

COUNCIL FOR GERMAN JEWRY

Report for 1936.

COUNCIL FOR GERMAN JEWRY. REPORT FOR 1936

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First Annual Report of the Council for German Jewry.

CONSTITUTION OF THE COUNCIL.

The issue of the Nuremberg Decrees by the Government of the Reich in September 1935, deprived the Jews in Germany of the rights of citizenship, and produced an aggravation of their social and economic distress. Following that step, the Council for German Jewry was formed early in 1936 in order to organise a greater effort of the Jewish communities of the world for the training and emigration of the young generation of German Jews, and to secure a fuller co-ordination of the work of the bodies already dealing with the problem.

During the three previous years there had been an exodus of over 80,000 Jews from Germany: and the Jewish public in many countries had been moved to a great effort on their behalf. The new decrees, however, roused those communities to a fresh endeavour to carry out a programme of regulated emigration over a period of years. Outlines of a plan were submitted by Mr. Simon Marks, and were adopted at a Meeting of the heads of the Anglo-Jewish community. The main purpose was to facilitate the departure of 25,000—mostly young—persons a year for four years, and settle them partly in Palestine, partly in countries overseas, and, in smaller measure, in Europe. To that end it was felt that a fund of £3,000,000 should be raised over the four years. The Central British Fund for German Jewry, which had been formed in 1933, was to be merged in a larger Council representing the organisations not only of England, but of other countries, and the programme was to be examined and executed by a Council in which the principal bodies dealing with the problems would be represented. A provisional Committee was constituted under the chairmanship of the Right Honourable Sir Herbert Samuel; and he, together with Lord Bearsted and Mr. Simon Marks, went to the United States in January 1936, to consult with the leaders of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and the United Palestine Appeal, the two bodies in that country mainly concerned in raising of funds for the help of German Jewry. They obtained a general basis of agreement on the common programme, which was endorsed at an Anglo-Jewish Conference held in London on March 15th, 1936.

The Council was not to replace the existing Organisations, whether in England or America or in other countries, nor to centralise the work being done for German Jewry, but rather to suggest fresh plans, to co-ordinate the action of the Organisations which were already in the field, and to raise much larger funds than had hitherto been available.

Before passing to the constitution and work of the Council it is necessary to describe briefly the organisation of Jewry in Germany and in the other countries at the beginning of 1936. The Jewish population in Germany, which in 1933 numbered some 520,000, had fallen to a little over 400,000. The age distribution was notable. Twenty per cent., or 87,000, were under the age of 20 years, and about 80,000 were between the ages of 20 and 35. 75,000 were between 36 and 45, and nearly 200,000, or 45 per cent., over 45. The community was organised in a single body, the Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland, with a view to the most efficient direction of social help. The Organisation had a Committee "for relief and reconstruction" which was concerned with education, vocational training and retraining and emigration. It raised large funds from the German Jews themselves for those purposes, but it was also a central agency for receiving the contributions of Jewries outside, and seeing to their application. It comprised three emigration agencies; the Hilfsverein der Juden in Deutschland, which was concerned with the emigration to countries overseas other than Palestine, the Palestina-Amt, which dealt with the emigration to Palestine; and the Emigration Office of the community, which was concerned with the repatriation to European countries of persons who were nationals of those other countries. During the years 1933-5 some 30,000 Jews from Germany had been settled in Palestine, about an equal number in countries overseas, and another 30,000 were in various European countries. Of those some were settled, and some who had not been absorbed were awaiting a chance of emigration.

Special Organisations had been founded for the assistance of German Jewry in England and nearly all the European countries, in Palestine and South America. The Jewish Agency for Palestine established a Central Bureau for the Settlement of German Jews which had offices both in London and in Palestine. The Jewish Colonisation Association (I.C.A.) which was concerned with the settlement of Jews principally, but not exclusively, in South America, had also taken a most active part in dealing with the problem; and the HICEM, which was the emigration instrument of the ICA and the Hebrew Immigrants' Aid Society of America, was responsible for the movement of the refugees from European countries to all parts of the world. Lastly, the Jewish Refugees Committee, established in England, carried out directly the emigration

of those who were in England. The Refugee Committees in other countries of Europe collected funds for retraining but not for emigration.

When the Council was constituted in England, in March 1936, the Executive Committee was composed, in addition to the three members who had formed the mission to America, of Dr. Weizmann, the President of the Jewish Agency, and Sir Osmond E. d'Avigdor Goldsmid, the President of the Jewish Colonisation Association and Chairman of the Central British Fund for German Jewry. That Fund, which was incorporated, remained in existence as a juridical organ. It took some months before the final arrangements were made for the representation of the American bodies on the Council, but finally the three principal organisations concerned with the problems were combined in the work of the Council and represented by five members. They were: The American Joint Distribution Committee, which had a long and remarkable record of work of relief and reconstruction in many countries since the World War: the United Palestine Appeal, which was a combination of agencies in America working for Palestine; and the Refugee Economic Corporation, a body called into being in 1935 at the instance of a few leaders of American Jewry, with a view to securing capital for constructive settlement. The American Members of the Council are: Mr. Felix M. Warburg, Chairman; Mr. Paul Baerwald, Chairman of the American Joint Distribution Committee; Mr. Charles Liebman, Vice-President of the Refugee Economic Corporation; Rabbi Stephen Wise and Mr. Morris Rothenberg, Co-Chairmen of the United Palestine Appeal. Alternates were appointed for both the British and American members who might be unable to be present at the Meetings. They were, for the British members:—Capt. The Hon. Lionel S. Montagu, D.S.O., Lionel L. Cohen, K.C., Professor S. Brodetsky, M.A., Ph.D., Professor L. B. Namier, M.A., and for the American members:—Mr. James de Rothschild, M.P., Mr. David Bressler, Mr. James N. Rosenberg, Mr. George S. Backer, Mr. Nathan Straus, Rev. M. L. Perlzweig, M.A., Dr. Israel Goldstein, Captain Robert B. Solomon.

The Council appointed the following Officers: as Treasurers: Capt. the Hon. Lionel Montagu and Col. F. D. Samuel; as Honorary Directors of Training and Emigration: Sir Wyndham Deedes and Professor Norman Bentwich; as Honorary Secretary: Mr. Joseph L. Cohen, who had taken a large part in formulating the original plan, and as Joint Secretaries, Mr. L. Bakstansky and Mr. M. Stephany, who had shared the same office in the Central British Fund for German Jewry.

Before the arrangements for the combined Council were completed the English members of the Executive kept in close touch with the American bodies, not only through correspondence, but through the occasional presence of the heads of those bodies at meetings of the Council in

London, and through the regular attendance of the European Directors of the American Joint Distribution Committee, Dr. Bernhard Kahn and Dr. D. J. Schweitzer. A liaison with the German Organisations was secured through the attendance at Council meetings of the heads of the Organisations when in England; and the London Director of the Central Bureau for the Settlement of German Jews in Palestine, Dr. Martin Rosenblueth, was usually present. Lastly, several conferences were held between the members of the Executive and delegates of the principal European Organisations. The heads of the Committee in Belgium, Professor E. Speyer and M. M. Gottschalk, who agreed to transfer to the Council funds collected in that country, subject to the retention of the part required for local needs, were also invited to meetings when in England. In these ways the Council contrived to be a faithful representative of the main interests concerned and to collaborate effectively with them.

COLLECTION OF FUNDS.

Of the £3,000,000 which, it was estimated, would be required for the execution of the plan, one-third was to be raised in Great Britain and the British Dominions, and two-thirds in America. In England a system of payments spread over a period of years was widely adopted by the donors of the larger sums. Consequently during the year 1936 nearly four-fifths of the total aimed at for the four years, namely £800,000, was given or pledged in Great Britain and the Dominions. Central and local appeal committees were formed to carry out the collection, which was started simultaneously by an appeal in all the synagogues on the first day of Passover. There was a response to the call for a special appeal in Australia and New Zealand, but the funds raised were, with the agreement of the Council, reserved for use in the countries of collection. In the United States the A.J.D.C. and the U.P.A. retained the system of an annual drive, which had been practised for all their purposes. It was agreed that they should allocate to the cause of German Jewry that part of their collection not required for their other normal needs, and consult with the Council as to the use. The third American partner, the Refugee Economic Corporation, was organised on a business basis with a subscribed capital, and it was agreed that, in consultation with the Council, it should allocate as large a part of its resources as possible to facilitate plans of settlement where there was a fair prospect of ultimate repayment. The Refugee Committees in the European countries, France, Holland, etc., continued to raise funds in their communities for the needs of German Jewry, but these funds, except in Belgium, were inadequate to meet all the local demands, and they turned to the Council or to one or other of its constituent members for assistance.

The allocation of the funds collected in 1936 was made separately by the British and American Organisations until the Council was finally constituted after the middle of the year. Thereafter, allocation was made by the bodies in close consultation.

WORK IN GERMANY.

The most striking feature of the year was the great impulse to emigration. The estimated figures of those who left in 1936 with or without assistance are roughly 24,000, of whom—
9,000 went to Palestine,
10,000 to other countries overseas,
1,500 to European countries for fresh settlement, and
3,800 were repatriated to European countries to which they belonged.

The emigration overseas was several times greater than in the previous years. And while immigration in Palestine generally was less than half that in 1935, the number of Jews from Germany admitted was higher, and their proportion in the total immigration was more than double that of 1935. There is no doubt that the increased emigration was in large measure due to the help of the Council. Of the 24,000 persons who left, about 14,000 were assisted by the different emigration bodies. It was notable that the monthly figures showed a marked increase during the second half of the year when the contribution from the Council became available. They rose to over 500 a month for the emigrants to countries overseas, and 300-400 a month for those going to Palestine; and at least 200 a month went to European countries. No exact records can be obtained of either the departures or the destinations of those who emigrated without the assistance of the Organisations. But the total figure of 10,000 is arrived at by the experience of the German Organisations as well as by their estimate of the Jewish population at the end of the period. The total sum made available by the Council towards the cost of transportation direct from Germany was £80,000.

The Council assisted also the work of retraining and training in Germany for agricultural and manual work. The retraining was organised for young men and women between the ages of 20 and 35 who were previously engaged in a commercial or liberal profession, and were preparing for a different occupation in a country of emigration; the training was for the boys and girls leaving the elementary schools, to fit them for a productive life in another country. The number of persons retrained was considerably diminished during the year because the emigration programme, particularly to Palestine, provided a place for 2,000 or more who had completed their course. On the other hand the number of boys and girls who had to be placed in training centres, or appren-

ticed, increased by 2,000, who left school in April 1936. Thus the number retrained was halved from 3,500 to 1,700, while the number trained was doubled from 2,500 to 5,000. About half are prepared for work on the land and half for skilled trades. The Directors of Emigration of the Council, together with Mr. Peter Scott who has had great experience of the training enterprises for the unemployed in England, visited the centres in Germany, and were deeply impressed by the method and devoted spirit which reigned. They made certain suggestions about the conduct of the training which were adopted by the German body.

It becomes continually more difficult in Germany to arrange for the apprenticing of the young persons, because "Aryan" farmers or masters are no longer allowed to accept Jewish pupils, and the number of Jewish farmers and masters is limited. Consequently it has been necessary to increase the collective training centres established by the communities. This is done with the greatest possible economy; but the sums required from the central organisation in Germany for these purposes amounted for the year altogether to 800,000 Marks (roughly £50,000). The greater part of that sum was obtained from the grant of the Council to the Reichsvertretung.

The American Joint Distribution Committee allocated its part of the contribution to Germany in the following proportions:—

- 30% for training and retraining,
- 25% for emigration,
- 20% for elementary and higher schools,
- 15% for social assistance, and
- 10% for other social services.

Among other forms of assistance it granted a substantial sum to the Central organisation for loan funds, which has now 68 branches in 58 communities. The contribution from the British section and from the ICA was allocated entirely for emigration and training.

TRAINING OUTSIDE GERMANY

In addition to those following vocational courses in Germany, nearly 1,000 young men and women were placed by the Reichsvertretung for such training in centres in adjoining European States, particularly in Holland, Denmark, Luxembourg, France, Poland, Italy, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. The greater part, nearly 80 per cent., were engaged in land work, and were apprenticed to the farmers or peasants of the country. The cost of the training to the German Organisation is very low, and averages per head about £1 a month. The local Jewish community in nearly every case makes a contribution, and the pupil receives board and lodging from the master in consideration of his work. The expendi-

ture incurred is for supervision and clothing, and for language instruction to prepare the pupil for life in another country. A subvention for these services has been provided by the Council, and last year amounted to £12,000.

The Directors of Emigration visited several of the centres; and Mr. Adler-Rudel, who supervises the whole activity, made a tour of all the countries. The life of the young apprentices, particularly in Luxembourg, Poland and Italy is Spartan. They live in the hard conditions of the local peasants. It is the aim to arrange as far as possible for those training to spend one year in this apprenticeship, and one year in a collective centre in Germany or elsewhere. Nearly one-third of those placed for training abroad are foreign subjects or stateless persons who are not allowed to enjoy the opportunities of training in Germany.

Another system of training outside Germany is found in the farm school, "Werkdorp" in Wieringen, Holland, situated in an area reclaimed from the Zuyder Zee, which has been leased by the Netherlands Government to the Jewish Committee for a period of years. Of the 150 pupils some have a thorough preparation in agriculture and horticulture, and others in industrial work. The pupils are derived, half from Germany and half from refugees in Holland and other countries. Most of them pay a fee, and the Dutch community provide the costs of maintenance, but the British section of the Council and the A.J.D.C., each made a contribution of £1,000 towards capital expenditure for permanent buildings which were constructed by a section of the pupils. During the year a large part of the pupils who completed their course emigrated and were settled partly in Palestine and partly in countries overseas.

There are other excellent training enterprises for young persons amongst the refugees in European countries. In France a body of the kind known before as Agriculture et Artisanat, which had worked well for over two years, was reorganised and succeeded in placing about 100 young men in Government workshops and technical schools. Most of the funds required were raised in the French community; but the Joint Distribution Committee gave its aid. Another enterprise of the kind in France, consisting of classes for skilled trades for men and women, was organised by the ORT,—an international body concerned with technical training for Jews—not specifically for German refugees, but attended by a considerable proportion of Jews from Germany. A number of young men from Germany were placed also in the technical schools of the ORT in Europe. The contributions which were received by the Council in England earmarked for the ORT assisted the maintenance of these centres.

In England some 150 of the refugees were assisted by the Committee to obtain vocational training. In previous years a small number had been placed in a County Agricultural School. That activity, however, was not continued; and in 1936 efforts were concentrated on apprenticeship for skilled trades. The Refugee Committee altogether spent a sum of £2,500 for these purposes.

SCHOOLS

One of the main concerns of the Central Organisation in Germany is the assistance and enlargement of the Jewish School system. That has been rendered necessary because of the segregation of Jewish children in the public schools and the mental and physical oppression to which they are subjected. Owing in large measure to the contributions of the A.J.D.C., the Jewish system has been continuously expanded, to provide for over half of the boys and girls of school age, as against less than one-fifth in 1933. Separate schools for all the Jewish children had to be established in one State, Baden. In other places the Organisation had to provide for the transport of Jewish children from the remotest places to centres in which Jewish schools exist. As above mentioned, part of the American contribution is specifically allocated for the assistance of schools.

PLACING OF CHILDREN

In U.S.A., England and other countries there has been a growing movement to bring out young children of school age for education in an atmosphere free from bitterness and hate. In England last year a Children's Inter-Aid Committee was organised to bring together the different agencies that were concerned with this form of constructive help. The Council made a grant towards the administrative expenses of the Committee which serves both non-Jewish and Jewish children, and which was successful during the year in placing for education nearly 100 children in English homes and schools, besides organising holiday camps for some hundreds. In America the Committee has been successful in placing altogether 250 children in American Jewish homes, and is continuing the effort. It has made preparation for placing another 100. The movement is spreading now to some of the British Dominions. Reference is made later to the emigration of children which is directed to Palestine.

A number of children and young persons have been placed by their families in English schools and colleges, and in several schools which have been established in the country specially for children from Germany. This work is rendered possible by the Exchange Clearing system,

through which funds allocated by the Council to the Jewish body in Germany for training, emigration, etc., are used to pay the fees of students abroad, a corresponding sum—with a substantial addition,—being paid by the family of the student in Germany to the Jewish organisation. In this way the funds contributed for purposes in Germany do double service, assisting both the training and emigration there, and the training and education abroad.

The Council made a direct contribution of £500 to the International Student Service on account of the admirable work which they have done and are still doing to enable students of exceptional capacity to continue higher studies in colleges outside Germany, and a larger number of students to be trained in technical callings.

It is not possible to give an estimate of the total number of young persons from Germany who by these means have been able to receive an elementary or higher education abroad. But the figures of those for whom the Exchange Clearing system is utilised are in England approximately 350. The American Joint Distribution Committee of America has helped the British section by making available to it for clearing purposes a portion of its contribution to Germany; and during the year its service in this connection assisted over 3,000 cases in 23 countries.

EMIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT

1. PALESTINE

It is one of the primary aims of the Council to secure, not only the regulated emigration of the Jews from Germany, but also their permanent settlement and absorption in the countries to which they turn, so as to prevent the emigration from starting fresh problems. It was recognised that among the first tasks before the Council in the Spring of 1936 was to find a place of settlement for two or three thousand young men and women who had been trained in Germany and outside for agricultural and technical work and were awaiting the opportunity of emigration. It was necessary at once to free the places in the training centres for fresh students, and also to provide a permanent home for those who had been trained. A country in which group emigration was possible must be found; and both the German Organisation and the Central Bureau for the Settlement of German Jews in Palestine put forward plans for the absorption of a large number in existing Jewish settlements in Palestine. The Council accordingly agreed to appropriate funds for two classes of settlers—

1. those who, having completed training, could be placed as agriculturists in the villages and co-operative farms by means of a

subvention which would allow for the extension and consolidation of the settlements; and

2. young persons who should complete their training in agricultural groups or in agricultural and technical schools, and thereafter remain in the country.

For the first class the Council allocated provisionally a sum of £150,000, being £100 a head for 1,500 settlers, and for the second class £60,000, being a contribution of £60 a head in respect of two years training. The Jewish Agency made application to the Government of Palestine for certificates. The Government granted in May, 1,200 certificates for settlers, of which 300 were for married couples, and during the year the whole of these were taken up. The money allocated by the Council is used for the specific purposes of housing, irrigation and adding to the assets of the settlements. Only a part of it has so far been expended, but the whole will be used during this year as the settlement of the 1,500 already there is completed. As regards the other class, some 700 students' certificates were granted by the Government by the end of the year, and the young men and women were distributed, partly in agricultural settlements and the centres of the Women's International Zionist Organisation, partly in special schools for agricultural and technical work such as Ben Shemen, and "Ahava," and partly in the established institutions such as the Technical School in Haifa, the Bezalel Crafts School and the Musical Conservatoire in Jerusalem. A notable addition to the technical schools was made by the construction during the year, with funds derived from Germany itself, of a school at Yagur, as a memorial to Dr. Ludwig Tietz. The Government granted 60 students' Certificates for the school, and the students arrived at the beginning of 1937.

The work of extending the training opportunities in Palestine has not been impaired by the unrest in the country.

CHILDREN'S IMMIGRATION

Side by side with the placing of young men and women in Palestine the movement known as the Youth Immigration (Aliya) has proceeded vigorously. It was started, some two years before the establishment of the Council, by a special Organisation, which has its committees of devoted women in several countries. It selects older children between the ages of 14 and 17 in Germany, and, after a short preparation there, sends them out with special guidance to Palestine to receive their general and vocational education together in the land which is to be their home. The total number of children so placed is now over 1,600. They were distributed in thirty agricultural settlements, in the Children's Village

of Ben Shemen, where now 150 of the 300 pupils are from Germany, in the School Ahava in Haifa Bay, in a Home for Orthodox Girls in Jerusalem, and in two urban groups for orthodox boys. Preparations are being made to establish a special training farm for orthodox children. The Organisation makes its own collection and receives moral but not financial help from the Council. The Refugee Economic Corporation of America, anxious to assist the work, has allocated a sum of 75,000 Dollars as a loan for new housing required for the children. The arrangements for the loan had not been completed at the end of the year; but it is hoped that they will be successfully concluded in the near future.

CREDITS FOR IMMIGRANTS

One other form of settlement assistance in Palestine which was proposed to the Council in April was the facilitation of urban immigration by the provision of credits for small industrialists and artisans, and for those who required some additional capital for small-holdings in the suburbs. The disturbances in Palestine prevented the realisation of this part of the plan; and the Council agreed late in the year to utilise about half of the funds originally appropriated for credits to existing German-Jewish settlers and for social work which was required for some of the 40,000 who had entered Palestine during the last 3½ years. The unappropriated part of the allocation for urban settlement as well as for training, totalling £26,900, is at the disposal of the Council.

The Council can take satisfaction in the fact that during the year 8,000-9,000 persons were able to find a home in Palestine. Of the allocated fund of £250,000, £50,000 were provided by the U.P.A. and £25,000 by the German Keren Hayesod, the rest by the British section. By the end of 1936 the number of Jews from Germany who had been established in Palestine since 1933 was about 40,000.

ORGANISATIONS OF IMMIGRANTS

The assistance of the Council to settlement in Palestine was conducted through the Central Bureau which had in its turn as one of its principal instruments an association of the German immigrants themselves. That body opened offices for the advice of the newcomers, instituted courses of vocational and linguistic training in the towns and villages, and established a special co-operative credit institution through which part of the loan fund from the Council was administered.

The Co-operative Credit Association has its centre at Tel Aviv, with branches at Jerusalem and Haifa. It comprises 1,600 members and has a paid-up capital of £3,700. During the year it granted 752

loans to the total amount of over £17,000. In addition the Central Bureau lent the immigrants through other credit institutions a sum of £10,000. The average number of persons assisted with some form of social relief was over 300 a month. Many families whose heads, on account of their age or circumstances, were not fitted to undergo vocational training for manual labour, received small loans, from £10 to £20, to enable them to purchase stock or to be trained in existing industrial and business enterprises.

JEWISH NATIONAL FUND

The Jewish National Fund, to which earmarked contributions in England amounting to nearly £23,000 were made during the year, was enabled to purchase important areas of land for the settlement of German Jews. The land on which the holders of the special Certificates were placed was held on lease from the Fund; and in several cases means were given for extending the areas of the settlements.

II. EMIGRATION OVERSEAS

The emigration to countries overseas, which showed remarkable expansion during 1936, was widely distributed. A larger number than in previous years went to the United States, where the obtaining of guarantees of maintenance from near relations was more thoroughly pursued. The National Co-ordinating Committee in America, which included representatives of a large number of philanthropic organisations, rendered constructive aid to the new arrivals in many forms. It organised classes in English, carried on a vigorous decentralising activity so as to prevent concentration in the principal towns; established local committees in many places, obtained loans for the establishment of immigrants in professional and other callings; and had a special committee to arrange adoption of children.

The principal countries in South America to which the Germans turned were Brazil, Argentine and Uruguay. As in the case of Palestine and the United States, a proportion went unassisted, but on their arrival required the help of the local committees in establishing themselves. The existing organisations created by the HICEM in South American countries for the aid of emigrants were strengthened in the principal places, such as Buenos Aires and Monte Video, by committees of the Hilfsverein Deutschsprechender Juden. These bodies, composed of German Jews already established in the country, helped the newcomers to adjust themselves. In Buenos Aires, also, the Hilfsverein organised a special activity to give clerks and commercial employees a knowledge of the language and local conditions. The Council voted a sum of

£2,000 for the extension of this work. Immigrants who had a skilled trade had little difficulty in finding work; but it was otherwise with those who had been engaged in commerce. The Refugee Economic Corporation of America has undertaken systematic action with a view to furthering industrial enterprises amongst the German settlers. It appropriated a sum of 100,000 Dollars in the first place, and sent to Buenos Aires a Director with knowledge of the country and the language, who works in close touch with the local committees. The Corporation also put at the disposal of the HICEM the sum of 10,000 Dollars for the temporary assistance of the newcomers. The ICA, besides providing funds for the Reception Committees of the HICEM, organised definite settlement on the land in Argentine for some 123 families who had farm experience in Germany. In the first place a score of families were planted in the Colony Avigdor; in the other cases one or two young men of the family went out to prepare the land. The ICA, together with the Refugee Economic Corporation, is organising a new settlement of small holders in Brazil near the capital; and both in Brazil and the Argentine a small number of young men were placed for agricultural training in the older settlements.

