 14, 1938, concerning international assistance to refugees;

RECOMMENDS:

RECOMMENDS:

8. (a) that the persons coming within the scope of the activity of the Intergovernmental Committee shall be 1) persons who have not already left their country of origin (Germany including Austria), but who must emigrate on account of their political opinions, religious beliefs, or racial origin and 2) persons as defined in 1) who have already left their country of origin and who have not established themselves permanently elsewhere;

(b) that the governments participating in the Intergovernmental Committee shall continue to furnish the Committee, for its strictly confidential information, with 1) details regarding such immigrants which each government is prepared to receive under its existing laws and practices and 2) details of these laws and practices;

(c) that in view of the fact that the countries of refuge and settlement are entitled to take into account the economic and social adaptability of immigrants these in many cases may be required to accept, at least for a time, changed conditions of living in the countries of settlement;

(d) that

(d) that the governments of the countries of refuge and settlement should not assume any obligations for the financing of involuntary emigration.

(e) This paragraph to be drafted by the Technical Committee;

(f) that there should meet at London an Intergovernmental Committee consisting of such representatives as the governments participating in the Evian Meeting may desire to designate.

This Committee shall continue and develop the work of the Intergovernmental Meeting at Evian and shall be constituted and shall function in the following manner:

There shall be a Chairman of this Committee and four Vice-Chairmen.

There shall be a Director of authority, appointed by the Intergovernmental Committee, who shall be guided by it in his actions. He shall undertake negotiations to improve the present conditions of exodus and to replace them with conditions of orderly emigration. He shall approach the governments of the countries of refuge with a view to developing opportunities for permanent settlement.

The Intergovernmental Committee, recognizing the value of the work of the existing refugee services of the League of Nations and of the studies of migration made by the International Labor Office, shall cooperate fully with these services, and the meeting of the Committee at London shall establish the method of the cooperation of the Committee and the Director with these services.

The Intergovernmental Committee at its forthcoming meeting at London will consider the scale on which its expenses shall be apportioned among the participating governments.

9. That the Intergovernmental Committee in its continued form shall hold a first meeting at London on August 3, 1938.

PROPOSAL FOR A RESOLUTION SUBMITTED BY THE CHAIRMAN

THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE: Having met at Evian, France, from July 6 to July 16, 1938;

1. Considering that the question of involuntary emigration has assumed major proportions and that the fate of the unfortunate people affected has become a problem for intergovernmental deliberation;

2. Aware that the forced emigration of large numbers of people, of different creeds, economic conditions, professions and trades, from the country or countries where they have been established is disturbing to the general economy, since these persons are obliged to seek refuge, either temporarily or permanently, in other countries at a time when there is serious unemployment; that in consequence countries of refuge are faced with problems not only of an economic and social nature but also of ^{internal} public order, and there is a severe strain on the administrative facilities and absorptive capacities of the receiving countries;

3. Aware, moreover, that the involuntary emigration of peoples in large numbers, renders racial and religious problems more acute; ^{have been so great that it} creates international unrest; ^{increases} and ^{seriously} hinders the processes of appeasement in international relations;

4. Believing

4. Believing that, in consequence, it is essential that a long-range program should be envisaged, whereby assistance to involuntary emigrants, actual and potential, may be coordinated within the framework of existing migration laws and practices of governments;

5. Considering that if countries of refuge or settlement are to cooperate in finding an orderly solution of the problem before the Committee they ^{earnestly hope that the Country of origin will} ~~must have the~~ collaboration of the country of origin and are ~~hopeful that it~~ will make its contribution by enabling involuntary emigrants to take with them their property and possessions and emigrate in an orderly manner;

6. Welcoming heartily the initiative taken by the President of the United States of America in calling the Intergovernmental Meeting at Evian primarily to consider the question of facilitating involuntary emigration from Germany including Austria, and expressing profound appreciation to the French Government for its courtesy in receiving the Intergovernmental Meeting at Evian;

7. Bearing in mind the resolution adopted by the Council of the League of Nations on May 14, 1938, concerning international assistance to refugees;

RECOMMENDS:

RECOMMENDS:

8. (a) that the persons coming within the scope of the activity of the Intergovernmental Committee shall be 1) persons who have not already left their country of origin (Germany including Austria), but who must emigrate on account of their political opinions, religious beliefs, or racial origin and 2) persons as defined in 1) who have already left their country of origin and who have not established themselves permanently elsewhere;

(b) that the governments participating in the Intergovernmental Committee shall continue to furnish the Committee, for its strictly confidential information, with 1) details regarding the number and type of immigrants which each government is prepared to receive under its existing laws and practices and 2) details of these laws and practices;

(c) that ^{in view of} ~~recognition be given~~ to the fact that the countries of refuge are entitled to take into account the economic and social adaptability of immigrants who in many cases may be required to accept, at least for a time, changed conditions of living in the countries of settlement;

(d) that

(d) that the governments of the countries of
~~refuge~~ ^{permanent settlement} should not assume any obligations for the finan-
cing of involuntary emigration.

(e) This paragraph to be drafted by the Technical
Committee;

(f) That there should meet at London an Inter-
governmental Committee consisting of such representatives
as the governments participating in the Evian Meeting
may desire to designate.

This Committee shall continue and develop the work
of the Intergovernmental Meeting at Evian and shall be
constituted and shall function in the following manner:

There shall be a Chairman of this Committee and
four Vice-Chairmen.

There shall be a Director of authority, appointed
by the Intergovernmental Committee, who shall be guided
by it in his actions. He shall undertake negotiations
to improve the present conditions of exodus and to
replace them with conditions of orderly emigration.
He shall approach the governments of the countries of
refuge with a view to developing opportunities for
permanent settlement.

The

The Intergovernmental Committee, recognizing the value of the work of the existing refugee services of the League of Nations and of the studies of migration made by the International Labor Office, shall cooperate fully with these services, and the meeting of the Committee at London shall establish the method of the cooperation of the Committee and the Director with these services.

The Intergovernmental Committee at its forthcoming meeting at London will consider the scale on which its expenses shall be apportioned among the participating governments.

9. That the Intergovernmental Committee in its continued form shall hold a first meeting at London on August 3, 1938.

PROPOSAL FOR A RESOLUTION SUBMITTED BY THE CHAIRMAN.

THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE:

1. Considering that the question of involuntary emigration has assumed major proportions (for certain sections of the population) and that the fate of these unfortunate people ^{affected} has become a problem for inter-governmental deliberation;
2. Aware that the forced emigration of large numbers of people, of different creeds, economic conditions, professions and trades, from the country or countries where they have been established is disturbing to the general economy, since these persons are obliged to seek refuge, either temporarily or permanently, in other countries at a time when there is serious unemployment; that in consequence countries of refuge are faced with problems not only of an economic and social nature but also of public order, and there is a severe strain on the administrative facilities and absorptive capacities of the receiving countries;
3. Aware, moreover, that the involuntary emigration of peoples in large numbers renders racial and religious problems more acute; creates international unrest; and seriously hinders the processes of appeasement in international relations;

4. Believing

4. Believing that, in consequence, it is essential that a long-range program should be envisaged, whereby assistance to involuntary emigrants, actual and potential, may be coordinated within the framework of existing migration laws and practices of governments;

5. Considering that if countries of refuge or settlement are to cooperate in finding an orderly solution of the problem before the Committee they are entitled to expect that the country of origin will make its contribution by enabling involuntary emigrants to take with them their property and possessions and emigrate in an orderly manner;

6. Welcoming heartily the initiative taken by the President of the United States of America in calling the Intergovernmental Meeting at Evian and expressing profound appreciation to the French Government for its courtesy in receiving the Intergovernmental Meeting at Evian;