An emigration of smaller numbers was directed towards the countries on the western side of South America; particularly to Chili, Ecuador and Colombia. Committees were founded in the three countries for the assistance of the new arrivals; and are in close touch with the Hilfsverein in Germany and the HICEM.

Another outlet during 1936 for overseas settlement was the Union of South Africa. The year saw some increase in the emigration both assisted and unassisted. The leaders of a Parliamentary group used the increased movement to start an agitation in the Union for placing fresh restrictions on immigration. A change in the regulations was made as from November 1st, by which the financial guarantee of a resident in the country would no longer be accepted, and every person landing was required to be in possession of a substantial sum in cash. Subsequently the Organisations were compelled to discourage further departures save for those who had both a definite calling and an adequate sum for their establishment. Possibilities were explored in Kenya and Rhodesia for a few skilled emigrants.

The Australian Commonwealth and the Dominion of New Zealand received a few emigrants during the year. Two members of the Refugee Committee in England, Mr. Lawrence Nathan and Mr. Dennis Cohen, have been helpful in securing an effort on the part of the Jewish communities in those Dominions for placing selected young men. The Committees in Australia will be responsible for assisting each individual sent

out; and the sums which have been raised for the Council in the Commonwealth are to be used for the assistance of their settlement. The Refugee Economic Corporation of America also has appropriated a sum to aid the settlement in the Commonwealth.

The Overseas emigration from Germany was distributed to many other countries besides those mentioned, and indeed was extended to almost every country in the World.

ESTABLISHMENT IN EUROPE

Besides the increased emigration overseas, there was during the year an increased movement to countries in Europe, both those adjoining Germany and those more remote. A large part only sojourned there until they could emigrate further; but in Italy some persons with small capital were able to be established because of special exchange arrangements during the Abyssinian War. The juridical conditions in France, where many of the original refugees of 1933 were still resident, greatly improved, and in virtue of the Inter-Governmental Arrangement (which is referred to later) it was possible for many to regularise their position. In England the Refugee Committee was successful in obtaining permits to work for individuals who had a reasonable prospect of economic activity. At the same time it enlarged its programme of emigration so as to keep some proportion between newcomers arriving and those leaving the country. During the year it spent the sum of £22,000 on the maintenance of those in need, £8,000 on emigration, £4,500 on loans for establishment, and £2,500 on training.

On the other hand, the conditions in Spain of the 2,000 Jews who had taken refuge there became precarious, and hundreds were removed or made their way to Italy, France and other countries. It was necessary to take measures for their assistance. The HICEM and the A.J.D.C. combined in this emergency work, which will have to be maintained for some time.

In several European countries the burden of maintaining the refugees in their midst was greater than could be borne by the local community. Following their past practice, assistance was given by the A.J.D.C. to the Committees in France, Holland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Yugoslavia and Italy; and small contributions were made by the British section in one or two cases. The Committees in Belgium and Holland, with the help of the Chairman of the Council and Lord Bearsted, made a fresh effort to raise funds; and the former Committee was able not only to provide for the needs in Belgium, but also to make a contribution of £2,000 to the general fund. In France the Comité

National, which had been formed in the summer of 1933, was dissolved; but a new committee for the assistance of Jewish refugees was created, and raised a substantial sum, to which the A.J.D.C. added an equivalent amount. During its first six months it dealt with some 600 cases, and gave relief or constructive help in most of them. The Joint Reconstruction Foundation, a credit institution created by the A.J.D.C. and the ICA, provided loan funds in several European centres for the assistance of the refugees; and the Refugee Economic Corporation gave assistance, especially in overseas countries. The latter Organisation has appropriated for loan funds in European centres 50,000 Dollars, in South Africa 20,000 Dollars, in the Argentine 50,000 Dollars, and in the United States 11,000 Dollars. Amongst other grants it appropriated 4,000 Dollars for the Danish Refugee Committee to assist the establishment of several intellectual refugees in that country.

Another branch of the emigration from Germany consisted of the "repatriation" of foreign subjects and stateless persons. When it was impossible for them to remain in Germany they were sent with the aid of the Reichsvertretung to their country of origin. The total figure of those assisted in this way was 3,844, of whom the largest number (1,398) were sent to Poland.

ACADEMIC AND INTELLECTUAL REFUGEES

One of the most remarkable efforts in the assistance of German Jewry since 1933 has been that of academic bodies in different countries on behalf of academic and other intellectual exiles who had been deprived of their posts in Germany and forced to leave the country. In England the Academic Assistance Council, of which Lord Rutherford is the President, dealt equally with Jews and non-Jews. There was also the Professional Committee, a Jewish body in London, which was concerned particularly with those intellectuals who were not academic teachers. The Central British Fund made a block contribution to both these bodies; and the British section of the Council followed that example. The grant was £2,500 in each case. The Academic Assistance Council, which raised during the year from the general public £10,000, and has now been reconstituted as the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning, has been instrumental in placing permanently 83, and temporarily 137, German exiles in Great Britain. The Professional Committee during the year found places for 22 of those who were hitherto receiving help, and made maintenance or other grants to 40 more. Further, it placed 15 persons during the year in positions without grants. The British section of the Council made a grant to the Hebrew University in Jerusalem for the special budget of the University for 23 German Professors and Lecturers who had been appointed permanently or tem-

porarily in the University. The Council also made a grant to the Central Bureau established by the Jewish Agency for loans to scientists and men of learning who were to be enabled by the temporary help to establish themselves in Palestine. In America the Emergency Committee for Displaced Scholars, which derives its funds from special sources, and does not require a contribution from the Council, continued its work. Another body which has derived its funds by its own appeal is an international Committee for placing Intellectual Refugees, with a centre at Geneva. The A.J.D.C. assists that Committee, and also a Committee for Intellectuals in France.

THE JURIDICAL POSITION OF THE REFUGEES

At the beginning of 1936 Mr. James G. McDonald, who had been appointed by the Council of the League of Nations in October 1933 as High Commissioner for the Refugees (Jewish and other) coming from Germany, resigned his Office. The Council of the League at its meeting in January decided to appoint a new High Commissioner who would be directly responsible to the League, and was to render an account to the Assembly in September about the problem. He was, among other things, to summon an Inter-Governmental Conference which should endeavour to draw up a definite agreement of the States concerned about the juridical status of the refugees. The Advisory Council, which had been formed by Mr. McDonald of representatives of the principal organisations working for the refugees both Jewish and non-Jewish, was not maintained. But the new High Commissioner, Major General Sir Neill Malcolm, who was appointed in February 1936, invited the Council for German Jewry to convene a non-official body with representatives of the principal Jewish and non-Jewish Organisations which would be a link between him and them. The body was formed under the chairmanship of Sir Herbert Samuel, and submitted recommendations to the Inter-Governmental Conference which was held in July. One of the directors of Emigration of the Council and a representative of the A.J.D.C. attended as observers that Conference, which succeeded in drawing up an "Arrangement" concerning permits of residence and documents of travel and restrictions on the expulsion of refugees. The "Arrangement" was adopted straightway by Great Britain, France, Belgium, Denmark and Norway, and subsequently by other countries, and has led to a distinct improvement in the legal position of the refugees in several continental States. The League Assembly in September 1936 received a report from the High Commissioner in which he recommended the maintenance of the Office for a further period of two years. During that time the "Arrangement" should be converted into a regular international convention, and enlarged so as to cover rights of social assistance and the right to work. To that end another Inter-Governmental Conference

will be held. The cost of the Office is borne by the League of Nations. The High Commissioner, who was re-appointed by the Assembly in September, is concerned principally with the juridical conditions of the refugees, and with negotiations with Governments about permits to enter and permits to work. He helps also in the co-ordination of the efforts of the different Refugee Organisations; and to this end he has constituted a Liaison Committee of representatives of Organisations, Jewish and non-Jewish. His office, which has been established in London, is in constant contact with the office of the Council. The Council would like to record its gratitude to the High Commissioner for his assistance in one of the important aspects of the problem of the refugees.

CONCLUSION

The Council has realised in the first year of its work the broad lines of its programme. That was only possible through the devotion and co-operation of many Bodies and individuals whose services the Council gratefully acknowledges. Its activity has given a stimulus to the emigration from Germany and to the training enterprises in that country and elsewhere. It has helped also to secure fuller co-ordination of the activities of the Jewish bodies in England, the continent of Europe and America. It is fully realised, however, that only one-quarter of the task set has been accomplished. The work is being continued on the same lines this year, and there is every prospect of more complete co-ordination now that the Council has been fully constituted and the relations between the British, the American and the Continental bodies have been worked out by experience. The training of the young men and women and the children leaving school is proceeding systematically in Germany and in other countries. The Council will have to assist the German body to enlarge it again this year, on account of the further 2,000 boys and girls who will finish their general education. The consolidation of the existing agricultural groups in Palestine, and the settlement on the soil of fresh groups of the young persons who have had their training there must be undertaken. The emigration which has found its way to South America and North America must be assisted with credit facilities to establish itself in the economic life of the countries. The pressure to leave Germany does not diminish, and is likely to be aggravated as the methodical and relentless squeezing of Jews out of the few intellectual callings in which they still practise and out of the general economic life is maintained. The community in Germany is steadily impoverished; and while it strives to maintain its internal institutions, it must have the help of the Council for the training and settlement of the young generation. If the work well begun during 1936 is to be maintained in the proper measure during 1937, there is need for larger funds to be obtained in the English-speaking communities of Jews.

The sum which was set as the goal in the original project, namely, £750,000 a year for four years, is the minimum required for the orderly carrying out of the plan. We are still a considerable way from that sum for this year, and we are threatened with the necessity of slowing down the programme and falling short of the achievement of 1936 unless there is a fresh response. We realise that many generous donors have undertaken obligations to the Council for a number of years. But there are many who made a contribution only for one year, or who may be able and willing to increase their annual contribution. To them we turn with confidence that they will enable the record of work for 1937 not to fall below the record which is now presented.

HERBERT SAMUEL,
Chairman.

25th May, 1937.

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FINANCIAL SUMMARY

The amounts contributed in 1936, by the various bodies comprised in the Council for the assistance of German Jewry, were as follows:—

British Section of the Council for German Jewry	£302,000
American Joint Distribution Committee	210,000
Jewish Colonisation Association	68,000
United Palestine Appeal of America	50,000
Keren Hayesod, Germany	25,000
	<hr/>
	£655,000

This sum was appropriated as follows:—

For work in Germany, including training and retraining, social welfare, emigration to all countries and repatriation from Germany, and vocational training outside Germany	£176,000
For the settlement of German Jews in Palestine, including contributions earmarked for the purchase of land through the Keren Kayemeth Leisrael	275,500
For the maintenance of refugees in countries outside Germany, their vocational training and retraining and emigration	204,000
	<hr/>
	£655,500

FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF THE BRITISH SECTION FOR
PERIOD ENDED 31st DECEMBER, 1936.

During the period from the 1st March, 1936, when the Council for German Jewry commenced its operations, up to the 31st December, 1936, the total amount promised towards the appeal made by the British Section was £730,000. Of this over £550,000 has been promised under Covenants for seven years. The cash received during the period under review amounted to £135,106. 11. 6d. We received the sum of £354. 0. 8d. from our Bankers for interest on money placed on deposit. The total sum received by way of contributions and interest, therefore, amounted to £135,460. 12. 2d.

The allocations made by the British Section of the Council for German Jewry for the transport of emigrants from and their training in Germany, and for emigration from other countries, amounted to £50,500. 10. 0d.; and the sum of £7,000 was voted for the training in refugee countries. £814. 16. 0d. was voted towards the travelling and administrative expenses of the Hilfsverein in Germany and a special grant of £1,500 was made for the provision of Kosher Meat for Jewish Institutions in Germany.

Towards the settlement of emigrants from Germany in Palestine, including the training of agriculturists in that country and the provision of sums for credits and social service, the British Section of the Council made votes amounting to £175,000; and for the placing of German Professors in the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and in other colleges, the sum of £2,474. 4. 6d. has been allocated, of which £274. 4. 6d. had been received by the Council earmarked for this purpose.

The Council received in cash the sum of £10,738. 18. 1d., on account of donations earmarked for the purchase of land in Palestine through the Jewish National Fund, and in accordance an agreement with the Keren Hayesod made in order to avoid separate appeals the British Section has set aside the sum of £28,000 to cover the normal income of the Keren Hayesod in London for the year.

For the maintenance of German Refugees at present in England, for the assistance in this country of Academic exiles and those who were engaged in the liberal professions, for the provision of publicity and in-

vestigation, and for special cases of employment of Professors at Universities in this country, the Council made votes amounting in all to £33,047. 11. 3d. In addition, the sum of £15,000 was provided during the first part of 1936 by the Central British Fund for German Jewry, for the work of the Jewish Refugees Committee in London.

The British Section of the Council for German Jewry also made grants amounting to £4,500 towards the relief and re-establishment of Refugees from Germany in various countries, such as Holland, Poland, Jugoslavia, South America, Roumania, Austria and Italy, while the sum of £4,000 has been received earmarked for the possible establishment of German Refugees in a specific enterprise in South America.

The British Section of the Council also received the sum of £165. 15. 11d. during the period under review, earmarked for the work of the Ort-Oze on behalf of German Refugees in various countries.

The total commitments of the British Section of the Council entered into during the period ending 31st December 1936, amounted to £317,916. 15. 9d., of which £148,082. 19. 2d. had been paid during the period under review, leaving commitments outstanding at the 1st January 1937, amounting to £169,833. 16. 7d.

In addition, the administrative expenses of the Council amounted to the sum of £6,042. 17. 7d. These expenses included the cost of advertising, expenses of Appeal Meetings, collecting and the administration of the Fund, and also a sum of £503. 8. 4d. for stamps on covenants executed by contributors to the fund.

As the Council received the sum of £135,460. 12. 2d. and as the total sum expended amounted to £154,125. 17. 3d., there was an actual excess of expenditure over receipts during the period under review amounting to £18,665. 5. 1d. In addition to this sum, the Council advanced to the Jewish National Fund, to enable it to make an advantageous purchase of land while the opportunity existed, a sum of £5,261. 1. 11d. in excess of the contributions received by the Council up to the 31st December 1936, which were earmarked for the purchase of land through the Fund.

In order that the work of financing emigration and settlement might go on although the Council had not yet received the whole amount promised, certain benefactors of the Fund made loans to the Council free of interest.

The cash position, therefore, is as follows:—

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Contributions received				135,106.	11.	6
Bank Interest received				354.	0.	8
Loans received				124,323.	13.	7
				<hr/>		
				£259,784.	5.	9
Expenditure incurred	154,125.	17.	3			
Less Expenses unpaid	318.	17.	4			
	<hr/>					
			153,806.	19.	11	
Advanced to the Jewish National Fund	5,261.	1.	11	159,068.	1.	10
	<hr/>					
Balance				£100,716.	3.	11

which sum is held by our Bankers as to £96,426. 3. 6d. for the general purposes of the Council and £4,290. 0. 5d. earmarked for special purposes.

Since the close of the period dealt with by this Report, the British Section has assumed commitments for the year 1937 amounting approximately to £194,000. The outstanding commitments as at 1st January 1937, amount to £169,833, making the total sum which will have to be found in cash in 1937 £363,633. Towards this we have in hand approximately £100,000, so that during the year it will be necessary for the Council to find cash amounting to £250,000. The Treasurers and the Executive earnestly hope that all persons who have promised contributions will make payment of the amounts promised as early as possible. As mentioned before, certain benefactors have made loans to the Council free of interest, and an extension of this practice would be of great help to the Treasurers.

Included in the contributions received by the Council is the sum of £2,000 paid in by the Belgian Committee from their collections; but no account is taken in this statement of the collections made in Australia and New Zealand which will be retained by the Committees in these countries for the maintenance of immigrants sent there. From the latest information received, it would appear that approximately £25,000 has been collected in the States of the Australian Commonwealth and £2,000 in New Zealand.

Central British Fund for German Jewry—Council for German Jewry.

Income and Expenditure Account for the period from 1st March to 31st December, 1936.

	Payments.	COMMITMENTS		Outstanding at 1st Jan. 1937
		31st Dec. 1936	1st Jan. 1937	
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
TO DISTRIBUTIONS				
GERMANY				
Zentralausschuss des Deutschen Juden ... ..	...Emigration from and training in Germany	21,600 10 0	31,100 10 0	9,500 0 0
American Joint Distribution Committee ... ..	...Training outside Germany	7,000 0 0	7,000 0 0	— — —
H. I. C. E. M. ... ..	...Emigration from Countries other than Germany	14,000 0 0	14,000 0 0	— — —
Hilfsverein der Juden in Deutschland ... ..	...Emigration to South Africa	5,500 0 0	5,500 0 0	— — —
-do- ... ..	...Travelling and Administrative Expenses	325 0 0	814 16 0	489 16 0
Reichszentrale (Shechita) Berlin ... ..	...Kosher Meat for Jewish Institutions in Germany	1,500 0 0	1,500 0 0	— — —
PALESTINE				
Jewish Agency (Central Bureau for Settlement of German Jews) ... ..	...Houses, and Equipment for German Immigrants	35,000 0 0	105,000 0 0	70,000 0 0
-do- ... ..	...Training for Agriculture	8,500 0 0	42,000 0 0	33,500 0 0
-do- ... ..	...Credits and Social Services	1,000 0 0	28,000 0 0	27,000 0 0
Hebrew University, Jerusalem ... ..	...Employment of German Professors	100 0 0	2,300 0 0	2,200 0 0
Keren Hayesod ... ..	...Purchase of Land	18,301 15 3	28,000 0 0	9,698 4 9
Jewish National Fund ... ..	...Earmarked Funds	150 0 0	174 4 6	24 4 6
Displaced University Professors ... ..	...Relief of Refugees	19,137 0 6	25,137 0 6	6,000 0 0
ENGLAND				
Jewish Refugees Committee ... ..	...Publicity and Investigation	819 4 7	1,000 0 0	180 15 5
Professional Committee ... ..	...Academic Grants	500 0 0	2,500 0 0	2,000 0 0
Academic Assistance Council ... ..	...-do-	1,600 0 0	2,600 0 0	1,000 0 0
International Students Service ... ..	...-do-	200 0 0	200 0 0	— — —
Interaid Committee for Children from Germany ... ..	...Grants to German Professors	369 12 0	369 12 0	— — —
Liverpool University ... ..	...-do-	500 0 0	500 0 0	— — —
Manchester University ... ..	...Earmarked Funds	— — —	100 0 0	100 0 0
Specified Cases ... ..	...-do-	25 0 0	25 0 0	— — —
West London Synagogue Hospitality Committee ... ..	...-do-	44 8 9	44 8 9	— — —
School Fees ... ..	...-do-	— — —	— — —	— — —
Jewish Board of Guardians (German Refugees Sub-Committee) ... ..	...-do-	71 10 0	71 10 0	— — —
HOLLAND				
Ort Oss ... ..	...Vocational Training	1,000 0 0	1,000 0 0	— — —
Stichting Joodsche Arbeid ... ..	...Maintenance of Refugee Students	100 0 0	100 0 0	100 0 0
POLAND				
Mir Yeshivah ... ..	...Relief of German Refugees	— — —	100 0 0	100 0 0
JUGO-SLAVIA				
Relief Committee Jugo-Slavia ... ..	...Assistance for emigrants to South America	— — —	2,000 0 0	2,000 0 0
MERICA				
Jewish Settlement, Brazil ... ..	...Establishing Jewish Families—Earmarked Funds	— — —	4,000 0 0	4,000 0 0
ROUMANIA				
Roumanian Relief Committee ... ..	...Relief of German Refugees	— — —	75 0 0	75 0 0
AUSTRIA				
Training and Emigration of German Refugees ... ..	...Organisation of Settlements	— — —	1,000 0 0	1,000 0 0
ITALY				
Travelling Expenses of representative		— — —	300 0 0	300 0 0
		148,082 19 2	317,916 15 9	169,833 16 7

TO ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES

	£ s. d.
Rent	467 10 3
Secretary's and Office Salaries	1,485 12 0
Stationery, Postage, Telephone, etc.	870 3 11
Professional Committee Expenses	68 0 0
Travelling Expenses	323 16 0
Appeal Expenses	498 15 11
Advertising Expenses	1,485 6 4
Deed Stamps	503 8 4
Miscellaneous Expenses	340 5 4
	6,042 18 1
	154,125 17 3

BY RECEIPTS

Contributions	135,106 11 6
Bank Interest	354 0 8
	135,460 12 2

BY EXCESS OF EXPENDITURE OVER INCOME

£18,665 5 1

BALANCE SHEET. 31st. December, 1936.

Creditors for Advances	£124,323. 13. 7	Cash in hands of Central British Fund for German Jewry	£100,716. 3. 11
-do- Sundry Expenses, etc. unpaid	318. 17. 4	Advance to Jewish National Fund	5,261. 1. 11
		Income and Expenditure Account—Debit Balance	18,665. 5. 1
	£124,642. 10. 11		£124,642. 10. 11

Notes: No account has been taken in the Balance Sheet of:

1. Commitments amounting to £169,833, which were covered by contributions not yet due under period covenants.
2. Amounts recoverable in respect of advances (with the exception of the Jewish National Fund).
3. Instalments on period covenants.

I have examined the above Balance Sheet with the books and records of the Central British Fund for German Jewry in which the transactions of the Council for German Jewry are recorded, and with the Minutes of the Executive of the Council. In my opinion such Balance Sheet is properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the Council's affairs according to the best of my information, and the explanations given to me, and as shown by the books and records referred to.

Norfolk House,
Norfolk Street,
London,
W.C.2.
25th May, 1937.

C. H. NATHAN,

Honorary Auditor,
Chartered Accountant.

**EVIAN CONFERENCE
CONCERNING
POLITICAL REFUGEES**

**MEMORANDUM OF CERTAIN
JEWISH ORGANISATIONS
CONCERNED WITH THE
REFUGEES FROM GERMANY
:: AND AUSTRIA ::**

(Avec traduction française)

I. Introductory.

The Jewish Organisations, signatories of this Memorandum, welcome most sincerely the initiative which has been taken by the American Government, has been responded to by the Governments of a large number of States, and has resulted in this Conference.

They trust that the Conference will seek to deal not only with the immediate alleviation of the problem, by finding openings and devising means for a larger emigration from Germany and Austria, but also with the deeper causes of the trouble. The problem is in no way exclusively a Jewish problem. A large part of the victims of persecution in Germany and Austria belong to the Christian Churches, though they may be partly of Jewish origin. The signatories, however, are concerned with the Jewish aspects of the problem, and it is on those aspects that they would wish to submit some observations.

II. Persecution of the Jews in Germany.

The persecution of the Jews in Germany began in March, 1933, when the National Socialist Party came into power. The measures taken by the German Government against the Jews and "non-Aryans" are set out in the Letter of Resignation of Mr. James G. McDonald, the first High Commissioner for the Refugees coming from Germany, which was addressed to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations in December, 1935. That document will no doubt be communicated to the Conference. It is necessary only to add that, since its date, the pressure against the Jews and non-Aryans has been relentlessly and continuously aggravated.

The German Government has not only excluded the Jews completely from public life and brought about the ruin of thousands in the professions by cutting off their livelihood; it has also deprived the Jews who were engaged in commerce and industry of the greater part of their property. Nearly all the larger enterprises in which Jewish capital was engaged have been "Aryanised"; their Jewish directors or proprietors have been removed and replaced by Aryans. Jewish businesses, shops and industries of all kinds have been systematically boycotted; and in the smaller places and villages it has been made impossible for them to exist. When the Jew, having liquidated his affairs in Germany, wishes to emigrate, he is subjected to further measures of confiscation. If the value of his property exceeds 50,000 Marks, he has in the first place to pay an emigrants' flight-tax of 25% of the total value of the property; this measure, though introduced before the present Government came to power, and directed against all persons leaving Germany, particularly affects the Jewish emigrant who is forced to leave. The proceeds of the liquidation of the property, after payment of the tax, are placed to an account of "Spermarks"; and the emigrant has been able to receive in foreign exchange only a small and rapidly diminishing percentage of their nominal value. At one time it was 30%, but it has rapidly fallen, till recently it was less than 10%. And a decree issued by the Government of the Reich a few weeks ago, prohibits for the time being any Jew from taking out any part of his property in foreign exchange. All Jews in Germany have been required to make a declaration to the Government of their property, whether in the country or abroad. While the

reasons for this measure have not yet been stated, there are reasons to fear that their property will be taken over by the Government for the purpose of its economic plan.