7. Bearing in mind the resolution adopted by the Council of the League of Nations on May 14, 1938, concerning international assistance to refugees;

RECOMMENDS:

8. (a) that the persons coming within the scope of the activity of the Intergovernmental Committee

shall

shall be 1) persons who have not already left their country of origin, i.e. Germany including Austria, but who desire to emigrate on account of their political opinions, religious beliefs, or racial origin and 2) persons as defined in 1) who have already left their country of origin and who have not established themselves permanently elsewhere;

(b) that the governments participating in the Intergovernmental Committee shall continue to furnish the committee, for its strictly confidential information, with 1) details regarding the ~~number and type of~~ ^{such} immigrants ^{as} which each government ^{number} is prepared to receive under its existing laws and practices and 2) details of these laws and practices;

(c) that recognition be given to the fact that the countries of refuge are entitled to take into account the economic and social adaptability of immigrants who in many cases may be required to accept, at least for a time, changed conditions of living in the countries of settlement;

(d) that the governments of the countries of refuge should not assume any obligations for the financing of involuntary emigration.

(e) This

(e) This paragraph to be drafted by the technical committee,

(f) That there should meet at London an Intergovernmental Committee consisting of such representatives as the governments participating in the Evian Meeting may desire to designate.

This Committee shall continue and develop the work of the Intergovernmental Meeting at Evian and shall be constituted and shall function in the following manner:

There shall be a Chairman of this Committee and four Vice-Chairmen.

There shall be a Director of authority, appointed by the Intergovernmental Committee, who shall be guided by it in his actions. He shall undertake negotiations to improve the present conditions of exodus and to replace them with conditions of orderly emigration. He shall approach the governments of the countries of refuge with a view to developing opportunities for permanent settlement.

The Intergovernmental Meeting at Evian and Director, in view of the value of the work of the existing refugee services of the League of Nations and of the studies of migration made by the International Labor Office, shall cooperate fully with these services and the Intergovernmental Committee at London shall establish the method of this cooperation.

The Intergovernmental Committee at its forthcoming meeting at London will consider the scale on which its expenses shall be apportioned among the participating governments.

9. That the Intergovernmental Committee in its continued form shall hold a first meeting at London on August 3, 1938.

THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE.

1. Considering that the question of involuntary emigration has assumed major proportions because of the pressure ~~by national authorities~~ against sections of the population ~~within their territorial limits~~ and that the fate of these unfortunate human beings has become a problem for inter-governmental deliberation;

2. Aware that the forced emigration of large numbers of people, of ^{different} every creed and economic conditions of every profession and of every trade, from the country or countries where they have been established is disturbing to the general economy, since these persons are obliged to seek refuge, either temporarily or permanently, in other countries at a time when there is serious unemployment and that in consequence countries of refuge are faced with problems not only of an economic and social nature but also of public order and there is a severe strain on the administrative facilities and absorptive capacities of the receiving countries;

3. Aware, moreover, that the forced and chaotic migration of peoples in large numbers renders racial and religious problems more acute; creates international unrest; ~~leads in some cases to a desire for economic retaliation against the countries responsible for pressure~~

4. Recommends (a) that the persons coming within the scope of the activity of the Intergovernmental Committee

on ...

shall ...

~~on sections of their population and~~ increases the fear and uncertainty which seriously hinder the progress of appeasement in international relations;

4. Believing that, in consequence, it is essential that a long-range program should be envisaged, whereby assistance to involuntary emigrants, actual and potential, may be coordinated within the framework of existing migration laws and practices of governments;

5. Considering that if countries of refuge are to cooperate in finding an orderly solution of the problem before the Committee they are entitled to expect that the country of origin will make its contribution by enabling involuntary emigrants to take with them their property and possessions and emigrate in an orderly manner;

6. Welcoming heartily the initiative taken by the President of the United States of America in calling the intergovernmental meeting at Evian; *and*

 expressing profound appreciation to the French Government for its courtesy in receiving the Intergovernmental Meeting at Evian;

7. Bearing in mind the resolution adopted by the Council of the League of Nations on May 14, 1938, concerning international assistance to refugees;

8. Recommends (a) that the persons coming within the scope of the activity of the intergovernmental committee

shall ...

shall be 1) persons who have not already left their country of domicile, e.g. Germany including Austria, but who desire to emigrate by reason of the treatment to which they are subjected on account of their political opinion, religious beliefs, or racial origin and 2) persons as defined in 1) who have already left their country of origin and are in process of migration;

(b) That the governments participating in the Intergovernmental Committee shall continue to furnish the committee, for its strictly confidential information, 1) details regarding the number and the type of immigrants which each government is prepared to receive under its existing laws and practices and 2) details of these laws and practices;

(c) That recognition be given to the fact that the countries of refuge are entitled to take into account the economic and social adaptability of immigrants who in many cases may be required to accept, at least for time, changed conditions of living in the countries of settlement;

(d) ~~That the financing of involuntary immigration should, as in the past, be the concern of private organizations and that~~ the governments of the countries of refuge should not assume any obligation for such financing;

(e) This paragraph to be drafted by the technical committee;

(f) ...

(f) That there should meet at London an inter-governmental committee consisting of ~~the diplomatic representatives at that capital of the~~ governments participating in the Evian Meeting, or such other representative as any participating government may desire to designate.

This Committee shall continue ^{and develop} the work of the Intergovernmental Meeting at Evian, and will be able, if it finds that circumstances are favorable, to extend the scope of its discussions of involuntary emigration.

There shall be a Chairman of this Committee and four Vice Chairmen.

There shall be a Director (of proven capacity, authority and initiative.)

^{who} The Director shall be guided in his actions by the recommendations of the Intergovernmental Committee. He shall undertake negotiations to improve the present conditions of chaotic exodus and to replace them with conditions of orderly emigration. He shall approach governments of refuge with a view to developing opportunities for permanent settlement. He shall develop relations with such national advisory committees as may be established, comparable to the Advisory Committee in the United States of America appointed by President Roosevelt.

The intergovernmental committee at its forthcoming meeting at London will take the necessary steps to provide such ...

such funds as will be required to carry on its work.

9. The Intergovernmental Committee in its continued form shall hold a first meeting at London on July ~~28~~, 1938.

10. The Intergovernmental Meeting at Evian recognizing the value of the work of the existing refugee services of the League of Nations and of the studies of migration made by the International Labor Office, recommends that the Intergovernmental Committee and Director cooperate fully with these services, and that the League of Nations High Commissioner and the Director of the International Labor Office be invited to attend or be represented at all of its meetings, ~~in the same manner as they have participated in the meeting at Evian.~~

DRAFT RESOLUTION

THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE,

Having met at London, England, on February 13th and 14th, 1939;

Taking note of the report of the Director, the Honorable George Rublee, on the conversations which he carried out with the German authorities from January 11th to February 1st, 1939, in conformity with his mandate under the resolution adopted by the Committee at Evian on July 14th, 1938;

RECOMMENDS:

~~That~~ That the Director shall inform the German Government that the Committee, acting independently, has been and now is using and will continue to use its best endeavours to develop opportunities ^{during the next five years} for permanent settlement of involuntary emigrants from Germany within the limits of the laws and practices of the member Governments;

~~TAKES COGNISANCE OF~~

~~The~~ The projected formation of a private international corporation which ~~will~~ ^{would} serve as the agency for financing ~~such~~ ^{emigration projects} and for maintaining such contacts with the German authorities as might be necessary for this purpose.

ITEM 3 OF THE AGENDA.

DRAFT RESOLUTION PROPOSED BY THE DRAFTING COMMITTEE.

THE INTER-GOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE,

Having met at London, England, on February 13th and 14th, 1939;

Taking note of the report of the Director, the Honorable George Rublee, on the conversations which he carried out with the German authorities from January 11th to February 2nd, 1939, in conformity with his mandate under the resolution adopted by the Committee at Evian on July 14th, 1938;

RECOMMENDS:

That the Director shall inform the German Government that the Committee, acting independently, has been, is using, and will use its best endeavours to develop opportunities within the next five years for permanent settlement of involuntary emigrants from Germany within the limits of the laws and practices of the member Governments;

TAKES COGNISANCE OF

The projected formation of a private international corporation which would serve as an agency for financing emigration from Germany and for maintaining such contacts with the German authorities as might be necessary for this purpose.

M.C.T. MEMORANDUM

- 1st Continuing Body.
- 2nd London - Permanent Chairman British. 4 Vice-Chairmen: America, Argentine, France, Denmark.
- 3rd Meeting July 28.
- 4th Permanent Acting Director and Moderate Secretariat
~~American Director~~
- 5th No League tie up *Sub Cooperative.*
- 6th Quarterly meetings of Intergovernmental Body -
July 28 - October - January - April.
Last Tuesday each month.
- 7th Consult unofficially at any time with Chairman
and if desirable call a meeting of
Chairman and 4 Vice-Chairmen for advice.
- 8th American group for active consultation in America
and elsewhere as needed.
Ambassador on Special Mission, Myron
C. Taylor; Mr. Robert Pell; Mr. George
Brandt; Mr. James G. McDonald.
Associate Consultants: Governor Winant
May
Warren.
- 9th Chairman League High Commissioner or its successor,
Chairman International Labor Board and
Chairman Nansen Office or its successor
to be invited to attend all Intergovern-
mental meetings.
- 10th Compensation of Director to be \$..... (may be
supplemented by American Committee).

M.C.T. Memorandum

- 1st Continuing Body.
- 2nd London - Permanent Chairman British. *If Vice Chairman America, Argentina French, Danish.*
- 3rd Meeting July 28.
- 4th Permanent Acting Director and Moderate Secretariat American. *Director.*
- 5th No League tie up.
- 6th Quarterly meetings of Intergovernmental Body *July 28 - Oct 28 - Jan - April - Last Friday. Each month.*
- 7th Consult unofficially at any time with Chairman

and if desirable call a meeting of Chairman and 4 Vice-Chairmen *for advice.*

- 8th American group for active consultation. *in America and elsewhere as needed.* *Special Adv.*
Ambassador on Special Mission, Mr. Robert Pell;
Mr. George Brandt; Mr. James G. McDonald.

Associates & Consultants { *Mr. Winant - May.*
Warren.
Winant.

9. *Chairman* League High Commissioners *or its successor*
Winant - and Chas. Hansen
Chairman Int. Labor Board *to be*
invited to attend all Intergovernmental Meetings.
office of its successor

10. Compensation of Director to be \$_____. (May be supplemented by Private American Committee).

- 1st Continuing Body.
- 2nd London - Permanent - ^{Chair} -
British -
- 3rd Meeting ~~on~~ July 28 -
- 4th Permanent Active
^{Moderate}
Director + Secretaries
American ↑
- 5th No league tie up.
- 6th Quarterly meetings -
- 7th Consult unofficially
at any time with
Chairman and if desirable
call a meeting of
Chairman and ⁴ Vice Chair.
- 8th American group for active
consultations -
Ambassadors on Special Mission
Mr Robert Peel

Mr George Braudt.

~~Mr~~ Mr James McDonald.

Associati. =

May-

Warren.

- 1st Continuing Body.
 - 2nd London - Permanent Chairman British.
 - 3rd Meeting July 28.
 - 4th Permanent Acting Director and Moderate Secretariat American.
 - 5th No League tie up.
 - 6th Quarterly meetings.
 - 7th Consult unofficially at any time with Chairman and if desirable call a meeting of Chairman and 4 Vice-Chairmen.
 - 8th American group for active consultation.
Ambassador on Special Mission; Mr. Robert Pell;
Mr. George Brandt; Mr. James G. McDonald.
- Associates: May
 Warren.

Fédération des Emigrés
provenant d'Autriche
37, rue Joubert, Paris 9°

M E M O R A N D U M

FOR THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON REFUGEE QUESTIONS AT EVIAN.

I.

The political and denominational refugees who had to leave Austria on account of the violent annexation of their country, represented by the Fédération des Emigrés provenant d'Autriche, as the joint non-political and non-party organization of all the groups of Austrian émigrés, welcome the generous initiative of the President of the United States of America in summoning the Governments to an international conference on refugee questions. They venture to draw the attention of the conference in the following memorandum to some particularly pressing questions. At the same time they express the hope that the representatives of the Federation will themselves be given the opportunity to explain before the conference at Evian the interests of the Austrian émigrés.

II.

The fate of the Austrian political and denominational refugees ought not to be a question of poor relief, but should be a matter for a coherent policy of emigration, settlement and training. In all these questions no difference should be made between political refugees in the narrow sense, and Jewish refugees since the fate of both groups is to be attributed to the same cause.

Experience has taught that those who on account of their opinions, their philosophy or their religion, have had to leave their

homes and the cultural environment to which they were born, have habitually proved of positive value in the life of the countries which offered them hospitable asylum. The Austrian skilled worker, and the Austrian intellectual-scientist, artist, brainworker- have a good reputation in the world. The Austrian people have acquired a name for adaptable and agreeable through their rôle as mediators between Germanism and other nationalities, between central and south-eastern Europe.

Many European countries have received a great number of émigrés from various states, especially from Germany and Austria. In some of these countries, especially in France, these émigrés have found a generous hospitality. But the number of the political and denominational émigrés is growing to such an extent under the pressure of the conditions in Germany and Austria, that it seems impossible to receive all these unhappy, persecuted and exiled people in European countries, still less to enable them to earn their livings there. For the Governments represented in Evian, it will certainly not be difficult to find room for the relatively small number of Austrian fugitives and to put at the service of the community all their useful and potentially very valuable gifts, - all the more so since a high proportion of the Austrian émigrés are men in the prime of their working life, skilled workmen and specialised brainworkers.

The Federation cannot but work with all its strength for the complete restoration of the right of asylum which has been narrowed down in a number of countries. But the Austrian émigrés more especially hope that as the result of President Roosevelt's initiative it will be made possible or easier for them to emigrate overseas, notably to the United States of America and the British Dominions.

III.

The Federation ventures to put forward the following suggestions for the orderly introduction of the émigrés into the various countries offering them asylum :

(a) that the organizations concerned with the material relief of émigrés should form a Fund to enable them to emigrate, and to support them temporarily overseas while ony by one they are fitting themselves into the productive activity of the country to which has received them ;

(b) that the Governments participating should by suitable subsidies help to bridge the period between arrival and economic independence ;

(c) that there should be less difficulty and delay in obtaining visas to countries beyond the seas, since the fugitives have not the means to wait several months for their visas ;

(d) that the emigrants should be granted not only the possibility of settling overseas but also a legal status such as was agreed upon for the benefit of German émigrés by the European countries granting them asylum. This is all the more important because for lack of such a status there are still some countries, in South America for instance, which occasionally send political refugees back to the country of their origin ;

(e) that the United States be petitioned to make the following change in teir immigration regulations, so that teir generous initiative should have a practical effect : in the case of political and denominational refugees national citizenship not place of birth should decide under which quota they should be reckoned. (This is of decisive importance to Austrian émigrés since many of them were born

within the territory of old Austria-Hungary but outside the frontiers of post-war Austria, and are therefore reckoned to the quota of a country with which they have no relations at all).