III. The Aggravation in Austria.

The annexation of the former Austria last March was followed immediately by a persecution of Jews and "non-Aryans" and political opponents, still more virulent and intensive than that in Germany. Marshal Goerring, in outlining a four-year plan for the reconstruction of Austria, stated as part of the plan that the Jews should be completely forced out of Vienna. The number of Jews by confession in that city is about 170,000, and in Austria altogether 185,000. The number of non-Aryans—Jews converted to Christianity or persons of partial Jewish race—is believed to be greater. The racial legislation of the Reich was applied forthwith in all its severity. Moreover, the National Socialists, who during recent years have perfected the technique of persecution, have set out to ruin the Jews by a systematic economic destruction and a systematic maintenance of public. For some weeks there was widespread lawlessness and brutality; shops and private houses were looted; hundreds of persons were assaulted; there was a daily toll of suicides. All the shops in the principal parts of the city were transferred to "Aryans"; Jewish Industries were placed under the control of "Aryan" Commissars. Most of the Jewish businesses have been confiscated either directly or indirectly, or placed under conditions such that the Jewish owner is compelled to dispose of his enterprise at any price. If anyone holds out, he is arrested on any charge or no charge, and held in confinement until he signs away his property and gives a declaration that he will "voluntarily" leave the country within a short period. During the last weeks thousands of Jews of all classes have been arrested, and many of them sent to concentration camps. The German authorities demand a rapid and impossible emigration, and do not allow the emigrants to take out any part of their property. The Jewish population, which was distinguished in culture and intellect, is being turned systematically into a community of beggars.

IV. Situation in Central Europe.

The persecution of the Jews in Germany has had its repercussion in Central Europe where already the economic position of the Jews was precarious. The anti-Jewish feeling in Poland, Roumania and Hungary has been alarmingly intensified by the example and propaganda of Germany. It threatens a Jewish population of over 5,000,000. Of these, 3,200,000 are in Poland, where they form nearly 10% of the whole population; 900,000 in the Kingdom of Greater Roumania; 450,000 in Hungary. The 400,000 Jews in Czechoslovakia have enjoyed full civic equality; but the position of those in the area of the Sudeten may now be imperilled. The physical and economic distribution of the Jews in those countries is, owing to the repression of centuries, unevenly balanced. A large proportion are gathered

in the principal cities and engaged in commerce or the liberal professions. To-day the economic function of those who are middlemen is impaired, because on the one hand the development of state enterprises and state-aided associations has dispersed with that activity in many callings; and on the other hand a new middle-class growing up within the racial majority resents the competition of a minority people. In Poland a large part of the Jewish population has thus been reduced to hopeless poverty; in Roumania a Government was recently in power which had as its programme a thorough-going anti-Semitic programme. Although that Government has fallen, the possibility of anti-Semitic measures is a constant menace.

V. Impossibility of Mass Evacuation.

Emigration cannot be a solution of the problem in view of the vast numbers affected. Even if it were proposed to emigrate only the young persons under the age of 40, numbering about 2,500,000, it would not be possible to find countries willing to absorb so large a number, and the cost of promoting it would be altogether prohibitive. The primary remedy must be found within each country where the mass of the Jews live, by a radical readjustment of their economic life. The Jew must be given the opportunity of taking his part in the different branches of the national economy; emigration can only be a secondary solution.

The Jewish bodies appeal to the Governments represented at the Conference to take a stand against a persecution which threatens to multiply refugees and to make the problem hopelessly unmanageable. And it is hoped that it will be made clear that a Government is not entitled to deprive any section of its citizens of their legal and human rights. On the other hand, the Jewish situation in Poland and the other countries requires serious study, with a view to measures of economic reconstruction, which will also create fresh opportunities for the general population. If the Jewish capacities are freed and directed to new occupations, they will strengthen the national economy.

VI. Emigration from Germany since 1933.

The Jewish Organisations have recognised that, in order to save the young Jewish generation who have no hope in Germany, a programme of directed emigration is necessary. Immediately following the persecution of 1933, 50,000 people of whom the large majority were Jews fled to the adjoining European countries. It was the aim of the Jewish bodies in Germany, and of those helping them, to prevent any recurrence of panic emigration, and to assure, as far as possible, that those leaving Germany should proceed to a definite destination overseas or in Europe where they would have a fair prospect of being able to settle. The efforts were intensified after the Nuremberg legislation of 1935. The Council for German Jewry was then formed to co-ordinate further the efforts of the British and American Organisations, and to meet the aggravation of the economic distress of German Jewry. The Council adopted a plan to facilitate the departure of 25,000 persons a year for four years, as far as possible being young men

and women under the age of 35, and children; and to settle them partly in Palestine, partly in countries overseas, and, in smaller measure, in Europe. To that end it was hoped that a fund of £3,000,000 would be subscribed over the period of four years. The total sums that have been raised in Great Britain and America by the Organisations during the five years, for the help of German Jewry, amount to about £3,500,000; and large sums have also been collected in European countries for the maintenance and assistance of the refugees in those countries. Special collections have been made for the assistance of particular sections, such as the academic and intellectual exiles. Altogether it is estimated that a sum of over £5,000,000 has been contributed to public bodies specially concerned with the refugees, and spent during the period; and in addition, large sums have been devoted to similar purposes by other organisations and by individuals whose help to relations and friends has amounted to a figure that cannot be estimated.

VII. Training.

It was recognised that the young Jewish generation must be prepared for productive manual occupations in the countries to which emigration must be directed; and that, in order that many of those who were forced out of their previous commercial and professional callings should have a fresh chance, they should receive a retraining for an occupation for which there was more demand in another country. The central Jewish body in Germany, Die Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland, therefore established centres of retraining for persons between the ages of 17 and 30, and centres of training for boys and girls between the ages of 14 and 18. The vocational training is divided between agriculture and artisan trades. It was impossible to provide sufficient places in Germany; and with the assistance of Jewish communities abroad, training schemes for German Jews were established in several European countries. About 5,000 persons a year have been trained, and of those half the men and one-third of the women have received an agricultural training.

VIII. Results of Emigration Efforts.

Since 1933 there has been a total emigration from Germany of about 140,000 Jews, of whom the large majority went overseas. It is estimated that another 100,000 Jews below the age of 40 still remain in Germany. The principal country of immigration has been Palestine, in which over 40,000 have been settled. The majority have turned to manual work, about one-quarter being engaged in agriculture. About an equal number have been distributed between different countries in the American continent. Many have gone to the United States, where their relations gave affidavits that they would not become a public charge, and so made it possible for them to obtain Immigration permits within the German quota. Emigration to the countries of South America has been partly of a similar character. Those who have gone to the European countries for permanent settlement have in large part been absorbed in professional, commercial or industrial occupations. A special effort has been made to take children straight from

school and place them in countries overseas where they can be prepared for productive life. In this way about 2,000 have been trained or are training in Palestine, mainly for agriculture, and several hundreds have been placed in the United States and in England.

IX. Unassisted Emigration.

The larger part of the emigrants since 1933 have been able to establish themselves with their own means. Special arrangements have been in force hitherto for the transfer of property by those migrating to Palestine. Through a system of controlled export of German goods to that country persons depositing £1,000 in the Reichsbank have been able, after a delay, to receive foreign exchange to that amount, and so enter the country in the class of capitalists. These facilities have been greatly reduced in recent months. The emigration of persons with some small capital has provided openings and employment in the new home for refugees without capital. That has been particularly the case in Palestine where many of the immigrants have established factories or other industries.

X. Cost of Assistance.

Where persons have been assisted to emigrate, a contribution has usually been made by the emigrant or his family, and the cost incurred has been restricted to the transport, the landing money required in the country of immigration, and the means for maintenance during the first months. Experience has shown that the average cost to the Organisations, when the emigrant goes to an urban community, is £80 per head. The cost of settlement on the land is many times greater. It cannot be less than £700 for a family in an existing agricultural community; and the numbers which can be absorbed during the first period in undeveloped countries are small. It is emphasised, then, that the main solution of the emigration problem has hitherto been, and will continue to be, found by absorption of refugees into large communities and not by settlement in undeveloped countries. At the same time, settlement on the land and the opening of new areas for immigrants in the less populated countries are of special value as a nucleus for future immigration.

XI. Organised Immigration Beneficial.

While repudiating the policy of mass evacuation as being neither possible nor equitable, the Jewish Organisations recognise the urgent need of facilitating the immigration of an increased number, particularly from Greater Germany, for whom existence has become impossible in their present homes. If carefully directed to a large number of countries, such immigration should have a beneficial effect. It is the lesson of earlier movements which were started among oppressed peoples and minorities, that the immigrants have helped to establish new trades and industries. That was the case with the Huguenots who sought refuge overseas, with the exiles who left Germany for the United States after 1848, with the thousands of Jews

who left Russia after 1882 to escape the Tsarist tyranny. The Jewish immigrant has a high level of intelligence and discipline and is remarkably adaptable. Surveys that have been made of the economic activity of the refugees from Germany in several countries since 1933, indicate that they have created employment, not only for themselves, but also for substantial numbers of the people of the country. It is obvious, too, that they have increased the demand for commodities in the countries of their residence.

XII. Palestine as a Country of Immigration.

Palestine has a special status as a country of Jewish immigration, because Great Britain, the Mandatory, together with the League of Nations and the American Government, has endorsed the policy of facilitating there the establishment of a Jewish National Home. During the four years 1933-1936, when the policy of the Palestine Administration was being guided by the principle of allowing immigration on the basis of the economic absorptive capacity, the numbers who settled in the country totalled 164,000; (1933-30,000, 1934-42,000, 1935-62,000, 1936-30,000). Palestine, moreover, is a country with which Jewish hope has been associated from time immemorial, and a large proportion of the refugees would prefer to settle there for idealistic reasons, if they had the opportunity. Jewish immigration has been the chief factor in the remarkable development of the country during recent years; and the coming of the German Jews has contributed in an eminent measure to the economic and cultural development. It is hoped, therefore, that whatever contribution Palestine can make towards the problem of the refugees will be fully utilised, and that it will be found possible to re-establish the principle of economic absorptive capacity as the factor to govern the amount of Jewish immigration.

XIII. Cost of Larger Emigration from Germany.

The evacuation of the Jewish population in Greater Germany, which numbers no less than 500,000 persons, taking the estimated average cost of £80 per head, would require a total sum of £40,000,000. If it were proposed to emigrate only persons under the age of 40, who are estimated at 200,000, the cost would be £16,000,000. That figure, moreover, would not take into account the larger amount required for the settlement of a proportion on the land. If only one thousand families a year were so settled, an additional sum of £700,000 would be required annually. In addition, funds would be necessary for training enterprises and for the maintenance of some of the refugees in countries of immediate refuge pending emigration. Unless the Governments represented at the Conference are able to secure some measure of co-operation from Germany, it does not appear to be possible that orderly and planned emigration can be carried out. It is clearly indispensable that the emigrants with means should be able to transfer their property, and in the meantime, that the Jews may have the possibility of maintaining an existence. If conditions of panic and demoralisation are engendered, as is the case to-day, the problem becomes insoluble.

XIV. Financial Conditions.

The Jewish bodies are anxious, as they have been during the last five years, to assist, with their material means and their organisation, in carrying out an ordered emigration and in preparing the young generation to be useful citizens in a new country. At the same time, a plan of emigration adequate to provide for the needs of those leaving Greater Germany cannot be executed through voluntary contributions, even in the measure which has been given during recent years. The Jewish communities have made unprecedented efforts, and there cannot be any expectation that voluntary funds can be raised in larger measure. The conclusion is that the main source from which funds should be provided is from the property of the emigrants themselves.

If the authorities of the Reich wish to promote a large emigration of German Jews, they must be prepared to release the property which the emigrants possess, and to facilitate such exchange arrangements with other communities as are practicable to that end.

XV. Organisation.

It is necessary also that facilities should be given for an expert organisation to be established in Austria, as it has been in Germany, for the careful selection of emigrants, their training for productive occupations, and the choice of destinations where they may be established. It is particularly urgent that steps in this direction should be taken in Vienna, where the demand for a large emigration has been forced upon a stricken community which was unprepared. The experience that has been obtained in Germany should be made available for their assistance. It is hoped, too, that the Conference will be able to establish a small Executive body which will direct and supervise the emigration, and be in a position to conduct negotiations with the German authorities as well as with the Governments of the countries of immigration. Every effort will be made by the Jewish bodies to ensure that only fit and well-qualified persons emigrate, that they are prepared by manual training and otherwise for life in the new countries, and that they are adjusted to the new circumstances and looked after in their new homes by responsible committees who will see that they do not become a public charge.

XVI. Co-operation of the Jewish Bodies with Governments.

The Jewish Organisations feel that they are appealing to the general spirit of humanity when they ask the Governments represented at the Conference to exercise in these matters the greatest liberality. Moreover a liberal policy towards intelligent and qualified emigrants cannot fail to bring benefit to the countries receiving them.

The voluntary organisations have for some years been in the closest touch with the High Commissioner for the Refugees from Germany appointed by the League of Nations. The work of the High Commissioner, as it has hitherto been defined, is mainly concerned with the juridical aspects of the problem. The need of an organ representing the Governments which will be directly and specifically concerned with emigration and settlement has

long been apparent. And it is hoped that one outcome of the Conference will be to bring it into being. The achievement of the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission, which was established under the auspices of the League, is an indication of the benefit of international governmental aid.

The signatories hereto would again assure the Conference that they are prepared to assist the Governments to the limit of their powers in finding a solution of this international social problem. But it is obviously one which cannot be solved by philanthropy alone or by any efforts of the Jewish communities alone, but requires a combination of Government action and voluntary organisation.

The Annual Reports of the Council for German Jewry, for the years 1936 and 1937, are appended.

Signed on behalf of The Council for German Jewry.

SAMUEL.

Signed on behalf of The Jewish Colonisation Association.

O. E. d'AVIGDOR GOLDSMID.

Signed on behalf of The Hias-Ica Emigration Association.

JAMES BERNSTEIN.

Signed on behalf of Joint Foreign Committee of the Board of Deputies of British Jews and the Anglo-Jewish Association.

NEVILLE LASKI. LEONARD G. MONTEFIORE.

Signed on behalf of the German Jewish Aid Committee.

OTTO M. SCHIFF.

Signed on behalf of Agudas Israel World Organisation.

J. ROSENHEIM.

The Jewish Agency for Palestine which is submitting a separate Memorandum on the Palestine aspects endorses this Memorandum.

CONFÉRENCE D'ÉVIAN AU SUJET DES RÉFUGIÉS POLITIQUES

MEMORANDUM RÉDIGÉ PAR CERTAINES
ORGANISATIONS JUIVES S'OCCUPANT
DE LA QUESTION DE RÉFUGIÉS
PROVENANT D'ALLEMAGNE ET
D'AUTRICHE.

I. Introduction.

Les organisations juives, signataires de ce Memorandum, accueillent avec la plus sincère satisfaction l'initiative prise par le gouvernement américain et acceptée par les gouvernements d'un grand nombre de pays, et qui a donné lieu à la présente conférence.

Les organisations espèrent que la conférence cherchera à traiter non seulement la question d'un soulagement immédiat du problème, en trouvant pour les réfugiés des débouchés et en cherchant le moyen d'augmenter l'émigration d'Allemagne et d'Autriche, mais aussi les origines profondes du mal. Le problème n'est pas un problème exclusivement juif. Une grande partie des victimes de la persécution en Allemagne et en Autriche appartient aux églises chrétiennes, quoique ces victimes puissent être en partie d'origine juive. Les signataires, pourtant, s'intéressent surtout au problème en ce qui concerne les juifs, et c'est à cet égard qu'ils désiraient soumettre quelques observations.

II. Persécution des juifs en Allemagne.

La persécution des juifs en Allemagne commença en mars 1933, lorsque le parti national socialiste vint au pouvoir. Les mesures prises par le gouvernement allemand contre les juifs et les "non-aryens" sont détaillées dans la lettre de démission adressée au Secrétaire-général de la Société des Nations en décembre 1935, par James G. McDonald, le premier Haut-Commissaire pour les Réfugiés provenant d'Allemagne. Cette lettre sera sans doute communiquée à la conférence. Il suffit d'ajouter que depuis cette date les mesures de contrainte contre les juifs et les "non-aryens" ont été continuellement et impitoyablement aggravées.

Le gouvernement allemand ne s'est pas contenté seulement de décréter l'exclusion complète des juifs de la vie officielle, et d'amener à la ruine des milliers de personnes engagées dans les professions libérales en les déprivant des moyens d'existence; il a aussi dénué d'une grande partie de leurs biens les juifs engagés dans le commerce et l'industrie. Presque toutes les grandes entreprises travaillant avec du capital juif ont été "aryenisées"; leurs administrateurs et propriétaires juifs ont été écartés et remplacés par des aryens. Les entreprises, les magasins et les commerces juifs de toutes espèces ont été soumis à un boycott systématique; dans les villages et petites villes l'existence leur a été rendue impossible. Lorsque le juif, ayant liquidé ses affaires en Allemagne, désire émigrer, il est obligé de subir des nouvelles mesures de confiscation. Si la valeur de ses biens dépasse 50,000 Marks, il doit en premier lieu payer un impôt d'émigration qui s'élève à 25% de la valeur totale de ses biens; cette mesure, bien qu'elle fût introduite avant l'arrivée au pouvoir du gouvernement Nazi, et bien qu'elle visât toutes personnes quittant l'Allemagne, frappe surtout l'émigrant juif qui est forcé de quitter son pays. Le produit de la liquidation de ses biens, après paiement de l'impôt, est versé dans un compte en "Sperrmarks"; par conséquent l'émigrant n'a pu recevoir en devises étrangères qu'un petit pourcentage constamment diminuant de leur valeur nominale. Au début c'était 30%, mais après une chute rapide c'était récemment au-dessous de 10%. En outre, le gouvernement du Reich a émis, il y a quelques semaines, un décret interdisant provisionnellement à tout juif le droit de retirer la moindre partie de ses biens en devises étrangères. Tous les juifs en Allemagne ont été

obligés de faire au gouvernement une déclaration de tous leurs biens, tant à l'étranger qu'en Allemagne. Tandis que les raisons pour cette mesure n'ont pas encore été déclarées, il est à craindre que leurs biens seront réquisitionnés pour l'usage du gouvernement par rapport à son plan économique.

III. Situation aggravée en Autriche.

L'annexion de l'Autriche en mars dernier fut suivie immédiatement par une persécution des juifs et des "non-aryens" encore plus violente et plus intense que celle en Allemagne. Le maréchal Goering, en traçant un plan de quatre ans pour la reconstruction de l'Autriche, a déclaré comme une partie de ce plan que les juifs devraient être complètement expulsés de Vienne. Le nombre de ceux qui s'avouent être juifs et qui habitent cette ville est de 170,000, et dans toute l'Autriche de 185,000. Le nombre de "non-aryens" — c'est à dire de juifs convertis chrétiens ou de personnes en partie d'origine juive — est, on suppose, plus élevé. Les lois du Reich concernant les "non-aryens" ont été appliquées immédiatement dans toute leur sévérité. Du reste, les socialistes nationaux qui, pendant les années récentes, ont perfectionné la technique de la persécution, se sont mis à ruiner les juifs par la destruction systématique de leur vie économique et par le maintien systématique d'un état de panique. Pendant plusieurs semaines il régna une brutalité et un dédain de la loi les plus répandus; des magasins et des maisons privées furent pillés; des centaines de personnes furent assaillies; chaque jour apporta une longue liste de suicides. Tous les magasins dans les parties principales de la ville ont été cédés à des "aryens." Les industries juives ont été placées sous le contrôle d'un commissaire "aryen." La majorité des commerces juifs a été confisquée, soit directement ou indirectement; ou il leur a été imposé des conditions telles que le propriétaire juif est amené à disposer de son commerce à n'importe quel prix. Si l'un ou l'autre ne se rend pas il est arrêté, la moindre chose ou même rien du tout lui étant mis à charge; et il est mis à l'arrêt jusqu'au jour où il est disposé à signer un acte se défaisant de ses biens et déclarant qu'il quittera le pays "de sa propre volonté" en dedans d'une courte époque. Pendant les dernières semaines des milliers de juifs de toutes sortes ont été mis à l'arrêt. Beaucoup d'eux ont été envoyés dans des camps de concentration. Les autorités allemandes exigent une émigration rapide et impossible, et ne permettent pas aux émigrants d'emporter même une partie de leurs biens. La population juive qui était d'une culture et d'une intelligence distinguées se trouve transformée systématiquement en une communauté de mendiants.

IV. La situation en Europe Centrale.

La persécution des juifs en Allemagne a eu sa répercussion en Europe Centrale, où la position économique des juifs était déjà précaire. Les sentiments anti-juifs en Pologne, en Roumanie et en Hongrie ont été intensifiés d'une façon alarmante par l'exemple et par la propagande d'Allemagne. Une population juive dépassant 5,000,000 en est menacée. De ceux-ci 3,200,000 sont en Pologne, où ils constituent presque 10% de la population entière: 900,000 sont dans le Royaume de Roumanie: 450,000 sont en Hongrie. Les 400,000 juifs en Tchécoslovaquie ont joui de la pleine égalité civile, mais la position de ceux dans les régions des Sudètes pourrait bien maintenant être mise en danger. La distribution tant physique

qu'économique des juifs dans ces pays présente un déséquilibre à cause de la répression durant les siècles. Une grande partie est rassemblée dans les villes principales où elle est engagée dans le commerce ou dans les professions libérales. Aujourd'hui le fonctionnement économique de ceux qui sont des intermédiaires est compromis, parceque de l'un côté le développement d'entreprises de l'état et d'associations recevant aide de l'état a rendu superflue cette activité dans plusieurs branches; de l'autre côté une nouvelle classe moyenne qui s'accroît parmi la race formant la majorité s'indigne contre la concurrence d'un peuple qui forme la minorité. En Pologne une grande partie de la population juive a par conséquence été réduite à une pauvreté sans espoir: En Roumanie un gouvernement était récemment au pouvoir qui avait un programme contenant des mesures profondément anti-sémitiques. Quoique ce gouvernement soit tombé, la possibilité de mesures anti-sémitiques est une menace constante.

V. L'impossibilité d'évacuation en masse.

L'émigration ne peut pas présenter une solution du problème à cause du vaste nombre de personnes en question. Même s'il était proposé de faire émigrer seulement les jeunes gens en dessous de l'âge de 40 ans, et dont le nombre s'élèverait à 2,500,000, il ne serait pas possible de trouver des pays prêts à absorber un si grand nombre. En outre les frais de l'avancement d'une telle émigration seraient tout à fait prohibitifs. Le remède principal doit être trouvé en dedans de chaque pays où la masse des juifs habite, par un changement radical de leur vie économique. Il faut donner aux juifs l'occasion de faire leur part dans les différentes branches de la production: L'émigration ne peut être qu'une solution secondaire.

Les associations juives font appel aux gouvernements représentés à la conférence de se dresser contre une persécution qui menace de multiplier les réfugiés et de rendre le problème sans espoir d'être manié. En outre, il est espéré qu'il sera clairement indiqué qu'un gouvernement n'a pas le droit de priver de leurs droits légaux et humains une section considérable de leurs citoyens. D'un autre côté, la situation juive en Pologne et dans les autres pays réclame une étude sérieuse, ayant comme objet des mesures de reconstruction économique qui pourront aussi créer de nouvelles possibilités pour la population en général. S'il est permis aux qualités juives de fonctionner librement et de s'adresser à de nouvelles tâches, elles fortifieront l'économie nationale.

VI. L'émigration d'Allemagne depuis 1933.

Les organisations juives ont reconnu qu'afin de sauver la jeune génération juive qui est sans espoir en Allemagne, il est nécessaire d'avoir un programme bien orienté d'émigration. Dans la suite immédiate à la persécution de 1933, 50,000 personnes, dont la grande majorité était juive, se mirent en fuite aux pays d'Europe voisins. C'était le but des organisations juives en Allemagne et de ceux qui leur prêtaient aide d'empêcher une répétition de l'émigration en panique, et d'assurer autant que possible que ceux qui quittaient l'Allemagne se rendraient à une destination déterminée en Europe ou à l'outremer où ils auraient une bonne possibilité de s'établir. Ces efforts furent redoublés après la législation de Nuremberg de 1935.