Instead of the personal guarantee hitherto required for immigrants, the guarantee of a relief organization or of a Government committee, yet to be created, should be accepted as the basis for an immigration certificate;

(f) that the conference should decide that suitable organs be created for selecting emigrants and organizing the emigration in cooperation with the existing voluntary organizations of the Refugees.

IV.

The Federation ventures to draw the attention of the participating Governments to one of the most important legal questions in this connection. Most Austrian refugees are liable to lose shortly their legal nationality, or at any rate their valid passports. Akin to this question is that of the nationality and passports of those Austrian citizens who at the time of the annexation were already living abroad and who refuse the Reich-German nationality which has been thrust illegally upon them; the Federation proposes that the advantages of the Convention for German Refugees, which is to be extended according to a decision of the League Council to Austrian Refugees, should be granted by the Governments of the countries of asylum first of all in the question of the issue of passports.

V.

Provision for those who have not yet been able to leave Austria, and whose only fault is either that they are of Jewish descent or that before the annexation they acknowledged political views or a philosophy which do not please those who now hold power, is at least as important as it is to settle and find work for those who have already fled from Austria. Indeed measured by human suffering and sheer numbers it is far more important. Many of them have already been swept into prisons or concentration camps, and still more are threatened with same fate. The National Socialist authorities usually declare that a man can only save himself from being arrested and sent to concentration camp or forced labour by speedily emigrating, and they often add that any one with a visa for entering another state can leave Austria freely and unhindered.

The Federation appeals to the Governments represented in Evian to take the initiative and organize the emigration of these unfortunates instead of leaving it to the uncontrollable decisions of the National Socialist rulers who, suiting their own convenience compel these men to cross the frontier in masses illegally.

VI.

Finally, the Federation offers the participating Governments, authorities and organizations its services in all matters concerning the Austrian fugitives. The Federation as the joint organization of Austrian émigrés represents impartially all political and denominational groups. Owing to the fact that it covers all countries offering asylum, and owing to its composition, the Federation is qualified to make a suitable and non-partisan selection.

The only way to prevent dishonest elements from misusing the measures, which may be agreed upon, so as to harm both the land offering asylum and the émigrés themselves, is to make use of the refugees' representatives who are acquainted with both the persons and the problems. Consultation with our Federation in all relevant questions will certainly tend to facilitate the activity of authorities concerned with the affairs of Austrian refugees.

---0---

- in this meeting.
1. The most troublesome nations, ~~are~~
 Columbia on ^{valley} small matter, with
 much talking by _____ which has
 and thus inspiring many others to find objections
 are _____
2. It seems a pity in International
 matters of importance that the
 center of the stage should at times
 be taken by smaller countries
 represented by diplomats of ~~less~~
 less experience ~~and~~ and I should
 think you would be justified somehow in
 dealing with them at home or
 leaving them from the invitation —
 as you left Ireland but later ~~the~~
 invited her.

A.

(a) That the term "political refugee" shall refer to (1) persons who have not already left their country of origin 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 (2) persons as defined in (1) who have already left their country of origin and are in process of migration;

(9) (b) That the Intergovernmental Committee shall cooperate to the fullest extent with the Commission for Political Refugees to be set up by the League of Nations and, pending its consolidation with the League Commission, with the Nansen Office;

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8. Recommends (a) that the persons coming within the scope of intergovernmental deliberation shall be 1) persons who have not already left their country of origin, i.e. Germany including Austria, but who desire to emigrate by reason of the treatment to which they are subjected on account of their political opinion, religious beliefs, or racial origin, and, 2) persons as defined in 1) who have already left their country of origin and are in process of migration;

(b) that the governments represented on the Intergovernmental Committee shall cooperate to the fullest extent possible with the existing refugee services of the League of Nations, and with the new organization which the League proposes to set up on January 1, 1939;

PRESS COMMUNIQUE

The Intergovernmental Committee concluded its meeting this afternoon.

The Committee, having heard the confidential report of its Director, the Honorable George Rublee, on the conversations which he held in Berlin from January 11 to February 2nd inclusive, 1939, in conformity with his mandate under the Evian resolution, and having received from him a statement of what the German Government, acting unilaterally, may be prepared to do in order to facilitate the orderly emigration of involuntary emigrants, took note of the Director's report. The Committee authorized him to inform the German Government that, acting independently, it has been, is using and will use its best endeavors to develop opportunities within the next five years for permanent settlement of involuntary emigrants from Germany within the limits of the laws and practices of the member Governments. The Committee, moreover, took cognizance of the projected formation of a private international corporation which would serve as an agency for financing emigration from Germany and for maintaining such contacts with the German authorities as might be necessary for this purpose.

The Committee, in view of the vacancy in the Office of the Director due to the retirement of Mr. Rublee, authorized the Chairman to address a communication to Sir Herbert Emerson, The League of Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, stressing the advantages which would accrue from a closer cooperation between the Committee and the High Commissioner; proposing that this cooperation might be made most effective by uniting the functions of the Director of the Committee and the High Com-

missioner in the same person, while maintaining the separate independent existence of the two organizations; and inviting Sir Herbert Emerson to accept the Office of Director of the Committee on the understanding that he will devote his best efforts to carrying out the two mandates entrusted to him so that the activities of the Office of the Intergovernmental Committee and the refugee services of the League of Nations will be complementary while remaining distinct. Mr. Robert Fell, at present Assistant Director of the Committee, was appointed Vice-Director, having in the absence of the Director its executive authority and responsibility for carrying out its decisions. Authority was given to the Chairman, acting in agreement with the Vice-Chairmen, to appoint a special negotiator to continue negotiations, if and when necessary, to improve the conditions of exodus from the country of origin.

The Committee, after winding up its pending routine business, adjourned.

Explanation to ~~Germany~~
Personal journey by Pede.

~~We are to say at the~~
~~Conclusion of the general~~
~~discussion that we are~~
prepared to put a
~~formal~~ ^{offer} resolution which
submit our text to the
Drafting Committee

Mr. Chairman:

For the third time, the delegates of more than thirty Governments are assembled in the Intergovernmental Committee to consider the urgent and tragic problem of involuntary emigration - a problem which is not of their own choosing or their own making but which they and the Governments which they represent are obliged realistically to face. We met at Evian in July of 1938, to organize our Committee; we met at London in August to analyze the problem and appoint our working bureau; we are now met to take stock of the situation as it has developed in the intervening six months, notably to learn through the Director, as a result of his conversations in Berlin, of the intentions of the German Government with regard to involuntary emigration and to determine what the Committee is called upon to do in the light of the Director's report.

First of all, I know that I shall be interpreting the unanimous opinion of the Committee when I express to the Director, the Honourable George Rublee, our appreciation of the wisdom, tact, patience and energy which he, together with his associates, displayed during his discussions in Germany. He had a most difficult mission of high importance to carry out. He fulfilled it with great skill and we must be truly appreciative of his distinguished services.

At this morning's ^{meeting} session we heard the Director's report on the conversations which he undertook with Herr Wohlthat. It seems to me that the very fact that these conversations could take place at all is striking evidence of the contribution which this Committee is making to the solution of the problem with which we are concerned. You will recall that when we were discussing our problem at Evian and later at our second meeting at London, although it was clear to us that

the problem had two component parts and one was a question of what Germany would do to contribute to the organization of involuntary emigration in an orderly manner, many of us were sceptical as to the possibility of holding discussions with the German authorities and were doubtful whether much would be done in this sense. Now we are in a position to take cognizance of the intentions of the German Government which enables the Committee, acting independently on its side, to continue its long range program of settlement within the limits of the laws and practices of the member Governments, against ^a the background of *now* ^{complete} solid knowledge of ~~in what~~ the attitude of the country of origin, ~~consists~~. The importance of this gain should not be underestimated, for it must be obvious that it is far simpler for us to handle the problem now that we know, in its broad outlines, what the problem is than it was when we were working almost in the dark.

Speaking for my Government, I am authorized to say that the program outlined in the confidential memorandum agreed upon by Mr. Rublee with Herr Wohlthat - it being understood that this program is a unilateral statement of intentions on the part of the German Government and not a basis of agreement with the Committee - represents a sufficient improvement over the existing situation to warrant the Committee taking cognizance of it. Doubtless the program set forth in the confidential memorandum represents the maximum obtainable from the German Government at the present time and, if carried out, the existing conditions in Germany of the Jewish community will be notably improved.

At this point it is necessary to stress the fact that the Committee, under its mandate, is not concerned with any one

category of persons who must leave Germany and settle abroad but is obliged to deal with all involuntary emigration from Germany (including Austria and the Sudetenland) no matter what the political, racial or religious reason for this emigration in the case of the individual emigrant. I am glad that the Director is able to report that he made this situation clear to the German authorities, although the confidential memorandum would indicate that the German authorities were not willing to take the Committee's mandate into consideration in this respect and wish to confine their program to "Jews" - in the special sense used by them to define this term.

I take particular note of the statement in the Director's report that the German Government is not willing to recognize the Evian Committee and as a consequence is willing only to impart to the Director, serving as an intermediary for the benefit of the Committee, such information as it can at the present time with regard to the program which it proposes to put into execution, on certain conditions, for emigrating Jews. In logic, therefore, it is not necessary for the Committee to recognize the German Government in respect of this matter and all that we would seem to be called upon to do is to inform the German authorities through the Director, serving as an intermediary, of such progress as the Committee has been able to make towards the solution of a problem which has been forced upon the participating Governments together with the indication that the Committee will continue to use its best endeavors to develop opportunities for permanent settlement of involuntary emigrants from Germany (including Austria and the Sudetenland) within the limits of the laws and practices of the member Governments.

From a practical standpoint there can be little doubt that, without a departure from existing immigration laws and practices and if the present rate of outflow is maintained, place will be found for the settlement of the number of persons whom the Germans wish to emigrate in the allotted time, and thus the condition will be fulfilled which the German authorities attach to the implementation of their problem - although it is difficult to admit that a condition can be attached to a unilateral program - namely, that the countries of immigration shall be disposed to receive currently from Germany Jews in conformity with the German program. It would seem, therefore, that, with a minimum of patience and understanding on the German side, the result which is desired in Germany will be realized and the persons who are obliged to leave that country will be given new homes.

I note the fact that the question of how the wealth of persons who are obliged to emigrate is to be transferred, thereby facilitating the settlement of the emigrants, is, in the main, left open for future consideration. I am glad that this is so because the fundamental fact remains that it is only right that Germany, which has created this problem for the rest of the world and imposed a heavy burden, financial and otherwise, on all of us, should make a positive contribution.

In charting out the future course of the Committee and its relationship to the country of origin we should bear constantly in mind that many thousands of our fellow human beings are looking to us for succor and assistance and that, as a consequence, we should not make any decisions lightly or dismiss casually any opportunity which presents itself to alleviate the suffering and distress which we are obligated to do our utmost to relieve.

The need for urgent action, which was recognized by President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull in issuing the invitation for the Evian meeting, remains. The sorrow and the suffering, the bleak uncertainty and stark hopelessness are not abated. The necessity to find new homes and new means of livelihood for hundreds of thousands of human beings is still there. The basic problem, that of bringing order out of the present chaos, is unchanged. I am confident, however, that we will go forward to its solution with unflinching energy, a deep humanitarian sympathy, sound vision and unflinching zeal.

PRESS COMMUNIQUE

The Intergovernmental Committee concluded its meeting this afternoon.

The Committee, having heard the confidential report of its Director, the Honorable George Rublee, on the conversations which he held in Berlin from January 11 to February 1, 1939, (in conformity with his mandate under the Evian resolution) and having received from him a statement of what the German Government, acting unilaterally, may be prepared to do in order to facilitate the orderly emigration of involuntary emigrants, ~~the care of those who will remain behind temporarily or permanently, and the use which may be made of Jewish wealth pending its transfer abroad,~~ took note of the Director's report. The Committee authorized him to inform the German Government that, acting independently, it has been and now is using its best endeavors to develop opportunities ^{and will use} for permanent settlement of involuntary emigrants from Germany within the limits of the laws and practices of the member Governments. / The Committee, moreover, took cognizance of the projected formation of a private international corporation which will serve as an agency for financing settlement projects and for maintaining such contacts with the German authorities as might be necessary for this purpose.

The Committee, in view of the vacancy in the Office of the Director due to the retirement of Mr. Rublee, authorized the Chairman to address a communication to Sir Herbert Emerson, ~~The League of Nations High Commissioner for Refugees,~~ ^{the League of Nations High Commissioner for Refugees} stressing the advantages which would accrue from a closer cooperation between the Committee and the High Commissioner; proposing that this cooperation might be made most effective by uniting the functions of the Director of the Committee and the High Com-

missioner in the same person, while ~~maintaining the separate independent existence of the two organizations~~; and inviting Sir Herbert Emerson to accept the Office of Director of the Committee on the understanding that he will devote his best efforts to carrying out the two mandates entrusted to him so that the activities of the Office of the Intergovernmental Committee and the refugee services of the League of Nations will be complementary while remaining distinct. Mr. Robert Fell, at present Assistant Director of the Committee, was appointed Vice-Director, having in the absence of the Director its executive authority and responsibility for carrying out its decisions.

The Committee, after winding up its pending routine business, adjourned.

In calling ^{to order} the third meeting of the members of the Intergovernmental Body ~~together~~, I desire to express the pleasure and satisfaction with which we have listened to the statements of the Governments whose delegates have already spoken. Faced with economic and other difficulties in their own lands, they have already made substantial contributions to this important effort. It was most encouraging to note the offers of cooperation so generously and unanimously extended. It is heartening to witness the earnestness with which the representatives of the several governments have addressed themselves to this great human problem, the urgency of which is apparent to all. The gathering of facts is progressing satisfactorily, both in the aspect of the framework of existing laws and practices in the several countries here represented, but also an opportunity has been given to those who represent organizations or groups who are active in the work of relieving the distress of those many thousands who need physical assistance and moral support in their tribulations. If there be any others who are justified in presenting their views and who have not yet been heard, the Chairman will find an occasion between now and Monday to furnish such an opportunity. A large number have already presented proposals and suggestions. In both these fields, it will be our endeavor to prepare a precis for the further consideration of the members of this body. These activities are among the vital

features for which this meeting was inspired and is being held. It is encouraging to note that many governments have signified a desire to be heard in the open session which we are having this morning. Now I am sure that by ~~their~~ continued cooperation they will lend additional interest and understanding to these difficult and vital problems ~~on~~ which we are so seriously engaged.

In calling the third meeting to order I desire to express the pleasure and satisfaction with which ^{we have} listened to the statements of the governments whose delegates have already spoken. Faced with economic and other difficulties they have made substantial contributions in this important effort. It was most encouraging to note the offers of cooperation generously and unanimously extended.