Le " Council for German Jewry " fut donc formé pour co-ordonner d'avantage les efforts des organisations britanniques et américaines et pour faire face à la misère économique aggravée de la juiverie allemande. Le " Council " adopta un plan pour faciliter le départ de 25,000 personnes par an pendant quatre ans, ceux-ci étant autant que possible des jeunes gens âgés de moins de 35 ans ainsi que des enfants; le plan était de les établir en partie en Palestine, en partie dans les pays d'outremer, et en moindre degré en Europe. Dans ce but il était espéré de voir souscrire une somme de £3,000,000 dans une période de quatre ans. Le total des sommes procurées par les organisations en Angleterre et en Amérique durant cinq années pour l'aide à la juiverie allemande se porte à environ £3,500,000; de grands insulaires ont aussi été relevés dans les pays d'Europe pour maintenir et assister les réfugiés dans ces pays. Il a été relevé des sommes spéciales pour le soulagement des réfugiés de classes spéciales, entre autres les exilés académiques et intellectuels. En tout on évalue à plus de £5,000,000 la somme qui a été contribué et dépensée pendant la période. En outre de grandes sommes ont été consacrées à des fins semblables par d'autres organisations et par des individus, dont l'aide apportée à leurs parents et leurs amis se porte à des chiffres qu'il est impossible d'évaluer.

VII. Instruction.

Il a été reconnu que la jeune génération juive doit être préparée pour des occupations productives à bras dans les pays vers lesquelles l'émigration doit se diriger; et qu'afin que beaucoup de ceux qui ont dû quitter les métiers qu'ils suivaient antérieurement puissent recommencer la vie, ils devraient recevoir de l'instruction pour un métier pour lequel il y avait un avenir dans d'autres pays. L'organisation centrale juive en Allemagne, Die Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland, a donc établi des centres d'instruction pour des personnes entre l'âge de 17 et de 30 ans, ainsi que des centres d'instruction pour garçons et filles entre l'âge de 14 et de 18 ans. L'instruction de métiers se partage entre l'agriculture et des métiers d'artisan. Il a été impossible de trouver suffisamment de places en Allemagne; et avec l'aide de groupes juifs à l'étranger des projets d'instruction pour juifs allemands ont été établis dans plusieurs pays d'Europe. Environ 5,000 personnes ont reçu de l'instruction par an, et de ceux-ci la moitié des hommes et un tiers des femmes ont reçu de l'instruction agricole.

VIII. Résultats des efforts pour l'émigration.

Depuis 1933 le total des juifs émigrés de l'Allemagne est d'environ 140,000, dont la grande majorité se rendirent outremer. On évalue à 100,000 le nombre additionnel de juifs en dessous de l'âge de 40 ans restant encore en Allemagne. Le pays principal d'immigration a été la Palestine où plus de 40,000 se sont établis. Environ un quart de ceux-ci se sont mis à l'agriculture, et la majorité ont pris de l'ouvrage à bras. Un nombre presque égal a été distribué dans les différents pays du continent américain. Beaucoup se sont rendus aux Etats-Unis, où des parents ont donné une déclaration que les émigrés ne seraient pas à la charge publique, de sorte qu'ils ont pu obtenir des permis d'immigration sous la "quota" pour Allemands.

L'émigration au pays de l'Amérique du Sud a été d'un caractère semblable. Ceux qui se sont rendus à ce pays d'Europe ont pu se placer de préférence dans des occupations professionnelles, commerciales ou industrielles. Un effort spécial a été fait pour procurer de certains placements de travail et pour les placer dans des pays d'outremer, et il est possible de se procurer pour une vie productive. De cette façon environ 2,000 ont reçu un nouveau de l'instruction en Palestine, principalement pour l'agriculture, et plusieurs centaines ont été placés au Chili, en Argentine et en Espagne.

IX. L'émigration sans assistance.

La plus grande partie des émigrants depuis 1933 ont pu établir par leurs propres moyens. Jusqu'à ce moment spécialement on s'est efforcé pour transférer les biens de ceux émigrés en Palestine. Par un système par lequel l'exportation de marchandises allemandes en Palestine est contrôlée, les personnes départs 2,000 à la Palestine ont pu après un délai recevoir des fonds étrangers pour le voyage, et par conséquent ont pu entrer en Palestine dans le courant de quelques semaines. Les possibilités ont été largement réduites dans les dernières années. L'émigration de personnes ayant un peu de capitaux a dû être interrompue et le voyage dans le nouveau pays pour des réfugiés sans capitaux. On a dû se limiter spécialement en Palestine, où beaucoup des immigrants ont été de l'étranger et de industries.

X. Deux Problèmes.

Dans les cas où des personnes ont été assistés à émigrer, l'émigrant ou sa famille généralement, quelquefois, et le tiers qui ont été nécessaires ont été fournis au pays de voyage et le tiers de débarrasement exigés au pays d'immigration, et un moyen de sources durant les premières mois. L'expérience a montré que les deux moyens mentionnés ont été organisés ont été de 1931 qui ont été dans le cas de l'émigration ont resté une société urbaine. Les deux établissements agraires ont été dans des endroits fins, et ne peuvent pas être moins de 200 personnes; le nombre de ceux qui peuvent être absorbés est un autre très restreint pendant la première période dans les pays non développés. Il faut donc souligner que la solution principale du problème d'émigration de ceux-ci, et donc continuer à être trouvés dans l'absorption de réfugiés dans le pays développé et non pas dans l'établissement de réfugiés dans le pays non développés. Néanmoins l'établissement de réfugiés dans l'agriculture et le développement de nouvelles régions pour des immigrants dans les pays non développés ont une valeur spéciale et ce qui est représentatif en regard pour l'immigration future.

XI. L'avantage de l'émigration organisée.

En regardant le système d'émigration en masse comme un bien qui n'est ni possible ni souhaitable, les organisations juives recommandent l'émigration organisée de faciliter l'émigration de plus grands nombres, particulièrement celle provenant de l'Allemagne, pour des personnes dont l'existence est devenue impossible dans la présente patrie. Cette émigration, soigneusement dirigée sur un grand nombre de pays, devrait offrir un effet avantageux.

XVI. Coopération des organisations juives avec l'action gouvernementale.

Les organisations juives sentent qu'ils font appel à l'esprit général d'humanité en demandant aux gouvernements représentés à la conférence d'exercer en ces matières la plus grande générosité. Les organisations sont certaines qu'une politique généreuse envers des émigrants intelligents et bien doués ne manquera pas de porter avantage aux pays qui les recevraient.

Les organisations volontaires sont depuis des années en étroite liaison avec le Haut Commissaire pour les Réfugiés provenant d'Allemagne qui a été nommé par la Société des Nations. La tâche du Haut Commissaire, comme elle a été définie jusqu'à présent, concerne surtout les aspects juridiques du problème. Il a longtemps été apparent qu'il y avait besoin d'un organisme représentant les gouvernements et qui serait directement et spécifiquement chargé d'émigration et de rétablissement. Il est donc espéré qu'un des résultats de la conférence sera de réaliser ce besoin. Les accomplissements de la commission pour le rétablissement des réfugiés grecs établie par les soins de la Société des Nations sont une indication de l'avantage de l'assistance gouvernementale internationale.

Les signataires désirent une fois de plus assurer la conférence que les organisations juives sont prêtes à assister les gouvernements jusqu'à la limite de leur pouvoir pour trouver une solution de ce problème social international. Mais il est évident que c'est un problème qui ne peut pas être résolu par la philanthropie seule, ni par les efforts des communautés juives isolément ; mais c'est un problème qui demande la réunion de l'action gouvernementale et de l'organisation volontaire.

Nous ajoutons à ce Memorandum les rapports du " Council for German Jewry " pour les deux années, 1936 et 1937.

Signé: The Council for German Jewry.

SAMUEL.

Signé: The Jewish Colonisation Association.

O. E. d'AVIGDOR GOLDSMID.

Signé: The Hias-Ica Emigration Association.

JAMES BERSTEIN.

Signé: Joint Foreign Committee of the Board of Deputies of British Jews and the Anglo-Jewish Association.

NEVILLE LASKI. LEONARD G. MONTEFIORE.

Signé: German Jewish Aid Committee.

OTTO M. SCHIFF.

Signé: Agudas Israel World Organisation.

J. ROSENHEIM.

L'Agence Juive pour la Palestine, qui a présenté un mémoire séparé au sujet de la Palestine, désire s'associer avec le contenu de ce memorandum.

Epstein
Original

24 Grand Avenue
Statens Island, New York
July 6, 1938

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt
President of the United States
White House, New York

Dear Mr. President:

On the eve of the International Refugee Conference in Evian, France called for the purpose of arriving at a solution of the problem, I am taking the liberty of submitting to you several suggestions which I have labeled Plans A to E inclusive. Some of the proposals mentioned herein may have been put forward previously in a general way.

I urge you to instruct the American representatives to go to the conference with the idea of settling this problem once and for all.

The International Refugee Committee with the aid of the International Red Cross can charter idle shipping and other means of transportation for the purpose of bringing the refugees to new havens of peace. Private funds may, perhaps, stand the burden, but I suggest that the League of Nations stand part of the cost.

May I further propose that an international clearing house be established where refugees who are deprived or defrauded of their property may lodge their claims? Such a financial system can, I believe, be worked effectively through the Bank for International Settlements. Such claims can remain as a charge against the culprit nation and until they are repaid, the guilty nation shall be considered a defaulter in the field of international finance. It is further proposed that on the strength of these claims the international financial agency loan money to the refugees with their claims as collateral.

These proposals may be deemed revolutionary, but it seems to me that drastic measures must be taken to solve so pressing a problem.

I am quite sure that your great humanitarian qualities coupled with those of your representatives at Evian will not fail the down-trodden individuals, Christian and Jewish.

My suggestions are attached herewith. I am taking the liberty of sending copies to the Hon. Byron C. Taylor at Evian.

Very truly yours,

H. David Epstein
H. DAVID EPSTEIN

HEB:K
WEL.

PLAN A

Palestine

General Remarks

A solution of the Palestine problem must favor completely either the Jews or the Arabs. A middle of the road scheme, such as the partition plan, will be of no use to either group and will be a constant source of danger to peace in the Holy Land.

The majority of the ministers of His Majesty's Government is attempting to settle the Palestine problem by the same methods it has adopted for the solution of its diplomatic difficulties. "Stick to the middle of the road" is their guiding slogan. Such a policy leads to nothing useful and will inevitably lead to war. Yes, there is war in Spain, there is war in China, and there is war in the Holy Land. The blood of innocent humans runs freely because the mighty British lion has become as meek as a mouse.

For two thousand years the international politicians (to use the word "diplomats" would assign to them the status of intelligent men) have wallowed in the muck and mire of the most disgraceful, disgusting, brazen, and colossal fraud ever foisted upon a defenseless people since the history of mankind began. It has long been recognized that there is no "Jewish problem" but that anti-Semitism exists merely for the purpose of rallying support to false gods in the hell holes of Europe.

It is quite obvious that the establishment of a Jewish state would tend to destroy this fraud. To give to the Jews the whole of Palestine would make them a strong nation. Hence, the international gangsters have gotten together and decided to appease the Jews with a tiny plot of ground. Why? Because it would be easier to conquer. Because it would be unable to hold all the persecuted Jews and thus leave many to suffer still at the hands of the bloodthirsty Nazis, fascists, Iron Guards, and National Unity Campers. Because the international politicians would still be left their "Jewish problem".

It is, therefore, desired that the whole of Palestine be included in the Jewish state with the exception of a minor adjustment which will be revealed below.

The Allied powers of the world war have more than adequately fulfilled their promises to the Arab peoples by creating the independent Arab countries of Iraq, Syria, and Hejaz.

.....

It is proposed that Palestine be given in its entirety to the Jews. The Jewish state thus created shall then proceed to deport, at its expense, all Arabs who entered Palestine after the Balfour declaration. These Arabs shall be returned

to the countries of their origin.

Arabs, subject to deportation, who shall possess land, shall be paid a reasonable price therefore by the Jewish state. Such a price shall be determined by the values existing as of July 1, 1938.

The Jewish state shall agree to keep inviolate Arab shrines of worship and permit Arabs to enter the country for the purpose of visiting these temples. This privilege shall be revoked if the Arab peoples commit any act of aggression against the Jewish state. This is the adjustment mentioned in the general remarks above.

The Jewish state shall agree further to extend the Jaffa-Jerusalem railroad to the border of Palestine and by an international bridge across the Jordan River, connect with the town of Es Salt. The railroad shall be owned and operated by the Jewish state. The bridge shall be maintained by an international commission. The Arab peoples shall agree to extend the railroad to Amman in Transjordan.

The Jewish state shall permit the British government to establish naval bases at Acre and Gaza on the Mediterranean Sea, provided Britain guarantees the territorial and political independence of Palestine as a Jewish state. Such guaranty shall include the use of military force if necessary.

If foreign aid is needed to help develop the country economically, the United States of America and Great Britain shall have preference.

PLAN B

Palastine

It is proposed that the British debt to the United States be settled at two billion dollars. The Jewish state shall assume half of this debt and repay at the rate of \$500,000 per year for two thousand years, each payment to represent one year for the approximate two thousand years that the Jews have been oppressed.

The said assumed debt shall be carried without interest and payments shall commence five years after the treaty is signed and ratified. Britain shall become a non-defaulter when the Jewish state commences payments.

That part of the Transjordan which lays between the Jordan River and the Damascus-Ma'an railroad shall be returned to Palestine.

All Arabs who entered Palestine or the above-described part of the Transjordan after the Balfour Declaration shall be returned to the places of their origin at the expense of the British Government, Arabs, subject to deportation, who shall possess land, shall be paid a reasonable price therefor by the British Government. Such a price shall be determined by the values existing as of July 1, 1938.

Britain shall guarantee the territorial and political independence of the Jewish state, by force of arms if necessary, while the debt assumed by Palestine is in force.

The Jewish state agrees to extend the railroad between Jaffa and Jerusalem to meet the Damascus--Ma'an railway at Amman in the Transjordan. This said railroad, from Jaffa to Amman, shall be wholly Jewish owned.

The Jewish state agrees to keep inviolate Arab temples of worship provided no act of aggression is committed by the Arabs against the Jews.

PLAN C

Czechoslovakia

In order to lessen the tension created by the clamoring minorities of the Czech nation for autonomy, it is proposed that these minorities be returned to the nations which support their claims for independence in exchange for the Jews of those nations.

Estimated Jewish populations in nations where Jews face persecution are as follows:

Poland -----	3,400,000
Roumania -----	760,000
Germany -----	360,000
Austria -----	200,000

The transportation problem will be minimized greatly since the above nations border Czechoslovakia. Hungarian Jews are to be included in this plan.

The Jews are to be permitted to take out their property and the Czech minorities shall be permitted to take theirs.

It is to be agreed that the Jews shall be permitted to become Czech citizens and enjoy all the privileges of the Czech nationals. However, no hindrance shall be placed in the way of those Jews who shall desire to leave for other countries such as Palestine.

Under this plan it is to be noted that the Jews coming into Czechoslovakia will just about equal the minorities leaving the country.

All the expenses of transportation and training for new ways of living shall be borne by private refugee agencies with the aid of the League of Nations.

Great Britain and France shall agree to guarantee the territorial and political independence of Czechoslovakia, with force of arms if necessary.

PLAN D

Australia

It is proposed that the vast territories of Australia be opened to the Jews.

The Commonwealth of Australia possesses a golden opportunity to enhance its material and cultural wealth by permitting the refugees to enter. Here is a nation with a territory as vast as continental United States but with a population of less than seven million which is less than the population of the City of New York. That its economic and defense positions will be enhanced goes without saying.

It is suggested that the refugees be permitted to enter and settle in such places as

The southwest Division of western Australia

The western Division of New south wales

Within a radius of 200 miles around Adelaide, south Australia

Within a radius of 200 miles around Brisbane in Queensland.

PLAN E

Lower California

As a part payment for the expropriated oil properties of American holders, Mexico should cede Lower California to the United States.

The United States in turn shall lease this land to an organization such as the Refugee Economic Corporation which shall be charged with the duty of bringing the refugees to Lower California and develop the land economically. The corporation shall see to it that the value of the land which is agreed upon at the time of cession shall be repaid to the United States.

At the time of cession the United States shall pay the oil companies the value agreed upon pro rata.

When the said value is repaid by the corporation, Lower California shall be granted territory status and eventually be admitted to statehood.

While Lower California is under lease its external affairs shall be governed by the United States and it shall at all times be considered territory of the United States.

When the corporation is liquidated any surplus funds shall accrue to the treasury of the Territory of Lower California.

Refugees shall be permitted to enter regardless of financial status.

CONFIRMATION

x

W U DEFERRED CABLE 10:35 A.M.
New York, July 7, 1938

Morganbank
Paris

Taylor STOP Please accept warmest congratulations on your
splendidly conceived address. Its character and poise assures
I am sure favorable and helpful worldwide reception and recognition.
All are much indebted to you. Appreciated postcard. Affectionate
remembrances to you both.

George Bacon

GWB:EG
CHG F B & D INC.
41350-W-1: MR. TAYLOR'S ADDRESS

Copy to Miss Henry

ADDITIONAL MEMORANDUM

of the O R T - UNION

of Societies for the Promotion of Technical Trades and Agriculture among the Jews. (Paris, 19, Avenue Victor Hugo).

to complete the suggestions of the original Memorandum (presented to the Subcommittee on July 8th, 1938).

-I.-

It appears from the general statements of the Delegates of the various countries represented on the Intergovernmental Committee that great stress has been put on agricultural settlement of the emigrants. In that respect, we must emphasize the lengthy experience of the O R T in promotion of the agricultural work among the Jews. In the period of 1930 to 1936, about 170 settlements in Poland, Soviet Russia, Roumania, for the local population, and in France for the German Refugees, grouping altogether 6,000 families, were either established by O R T, or obtained its financial or agricultural support.

In order to meet the recommendations of the Delegates, our Union would be prepared to cooperate at the task of settling a number of emigrants on the land in the over sea countries where the "O R T" has its local organizations.

- II.-

After hearing the statements of the Official Delegates with regard to the most desirable elements for immigration, we are satisfied to find in them a new confirmation of the arguments developed in our Memorandum.

The practical conclusion to be made is that at the present stage vocational training of migrants should be furthered on a much larger scale, than it used to be before.

The majority of Governments stated they could admit only skilled craftsmen or agriculturists.

Such requirement leads to the conclusion that in the elaboration of a plan for systematic relief to refugees, the first preoccupation should be the adequate selection and training of people desiring to emigrate.

For that purpose, the Permanent Committee, which it is proposed to set up, will not only have to utilize the existing

institutions for professional training, but in order to meet the extended needs of vocational training, it will be confronted with the imperative task of setting up an extensive network of new schools, workshops, technical courses, model farms, etc...

- III.-

It was further stated by Sir Neil Malcolm -(League of Nations High Commissioner for Refugees coming from Germany)- that the most promising course to pursue at the present moment is to organize the activity of the permanent Committee which it is proposed to set up in close touch with the private organizations.

We respectfully submit that the Union "ORT", with its numerous branches in 15 countries, mainly engaged in vocational training, should be represented on the advisory body of the Committee dealing with the work of private organizations.



HOTEL VOUILLEMONT
15, RUE BOISSY D'ANGLAS
PRÈS LA PLACE DE LA CONCORDE
PARIS

CABLE ADDRESS: HOTEL VOUILLEMONT PARIS 03
TÉLÉPH: ANJOU 11-50, 11-51 ET 11-52
R. C. SEINE 24 407

WITH Dr. FELIX VALYI'S BEST COMPLIMENTS.

To Mr. MYRON TAYLOR, PRESIDENT, EVIAN CONFERENCE
ON REFUGEES.

*Copy Myron Taylor Conference
for Mr. President, Evian Conference
on Refugees. J.W.*

HOTEL VOUILLEMONT, PARIS,
15, Rue Boissy d'Anglas.

July 10th, 1938.

The Right Honourable

The Earl of WINTERTON, P.C., K.C.M.G., D.S.O., *H.P.*,

CHIEF DELEGATE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN

AT THE EVIAN CONFERENCE ON REFUGEES

EVIAN-les-BAINS.

Your Lordship:

Remembering the charming hours spent in Your Lordship's company at the Carlton Club, when I had the privilege and the pleasure of lunching with you and with the Delegates of the International Anthropological Congress in London (1934) on my return from the East, may I venture to address myself to Your Excellency.

The enclosed copy of a private letter I have just mailed to Mr. MYRON TAYLOR, The Chief American Delegate and President of The Evian Conference on Refugees, speaks for itself.

When I had the first opportunity to discuss with Your Lordship human relationships in the colonies, in India, in Africa, or in any other part of The British Commonwealth of Nations, I distinctly remember how intensely you were interested in the subject to which I have dedicated a life-time.

The Refugee Problem is essentially a problem of inter-racial relationship, which should be approached psychologically, anthropologically, scientifically, before any scheme on strictly economic lines could be worked out with some measure of practical success.

The Psychological Approach is The Best at this juncture. If you want to create opportunities for better understanding as between Muslims and Jews - the essential problem for the British and the only logical solution for the Jews - there is One First Step to consider: To bring about a Conference between Muslim Leaders of the whole Mohammedan world and enlightened non-political Jewish Leaders of the Refugees. Minds of The First Rank should meet minds of the First Rank on the Muslim and the Jewish side, and carefully selected Members of a Round Table Conference in London (or Washington) under Mr. Neville Chamberlain's or President Roosevelt's sponsorship should discuss all the aspects of a Reconciliation Plan.

To The Rt.Hon. The Earl of Winterton (Cont'd);:::;

- 2 -

There are two facts to consider before such a Round Table Conference could assemble:

a) The whole Muslim world is deeply affected by the Palestine Situation and must be soothed from the psychological point of view. Therefore Enlightened Leaders of Islam should join the proposed Round Table Conference on humanitarian grounds from Muslim India as well as from Egypt, the Arabian-speaking countries, such as Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Transjordan, etc. Only non-partisan intellectually prominent Muslims should be asked to join in the discussion.

b) The whole Jewish world is upset by the Refugee Problem. Therefore Jewish Leaders from all over the world should participate in the Round Table Discussion, but not under the control of Jewish political bodies, such as the Zionists or the Jewish Political Agency as an official organ. Only Jews of high intellectual probity, of non-partisan character and on exclusively humanitarian ground should be asked to join the proposed Round Table Conference.

As the proposed Round Table Conference must avoid political suspicion and try to be a dispassionate scientific attempt to deal with a difficult psychological problem, may I advise Your Lordship to consider first the nomination of a SELECT COMMITTEE for the purpose of reporting on the chances of a Round Table Conference between Muslims and Jews, the Report to be addressed to President ROOSEVELT as the Initiator of the Evian Conference on Refugees.

The Aga Khan
The Select Committee should include such Muslims as The Great Sheikh of EL AZHAR UNIVERSITY, Sheikh El Maragui of Cairo, Prince MOHAMMED ALI, the former Regent of Egypt, FOUAD SELIM PASHA AL HIGAZI, former Ambassador of Turkey, now in Cairo, Sir Akbar HYDARI, Prime Minister of Hyderabad, - The Nabob of BHOPAL, The Diwan of MYSORE, and The Turkish Ambassador in LONDON, FETHY OKYAR, with the permission to Palestine Muslims to appear before the Select Committee, but without participating in the vote.

On the Jewish side Palestine Politicians should be excluded from the vote: only non-partisan Jews of the highest international and scientific standing such as The Rector of Jerusalem University, Dr. MAGNUS, or Dr. WEIZMANN should be admitted. Men of the type of ALBERT EINSTEIN, Prof. NEUMANN, of Vienna, LORD MELCHETT, Mr. MORGENTHAU, The Chief Rabbis of London, New York and Paris should automatically be selected.

As the Essential Task is to clear the ground for a future Round Table Conference, and to avoid hatred, jealousies and rivalries as far as possible at this juncture, President ROOSEVELT and Mr. Neville CHAMBERLAIN should act as Mediators in a joint humanitarian effort.

To The Rt.Hon. The Earl of Winterton (Cont'd)..... 3)

- 3 -

May I emphasize the significance of such a humanitarian move coming from Great Britain and the United States of America, the two greatest Christian Powers offering their help to reconcile Muslims and Jews?

May I point out that the Appeal to the Imagination of Youth is the Source of Italy's and Germany's success?

May I say that the Anglo-Saxon world suffers essentially from lack of imagination, the absence of Vision and Insight into Human Nature from the point of view of Psychological Anthropology and Analytical Psychology?

May I say that to reconcile Islam, the Foundation Stone in the mind of the Near East, is to win the Battle Royal for Democracy and Western Civilisation as symbolised by the Anglo-American Way of Living?

Islam's Holy Prophet enjoins the religious respect of the Principles of Law and Property to the utmost.