It is heartening to witness the executives with which the I interpreted such reservations as to the future, as were expressed earnestly and frankly, as the natural caution of responsible representatives of the governments who avoid commitments not as yet clearly defined or suggested. My considered judgment is that our first two meetings provided a most auspicious start and offered real hope for the success of the Conference.

There are certain aspects of the problem with which we are dealing which we should constantly keep in mind. One of these is that the problem is not solely a Jewish one, but includes also Catholics and Protestants in large numbers. Many in all walks of life have been disadvantaged solely for political opinions and loyalties. Our efforts to be of assistance will be handicapped if we fail to keep this clearly in mind.

The other important fact, so ably presented by Lord Winterton, is that many of those whom we meet to assist are potential assets to the countries in which they will find permanent residence. It is a tribute to the character and resourcefulness of many who have already migrated that they have achieved self dependence and contributed

This meeting will of course in its further deliberations determine upon its continuation. Character - its permanent ~~place~~ ^{place} of meeting, and the date of its first

A large number of the presenters will be present. The further continuation of the work of the B.B.R. - The meeting body

the work of relieving the distress of those thousands who need Physicians Association in their support in their trials - How they have made a real contribution to their well-being

-2-

Government would favor the settlement of refugees in 1938

President Quezon of the Philippine Commonwealth has authorized me to make the following statement:

"The Government of the Commonwealth of the Philippines will be happy to cooperate with the United States Government and other governments concerned, in an effort to find a solution of the refugee problem which it is realized must be approached upon broad humanitarian grounds. The Commonwealth Government is willing to continue the plan in operation since May, 1938, which permits the entry into the Philippines upon advance approval of a limited number of refugees whose maintenance has been previously guaranteed by interested persons. The foregoing plan is naturally subject to existing and future immigration laws and regulations. The Commonwealth Government believes that under this plan there may be admitted as many as one thousand persons annually.

"The Commonwealth authorities are furthermore favorably inclined to a plan which would permit the settlement of refugees on the island of Mindanao and in other sparsely populated areas of the Philippines. The Island of Mindanao, the southernmost of the Philippines Archipelago, has an area of some 37,000 square miles, is sparsely inhabited, is in the main favorable climatically, and is believed to be capable of supporting a very considerable population. The Commonwealth Government is now completing plans for the large scale colonization of Mindanao by Filipinos and substantial sums are available for general development purposes. It is believed that this program could be materially aided through the use of refugee specialists, engineers, technicians, doctors, skilled and semi-skilled artisans. The Commonwealth

Government would favor the settlement of refugees in Mindanao in accordance with the following conditions in such numbers and at such a rate as may be found to be within the interest of Philippine national economy.

"One. That a responsible Committee representing the refugees or acting on their behalf shall submit a satisfactory plan to finance such settlements;

Two. That the settlers will agree to engage in subsistence farming or such other activities as may be compatible with the best interests of the Philippines;

Three. That they shall take out naturalization papers as early as possible, thereby expressing their intention to become Filipino citizens;

Four. That until they become Filipino citizens they shall reside in the land reserved for them;

Five. That the number of refugees to be admitted as settlers shall be fixed for the time being by the Commonwealth Government acting upon the recommendation of the Committee in charge of the settlement in course of preparation, having in view the Committee's ability to take care of the settlers and the consequences of large-scale settlement upon the national economy of the Philippines; and

Six. That the plan contemplated and its execution shall be subject to the immigration laws now in force or which may hereafter be passed by the National Assembly."

STATEMENT BY MR. MYRON TAYLOR.

In the spring of last year President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Hull recognised the vastness of the problem and the urgency which existed for its solution in connection with the thousands of our fellow human beings who were obliged to leave the homes where they had long been established and find new homes in hospitable lands. The President and the Secretary of State recognised that the problem had become so vast that it had far surpassed the means of private charity and required ~~the~~ support by the full power of governmental action. Thirty-two governments joined together at Evian in seeking the means of discovering a long range solution of the problem and at this initial meeting, when the machinery was created, and at the subsequent meeting in London, when the broad principles were laid down, they pledged themselves to face the problem of involuntary emigration frankly and to find a solution, long in range and practicable in character.

The Government of the United States, in facing this problem, has at no time thought in terms of miracles; it has figured in terms of determination and hard work. It has recognised the basic facts that new homes and new lives must be found for many thousands of people. It has believed consistently that the emigration of the unwanted people from Germany can be accomplished

in an orderly and humane fashion. It has remained convinced that the rest of the world can absorb the people who must leave Germany in a manner which not only will not be injurious to the economic organization or racial composition of the countries of settlement but will actually be of benefit to them.

The Government of the United States is happy to recognize that the existence and the urgency of the problem has been admitted by the more than thirty Governments which are here represented; it is highly pleased that these Governments, far-seeing and practical of vision, have collaborated in setting up machinery which, if skilfully used, I am certain, will ultimately solve the problem with which we are faced.

The Government of the United States of America has throughout emphasized the fact that no change in the immigration laws of any participating Government is considered to be either desirable or necessary in carrying out the Committee's programme. The problem must be solved partly by infiltration in accordance with the existing laws and practices of the participating Governments and partly by discovering parts of the world which can absorb mass settlement with definite economic, social and cultural benefits.

The United States, without departing from its laws and practices, is taking involuntary emigrants from Germany at

the rate of nearly thirty thousand people a year. The applications for admission to our country are filed for more than two years in advance, and the immigrants are being admitted as rapidly as our administrative requirements will permit. In addition, many thousands of persons who have entered the United States on temporary permits are, by the executive decision of President Roosevelt, being permitted to extend their temporary permits indefinitely.

Moreover, the President, acting through his Advisory Committee, has been placing his active support behind the various schemes for settlement of persons in large numbers which have come before the Committee.

The Advisory Committee, which now has at its call a technical staff, is collaborating with the British Co-ordinating Committee in examining the possibilities of settlement in British Guiana, which the British Government ~~has~~ ^{is prepared to} opened up so generously to Jewish settlement. The Advisory Committee has sent to British Guiana an expert commission, which will collaborate with the British experts, including Dr. Edward C. Ernst, Chairman; Mr. Edward D. Hopkins, a noted sanitary engineer; Colonel Howard U. Nicholas, of the United States Army; Dr. Joseph A. Rosen, a celebrated agronomist; Mr. Emile C. Bataille, a well-known colonisation expert, and Mr. Desmond Holdridge, of the United States Government Service, as

secretary. The Advisory Committee, in collaboration with the Government of the Dominican Republic, has also made arrangements to send a technical commission to this country which has made so positive and practical an offer for the reception of large numbers of persons. The Advisory Committee has also arranged to send to the Philippines a Commission of technical experts to give practical effect to the generous offer of President Quezon to receive persons in large numbers in ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ the Commonwealth.

I shall not dwell on the contributions which private organisations and persons have made to relieve the suffering of the unfortunate people with whom we are concerned. These contributions run into tens of millions of dollars and are to me real proof of the determination of ordinary citizens in America, irrespective of politics or race or creed, to succour those who are in great need. It is proof to me that the ordinary man, Jew or Christian, is ready to bring to the support of his neighbour who is in distress the aid which is vital, the humane attitude of mind which is imperative, and the self-sacrifice which must triumph if the broad principles of justice and progress of order under law are to prevail in this world in the struggle against anarchy and chaos.

Mr. Chairman:

In behalf of my government, I wish to express my gratitude to the Government of France and to the distinguished Ambassador of France, who is affectionately remembered in my country, the President of ^{the} Foreign Relations Committee of the French Senate, Monsieur Bérenger, for the hearty collaboration that has been extended in organizing this meeting of governments which has been called on the initiative of President Roosevelt, and for the friendly interest which Monsieur Bérenger has manifested by presiding ~~at today's session.~~ I wish also to express my personal appreciation of His Excellency's many courtesies to me since my coming to the fair land of France.

MEMORANDUM ON POSSIBLE MODIFICATION OF AMERICAN
PROPOSAL WITH A VIEW TO AVOIDING CLEARLY
DUPLICATION IN THE FUNCTIONS OF THE
GOVERNING BODY OF THE EVIAN CONFERENCE
AND THOSE OF THE OFFICE OF THE PROPOSED
NEW HIGH COMMISSIONER OF THE LEAGUE OF
NATIONS.

In its services to refugees, the League of Nations has always held the concept that its actions are limited to those persons who have already left Germany including Austria. It is not likely that the Assembly of September, 1938 will depart from this concept.

In order that all questions of duplication between the office of the proposed new High Commissioner of the League of Nations and the proposed Governing Body of the Evian Conference be resolved, it is suggested that the Governing Body confine its functions to dealing with those threatened with involuntary expatriation from Germany including Austria. For purposes of brevity, these may be referred to in later documentation as German and Austrian expatriates.

This clear allocation of functions to the two complementary bodies should not be understood to preclude action by the Governing Body benefiting refugees in countries of temporary refuge taken at the request of the office of the proposed new High Commissioner. The term "potential refugees" in Germany including Austria is discarded in favor of "German and Austrian expatriates" in order to avoid the connotations unfortunately associated with the term refugees.

REPORT OF INVESTIGATION
AFTER THE DEPARTURE
OF THE SUBJECT
ON 11/11/50

It is understood on available information that the concept of refugee is unpalatable particularly to South American and Latin American Governments and that opportunities for permanent residence might be available for expatriates from Germany including Austria which would not be available for refugees.

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CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM FOR THE
AMERICAN DELEGATE.

The problems of refugees have long been the concern of the League of Nations and the special bodies created by it to improve the legal status of refugees and to facilitate their settlement in countries of permanent refuge. Efforts in these directions have inevitably proceeded slowly because of existing economic and political factors in countries from which refugees come and in those in which they must find refuge. The ensemble of the refugee problem was brought dramatically to the attention of the world when the German-Austrian Anschluss was accomplished. The creation of a new body of Austrian refugees quickened the interest of governments and publics generally in many countries in the entire problem and produced the conviction that a new imaginative and more generous approach to the problem should be developed on broader lines than had been possible heretofore under the restrictions imposed upon League bodies. Exemplifying the world-wide response to the Austrian situation, the President of the United States invited thirty-four governments to attempt this broader approach. The proposal that an inter-governmental conference called by the United States should set up a new continuing governing body to give expression to the new world response to the problem is justified on the following grounds:

- 1) The problem is of a more permanent than a temporary character. The conception under which the

League

League of Nations and its bodies have approached the problem has been that it is of a temporary nature. This is evidenced by the debates and decisions of numerous meetings of the Assembly which aimed at the liquidation of the refugee services. Liquidation was only prevented by the persistent efforts of certain governments which saw realistically that in spite of political difficulties the problem could not be disposed of by ignoring it. The action of the League Council of May, 1938 which envisaged the necessity of continuing the services for refugees gave further expression to the attitude of treating the problem as temporary by providing that the single organization proposed might be set up for a limited period. It is the hope that the Inter-Governmental Conference meeting at Evian will recognize the continuing character of the problem and organize its plans on this basis.

2) The recent actions of the German Government in Germany and in Austria which increased the numbers of refugees and the desperateness of their situation have confirmed the first reaction to the Anschluss that a new and broader approach to the problem must be undertaken. This will be provided by the governments participating in the Inter-Governmental Conference at Evian, which comprise most if not all of the countries of immigration and include many non-members of the League. Their character as countries of temporary refuge (e.g. France, Belgium, Holland and Switzerland) or of potential immigration will make possible a more unified

consideration

consideration of the problem devoid of the complicating considerations presented in the League of Nations group which contains countries of emigration as well as those of immigration.

3) The Austrian Anschluss took effect on March 11, 1938. In May, 1938, the League Council found it necessary to wait upon possible action by the Assembly of the League in September 1938. *Meantime the Council felt able only to* ~~which might~~ include Austrian refugees within the restricted competency of the office of the High Commissioner. Procedural reasons have thus, despite the desperateness of the Austrian situation, precluded immediate effective action by the League of Nations.

4) The different and special character of the Austrian situation has made imperative the consideration of the fate of potential refugees still within Austria and in Germany. The existing mandate of the Office of the High Commissioner restricts his competency to those already in a refugee state outside of Germany and Austria. The Inter-Governmental Conference meeting at Evian is free to consider the needs of refugees both within and outside Germany and Austria.

5) The new urgency created by the Austrian development demands a fresh approach to the German Government in an effort to arrange more favorable conditions of emigration than now exist. The existing terms of reference to the League's High Commissioner do not permit of an approach to the German Government. A fresh approach under the auspices of the Inter-Governmental Conference

meeting

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meeting at Evian should be attempted in an effort to change the present intolerable situation in which increased numbers of refugees now find themselves.

6) League of Nations bodies have had the largest measure of success in improving the juridical situation of refugees. Even in this area, it is significant that only seven governments have become signatories of the Geneva Convention of 1933. The Convention of February, 1938 has been signed by only four governments, and reservations to its provisions have limited its effectiveness. It is recognized that progress through the method of multi-lateral conventions is inevitably slow. Political factors always present in League activities have prevented even comparable achievements in other aspects of the problem. Psychologically, the new approach through the Evian Conference marshalling as it will new resources hitherto unapplied to the problem will provide new opportunities for gains in areas other than juridical in which existing efforts have not won conspicuous success.

7) The report of the Committee appointed to draw up a plan for international assistance to refugees adopted by the League Council in May, 1938 contained a footnote as follows:

"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".

The same report listed the High Commissioner's duties as follows:

"(a)

"(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."

These terms of reference are obviously restrictive in the light of the considerations presented in the preceding items of this memorandum. If, as is generally agreed, an inter-governmental commission should be set up to tackle the problem, it should not be restricted in its efforts to the narrower mandate of the proposed combined office of the High Commissioner. Instead, such an inter-governmental commission as is created under any auspices should be free to attack the problem on broad lines. This will be possible if the inter-governmental commission is set up under the auspices of the Evian Conference.

8) From the foregoing, it should be evident that the invitation to the Evian Conference by the United States Government was precipitated in response to the situation created by the Austrian Anschluss which dramatized the situation of refugees in such a manner that new action by governments seemed imperative. Initiative in making possible new cooperative action, particularly by countries of temporary refuge and of immigration,

was

was taken in full knowledge and appreciation of the accomplishments of the League of Nations on behalf of refugees and in a sincere desire to complement existing League efforts by marshalling under other auspices latent resources for which a new channel of expression is required.

ORGANIZATION, FUNCTIONS AND DUTIES OF GOVERNING
BODY, ITS EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND DIRECTOR.

The Governing Body should meet within a fortnight in Paris to organize the machinery for implementing the conclusions and directions of the Evian Conference, to set up its Executive Committee, and to choose its Director. The Governing Body should consist of Government members of the Evian Conference willing to participate and of those hereafter invited to participate. The Governing Body should meet quarterly after the meeting in Paris and otherwise on the call of its Chairman. The Executive Committee should consist of members from the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Brazil and the Argentine, and from other Governments as selected later. The Executive Committee should meet immediately after the meeting of the Governing Body at Paris and thereafter frequently until the work of the Governing Body is organized and functioning with acceptable momentum.