The British Commonwealth of Nations will stand or fall with the Friendship or Enmity of Islam.

All the Asiatic Empires depended in the past on two essential spiritual powers : Buddhism in the Far East, Islam in the Near East.

The Future of Christendom depends upon its new relationship with these two most powerful spiritual forces in the Eastern mind.

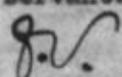
The Future of the Jews also.

These are principles of Human Geography which no Empire can challenge unpunished.

The Turning Point of History-Making has arrived: British Statesmanship can lead the world with the help of President ROOSEVELT.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Mr. WILLIAM C. BULLITT, The American Ambassador in Paris for President Roosevelt's information.

Your Lordship's most obedient & humble servant:


(Dr. FELIX VALYI)

July 9, 1938.

Mr. Myron C. Taylor
Villa Schifanoia
Florence, Italy.

Dear Sir:-

On July 6th I heard you speak from Evian France on the Refugee situation. I want to again take the liberty of writing to both comment on your broadcast and express my thanks for the courtesy extended me during April regarding my chauffeur inquiry. Mr. Fitch was indeed cordial during the interview granted me and he now has complete data of my qualifications in the event a possible opening occurs.

In commenting on your broadcast, it started a train of thought which might prove of interest to you on your return to the States. The broadcast itself was not so good, as static made reception very poor. As a sincere but severe critic, I thought your voice, when audible, came over with clear-cut pronunciation, though it lacked the picture of easy flow. That is, it sounded too much like reading. Too many of our leaders who speak occasionally over the radio seem to take it too lightly. Being an ardent listener during spare time, I find radio quite educational as well as entertaining and I am inclined to believe that the vast radio listening public greatly weigh a speaker's sincerity by the tone of his voice. President Roosevelt is a striking example of this phenomena. It was rather annoying not to have heard your broadcast more clearly.

The humane work you are in charge of recalls to mind a trip I chauffeured over July 4th. The people I drove visited some relatives who have a farm nestled in the mountains of Pennsylvania. What impressed me very much was a side trip to the town of Hershey, with its 1000 acres of adjoining farm land. Here they have erected modern homes where they care for orphan boys. These boys are given good schooling and training in various occupations and the environment is splendid for growing youth. All of these boys come from poor districts and it was certainly gratifying to see these youngsters being groomed into real Americans. We also journeyed through the mining sections, and here, living conditions are just the opposite to the Hershey Farms. The Hershey Farms are one of two such places I know of, the other being Boys Town Nebraska, where one Father Edward J. Flanagan befriends homeless boys and rears them into becoming useful citizens.

After hearing your broadcast, it made me think

of what inestimable good retired men of your reputation and capabilities could accomplish for the less fortunate in our country. If for example, you were to journey this land and give radio talks as you went along about such places as the Hershey Farms and Boys Town, I think it would be a very constructive form of retirement activity. It would not only be interesting from a personal viewpoint, but I imagine the American public would find it more so, coming from a private citizen like yourself. Even if you did not give radio talks, seeing these unselfish communities in our country and hearing firsthand the opinions of our simple country folk on our national problems, you might find it enlightening.

Frankly, you are the type of man who it must be a pleasure to work for because of the humane interests I believe you have toward people. Though such an opportunity may never present itself, where I am concerned, I shall always be interested in following the type of activity you are now engaged in. I hope you will continue in this good humane work. It sets a fine example for other retired business men to look up to.

Such achievements cannot be measured in terms of dollar bills, which are a false denominator at best. Men are remembered and respected more for their humanitarian deeds than their material wealth.

My closing words are to the effect, that the most important factor to remember is one's own health. Without that asset good work cannot be carried on.

Respectfully yours,

J. C. Grey

J. C. Grey
2 South Oxford St.,
Brooklyn, New York.

Dîner

Macédoine de Fruits au Kirsch de Savoie

Délices de Sole Meunière

Suprêmes de Poularde Rôtie
Petits Pois au Beurre d'Isigny

Mousse de Jambon au Porto
Salade de Laitues

Soufflé Glacé Royal
Friandises

Traminer

Beaune 1923

Magnums de G. H. Mumm 1929

Le 11 Juillet 1938.



HOTEL VOUILLEMONT
15, RUE BOISSY D'ANGLAS
(PRÈS LA PLACE DE LA CONCORDE)
PARIS

CABLE ADDRESS: HOTEL VOUILLEMONT PARIS 03
TÉLÉPH: ANJOU 11-50, 11-51 ET 11-52
R.C. SEINE 24 407

July 13th
1938

With Dr. Felix Valje's
best compliments and
wishes for your success.

For Mrs. Cost & Myron Taylor

HOTEL VOULIEMONT, PARIS.
15, Rue Boissy d'Anglas.

J u l y 13th, 1938.

The Right Honourable
The Earl of BINTERTON, P.C., M.P., K.C.M.G., D.S.O.,
CHIEF DELEGATE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN
AT THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL MEETING ON REFUGEES

EVIAN-les-BAINS.

Your Lordship:

Many thanks for your good words of appreciation in answer to my letter of July 10th. I hope Mr. Myron C. FAYLOR will respond to the fundamental suggestion to have President ROOSEVELT as a Sponsor jointly with the British Prime Minister to "put across" - as the Americans say - the Reconciliation Plan.

As The British Commonwealth of Nations is responsible for more than One Hundred Million Muslims and has deliberately created the Palestine Problem, it is self-evident that such an Initiative coming from the British Prime Minister as a Sponsor of Private Enterprise in Reconciliation and as a Mediator between the fighting races would strike the imagination of the whole world, as much as the Reconciliation with Ireland and Italy did.

But Sponsorship means little, if the means for systematic action on a world-wide scale is not immediately organised in conjunction with The United States of America.

Three Select Committees are necessary to prepare the ground for a Round Table Conference between Mohammedans and Jews.

a) A British Select Committee with Headquarters in London, with Christians, Muslims and Jews jointly serving under the Chairmanship of Your Lordship, if possible.

b) An American Select Committee with Headquarters at Washington equally representative of all three creeds under the Chairmanship of Mr. Myron C. FAYLOR or his nominee.

c) A Mohammedan Select Committee with Headquarters in Cairo, including PRINCE MOHAMMED ALI, the former Regent of Egypt, The Great Sheikh of AL AZHAR University, AL HARAGUI, and FOUAD SELIM PAHA AL-HICAZI, former Ambassador of Turkey, One of the greatest minds in Islam to-day.

The American and British Jews should delegate non-political Re-

To The Rt.Hon. The Earl of Winterton (July 13, 1938) Cont'd.

The Muslim Reconciliation Plan.

- 2 -

(Copy)

representatives to these Three Select Committees, with the express condition that Politics are excluded, Fanatics on both sides prevented from disturbing the Atmosphere of Reconciliation, broad-minded Jews and liberal-minded Muslims being selected for the purpose of clearing the ground (pour déblayer le terrain, as the French say) and political doctrines relegated into the background as long as the Essential Task to find shelter and food and work for the Refugees has not been solved on a strictly humanitarian and economic ground.

If the Jews do not accept this condition and want to interfere with Eastern political conditions, their case remains hopeless.

No Mohammedan nation and Government will tolerate political Judaism.

The only decent solution is to put the whole problem on a practical humanitarian ground by offering to undeveloped countries Finance for a systematic survey of economic possibilities, such as Irrigation Plans, Water Power Developments, Fertilisers, Industrial Facilities, which would accelerate the movements towards a higher standard of technical living in the East.

In "Moral Living" the East does not need any lesson from the West.

The East needs the Science and the Money Power combined with Brain Power represented by the West. The Refugees could provide such contribution to the solution of the Problem, as they are capable of. **THEY SHOULD RENOUNCE POLITICS AND CONCENTRATE ON HELPING THE MUSLIM EAST IN CONSTRUCTIVE ECONOMIC TASKS.**

The first step seems to be to obtain the consent of Mr. NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN to discuss the idea with such men as PRINCE MOHAMMED ALI, THE AGA KHAN, Mr. JINNAH, PRESIDENT OF THE MUSLIM LEAGUE OF INDIA, and to invite The Great Sheikh of Al Ashar to visit London for private discussion.

I am prepared to proceed to Egypt at once if asked to do so, to win over FOUAD SELIM PASHA AL-HIGAZI and SHEIKH AL MARAGUI, his intimate friend, as well as The Prime Minister of Egypt, to give their moral support to the Reconciliation Plan.

Could Your Lordship fix an appointment in LONDON after your return to England?

Your Lordship's humble & most obedient servant: *F.V.*

(FELIX VALTY)

Copy
for Mr. Myron Taylor

LORD WINTERTON'S LETTER TO Dr.FELIX VALYI

Re: Muslim Reconciliation Plan.

(Copy)

United Kingdom Delegation to the
Intergovernmental Meeting.

Evian,

11th July, 1938.

"Dear Dr. Valyi,

Thank you very much for your interesting letter and for the enclosure, a copy of which I note you have sent to Mr. Myron Taylor. I am very glad to have your views on the subject of the relationship of Mohammedans and Jews today, and have noted your suggestions for a solution of this problem, and I recognise that these are the result of a life-long experience and study of this question.

Once again, many thanks for your letter,

Yours very sincerely,

(Signed): (Lord) WINTERTON.

Dr. FELIX VALYI,
Hotel Vouillemont,
PARIS.

THE COUNCIL FOR GERMAN JEWRY

Woburn House,
Upper Woburn Place,
London, W.C. 1.

14th July 1938

Myron Taylor, Esq.,
Hotel Royal,
Evian, France.

Dear Mr. Taylor,

I am glad to see in our papers that things seem to be going at the Conference as you wished. I wrote to Macdonald yesterday, telling him of my visit to the Foreign Office, but I think that they were on the right path before I saw them.

I have had a little talk with Dr. Weizmann, and he would very much like to meet you. He will be in London till the 21st, and from then till the 24th in Paris. Could you fix some time for him in London or in Paris.

If there is anything that I can do in preparation for the meeting of the Committee in London, please let me know. I am, anyhow, postponing the journey to Australia.

(Signed) NORMAN BENTWICH.

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Department of Public Relations

Page No.

NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS

San Francisco

FOR MR. J. CARLISLE MacDONALD

FROM POMONA (CALIF) PROGRESS-BULLETIN DATE JULY 16, 1938

FORMER INDUSTRIALIST WITH A SOCIAL CONSCIENCE

A grand-new American diplomat is launching his international career amid difficulties, but in a cause that is so broadly humanitarian that many eyes are fixed on him.

He has been elected chairman of the intergovernmental committee which is trying to find a place in this broad world for thousands of people whose countries have declared they do not want them.

To solve jointly this heart-breaking problem, President Roosevelt has called a conference in Switzerland of representatives of 32 democratic nations, to canvass and pool their respective facilities for taking in these 20th Century Ishmaels.

Heading the American delegation, and the general meeting, is a diplomat new to diplomacy, and yet not new to great affairs. He is Myron C. Taylor, sometime chairman of the U. S. Steel corporation.

* * *

Taylor, who rounded out a long business career by reorganizing financially the huge U. S. Steel corporation, and by signing the first general labor contract ever granted in the United States by a great steel company, appears now in a new role. His business career behind him, he announced that he intended to devote much of his remaining span to public service.

The assignment to the refugee conference followed. Taylor is hard at work there to get definite results that will to some extent alleviate this mass of misery.

This may seem a strange occupation for the one-time head of the great steel combine. Yet it is not so strange when it is first remembered that Taylor is a Quaker. As such he is a member of the sect which is making so gallant a fight thruout the world to see that pity shall not perish, nor mercy be forgotten.

People were astonished when Taylor took his revolutionary step in signing a labor contract with the CIO on behalf of U. S. steel. They would have been less so if Taylor's Quaker modesty had not obscured a social conscience which guided a long career devoted to New York's Family Welfare, United Hospital, and Mobilization for Human Needs relief campaigns. He had also quietly served his government on committees under both Presidents Hoover and Roosevelt.

* * *

If Taylor succeeds to any extent at all in this role of the Samaritan who was "a neighbor unto him that fell among thieves," he may well be considered a valuable addition to his country's diplomatic forces.

And in thus offering his services to mankind as well as to the country in which he prospered and fared well, he is setting an example that might well be followed by others of his position whose social conscience seems less active.

See Page 546

(Released for Tuesday morning papers, July 26th., 1938)

EXTRACTS FROM ADDRESS OF AMBASSADOR
JOSEPHUS DANIELS DELIVERED AT THE
AMERICAN EMBASSY, MONDAY AFTERNOON
JULY 25th., 1938, AT A SESSION OF
THE ANNUAL SEMINAR

One of the prime objects of the Pan American Union is to encourage and promote cultural advance and co-operative exchange of professorships, fellowships, and make available the products of the mind of each to all the twenty-one republics of this hemisphere. As a voluntary agency for this objective - essential to cement New World solidarity and culture - is the Seminar, which for a long period has brought students and scholars to Mexico City.

It is an annual privilege to my wife and myself to welcome matriculates of the Seminar to their Embassy and to rejoice in the confidence that your coming will promote the good neighborliness which is the goal of forward looking thinkers and public leaders. Inasmuch as Spanish is the language of most people south of the Rio Grande, I venture to hope that you will lend your influence to secure its more general inclusion in the curriculum of schools in the United States and that schools in other Pan American countries will more and more include English and English literature in their courses of study. Likewise great attention should be given to the importance of French and Portuguese, other languages of Pan America. Destiny unites peoples on this continent and the removal of the barrier of lack of familiarity with the different spoken tongues would increase the communion of the people of Pan America.

At each successive Seminar I have sought to make my contribution to the program in the way of discussing some question of international interest. In view of the resurgence of undeclared wars and rumors of war; the adoption of new methods of destruction and the selection for slaughter of non-combatants including women and of children in their schools and priests at their altars; and the more malevolent rebirth of the spirit of intolerance and religious and racial persecutions borrowed from the Dark Ages, and the serious challenge to democracy and democratic institutions, I confess to some abatement of congenital optimism - I make confession to you that I am somewhat befuddled and find myself, along with others, asking the question that will not down in these difficult and doubting and hectic times in which we live: "Is the world growing better or is it slipping back?"

To whom else should I come for light and leading than to scholars and students who make up your group and to men and women of your cult in the temples of learning and the seats where intellectual power is generated?

generated?

Men of every generation are prone to be pharisaical and to believe that they are better than their forbears. They preen themselves that they are free from the gross sins of a more remote period. They indeed pat themselves on the back, offer up unctuous prayers, thanking God that they are not sinners like those of the generation that preceded them, claiming to be the worthy heirs of all the ages in the foremost file of time. We of 1938 join the procession and spread broad our phylacteries as we draw aside our skirts lest they be contaminated by the lossier breeds of yester-year,

We lift up our voices to register the claim that we have no kinship with those who killed adherents of false doxies, who hunted heretics who dared to differ in creed, set up inquisitions, or who suppressed freedom to speak, right to worship, to petition, to peaceably assemble. In our category those who did such things are wicked fellows beyond the pale. In our self-righteousness we express horror that when Cortes came to Mexico he burned off the feet of Cuatomoc; that veritably believing they were doing God's will, men in Merida, caused the literature and lore of the Mayan culture to be burned, because it recognized idols and idol worship. That destruction was in part relieved by the wise bishop who rescued a portion of the Codices and other handiwork of a civilization that intrigues our imagination and research.

We find ourselves wondering what kind of depraved people were in the old world who could in 1660 fling into Bedford jail John Bunyan, whose "Pilgrim's Progress" has become the Christian classic and chart of all time; or what abnormal people lived in the American Colonies who could ostracize Roger Williams and drive him from the confines of the cultured Bay State because he worshipped God in other than the ways made and provided by the authorized custodians of worship; or how lost to the Christian spirit were those ecclesiastics in the noble commonwealth of Virginia who procured the incarceration of Baptists and Quakers who, to quote Patrick Henry, were guilty of "the heinous crime of preaching the gospel".

I ask you, scholarly men and women of the Seminar, gathered in this old city of stately cathedrals, dignified architecture and ancient institutions of learning, - I ask you this question: Can we truly assert that we have departed wholly from the sin of the intolerance we execrate when practiced by others? Are we so free from intolerance that we can throw stones at those who, for example, as recently as the fifties, destroyed the printing press of a crusading editor in the United States in their zeal to suppress editorial condemnation of their beliefs and actions.

Or are we so wise and tolerant that we can condemn
the

*Refugee
Ambassadors
Dawids.*

the people of Colombia of a former generation who persecuted Antonio Narino for printing in Spanish the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights? His daring in defying the Spanish powers who prohibited such literature entering the country has made him a noted figure in Latin America. The proof of a better day in that democratic country is that the press Narino secretly used is preserved in the museum at Bogota.

Or can we reflect upon the suppression of free assembly and free speech in some American cities this very year without being shame-faced at our criticisms of like suppression and persecution of other periods? At this hour the thoughts of all scholars and humanitarians must turn to the shores of Lake Geneva, where broadminded men have gathered as your representatives and mine to throw out the life-line to men of letters who are battling to keep their heads above the water. Through no fault of their own or sin or failure, scores of scholars, who yesterday led their fellowmen to the heights of Parnassus, have suddenly been forced to join regiments of men without a country.

Terrible as is the plight of the involuntary immigrants denied a home land, nobody is putting these modern leaders of culture in stocks. Nobody is cutting off their physical heads and hanging them on gibbets. No tyrant drags their bleeding bodies behind his chariot. Their physical lives have been spared to suffer intellectual and spiritual humiliations and cruelties a thousand times more agonizing than when the guillotine severed the physical head from the physical body.

On one historic occasion when America's most illustrious scholar in politics was paying tribute at the burial of brave youths in khaki, who had given all they were and all they hoped to be at the call of their country, he expressed the feeling which must animate the breast of the scholars in Europe who have been driven from their homes out into the unknown. These masters of learning, having freely given of their knowledge to their fellow men, find themselves snared at, expelled from homes they had created and loved, hunted and persecuted for the crime of daring to think, to hold fast to their ideals, and to call their souls their own. If they, dispersed abroad, could speak to us each would feel to say in the words of Woodrow Wilson:

"I never went into battle. I never was under fire, but I fancy there are some things just as hard to do as to go under fire. I fancy it is just as hard to do your duty when men are sneering at you as when they are shooting at you; when they shoot at you, they can only take your natural life; when they sneer at you, they can wound your living heart, and men that are brave enough, steadfast enough, steady

steady in their principles enough to go about their duty with regard to their fellowmen, no matter whether there are hisses or cheers, men who can do what Rudyard Kipling in one of his poems wrote, 'Meet with triumph and disaster and treat those two imposters just the same' are men for a nation to be proud of. Morally speaking disaster and triumph are imposters. The cheers of the moment are not what a man ought to think about, but the verdict of his conscience and the conscience of mankind."

Once it was the proud boast of the United States that it was the haven of the oppressed of all nations. Its strength and power is that it is the product of the liberty loving men out of all the stocks of older civilization. With the end of pioneering days the all-inclusive invitation to all mankind to make their homes was withdrawn and quotas in our republic of immigrants substituted. Other nations have also found it necessary in justice to furnish employment for their own nationals to limit and select its immigrants. These barriers against free entry erected by most countries are lions in the path of the persecuted intellectuals and others at this very time when their fate depends upon whether their plight will sufficiently arouse the world that calls itself civilized to respond to the appeal: "Come over into Macedonia and help us."

That

That appeal crossed the shores of the Atlantic, reached the White House, and found quick response in the heart of the humanitarian chief executive, Franklin Roosevelt. For him to know that men suffer, that they are persecuted, or are compelled to look out of darkened windows, is to move him to action. As scholars, teachers, artists, scientists, workers, ministers and priests were expelled from countries their knowledge and labor had enriched, Mr. Roosevelt felt the urge to seek for them a haven under kindlier skies. He had no official mandate, no governmental treasury to draw upon. He is not of the type of those who, in the presence of great need, throw up their hands in impotence. He is the leader of the group of practical statesmen who find a way or make one to open doors to the evicted and obtain opportunity for reestablishing their useful lives. For him, to think is to act. President Roosevelt called into conference great-hearted men and issued a call to heads of governments for an international conference to be held on the shores of Lake Geneva, to consider and adopt measures for help and deliverance. The chief executives of almost every country responded in the Rooseveltian spirit.

When I brought the invitation to take part in the Inter-Governmental Conference on Political Refugees to the attention of the Mexican Government, the Minister of Foreign Relations, General Eduardo Hay, said: "Inform President Roosevelt that Mexico is in perfect accord with the humanitarian plan and tell him that President Cárdenas is with him one hundred per cent." At once Mexico named its delegate to the Evian Conference, and has now appointed His Excellency Señor Primo Villa Michel, formerly Minister to England, as its representative in the permanent commission, with headquarters in London. Later, Mexico's humanitarian President, General Lázaro Cárdenas, responding to the call of America's humanitarian President, evidenced that the deed followed the promise, by stating that "the first group of scholars from Germany, Austria, and Spain, twenty-one of them, is already on the way, and we will bring in more as fast as we and they can afford it." He added: "We are quite sure that all Mexico will appreciate their value and will make them welcome."

~~Quoted~~ When I discussed with the Minister of Gobernación, ~~Dr. Tello~~ ^{Dr. Tello}, the sad plight of men being driven out of the places where they worked with no place to go, he quoted an old Spanish saying: "It is like sending men to sea in a ship with loaden sails."

That meeting at Evian bids fair to become as historic as other gatherings for tolerance and liberty and peace which have been held on the shores of Lake Geneva in the free land where the Swiss have kept the light of liberty burning in the centuries. The delegates spoke in the language of high resolve and unlightened altruism of every race and creed. They were animated by the loftiest and holiest quest that the world had witnessed since Versailles in the glow of a

... 1948 ...

... 1949 ...

... 1950 ...

... 1951 ...

... 1952 ...

slipping back. The one and only antidote to the influences that threaten civilization is democracy that insures political, economic and intellectual freedom; It strengthens all who are ready to meet the challenge for its overthrow to see that the distinguished poet and scholar and maestro Thomas Mann has felt the urge to uphold democracy in a lecture tour. His preaching democracy addresses deal with "its eternal human youthfulness"; he defends it against the false claims to youthfulness and future importance of transitory counter-tendencies and everywhere he declared his faith in "the future triumph of democracy". For the time being he leaves the quiet workshop of the poet to do battle for this hope of the world. And why? Let him answer in his own words:

The question^{of} the totalitarianism of humanity, the unity of the question concerning man himself. This question looms above us as a challenging problem towards which we are obliged to take a stand and from which spirit and art cannot be isolated as separate spheres of interest. 'He is a prince', some one says of Tamino in Mozart's 'Magic Flute', and the reprehensive reply is: 'He is more than that, he is a man'. Just so today it may, in fact it must, be stated: 'Is he an artist? He is more than that, he is a man'. And if in the latter capacity he should be found wanting and silent, what value would he have in the former? The confidence which he earned as an artist is not merely an aesthetic, but also a human confidence. Should he not, must he not, use it to strive for the good in life as he attempted to do in the realm of art?"

As long as intolerance arouses moral indignation and burgeons into an organized resolve to mobilize the forces of liberalism, those who have doubted what lies ahead will be heartened in the faith that full freedom and real democracy will emerge conqueror. This confidence will inspire our spirits to surmount all pessimism and say, with Browning:

'The best is yet to be'.

GGE 265

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1427

July 27/1938

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MORGANBANK 81

Banque Morgan et Cie

14 Place Vendôme (1er) PARIS

LE PAYS EST GRATUIT. Le facteur doit délivrer les télégrammes à moins qu'ils ne soient destinés à un autre pays.

TELEGRAMME : via WESTERN UNION

RABBI WISE IN SERMON LAST SUNDAY PAID GREAT TRIBUTE TO YOU PERSONALLY FOR EVIAN ACCOMPLISHMENT FULL TEXT BEING SENT YOU UNDER SEPARATE COVER STOP STATEMENT AS FOLLOWS IS TYPICAL QUOTE MR TAYLOR IS ENTITLED TO THE THANKS OF HIS FELLOW AMERICAN FOR KEEPING THE CONFERENCE FROM THE FAILURE FREELY PREDICTED FOR IT BY CYNICAL

BE 2/265

MYR 64

Signification des principales indications éventuelles pouvant figurer en tête de l'adresse

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| D. = Urgent. | EPe... = Expédition payée. |
| AB. = Remettre contre reçu. | HUT... = Remettre même pendant la nuit. |
| PC. = Arrivé de réception. | JOUE... = Remettre seulement pendant la nuit. |
| EP. = Réponse payée. | COVERT = Remettre couvert. |
| TC. = Télégrammes multilingues. | |
| MP. = Remettre en main propre. | |

Via WESTERN UNION

OBSERVERS AND FOR MAKING IT THE BEGINNING OF A NEW ERA IN THE RISE OF DEMOCRACY FROM ITS HUMILIATING DEFERENCE TO WORLD TYRANTS STOP MR TAYLOR WITH BLUNT WEAPONS OF HIS COURAGE AND HUMANITY DID REAL SERVICE FOR THE AMERICAN STANDARD OF THINKING AND FOR THE PRESTIGE OF THE UNITED STATES STOP AS AN AMERICAN I WAS PROUD AS A HUMAN BEING GRATEFUL UNQUOTE STETTINIUS



Monday 4. 1938

July 1938

Dear Mr. Taylor:
This is to introduce
you the very well known
in the world, Prof.
Neumann of Vienna
who is taking a very
good care of me.

Any courtesy you will
use to him I will
appreciate enormously.
With kindest greetings,
believe me

Sincerely yours
Herbert Auer

PROF. Dr. HEINRICH NEUMANN
Vorstand der Univ. Ohren-Nasen-Kehlkopfkl. in
Wien, I., Oppelgasse 6

13th July 1938.

Your Excellency!

I take the chance to express to you my deep thanks
for the very kind reception your Excellency received
to me.

I should be very grateful to you if you would be
kind enough to receive me just for few minutes.

May I ask you to let me know what time should be
the most convenient to you.

Yours very obedient,

Prof. Neumann

Les TELEGRAMMES
 TELETYPE (cablegram) et le
 SERVICE DE TRANSMISSION DE
 LA VOIX.

Tous nos télégrammes sont envoyés
 par câble, mais les câbles
 sont également servis par câble
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- ②... = Remettre contre remboursement.
- ③... = Remettre contre espèces.
- ④... = Remettre par avion.
- ⑤... = Télégramme radiotélégraphique.
- ⑥... = Remettre au destinataire par avion.

- ⑦... = Expédition payée.
- ⑧... = Remettre au destinataire même pendant la nuit (dans la limite des heures d'ouverture du bureau d'arrivée).
- ⑨... = Remettre seulement pendant la nuit.
- ⑩... = Remettre secret.

Indications de service

5 July 1938

Des indications imprimées en caractères minuscules par l'appareil télégraphique, la première mention est faite après le mot de tête d'origine et un caractère d'ordre, le second indique le nombre des lettres de l'adresse, le troisième désigne le date et l'heure du départ.



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2	60	NEW YORK 32 14 9	0839	VIA WUN

PROUD AND THANKFUL FOR YOUR LEADERSHIP = SARGENT =



LE GRAND HOTEL
 EVIAN-LES-BAINS

Thursday morning

July 28

Dear Mrs. Taylor:

Feeling yesterday that I
 must not take too much of
 your time and yet wanting
 to tell you what a glorious time
 we are having, I failed to tell
 you what was uppermost in my
 mind all during the conference—
 how good and to the point your
 speech was and how well delivered.
 America told us what she

APR 1958

~~Confidential~~

BRITISH, ARAB AND JEWISH INTERESTS IN PALESTINE
AND THE NEAR EAST.

Memorandum

prepared for

His Excellency Sheikh Hafiz Wahba
(Minister of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in London)

Aug 1938

The greater the prejudice against the Jews the more urgent the necessity for a humane settlement of the Jewish question. It is important, therefore, that all concerned, but more especially their Semitic brothers, the real Arabs (whether Palestinian, Egyptian, Iraqi, or Moorish, etc., for the Arabs are a medley) should regard the situation with statesmanlike sympathy, i.e. as much in their own interest as in that of the Jews. They should face in unison the dangers that are threatening the future of both.

Nor must it be overlooked that the insults heaped by Germany and Italy upon the Jews on account of their origin are also insults, at second hand, to the Arabs, who are unquestionably of the same stock. Thus, Jews and Arabs should stand together, just as British Protestants, Catholics, Unitarians and Quakers would do under similar circumstances.

In spite of their dispersal and wanderings, the Jews have never renounced their right to return D.V. to Palestine, and to live their own life there as a nation. For valuable services rendered by them during the War to the Allied and Associated powers and friendly belligerents (including the Arabs of the Hedjaz), in 1917 America, Great Britain, France and Italy (with the knowledge though perhaps the reluctant adhesion of the Hedjaz) recognised the right of the Jews to Palestine, which was then a territory already conquered at

great sacrifice in blood and treasure by the British Army, after a long and stubborn resistance by the Turks, assisted by the Palestinian Arabs (particularly at Gaza). This right was recognised at the date when the Mandate was entrusted to Great Britain, and subsequently from time to time approved, confirmed and adhered to by fifty-two member States of the League of Nations, including Moslem States, without any demur or reservation whatsoever.

As a logical consequence, Great Britain, America and France, three of the greatest if not the greatest world powers, are now apparently resolved that this oft recognised Jewish right shall eventuate in the reconstitution of a Jewish State in Palestine. And my conviction is that, until this is accomplished and the Jewish question is definitely launched on the way to a practical settlement on a moral basis, it will continue to militate against peace and stability in the world - and most certainly in the Near and Middle East.

Moreover, there is a spiritual as well as a material aspect to this question. Some people, perhaps not without reason, point to and look upon the continued "exclusive" existence of the Jewish people, despite two thousand years of persecution and oppression, as in itself a miracle, and upon the proposed reconstitution of a Jewish State in Palestine as the fulfilment of Divine Prophecy. To this no believing Christian or Moslem, but especially no Moslem, can be indifferent. For, in a sense, a Moslem has to be both a Jew and a Christian before he is a Moslem.

This is a great historic opportunity for the genuine Arab Nation, represented in the Person of H.M. King Ibn-e-Saud, to their own ultimate honour, benefit and credit, to participate, if not, indeed, to take the lead, in the labour of re-establishing an independent (and allied) Jewish State in

Palestine. This was the intention of two renowned Khalifs, Sultan Salihman the Magnificent and Sultan Selim, as far back as the latter part of the Sixteenth Century. It may withal be remembered that, while according to the Canon Law of Islam, Ibn-e-Saud possesses most of the attributes and all the qualities for that exalted and sacred office in Islam and is a loyal and trusted friend of the British Empire, certain cryptic aspirants to the vacant Khaliphate (renounced by Turkey) are paradoxically if not grotesquely intriguing, and hoping to defeat Jewish aspirations in Palestine, thereby to attain their own ambition with the overt and covert help of such men as Hitler and Mussolini. Yet the latter, in their own respective countries, have ranged themselves against any form of theocracy, and have actually imprisoned large numbers of Pastors and Priests, and even threatened to "shoot" at His Holiness the Pope (*in cruento diritto*).

It would seem that Ibn-e-Saud (for whom little has been done so far) might appropriately co-operate with Great Britain, America and France in this enterprise. In acting thus he might, if so minded, very reasonably expect powerful support from all these, for the extension of his own Dominion over Damascus and beyond. There is little doubt in my mind that for this objective (Damascus) there is or very soon will be a desperate race. I sincerely trust that the prize may be won by a horse bred in Mejjit.

Although I am a friend of both Arabs and Jews, and interested in their correlated Causes, I have, of course, no authority to speak for either. I am only expressing my individual opinions. But I venture to hope that a comprehensive review of the past, present and impending changes and events, and their implications, may induce the two nations

to draw together and to arrive at a really sensible and mutually satisfactory understanding.

It is of little avail for either of them to bicker, and to accuse the other of being bad politicians, without considering whether they themselves are good politicians. The main thing is not to lose the unique opportunity which, through British Victories, has come to the Arabs after five hundred years, and to the Jews after two thousand years, of patient waiting.

As Shakespeare has said: "There is a tide in the affairs of men which taken at the flood leads to fortune". So it is devoutly to be hoped that, in the present troubled state of the world, neither Arabs nor Jews may miss the "tide" which is now already beginning to ebb. Otherwise, while the Jews will not get all that they want, the Arab Cause may be all but lost.

I am sure the Turkish trend southwards cannot have escaped the notice of the far-seeing King Ibn-e-Saud or that of His Majesty's Ministers at home and representatives abroad. The Syrians (Moslems and others alike) have divided and weakened themselves by excessive restless and feckless democracy; the French have become weary of governing them, and are anxious about their own European frontiers; the Italians by their own conduct have excluded the possibility of their being allowed to go to Syria. Indeed, it may only be a question of a comparatively short time before that country (Syria) is somehow or other surrendered to or occupied by Turkey. From Alexandretta to Aleppo and Damascus (especially as the Syrian Government has lost all authority) may become a very easy "hop, skip and a jump", and immediately stop the incursion of terrorist Arab bands into Palestine, and, like the cutting of the Gordian Knot by Alexander, solve

the Jewish question. In any case, there would already seem to be a secret understanding between France and Turkey, and the friendship of England, which Turkey has long wooed and recently won and acclaimed, is not without significance. It may be recalled that, at the time of the Abyssinian crisis, Turkey intimated, unasked, her readiness to send an Army to co-operate with Great Britain in the defence of Palestine and Egypt. The pro-Turkish proclivities of the Lebanese should also be noted. If my surmises be correct - and assuredly everything points that way - the problem is what will happen to Southern Arabia if, meanwhile, a sufficiently strong buffer state be not created in Palestine by Zionist Jews to stem the rising tide of Turkish advance? Transjordan could scarcely be a factor; and it is obvious that the Palestine Arabs alone could offer no resistance, while their leaders, the Effendi class, who are of Turkish origin, would not do so in spite of the fugitive Mufti, even if they were the sole masters of the country.

In the circumstances, it seems to me that it would be wise for Saudi Arabia and the Zionist leaders to come together and make some mutually advantageous pact before the danger to both of them becomes inevitable. Otherwise, the Jews, like the Lebanese, would inevitably be forced to throw in their lot with the pro-British Turks, and Saudi Arabia, (if unprotected by England), might at best escape complete annihilation by accepting the position of a Turkish Palatinate, or becoming an Italian colony like Abyssinia, when the Arab Cause would be irretrievably lost.

I do not overlook the proposed Arab Federation as a possible measure of self-defence, if founded on sane Nationalism and not on the emotional politics of interested leaders. But I am confident that no one realises more

than Ibn-e-Saud (who is justly acknowledged to be the greatest Statesman as well as the greatest military figure Arabia has produced for several centuries) that, while the Arab Federation is in process of slow gestation, the Syrian apple may be, or is, ripening more quickly, only to fall into the Turkish lap.

Personally, however, I do not see any real prospect of an Arab Federation unless an Arab King, like Ibn-e-Saud, is installed in Damascus, and is strong enough to command the respect of the Arab and non-Arab worlds. And, as far as I can see, there is no prospect of an Arab King in Damascus without an equitable agreement between the Jews and Arabs about Palestine in conformity with British (and French) policy.

None but an Arab of the calibre of Ibn-e-Saud can understand the importance and advantages of such an agreement, and has the power and courage to accomplish it - if he will. Feisal understood it well enough; but, owing to the fell disease which eventually carried him off, he was too impatient, and lacked the necessary physical strength.

It would be idle on the part whether of an Arab or an Italian, or of a German or an Egyptian or an Indian, to suppose that England, who conquered the whole of the Near East and already is, or very shortly will be, infinitely stronger than in 1914, will be unable to carry out her policy of establishing a Jewish State in the empty spaces of Palestine, either with or without the moral backing of America and all the countries which have Jewish sympathies or redundant Jewish populations. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the Arabs will be careful not to be misled by the enthusiasm and advice of well-meaning but politically ignorant people, who are more Arab than the Arabs themselves, and whose opinions

count for nought in England, or by treacherous foreign intriguers. Nor must Arabs attach the least importance or significance to the fortuitous though much vaunted fact that the Agent of the fugitive Mufti in Egypt is closely connected by marriage with a British Official in Cairo; nor build any vain hopes on any English woman of title, however sincere and well connected, who may be advocating their cause in high official and society circles in England and Egypt.

I will add that there is another aspect of this situation which it is most important to keep clearly in view. Political tension, even if due to religious sentiment, when kept up too long, is apt to assume a dangerous revolutionary character, and to become gradually subversive of all religion and authority, thus leading to social anarchy and materialistic atheism.

There have recently been striking proofs of British power in the Mediterranean and in Central Europe as a result of altered world conditions. Japan, embogged in China and threatened by Russia, is no longer a menace to British interests in the Pacific or Indian Ocean. The "Anti Comintern Pact" between Germany, Japan and Italy has, as was expected, proved to be a diplomatic instrument worthy of the naive genius of "Khodja Nasredin". Neither of the three parties to it can really help any of the others without permanent damage to himself. The "Rome-Berlin Axis" obviously belongs to this category. Italy has her own self-created anxieties about her Northern Frontiers and about Spain and Abyssinia. Hitler knows that he cannot rely on Mussolini, and, if he could, he knows that it would be like relying upon a reed. He also knows that Germany (without her Colonial bases, without her old allies, Turkey, Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria, and without the friendly neutrality of Holland, Scandinavia and Greece),

even if she had enough gold, is much weaker now than in 1914; while by contrast England and the British Empire are far better prepared and organised and infinitely stronger and richer now than ever before. If the Arabs do not follow the wise example of Turkey, but continue to believe in and rely on Hitler and Mussolini, most of the Arabian Peninsula, with the exception of Palestine, may revert to Turkey.

The Arab and semi-Arab States should, therefore, weigh most carefully their position vis a vis the British Empire, on which, whether they realise it or not, their own existence and independence (like that of other countries such as whom Mr. Chamberlain is trying to save from her own follies) Italy/ entirely depend. I fear that the Arabs are relying too much on the influence of Indian Moslems, who are only being used by the Hindus for their own temporary political purposes. This the former must perceive, but may not admit until it is too late. It is fatuous to imagine that the fate of countries conquered by the British Army can be decided by the clamour of the Softas of Cairo, Bagdad and Damascus.

To anyone who can see and think it must be clear that the Arabs without British protection might easily lose all the advantages they have gained through the British victory in the Great War.

The strength of the Arab movement in Syria (and elsewhere) may be gauged by what happened recently in the Sandjek of Alexandretta (Hatai). There were great Arab demonstrations against Turkey before the Franco-Turkish agreement. But, as soon as the agreement was signed, Turkish troops marched in, and there was no Arab demonstration or apparent opposition of any kind. (Vide first leading article in The Times, August 3rd, 1938). This shows that either there is little if any Arab solidarity under the present leaders, or that the Government of the so-called Syrian Republic is without any will

or authority whatsoever, and that France and England, if they so wished, could easily and similarly place Ibn-e-Saud in possession of that territory.

Perhaps I should add that if, through Arab intransigence over Palestine, Turkey should re-establish herself in Damascus, it would mean the alignment of Egypt and Iraq (which are only partly Arab), Persia, Afghanistan and other Mohammedan centres with Turkish policy, and the end of the dream of Arab Federation.

If, therefore, the present opportunity were thrown away, it would be a tragedy such as Arab generations to come could not possibly forget nor easily forgive.

Respectfully,

JAMES A. MALCOLM.

25 Palace Gate,
London, W.8.

August 1938.

To meet Rattler (A)

Mr. Hercules Johnson ✓

Mr. Schompedt ✓

Rayn Martin ✓

Phily new Secy ✓

Ass. Milton Secy.

" " Foreign Secy ✓

French Ambassador ✓

Dr. Carson ✓. Pres. ✓

Mr. Opalou ✓

Mr. Brenny ✓

Mr. Herbert Emerson ✓

Paul ✓

At Home Rattler ✓

Home Secy ✓

For S. Hoar ✓

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Magdon

Malcolm Mac Donald

Franklin
Franklin Street, 211

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Senor Don Juan Penaranda (Bolivian Legation)
Senor Dr. Don Francisco A. Figueroa (Guatemalan Legation)

(Uruguayan Legation)

(Belgian Embassy)

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Sir Frederick Leith Ross (Treasury)
Mr. Waley "
President of the Board of Trade
Secretary of State for the Colonies
Sir Archibald Sinclair

Mr. A. C. Lee

Mr. J. C. L. ...

Mr. ...

Mr. ...

Mr. ...

Mr. ...

Mr. ...

Sir ...

Sir ...

TABLE PLAN OF MR. MYRON C. TAYLOR'S
DINNER FOR THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL
COMMITTEE HELD AT CLARIDGE'S HOTEL,
LONDON, AUGUST 4, 1938.

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(Cuban Minister)

Hernan Fallares
(Ecuador)

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Roger Makins, Esq.

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M. Foureade

The Rt. Hon. C. R. Attlee

M. BEUCKER ANDREAS

SEP 1958

For your file

Paris, September 20, 1938.

Dear Mr. Veaudelle:

I wish to refer to your conversations with the American Embassy regarding the refund to be made to me on the deposit I paid for reservations on the Normandie sailing tomorrow. I realize that refund matters may take some time because of administrative procedure but I should be grateful if you would please send the sum covering the refund to the Honorable William C. Bullitt, American Ambassador in Paris, who will forward it to me.

With every good wish and kindest regards, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

Myron C. Taylor.

Mr. Veaudelle,

Chef du Bureau des Passages,

Compagnie Générale Transatlantique,

6, Rue Auber,

Paris.

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AND WE REALLY LOOK FORWARD TO DEVELOPMENT ALONG ALL
THE LINES WE HAVE DISCUSSED PLEASANT TRIP HOME TO
YOU BOTH MACHIN SHARWOOD

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② Conference with Beitman

③ Arrangement through Beitman re Bank International Settlements - Financial Experts

④ French financial through Beitman British through Winterton

⑤ Meet McDonald through Winterton

⑥ Members of British Bank from Beitman

⑦ Analysis of the plans of settlement

⑧ Barren of Belgium Conso

THE KIPLINGER WASHINGTON LETTER

CIRCULATED PRIMARILY TO BUSINESS MEN

THE KIPLINGER WASHINGTON AGENCY
NATIONAL PRESS BLDG., WASHINGTON, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Washington, Saturday, Sept. 24, 1938.

The MOOD of Washington officialdom over events in Europe has practical importance equal to that of the events themselves. The mood is ascertained only in private conversations with officials. As far as public comment, they are silent. Here's the mood:

There's "profane anger" at Hitler and his "gangster crew." These terms are accurate quotations from high-rank official quarters.

There's pity for Czechoslovakia, a god-child of America.

There's "disappointment" with Britain, which is said to be no longer "Great." But disappointment is tinged with sympathy, and with thought that the U.S. has small technical right to squawk.

There's opinion that the world prestige of Britain will shrink, and over this there's sadness, not satisfaction.

There's opinion that the prestige and appetite of Germany will expand, feed upon itself...until war comes and dictators fall out.

Expectation of general war in Europe is noticeably stronger. "Even if this crisis passes, others are sure to come next year."

As for U.S. isolation, sentiments and convictions are mixed. Some think the policy of "hands off Europe" has been proved to be good. More seem to think that the U.S. is at fault in not stiffening Britain, either in the recent past, or in more distant past. Degrees of feeling on this point vary.

"No matter what we may wish, the United States is involved."

This, or things like this, is being said behind closed official doors.

But the spirit is far from jingoistic.

There's full recognition that popular sentiment is "hands off."

But there's much opinion that sentiment is likely to shift.

Whether U.S. involvement in war is made nearer or more distant by the week's events is a subject of controversy. Majority view is that the layers of protection between the U.S. and war have become thinner, and that danger is increased. But the time element is hard to figure.

Democracy vs. dictatorship: This issue seems now less academic, and much more imminent and practical.

What, generally, will the U.S. do? For awhile, nothing.

Insofar as we can ascertain, no early spectacular gesture is planned. There's great caution, due to appraisal of public sentiment cited above, plus complicated considerations of international relations.

Sometime later our gov't will utter, in a tone of disapproval, but WHEN and WHAT TERMS are still up in the air.

Internally, piecemeal, step-by-step, our ideas and policies, both political and economic, will be affected, change, take new pattern, as a consequence of the current events in Europe.

That's what's said here...quietly, soberly.

Sept 24 1938

British-U.S. trade agreement is unaffected, one way or another, by the war clouds. London rumors are that foreign office orders haste, but there's no concrete evidence of unusual speed by negotiators here. October is the time now talked, but it's like a guess on a poker game. War debt settlement is in the air again, but it's mainly talk.

✓ ✓
South American haven for Jewish refugees: British & U.S. gov'ts are being sounded out informally and unofficially on a plan like this: Let Britain and France cede their Guianas, on N.E. coast of S. America, to independent state which would be created under international auspices. Let U.S. pay by forgiving most or all of the war debts. Dutch Guiana also is involved, payment to be made to the Dutch under 3-cornered arrangement between U.S. and all war debtor countries.

Plan seems fantastic, but is not pipe dream; has been worked up by responsible leaders in the U.S. Will leak soon into the news. Whether anything really develops rests with public sentiment in U.S. Congress wouldn't budge unless pressure for plan is strong.

Business outlook in near future depends largely on war turn.

If there's war, the economic situation and policies here will be somewhat as suggested in last week's Letter.

If war is delayed, expect business trend to resume the course indicated before this acute war crisis came. In this event...

Further rise in business indexes is forecast by observers here. Most authorities are reasonably sure of new gains up to the first of 1939. And most believe, less surely, that 1939-as-a-whole will make net gains.

But expectations are moderate. There's certainly no excitement, and no talk of any Big Boom within the next 12 months.

Moderate short-term gains are forecast on the basis of the visible demand for consumer goods, and increased stocking of inventories, partly due to the program of gov't spending among the masses.

Long-range expansion in capital goods industries is NOT foreseen as yet. The hope is that expansion in consumer goods will lead to expansion in durable goods by early 1939, but there's good deal of doubt that it will work out in this way to any great extent.

Some SMALL gains in durable goods seem likely next year, however.

Public utility expenditures for capital goods, new plants, etc., are expected to be somewhat higher in 1939, but of the necessitous kind, rather than deliberate expansion based on long-range prospects.

Active administration hostility toward utilities is lessening, but there's no reason to believe Roosevelt will reverse policies on TVA, or projects like St. Lawrence, or reverse crack-down on holding companies.

National defense phase of utilities: Report due within month is likely to stress need for strongly-financed privately-owned utilities.

PWA funds for competitive municipal plants are not being lent to any significant extent. This is due partly to limitation in the law, partly to decline in interest of cities in such projects.

Railroads, now spending almost nothing for new equipment, will be forced next year to increase spending, slightly at least, to take care of moderate increase in traffic.

New railroad equipment buying will be helped a bit by RFC through easy loan policy, which railroads are just beginning to grasp.

Neither railroad strike nor wage cut will come Oct. 1, of course. Both will stay in suspense until Dec. To whatever extent traffic improves between now and then, to that extent the railroad wage cut is weakened. There's about a 50-50 chance that a mere 5% reduction will be made.

Nothing will come of the study of railroad legislation program by President's committee of railroad executives and labor union leaders. Both are employes and both are special interests, without urge for change. There's no representative of the public, or of the investors, the owners.

Railroad legislation next session? Don't expect anything big.

Further moves in the general direction of gov't ownership are probable in next year...not accomplishment, but laying of groundwork. Rail employes, powerful in Congress, prefer gov't ownership to wage cuts.

Construction industry is still regarded as promising for 1939. Estimates indicate gains of between 20% and 30% in 1939 over 1938.

Gov't-sponsored housing is the biggest construction item, mostly FHA insured homes. USHA public housing will increase next year.

High construction costs (wages & materials) will be a drag, but not enough to prevent a steady uptrend for another year or two.

Aggregate corporation earnings in 1939 are now being estimated by gov't experts as 50% to 60% above the 1938 level.

Commodity prices in 1939, general wholesale index, are expected to show moderate gains from present levels...perhaps 5% on the average.

Radio: FCC probe of broadcasting chains will get much publicity for few weeks following hearings in Oct. Final result: No great change in present situation, except that big chains will be deterred from further large-scale acquisition of broadcasting stations. Political drag of radio will head off enactment of drastic curbs in next session of Congress.

Banking: Preston Delano, the new Comptroller of the Currency, is able, essentially conservative; made good record as Home Loan Governor. Appointment was surprise, came suddenly after some tense days in Treasury over certain bank regulatory activities.

J.F.T.O'Connor had been scheduled for reappointment.

Concept of Comptroller's Office as a bureau of the Treasury, rather than semi-independent agency, will be strengthened by Delano.