Director.

A Director should be selected who is first of all fired by the needs of refugees, has proven capacities of initiative, leadership, organizing and administrative ability, bi-lingual accomplishments, and a man who can approach successfully all governments at interest, including the Government of Germany. He should be already well-known and able to command the confidence of Governments, the public, the interested private organizations and the refugees themselves. He should be able especially

to

to work cooperatively with the Office of the High Commissioner of the League of Nations.

Expense.

The estimated expense of the Governing Body, including the salaries of the Director and staff, administrative and traveling expenses, office maintenance and supplies, should be about \$50,000 annually. This expense could be apportioned among the participating governments on a scale comparable to that used by the League of Nations and the International Labor Office. For example, the United Kingdom, France and the United States might share approximately half the expenses and other countries might contribute amounts ranging from about \$2,000 down to \$200 annually.

Functions and Duties of the Executive Committee and the Director.

The Governing Body functioning through its Executive Committee and Director should first of all consider ways and means of giving effect to the resolution passed at the Evian Conference and of carrying out its directions. As the qualifications of the Director suggest, he should assume leadership and initiative, depending upon the Executive Committee for advice and judgment and sharing with the Executive Committee his thinking and planning, and reports of action attempted or taken. In general, the Executive Committee and Director should consider every action contemplated in the light of the effect
that

that it might have in condoning the practice of certain governments of creating refugees by discrimination on political, religious, or racial grounds. While conscious of this necessity, the Executive Committee and Director should move vigorously and as quickly as possible to ameliorate the existing situation of refugees. The functions and responsibilities of the Executive Committee and Director are more specifically detailed as follows:

1. The plans and proposals submitted at the Evian Conference verbally and in writing not formally acted upon by the Conference should be digested as quickly as possible.
2. The immigration laws and procedure of the countries of temporary refuge and of potential immigration should be collected and digested. In this task the collaboration of the International Labor Office should be invited.
3. Plans for an early approach under the best possible auspices to the German Government should be developed immediately with a view to supplanting the present chaotic exodus with orderly migration. This approach should achieve cooperation between the German Government and the countries of refuge with special reference to financial arrangements facilitating the process of migration.
4. In view of the comparative urgency of the situations of different classes of refugees, it may

prove

prove wise for the Executive Committee and Director to establish certain priorities of attention. For instance, refugees in Austria may have first attention, those in Germany second, and those already in temporary refuge in contiguous countries third.

5. The capacities of countries of temporary refuge contiguous to Germany and Austria to absorb the refugees within their borders should be judiciously appraised. This should be done with the aim of determining to what extent countries of temporary refuge should be relieved of some of their refugees or be urged to accept present refugees as permanent residents.

6. As the patterns of the problem and the potential resources develop, individual governments should be approached at the opportune time to determine what areas are available for settlement, under what conditions settlement is possible and desirable, what numbers and categories of refugees can be accepted, and in brief what contributions each individual government can make toward the relief of the problem. As soon as opportunities for settlement in countries of permanent refuge are developed, consideration should be given to the possibilities of providing temporary refuge in contiguous countries for those refugees for whom plans for permanent settlement are well advanced and will eventually materialize.

7. The record of the contributions of the private organizations is impressive. In view of the fact that the funds required to operate the plans to be developed

must

must be supplied by the private bodies, it is of prime importance that the Director develop relations with the private organizations to the end that their resources be increased and applied most effectively in cooperation with government effort. Immediate attention should be given by the Director to aid the establishment of offices of information and selection in Germany and Austria. This step is an example of the need for a Director who can negotiate successfully with the authorities of the German Government.

8. New practices of governments in denationalizing citizens on racial, religious and political grounds, and of driving them across borders as refugees into other countries, disturb the friendly relations of nations and retard general appeasement. In time, international law will prevent such practices. The process of inventing and developing international legal machinery for protecting classes of minorities in the continued possession of basic human and political rights should be stimulated and speeded up. This problem of the invention of adequate legal protection should be referred to some competent international body of jurists for study and early report. Appropriate action by the Governing Body should follow the report.

9. The foregoing steps should lead to the formulation at the earliest possible date of immediate and long term plans for migration and the prompt taking of steps to put them into execution.

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DRAFT RESOLUTION

RESOLUTION TO BE ADOPTED BY THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL MEETING
AT EVIAN.

The Intergovernmental Meeting for Political Refugees

(1) Convinced, inasmuch as the problem of political refugees has assumed major proportions because of the pressure applied by certain governments against minorities (within their territorial limits) that other governments must concern themselves with the fate of these unfortunate human beings;

(2) Aware that the forced migration of large numbers of people, of every race, creed and economic condition, of every profession and of every trade, from the country or countries where they have been established is disturbing to the general economy, since these persons are obliged to seek refuge, either temporarily or permanently, in other countries at a time when there is serious unemployment, with the consequence that population problems are raised; financial, economic and humanitarian problems are presented for urgent solution, and there is a severe strain on the administrative facilities and absorptive capacities of the receiving countries;

(3) Aware, moreover, that the forced and chaotic migration

migration of peoples in large numbers gives rise to disturbances which may be termed psychological where racial and religious problems are rendered more acute, economic retaliation tends to take place against the countries which are responsible for pressure on the minority groups, the sentiment of international mistrust and suspicion is heightened and fear, which is an important obstacle to general appeasement between nations, is greatly accentuated;

(4) Believing that, in consequence, it is essential that a long-range program should be envisaged, whereby assistance to political emigrants may be coordinated within the framework of existing immigration laws and practices of the governments which participate in the Intergovernmental Committee;

(5) Welcoming heartily the initiative taken by the President of the United States in calling the Intergovernmental Meeting for Political Refugees;

(6) Bearing in mind the Resolution adopted by the Council of the League of Nations on May 14, 1938, in the

matter of political refugees;

(7) Declares that discrimination and pressure against minority groups and the disregard of elementary human rights are contrary to the accepted principles of civilization;

(8) Recommends:

(a) That the term "political refugee" shall refer to (1) persons who have not already left their country of origin 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 (2) persons as defined in (1) who have already left their country of origin and are in process of migration;

(9) (b) That the Intergovernmental Committee shall cooperate to the fullest extent with the Commission for Political Refugees to be set up by the League of Nations and, pending its consolidation with the League Commission, with the Nansen Office;

(10) (c) That the governments participating in the Intergovernmental Committee shall continue to furnish the Committee, for its strictly confidential information, (1) details regarding the number and the type of emigrants whom each government is prepared to receive under its existing laws and practices; (2) details of these laws and practices; and (3) indications of those parts of the territory of each participating

participating government which may be adapted to the settlement of immigrants;

(11) (d) That the economic and social adaptability of emigrants must be considered, together with their willingness to accept, at least for a time, changed conditions of living in the countries of settlement;

(12) (e) That the financing of political emigration should, as in the past, be the concern of private organizations and individuals;

(13) (f) That, in view of the fact that many of the political emigrants, have been obliged to leave the country of their original residence in circumstances which render impossible the production of documents usually required of emigrants, the governments which have participated in the Intergovernmental Meeting should accept

(14) (g) That there should be set up at Paris a continuing body of the Intergovernmental Committee consisting of the diplomatic representatives of the participating governments at that capital, or such other representative as any participating government may desire to designate, which will be assisted, for administrative purposes, by (a Secretariat to consist of,) the expenses of this Secretariat to be borne by the participating governments on the following basis:

(15) (h) That the Intergovernmental Committee, in its continued form, shall hold a first meeting at Paris on