Steel prices, wages: Gov't officials are being told privately that the time is coming shortly when prices must be raised, stabilized... or else wage cuts. Orders didn't increase in proportion to price cuts, which were made partly in response to various gov't propaganda pressures. So problem is being thrown back on lap of gov't (which will do nothing). This illustrates fault of gov't moral control without responsibility.

(Note that Douglas of SEC scolded corporation managers for failure to perform fully their functions as trustees for stockholders.)

Trade associations: Questionnaires from anti-monopoly committee are ready. What men dominate the association? Do they represent the trade-or-industry-as-a-whole? What are the association activities? Serve entire industry, including non-members? Any illegal activities? These are not the questions themselves, but they suggest general purport. Delicate, of course, but most associations plan to cooperate fully. Some figure it's a good chance to promote themselves, their industries.

Profit sharing with employees: Search is now on for some method of giving tax discount as incentive for establishing profit sharing. That's a purpose behind Senate committee questionnaire which you may get.

Transfer of commercial attaches and trade commissioners to the State Dept. from Commerce Dept. is becoming intra-gov't red-hot issue. By blue prints of gov't organization and functions, it is justified. Trouble is with State Dept's ingrained attitude of looking down its nose at "trade" as something ignoble, interfering with lofty diplomacy. The Hull-~~W~~ trade-agreement regime is better, but still lacks trade sense.

U.S. propaganda in Latin America will be organized cautiously, in order to avoid suspicion of suspicious persons that it's propaganda. A main motive is to combat rival propaganda. "Democracy must do it."

Politics: O'Connor's defeat in N.Y. primary is New Deal victory, more important as symbol than as upset of House control.

Sobath, and Chicago congressman, will head the Rules Committee, and he's an ardent New Dealer, Roosevelt yes-man.

But Sobath can't control Rules Committee, which will remain weighted on side of conservatives and Independents.

(Incidentally interesting -- Sobath was born in Czechoslovakia.)
Farley's story, running in American Magazine, is being studied by politicians of both parties. They think they see in it clear evidence that Farley considers himself a political power apart from Roosevelt. Anyone interested in politics will want to read Farley's forthcoming book. It's honest disclosure of how politicians work...honestly & dishonestly. (The anonymous ghost-writer is able Eddie Roddan of Dem. Nat. Committee.)

War & politics: Most politicians, regardless of party, agree that the state-of-war-in-the-world plays into the hands of Roosevelt by diverting attention from troubles at home...which are increasing. Will he use Europe to his own domestic advantage? Don't know, but... It's a temptation to which most politicians in the past have succumbed.

Favorite sons for 1940: As soon as Congress convenes next Jan. there will be exhibit a number of movements for state-pets-for-President. It is planned as part of the campaign to stop Roosevelt for a third term.

"Purge Hopkins" is now the quiet plan of independent Democrats. Not to oust him, but to restrict executive discretion on use of funds.

A trend of gov't talk & thought usually indicates an issue long before it is formalized and enunciated. Here's a good example:

Note the gradual disappearance of hope that private business will take up the unemployment slack. Note the growing official belief that gov't spending and gov't relief must be accepted as permanent. Even many non-New Dealers talk this. Most of them don't like the idea, but they dare not face the music by cutting down the flow of money. Note that even business men don't yell about spending as once they did. They are being lulled, and many are learning to like it.

One high financial official says this: "As long as the public is afraid of gov't spending, it will not go to the disaster point. But when the public ceases to see the danger, then there IS danger."

Yours very truly,

Sept. 24, 1938.

THE KENNEDY WASHINGTON AGENCY
H. H. Kennedy

OCT 1958

NOV 1958

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LONDON, W.C.1

Tel.: Museum 7786

**SOCIETY FOR THE PROTECTION OF
SCIENCE AND LEARNING**
(ACADEMIC ASSISTANCE COUNCIL)

This Society was founded under the Presidency of the late Lord Rutherford five years ago as the Academic Assistance Council, to find places in the fabric of world scholarship and science for men and women whom political and national prejudice had driven from their own countries. Indiscriminate relief can never be any part of the Society's work. It exists primarily as a link between displaced scholars and the universities and research institutes of the world, so that exceptional abilities exceptionally trained—to quote the declaration of the Council's founders—should not be wasted.

In the past five years the problem of finding places for these scholars has been complicated, but the Society has not turned aside from its original purpose and principles. The foreign scholar in need of help is found work which makes other people realise his value, so that not seldom he becomes self-supporting. Grants of money may be given where Universities have an important piece of work to be done, and there is a man eager to re-establish himself by doing it, but no other money to pay him. But in no case does the Society encourage the giving of preference to a displaced scholar in competition with natives of the country that receives him, or indeed of any other country.

The Society must maintain its academic authority and integrity in the face of appeals which increase every day. Over 1,400 university teachers and research workers have been displaced in Germany

alone, and are not merely debarred from teaching or research: they are not allowed to make a living at all. No-one knows how many Austrian scholars have died or committed suicide this year, but at least 418 have been displaced and of these only about one in four has succeeded in getting out of Austria. The full effects of the intensified "racial" policy in Italy and of the partition of Czechoslovakia have yet to be felt; and Spain, from which scholars have been helped, irrespective of party, cannot yet be reckoned a place of security for tolerant, sensitive, academic minorities.

Caution in the circumstances is almost intolerable to humane men, but the Society's stringent caution in accepting responsibility bears fruit. The Society and similar organisations with which it co-operates have found work permanently for approximately 550 scholars in 37 different countries, from Australia to Venezuela, and for approximately 330 temporarily in 25 countries. Turkey, building a new civilisation, has welcomed numbers of the teachers displaced in Germany and Austria.

The Society was in a position in November 1937 to initiate the calling of an informal conference at Oxford of representatives of the European Universities, and the ideal of an international exchange for information and employment came nearer to realisation. The Society's register of exiled scholars is now unique and authoritative. Any academic institution can have the benefit of its records of those "exceptional abilities exceptionally trained," lost to their own countries, but not, if this Society can prevent it, to the service of knowledge anywhere else in the world.

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ECONOMICS 74	PSYCHOLOGY 13
EDUCATION 6	SOCIOLOGY 27
ENGINEERING 20	THEOLOGY 5
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November, 1938

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Professor S. Brodetsky, M.A., Ph.D.
Professor A. M. Carr-Saunders, M.A.
Dr. Fritz Demuth
Professor C. S. Gibson, O.B.E., F.R.S.
(Hon. Sec.)
Professor M. Ginsberg, M.A.
Professor M. Greenwood, F.R.S. (Hon.
Treasurer)

General Secretary : DAVID CLEGHORN THOMSON, M.A.

Assistant Secretary : ESTHER SIMPSON, B.A.

Sir James C. Irvine, C.B.E., F.R.S.
J. M. Keynes, Esq., C.B., F.B.A.
Dr. A. D. Lindsay, C.B.E.
Professor J. W. Mackail, O.M., F.B.A.
Sir Allen Mawer, M.A., F.R.A.
Professor Gilbert Murray, F.R.A.
Sir William J. Pope, K.B.E., F.R.S.
Lord Rayleigh, F.R.S.
Sir Charles Grant Robertson, C.V.O.
Professor Robert Robinson, F.R.S.
Sir Michael Sadler, C.B., K.C.S.I.
Sir Charles Sherrington, O.M., G.B.E., F.R.S.
Lord Stamp, G.C.B.
Sir J. J. Thomson, O.M., F.R.S.
Professor G. M. Trevelyan, O.M., F.B.A.
Sir Robert Waley Cohen, K.B.E.

Sir Philip J. Hartog, K.B.E.
Professor A. V. Hill, O.B.E., F.R.S.
(Vice-Chairman)
Sir Frederic Kenyon, G.B.E., F.R.A.
(Chairman)

Sir Allen Mawer, M.A., F.R.A.
Sir William J. Pope, K.B.E., F.R.S.
Dr. Redcliffe Salaman, F.R.S.
I. M. Sieff, Esq.
Dr. Charles Singer, M.D., D.Litt., D.Sc.
Professor R. J. Tabor, B.Sc., F.L.S.

Report for the Year 1937-8

IN the Spring of 1936 the Academic Assistance Council, founded three years before, became the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning. The change implied no alteration in the main purpose that the Council had been created to serve, namely the assistance of "university teachers and other investigators of whatever country, who, on grounds of religion, political opinion or 'race' are unable to carry on their work in their own country". It did represent, however, a decision in policy; the chief reason for the change was that the members of the Council were convinced that its work was needed for more than a temporary emergency and that its services would be required for an indefinite period.

This decision has been more than justified by the events of the past two years. If the machinery of the Society had not been in existence, it would have been necessary to create an organisation similar to it to deal with the problems raised by the increasing displacement of scholars for political, religious or "racial" reasons. The continuity of the organisation and the consolidation of its position as a national and international centre for academic assistance have enabled it to act with promptitude in the series of disasters that have overtaken European universities in 1937 and 1938.

Information was given in the last report of the Society, published on 22nd July, 1937, of the rapid rise in the number of dismissals from German universities and of the beginning of displacement of university teachers in Spain and Portugal. The number and the needs of displaced German and Spanish scholars have increased since then, and there have been added the new problems of refugee scholars from Austria, from Italy and from Czechoslovakia.

PRESENT POSITION

GERMAN SCHOLARS.

The total number of teachers and research workers displaced since May 1933 from German universities and institutions of university rank is now approximately 1,400. The significant developments in the position of displaced German scholars in the past two years have been qualitative rather than quantitative. The savage persecution of Jews in Germany during November 1938 outraged the conscience of the world, but this particular tragedy, conspicuous in its horror, has tended to obscure the equally terrible persecution that has been continuing throughout the past two years, the "cold pogrom". This has affected the Jewish and "non-Aryan" population in Germany as a whole, but it has a direct bearing on the situation of the displaced scholars and therefore on the Society's work.

The dismissed university teacher has found almost all alternative employment closed to him within Germany as restriction followed restriction against Jews and "non-Aryans" in the practice of the law and of medicine, in industry and commerce, in petty-trading and in the occupation of business or residential property. Forced sales, confiscations and arbitrary penalisation have denuded him, his dependents and those on whom he might have depended, of their resources so that retirement even if he had had private means has not offered escape. Pauperization for the scholar might have been endurable had he retained access to libraries, to means of publication, and to opportunities of research, but in many cases even these have been withdrawn. The Jewish and "non-Aryan" scholar has had to see his children stigmatized and subjected to insults and educational restrictions that threaten their moral and mental health. The "Aryan" university teacher with a "non-Aryan" wife has had to face the temptation of a divorce that might save his children from victimisation.

The urgency of the appeals that have reached the Society during the past two years has deepened. Necessarily the humanitarian aspect of the work of the Society has loomed larger, but the Council and officers have striven to preserve the specifically academic nature of its activity, defined in the statement of May 1933 as the prevention of the waste of exceptional abilities exceptionally trained. This has been necessary not only because the purpose and organization of the Society is academic in character or because its conversion into a purely relief body would weaken its technical efficiency and influence, but also because there have been during the past two years dismissals or departures of German scholars whose scientific eminence is such as to give them a special claim on the assistance of their university colleagues abroad. The church conflicts and the stricter regimentation of university life in Germany have led to the recent displacement of specialists as distinguished as those dismissed in 1933; many of the most important scholars displaced in the early years who have been attempting to live within Germany have recently been driven to emigrate. The Society, in continuing the policy of the Academic Assistance Council, has endeavoured to help them as scholars, not only as refugees or potential refugees.

The distribution of German scholars re-established outside Germany is shown in the statistical tables at the end of this report. The total of those permanently established is 520 in 37 different countries, and of those temporarily placed 290 in 25 different countries. The significant increases have been in the numbers established in the United States (117 permanently and 76 temporarily placed in July, 1937, 158 and 84 respectively in November, 1938). Great Britain and European countries in general have had to assume the responsibilities of providing immediate initial support and to act as distributing centres. The most significant decrease has been in the figures for the U.S.S.R. (15 permanently placed in 1937, 0 in 1938); all the refugee scholars who had been appointed to posts in Russia were displaced and expelled

during the period of xenophobia in 1937, and the Society's officers had to make special efforts to prevent some of them from being sent back to Germany.

A notable feature of the work for German scholars has been the predominant part played by the scholars themselves in assisting their colleagues. There are now one or more refugee university teachers placed in most of the important countries of the world, and their co-operation in the work of academic assistance has been decisive during the past years.

AUSTRIAN SCHOLARS

The annexation of Austria in March 1938 led immediately to the displacement and in many cases to the imprisonment of university teachers because of their religion, "race" or political opinions or alleged opinions. The displacement was so abrupt, the processes of victimization practised with accumulating experience in Germany over a period of five years were applied with such ruthlessness, and were accompanied by such general persecution that the problems confronting the Society were unprecedented.

The Society's records show that there have been at least 418 academic workers displaced from Austrian universities or institutions of university rank. This figure does not include those who have died or committed suicide. The distribution by subject is as follows:—

Archæology	4	Mathematics	4
Art History	10	Musicology	11
Biology	5	Philology	20
Chemistry	28	Philosophy	6
Economics	22	Physics	29
Education	1	Psychology	8
History	9	Sociology	14
Law	39	Medicine	208
			—
			418
			—

Limitation of funds and of opportunities of finding positions of economic independence have compelled the Society's officers to be extremely cautious in incurring the responsibility of inviting displaced Austrian scholars to take refuge in Great Britain. In several cases the Society has assisted in the rescue of distinguished specialists, and is now directly contributing to the support of 12 in this country. As far as possible efforts have been concentrated on planning for the emigration of the displaced university teachers from Austria directly to a permanent or semi-permanent position, without the intermediate stage of a temporary maintenance grant.

The information in the Society's possession about the fate of these men and women is necessarily incomplete, but shows that those who have left Austria are distributed in the following countries: Belgium (2), Canada (2), France (4), Great Britain (70), Holland (1), New Zealand (1), Palestine (1), Switzerland (7), Turkey (1), U.S.A. (38).

SPANISH SCHOLARS

There have been few developments since July 1937 to alter the situation of the Spanish scholars as described in the last report. The Society has been able to assist some of the German refugee scholars who had found posts in Spain but had to escape from the civil war; it has assisted certain Spanish scholars to transfer from the territory of one side to the territory of the other according to their desire; it has given temporary support to some who have found refuge in this country or France, and has assisted by negotiations or by financial grants or loans some of the refugee university teachers to secure positions overseas. The nature of the general problem will, however, remain unknown until military and political developments show whether those now in foreign refuge can return or whether many more will be compelled to leave Spain.

ITALIAN SCHOLARS

The unexpected extension to Italy of "racial" doctrines and anti-semitic practices raised a new problem in the summer of 1938. Apart from the displacement of German Jewish refugee scholars who had established themselves in Italy since 1933, the new policy led to the dismissal from Italian universities of at least 140 full-time professors and of a larger, but not yet ascertained, number of junior university teachers. Only a small number of the displaced Italian scholars have applied to the Society for academic assistance, but it is expected that the number of applications will increase during the coming winter as the full effects of the dismissals materialize.

SCHOLARS FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The partition of Czechoslovakia in October 1938 has made the continuation of scientific work there impossible for a certain number of German refugee scholars, of Russian refugee professors who had been long established in Czechoslovakia, and of Jewish and politically non-conformist Czechoslovakian citizens who had been teaching or conducting research in institutions of higher learning, including the German University at Prague, but now find themselves under the influence of anti-semitic and "totalitarian" authorities. The Society's officers have been able to provide little help in the brief period since the problem presented itself, but are in close contact with those responsible for organizing general schemes of assistance to refugees from Czechoslovakia, through the Lord Mayor's Fund and other appropriate organisations.

METHODS OF WORK

The Society has continued to make emergency grants either for temporary maintenance to enable displaced scholars to accept academic hospitality at a university, or for other forms of constructive assistance such as financing visits of investigation by refugees to countries in which there is reasonable prospect of settlement and loans for travelling expenses to an assured post. The Society has continued to administer the "Bedford College Fund," contributed by members of that College to subsidize special lectures by refugee university teachers; since the inception of the Fund the following lectures have been subsidized from it:—

Professor Wilhelm Friedmann "La Vie, La Culture et La Langue".

Dr. Friedrich Zeuner "The Climate of the Countries Adjoining the Ice-Sheet of the Pleistocene";

"Some Aspects of Evolution Revealed by the Study of Fossils".

Dr. E. H. Meyer "The Development of Chamber Music in England from 1550 to Purcell".

Dr. Raymond Klibansky "Early Origins of Modern Philosophy".

Dr. Robert Freyhan "Early Medieval Painting on the Continent and in England".

Dr. Manfred Sandmann "The Modern Approach to Romance Philology".

The Society has also continued to administer the four fellowships to which reference was made in the last report and which are at present held by:—

Professor Philipp Ellinger at The Lister Institute of Preventive Medicine, London.

Dr. Walter Heitler at Bristol University.

Professor Veit Valentin at University College, London.

Professor Fritz Weigert at Glasgow University.

The number of these Fellowships has not been added to but the Society made up to the amount of £450 per annum funds collected by Dr. Harry Colles to establish a music research fellowship for Professor Egon Wellesz of Vienna at Oxford; and the Society expressed its readiness to do the same for Professor Otto Loewi, of Graz, who came to this country with its help at the end of September. Funds have become available from other sources in the latter case in the meanwhile.

Since July 1937 the Society has made grants of various kinds to 138 displaced scholars, including grants for which earmarked donations have been received. The Society is at present contributing directly to the support of 37 scholars in the British Isles, and 5 in other countries.

During the past year it has become clear that the fundamental work of the Society is the maintenance of its information service.

This has developed into an "international employment exchange" for refugee university teachers, and an advisory centre of very great value to the scholars themselves, to the universities, to government departments and to all who are co-operating in the work of academic assistance.

The Council feels that this information service would be almost irreplaceable if the continuity of its existence were broken after its five years of experience, and hopes that a benefactor, realising its essential value of this work, may be found willing to subsidize its administration separately. There could not be a more direct or immediate way of helping the greatest number of refugee scholars than by placing this service on a secure financial basis.

CO-OPERATION

The Society continues to enjoy the invaluable daily collaboration of the *Notgemeinschaft Deutscher Wissenschaftler im Ausland*, to which it affords office accommodation, and wishes to record its gratitude to the Chairman, Dr. Fritz Demuth, for his generous assistance. The *Notgemeinschaft* has not confined its co-operation to the work for German scholars alone, but has placed its information and contacts at the disposal of the Society's officers to help, for instance, in the placing of Spanish refugee scholars in South America. The Society has also continued to receive active co-operation from the Jewish Professional Committee, the German Jewish Aid Committee, the Germany Emergency Committee at the Society of Friends, the Inter-Aid Committee for Children from Germany, International Student Service, the Solidarity Fund of the Labour Party and Trades Union Congress, the Christian Council for Refugees from Germany and Central Europe, and various other bodies and local committees in Great Britain.

In the spring of 1938 the new problems of the refugees from Austria and the institution by the British government of a visa system led to the main British organisations engaged in work for refugees to create a central liaison body, the Co-ordinating Committee for Refugees, one function of which was to facilitate the joint formulation of policy and to economise the time of the organisations and government officials in negotiations concerning residence and labour permits. The Society has been a constituent member of this Co-ordinating Committee since its formation.

The indispensable co-operation of the universities, university colleges, and learned institutions has been actively maintained, and university teachers in this country, both collectively through the Association of University Teachers, and individually have given effective support to the Society's work.

The Society has continued to act as a member of the Liaison Committee of private organisations assisting the League of Nations High Commissioner for Refugees from Germany. It has co-operated in the work of other academic assistance organisations in the European

countries and in the United States. In November 1937 the Society took the initiative in calling an informal international conference of representatives of the European universities, at which there was present an observer from the United States. The conference met at University College, Oxford, through the hospitality of the Master, Sir William Beveridge, and made plans for the strengthening of academic assistance work on an international basis.

FINANCE

Balance sheets and financial statements are printed as an appendix to this report. The Society has not made a general public appeal for financial support since the issue of the last report, and has had to depend therefore on its income from membership subscriptions which now amount to nearly £3,000 annually, and on occasional donations. The Society received a grant of £2,000 from the Council for German Jewry from the proceeds of its appeal for Austrian refugees to assist its work for refugee Austrian scholars. Among the other donations received since July 1937 the following may be mentioned: £400 from British Celanese Ltd.; £50 from New College, Oxford, and £100 from St. John's College, Oxford; £100 from Dr. Bruno Mendel; and £50 from the estate of the late Mr. Asher Salaman.

The present financial position of the Society compels it to make a new public appeal. It cannot from its available resources meet more than a small fraction of the urgent applications it receives or contribute except occasionally to the variety of constructive plans that would lead rapidly to the permanent re-establishment of displaced university teachers. To face the new problems that have accumulated during the past six months through the events in Germany, in Austria, in Italy and in Czechoslovakia, the Society urgently needs a great increase in membership and additionally large donations or an endowment for its general work or for particular projects, such as the subsidization of the information service.

A national appeal has been planned for February 1939. The Council of the Society hopes that the present members of the Society will not only continue and, if possible, increase their own subscriptions or, if they have not already done so, make their subscription by deeds of covenant so that the Society's income is benefited by the recovery of income tax, but also endeavour to enlist new members of the Society and new sources of support.

OFFICERS AND ADMINISTRATION

On October 19th, 1937 Lord Rutherford, the first President of the Academic Assistance Council and of the Society, died. Lord Rutherford had given his wise and energising leadership to the work from the formation of the Council in May 1933, and a few days before his death was planning to take part in the international meeting at Oxford. In spite of his manifold responsibilities Lord Rutherford

was always willing to find time to deal with the Council's work, even with detailed administrative problems, and his intervention in negotiations was frequently decisive in securing new financial help or in opening up new opportunities of help for the refugee scientists. His judgment and experience ensured that the work was maintained on that non-political, non-sectarian basis which has been a condition of its success.

His Grace the Archbishop of York accepted the Council's invitation to act as President in succession to Lord Rutherford.

The Council records with regret the death of two of its members, Professor Lascelles Abercrombie and Professor Samuel Alexander. The Council has co-opted to its membership Walter Adams, Esq., B.A., Sir Percy Ashley, K.B.E., C.B., Sir Farquhar Buzzard, K.C.V.O., F.R.C.P., Sir John Forsdyke, K.C.B., Sir Richard Gregory, Bart., F.R.S., and His Grace the Lord Archbishop of York.

Mr. Walter Adams resigned his position as General Secretary in July 1938, on his appointment as Secretary to the London School of Economics and Political Science. To his devoted service for the five years since the foundation of the Academic Assistance Council the success of the work is in very large measure due. His personal gifts of character and organising ability have won the confidence of all, and have earned the gratitude of those who have benefited by his labours. The Council wish to place on record their deep gratitude to him. The experience and knowledge he gained in his five years' service will still be available to the Society, as he has accepted the Executive Committee's invitation to act as Honorary Secretary. On hearing of Mr. Adams' resignation a group of German refugees settled in London, taking advantage of the offer of a portrait-sitting most kindly made to the Society by Sir William Rothenstein, commissioned the artist to make a drawing of Mr. Adams. This has now been completed and presented to Mrs. Adams. Mr. David Cleghorn Thomson has been appointed General Secretary in succession to Mr. Adams. The Council wishes to record its deep appreciation of the devoted work of the Assistant Secretary, Miss Esther Simpson, on whom a particularly heavy burden of work and responsibility has fallen during the past year.

Consequent upon Lord Rutherford's death and the appointment of Mr. Adams as Honorary Secretary, Sir Frederic Kenyon accepted the chairmanship of the Executive Committee and Professor Hill continued in the office of Vice-Chairman. Sir William Beveridge was appointed Vice-President and Professor Gibson continues to act as one of the Hon. Secretaries and Professor Greenwood as Hon. Treasurer.

Messrs. W. B. Keen have been appointed auditors to the Society.

GENERAL

The Council is grateful for the support it has received from both the academic world and the general public, and particularly from the

subscribing members of the Society. The Council realises that it acts chiefly as an instrument through which the co-operation of others—and not least of the displaced scholars themselves—can become effective. It can continue its work only as long as that co-operation exists, and can widen the work only if the activity of others in this field grows stronger. The Council's work is an index of the determination of the university world to defend the principle of academic freedom and to rescue university teachers who have been injured in the struggle for the liberty and security of learning. It is therefore a cause of pride that the work of academic assistance has continued with such success for the past five years, and a justification for confidence that this work will continue and be strengthened sufficiently to meet the recent tragic problems that have emerged in the wider extension of principles and practices that are a denial of the fundamentals of the scientific life.

The Society's work has reached a crisis. It must attempt to solve problems immeasurably more difficult than those that faced the Council in 1933, for while the number of refugee university teachers has increased, the immediate opportunities of assistance have contracted. The ability of the Society to maintain its successful activity in the new conditions will depend largely on the response which is made in terms of moral and material support to the national appeal it will issue in February next.

The Council is confident that members of the Society will do all in their power to ensure a striking success for the coming appeal, for as the Council has always insisted, more is at stake than the assistance of some thousands of men and women. The challenge is against the principles of university life and of the universality of learning; the reply must be commensurate with the danger.

STATISTICS.

NUMBERS OF DISPLACED SCHOLARS

PERMANENTLY PLACED

IN ACADEMIC INSTITUTIONS	378
IN INDUSTRY OR GENERAL RESEARCH	146

DISTRIBUTION BY COUNTRIES.

AFRICA	3	JAPAN	2
ALBANIA	1	NEW ZEALAND	1
ARGENTINE	4	NORWAY	2
AUSTRALIA	9	PALESTINE	46
BELGIUM	5	PANAMA	5
BRAZIL	8	PERU	5
CANADA	5	POLAND	1
CHILE	4	PORTUGAL	4
CHINA	5	SPAIN	1
COLOMBIA	4	SWEDEN	5
DENMARK	4	SWITZERLAND	15
ECUADOR	2	SYRIA	1
EGYPT	6	TURKEY	45
FRANCE	19	U.S.A.	161
GREAT BRITAIN	128	VENEZUELA	5
HOLLAND	7	YUGOSLAVIA	1
INDIA	6		
IRAN	5	Total ..	524
IRAQ	1		
ITALY	2		

DISTRIBUTION BY SUBJECTS.

ARCHAEOLOGY	4	MATHEMATICS	26
ART HISTORY	13	MUSICOLOGY	15
BIOLOGY	31	PHILOLOGY	57
CHEMISTRY	62	PHILOSOPHY	14
DENTISTRY	2	PHYSICS	39
ECONOMICS	52	PSYCHOLOGY	8
EDUCATION	5	SOCIOLOGY	15
ENGINEERING	16	THEOLOGY	5
GEOLOGY	4	MEDICINE	142
HISTORY	13		
LAW	25	Total ..	524

NUMBERS OF DISPLACED SCHOLARS

TEMPORARILY PLACED

DISTRIBUTION BY COUNTRIES.

ARGENTINE	1	JAPAN	1
BELGIUM	6	LITHUANIA	1
CANADA	1	NORWAY	1
CHINA	1	PALESTINE	6
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	5	POLAND	1
DENMARK	6	SPAIN	2
EGYPT	1	SWEDEN	14
FRANCE	18	SWITZERLAND	7
GREAT BRITAIN	123	TURKEY	6
GREECE	1	U.S.A.	86
HOLLAND	13	YUGOSLAVIA	1
HUNGARY	1		
INDIA	1	Total ..	306
ITALY	4		

DISTRIBUTION BY SUBJECTS

ARCHAEOLOGY	5	MUSICOLOGY	1
ART HISTORY	17	PHILOLOGY	25
BIOLOGY	20	PHILOSOPHY	13
CHEMISTRY	50	PHYSICS	29
ECONOMICS	22	PSYCHOLOGY	5
EDUCATION	1	SOCIOLOGY	12
ENGINEERING	4	THEOLOGY	2
GEOLOGY	1	MEDICINE	74
HISTORY	14		
LAW	18	Total ..	306
MATHEMATICS	15		

NUMBERS OF SCHOLARS PLACED IN GREAT BRITAIN.

UNIVERSITIES

ABERDEEN	2
BELFAST	1
BIRMINGHAM	8
BRISTOL	4
CAMBRIDGE	25
DURHAM	2
EDINBURGH	7
GLASGOW	5
LEEDS	1
LONDON :—	
Bedford College for Women	2
British Postgraduate Medical School	1
City and Guilds College	1
Courtauld Institute of Art	2
Guy's Hospital	1
Imperial College of Science and Technology	5
Institute of Archaeology	1
King's College	2
Lister Institute of Preventive Medicine	2
London Hospital	2
London School of Economics	11
Maudsley Hospital	5
Middlesex Hospital	2
Rothamsted Experimental Station	2
Saint Bartholomew's Hospital	1
School of Oriental Studies	4
School of Slavonic Studies	1
University College	12
University Observatory	1
Westminster Hospital	1
MANCHESTER	9
OXFORD	27
READING	2
SHEFFIELD	2
WALES :—	
University College, Cardiff	3

UNIVERSITY COLLEGES

HULL	1
LEICESTER	1
SOUTHAMPTON	1

OTHER INSTITUTIONS

BRITISH MUSEUM	2
FRESHWATER BIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION	1
GREENWICH SEAMEN'S HOSPITAL	1
IMPERIAL INSTITUTE OF ENTOMOLOGY	1
ROYAL INSTITUTION	2
WARBURG INSTITUTE	4

GENERAL INDUSTRY AND RESEARCH

.. .. .	80
Total ..	251

NUMBERS OF SCHOLARS PLACED IN GREAT BRITAIN.

DISTRIBUTION BY SUBJECTS

PERMANENTLY

ARCHAEOLOGY	1	MATHEMATICS	4
ART HISTORY	3	MUSICOLOGY	1
BIOLOGY	8	PHILOLOGY	10
CHEMISTRY	16	PHILOSOPHY	4
DENTISTRY	1	PHYSICS	14
ECONOMICS	11	SOCIOLOGY	1
ENGINEERING	5	MEDICINE	41
GEOLOGY	1		—
HISTORY	4	Total ..	128
LAW	3		—

DISTRIBUTION BY SUBJECTS

TEMPORARILY

ARCHAEOLOGY	3	PHILOLOGY	16
ART HISTORY	8	PHILOSOPHY	4
BIOLOGY	8	PHYSICS	12
CHEMISTRY	12	PSYCHOLOGY	1
ECONOMICS	5	SOCIOLOGY	6
EDUCATION	1	MEDICINE	30
ENGINEERING	2		—
HISTORY	5	Total ..	123
LAW	6		—
MATHEMATICS	4		—

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

OCTOBER 1ST, 1938—JUNE 30TH, 1939.

INCOME			EXPENDITURE			
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1. BALANCE AT SEPTEMBER 30TH, 1938.						
(1) Special deposit Account	1,500	0	0			
(2) Current Account	951	10	6			
(3) Investments	3,250	0	0			
			5,701	10	6	
2. INCOME FROM OCTOBER 1ST, 1938— NOVEMBER 30TH, 1938.						
(1) Subscriptions and Donations ..	2,417	4	5			
(2) Repaid Loans	273	7	8			
(3) Interest on Investment and Sundries	2	19	10			
			2,693	11	11	
3. ESTIMATED INCOME FROM DECEMBER 1ST, 1938—JUNE 30TH, 1939.						
(1) Guaranteed Subscriptions ..	2,200	1	9			
(2) Contribution from Council for German Jewry for Austrian cases	1,000	0	0			
(3) Amount recoverable from Czech Committee for Czech cases ..	792	3	4			
(4) Recoverable Loans	609	11	9			
			4,601	16	10	
			£12,996	19	3	
						£12,996
						19
						3

IRAQ

This scheme, you will recollect, was undertaken by me much earlier than last May. My studies in connection with it commenced in 1933. In September, 1937, the late Mr. Felix Warburg became interested in it and urged me to proceed with an exploration of its practical possibilities. After his death the following month, a number of his colleagues, including in addition to yourself, Mr. Baerwald, Mr. Stroock, Dr. Adler, Mrs. Borg, and Dr. Karpf, each separately spoke to me and encouraged me to continue even without the support of Mr. Warburg. Accordingly, in November I went to England for this purpose. My first object was to find some non-Jewish Englishman with a thorough knowledge of Iraq and who was held in high esteem there, who without revealing his aim could go there and discover how the leading Iraqis would respond to the main idea behind my scheme. My second object was to find out if the British government would object to the carrying out of my scheme, if that were to become possible.

My scheme, you will recall, is founded on the following underlying facts:

- (a) Iraq is a large country, almost the size of Germany before its recent annexations, with a predominantly Arab population of only about 3,000,000, that is able to cultivate only a small part of the country.
- (b) Four British expert commissions have surveyed the country and report that with suitable irrigation it could support a much greater population. (Archaeologists report that in ancient times it supported from 15,000,000 to 30,000,000 people).
- (c) Great irrigation schemes on the Tigris, Euphrates, Diala, and other rivers were undertaken in 1934, and are now about complete, British construction firms having been employed with funds derived from oil royalties.
- (d) Iraq will need a substantial immigration, in order to populate the newly irrigated areas and make the dams worthwhile, in order to support the roads and other amenities that the country needs and wants, and in order to convince the world that it has a right to its rich territories and should not cede them to its unfriendly and land-hungry neighbors, Turkey, Iran, and Arabia, as well as to defend it in case of war.
- (e) Leading Iraq statesmen have on several occasions said that for social, economic, and political reasons they would countenance no immigration except Arab farmers.
- (f) The only conceivable large supply of Arab farmers who might gain personally by migration to Iraq is in Palestine, where the bulk of the population lives in the hills, which are poor and difficult to cultivate with the poor technique of the Arabs, and from which they make a very meager living.
- (g) The Iraq government is in a position to furnish the immigrants with good, easily cultivated land gratis.
- (h) Much of the cost of transferring the Arabs from Palestine to Iraq could be recovered by the sale of their land in Palestine to Jewish interests, and the balance could be amortized in time by the immigrants guaranteed by the oil royalties of Iraq.

November 3, 1938.

- (1) If a large part of the Arab population of Palestine thus could be transferred to Iraq in a peaceable way, the conflict with the Jews would be alleviated and at the same time room on the land would be obtained for a large number of Jewish settlers, since Jews have shown that they usually can do well on land where Arabs do only poorly.

Last May I sent a report to certain people whom I had consulted about this scheme, in which I told of having finally, with the help of Sir Robert Waley Cohen and Mr. Walter S. Cohen of London, found and employed Mr. H. T. Montague Bell, an established journalist familiar with and well-known in Iraq, to go there and indirectly ascertain the attitude toward the idea behind the scheme, and that he had gone, had done his work well, and had found no antipathy to the basic conception on the part of anyone. I did not include in my report the fact that I had had a most satisfactory contact with the Colonial Office, through Sir John Shuckburgh, Chief of its Near Eastern Division, and with Sir Harold MacMichael, the then newly-appointed High Commissioner for Palestine. The latter was outspoken, privately, in his support of my work.

Mr. Bell returned to England in the spring, and I kept him in my employ. Within recent weeks, he entertained the Iraqi foreign minister and the Iraqi former prime minister in London, and found them both still favorable to my scheme, when the right time to apply it comes about. Of course, they are not aware of its being a scheme at all. It is my objective, that Mr. Bell is trying to carry out, to have the Iraqi leaders eventually regard the scheme as their own idea for the good of their country. Mr. Bell is due to return to Iraq on Monday, November 7th, and to stay all winter, ostensibly to write a book, which he will do, with the hope of having the Iraqi leaders by next spring ask for his help in carrying out the scheme. He believes he can accomplish that.

I personally am standing the full expense of this work, which I perhaps more than anyone else realize has no more than a very slight chance of succeeding. However, in these times, I feel that no opportunity, however doubtful, can be neglected to make it possible for Jews to find a place to live.

*German Finance
Statistics*

November 16 1938

Memorandum for Mr. T. W. Lamont
Mr. R. C. Leffingwell

GERMANY AFTER MUNICH

Several noteworthy articles have in the past been written on Germany by W. G. J. Knop in the English monthly magazine The Banker. In the November 1938 issue of The Banker yet another article on Germany is contributed by Knop, starting with the premise that the German nation of 80 millions is determined to use its power to the utmost. The question of German economic, financial, and industrial strength, therefore, will be one of paramount importance in the critical period which lies before us.

It is no easy task at the present moment to judge Germany's economic position accurately so soon after the Reich territory has been enlarged by Austria and the Sudetenland areas. Before a new economic balance can be established, one thing is clear beyond doubt, viz. that Germany, for the time being at any rate, has passed the nadir of her economic strength and is now starting on the road to recovery,--recovery not in the sense of employment and industrial activity, which have been high enough for quite some time, but in the sense of economic stamina.

Before answering the question what has produced this change for the better, Knop reviews the main factors which, during Hitler's regime, have been economically unfortunate. Briefly, these factors have been three-fold. Firstly, the State-assisted industrial revival, which brought about a considerable loss of devisa reserves; secondly, the adverse results of Nazi economic policy since 1933 on the financial position of the Reich; and, thirdly, the combined effect of the exchange shortage and financial policy, which caused a drop in the standard of living.

A reckless determination not to be impeded by any orthodox principles, an increasingly efficient system of organization and some remarkable slices of luck have combined to help the Nazi authorities to succeed, temporarily at least, in their economic gamble. A recent investigation

made for a foreign Government and based on confidential statistics of the Reichsbank showed that Germany's total reserves of gold, devisen, and foreign securities amounted to about Rm. 1,350 millions at the beginning of 1934, sc.:

<u>January 1934</u>	<u>In million Rm.</u>
Official gold and foreign exchange reserve of the Reichsbank	400
Further gold and devisen reserves of the Reichsbank, the State Note Issuing	
Bank, and all other banks	<u>160</u>
Holdings of foreign securities:	
In private hands (approx.)	500
In Government hands	80
Gold and foreign exchange held by industry and trade	50
Private gold and foreign exchange hoards	150
German capital invested abroad, excluding all doubtful and frozen assets	<u>1,200</u>
Together	2,540
Stocks of imported raw materials and food-stuffs	<u>6,500</u>
Total	9,040

Germany's balance of payments, including all capital movements, from 1934 to 1937 have been as follows:

	<u>In million Rm.</u>	
	<u>Adverse Balance</u>	<u>Favourable Balance</u>
1934	550	
1935	300	
1936		100
1937		320

After allowing for the changes during the first two months of 1938 and the industrial consumption of gold since 1934, the German gold, devisen, and foreign assets position before the Austrian Anschluss was as follows:

<u>Before Austrian Anschluss, March 1938</u>	<u>In million Rm.</u>
Official gold and foreign exchange reserve of the Reichsbank	75
Further gold and devisen reserves of the Reichsbank, the State Note Issuing Banks, and all other banks	470
Holdings of foreign securities:	
In private hands	10
In Government hands	200
Gold and foreign exchange held by industry and trade	10
Private gold and foreign exchange hoards	30
German capital invested abroad	<u>1,100</u>
Together	1,895
Stocks of raw materials and food-stuffs	<u>3,500</u>
Total immediately before Anschluss	5,395

Germany's potential devisen position before the Austrian Anschluss was thus by no means an unfavourable one. While the total reserves were not particularly large as compared with those of Britain and France, they again showed a rising tendency, having been at their lowest level in 1936.

The Austrian annexation brought an unexpectedly large addition to the German reserves, sc.:

<u>Austrian Reserves</u>	<u>In million Rm.</u>
Gold and foreign exchange reserve of Austrian National Bank, official and hidden	340
Gold and foreign exchange from private and banking sources called in by Government decree	<u>750</u>
Carried forward	1090

Carried Forward	1090
Holdings of first-class foreign securities	170
Other Austrian capital investment, excluding frozen and doubtful assets	<u>350</u>
Total reserves acquired by Anschluss	1,610

Altogether, it is estimated by Knop in his article that Germany, after the Anschluss, had a devisen reserve, actual and potential, of considerable size:

<u>After Austrian Anschluss, March 1938</u>	<u>In million Rm.</u>
Gold and foreign exchange	1,650
Foreign securities	380
Other capital investment abroad	<u>1,450</u>
Total immediately after Anschluss	3,480

In the month following the Anschluss, however, it seemed as though serious new difficulties lay ahead. The Anschluss itself affected very seriously Austria's two main sources of devisen revenue, viz. the tourist and export trade. Germany's own export trade was suffering from the general decline in world trade, and her foreign tourist trade came almost to a complete standstill as a result of the political tension during the summer. In July last, the Greater-German balance of payments was again adverse for the first time since 1935. In July, August, and September alone the German

gold and devisa losses totalled between Rm. 120 million and Rm. 130 million, and German official quarters became accordingly concerned.

Then came the Munich Agreement, which destroyed the only effective barrier against German economic and political domination of the Balkans. However determined some of the Balkan States may have been during the September crisis to support the Western Powers in a possible conflict with Germany, the Munich Agreement has served as a danger signal which they are finding it impossible to ignore.

The principal aim of Germany's economic policy towards the Southeastern European countries is undoubtedly to assist or direct them in the rapid development of their large untapped resources. If that policy can be carried through with the usual Nazi thoroughness, the German authorities will have little need to worry about the partial loss, during the next year or two, of their present gold and exchange reserves. The fact that Germany may be able to rely on the Danubian countries for the war-time supply of raw materials and food-stuffs may mean that she, Germany, will be almost invulnerable to a future naval blockade.

As to the German financial situation, the repercussions of the Munich Agreement must have come as another Godsend. Since 1933 an ever-increasing share of German savings was mobilized for the financing of public expenditure. Until this Summer there were definite indications that a psychological danger-point had been reached. German financial journals are now admitting openly that the political tension of August and September last placed the Government's entire financial programme in jeopardy and that the authorities, for the first time since Hitler's advent to power, were confronted with real difficulties in the current financing of public expenditure.

In an endeavour to cope with their requirements for financing during 1938 to the tune of Rm. 5,000 million, the German Government replaced the old system of short-term financing by means of "special" bills by a new system of issuing "delivery" Treasury bills. These bills were valid for six months only and, in contrast to the "special" bills, which are renewed at maturity, the "delivery" bills were to be funded at maturity out of the proceeds of long-term loans. The first "delivery" bills were issued in April, falling due for redemption in October.

The hope that the new system would work lasted exactly a month. Already in May it became obvious that Government expenditure was proceeding at an unparalleled speed. The incorporation of Austria upset all previous financial estimates, and the Czech campaign involved a tremendous military effort on

Germany's part. As a result, the budget deficit during the second quarter ran above the estimates by Rm. 2 milliard. The next long-term issue, however, was not due until July, since two large loans had been floated as recently as in January and April. To meet the deficit the Nazi authorities did three things. Firstly, they issued a larger amount of delivery bills than originally contemplated; secondly, they inflated the note circulation of the Reichsbank; and, thirdly, they continued issuing, as surreptitiously as possible, the old special bills. All of this naturally caused German business to feel concerned, and, in addition, industry itself, having reached the high level of employment and being in need of large capital investments, was less liquid than before. Once again Munich came to the rescue. The increase in domestic prestige which the Munich victory brought the Nazi Government surpasses by far the similar gains made by the Nazis after the Saar plebiscite, the Rhineland occupation, or even the Austrian Anschluss. Striking while the iron of confidence is hot, the German Government has issued the largest loan floated in Germany since the War. The subscription lists are to close just about this time (the middle of November), and the total amount subscribed is not expected to be short of Rm. 2,000 million. Of this, Rm. 500 million will serve to consolidate some of the short-term commitments entered into during the Summer. The remainder will suffice to meet current expenses until the Reich can make another appeal to the capital market either in December or January next. The German financial position thus remains in a precarious state. On the one hand, large expenditures will be required for the further acceleration of rearmament and the assimilation of economic life in Sudetenland; on the other hand, the national savings not yet mobilized by the Government are diminishing.

Munich, of course, has not re-established permanent domestic confidence in the Hitler Government. But it has done enough to guarantee the working of the financial machine for a considerable time to come. As to the future, much will depend on the extent to which the Nazi Government is able to raise the German standard of living. As responsible Nazis themselves admit, this standard declined steadily from 1933 until the middle of 1937. Since then there may have been some modest recovery, owing partly to the scarcity of labour and the resulting tendency to raise wages and partly to more plentiful supplies of food-stuffs.

It is impossible to say whether this recent upward trend in the standard of living will continue. Knop concludes that all that can be said with safety is that there will be no further decline. That in itself is a considerable achievement for a system that devotes such a huge portion of the national income to capital investment in empire building.

114/1938
BA:DN
11/16/38

23. Nov. 38.

Dear Mrs Taylor.

I enclose leaflet
of the Fumble Sale
in aid of Dockland
Settlements. We

should be so very
grateful if you

have anything you
could throw away
that you would let
us have; nothing is
too old & all would
be useful.

Yours truly

Irene Strutt

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November 23, 1938

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

My dear Mr. Taylor:

I am very loath to trouble you before you sail. I know how burdened you are. Withal I am happy to think that you are ready to set forth to do a great work in one of the saddest hours of the history of my people. I thank you more deeply than I can say. I have told Justice Brandeis of the dedicated way in which you give yourself to this task, and he hopes to see you upon your return.

There are two matters that I wish to call to your attention. First, you will wish to see some figures which I have gotten from a distinguished economist. I am sending two copies. Perhaps Mr. Rublee will wish to see one.

A more serious thing, however, is -- and it is a great indignity to Jews who have lived in Germany since the third or fourth century -- to ask Jews to go to regions in Africa, the title to which, viewing Germany's claims, is still doubtful. There will be an element of reprisal if Jews were to occupy the once German territories. The destruction of these Jewishly occupied territories would become one of the supreme objectives of the German Reich.

There is something more that I wish to call to your attention, though it may be hardly necessary to do so, namely -- you saw the statement of the Prime Minister yesterday. Tomorrow there is to be another statement by the Government. England constantly belittles the place that Palestine can have in any scheme for the care of the refugees. These are the facts, however reluctant some of my Jewish friends may be to face them because of an antipathy on the part of certain groups of American and German Jews to the idea of a Jewish National Home in Palestine: Palestine has welcomed, sheltered and given home to 50,000 German refugees in the last five and a half years; in other words, a third of all the involuntary emigrants -- to use your term -- from Germany have found home in Palestine.

Because of certain difficulties the British government is seeking to minimize Palestine and to say, for example,

Honorable Myron C. Taylor

that nothing can be done until after the British-Arab-Jewish Conferences in January. I think you will see for yourself that with the miniature Arab revolt virtually suppressed, inasmuch as England purports to wish to help the refugee Jews, it can make wide provision for their coming to Palestine.

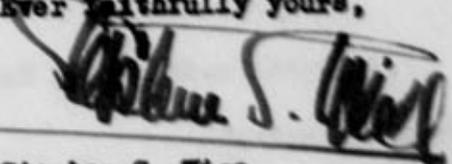
The Palestine Jewish population is prepared to make every sacrifice in order to give shelter to the German refugees.

I ought to tell you what perhaps you know, - that Lord Winterton has been peculiarly sympathetic to the Arabs, and rather unsympathetic to Jews in the matter of Palestine.

There is much that I could say about what England could do in this crisis in keeping with the Balfour Declaration and the British Mandate. I am sure, dear Mr. Taylor, that you will do whatever can be done; and permit me to say that among the things for which I shall give thanks tomorrow is your going to England to help the refugees. I have told many people how deeply moved I have been and am as I think of the great way in which you give yourself to this great and holy task.

I am, dear Mr. Taylor,

Ever faithfully yours,



Stephen S. Wise

SSW:FE

C O P Y

Nov. 21, 1938

Dear Dr. Wise:

Here are a few figures which may be of interest:

		<u>White</u>	<u>Total</u>
Belgian Congo	Jan. 1, 1935	18,539	9,401,844
Cameroons (British M)	Dec. 31, 1935	354	817,970
Cameroons (French Mand)	" " "	2,257	2,341,105
French West Africa	Mar. 6, 1936	19,061	14,702,583
Kenya	Dec. 31, 1935	17,997	3,064,351
Nigeria	Apr. 13, 1931	4,672	19,130,859
Northern Rhodesia	May 5, 1931	13,846	1,308,528
Tanganyika	Dec. 31, 1935	8,455	5,138,080
Nyasaland	" " "	1,781	1,603,257
British Guiana	" " "	2,166	328,219

Mentioned by
Chamberlain

Let me know if you need any further material.

Cordially yours,

(Signed) Otto Nathan

Volume 341
No. 13



Thursday
24th Nov., 1938

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

HOUSE OF COMMONS
OFFICIAL REPORT

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PALESTINE.

3.50 p.m.

Motion made, and Question proposed,
 "That this House do now adjourn."—
 [Captain Margesson.]

The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Malcolm MacDonald): I should like to preface my statement to-day by thanking hon. Members in every part of the House for the patience and restraint with which they have watched growing each month the unhappy situation in Palestine. I know how easy it would have been for them to have badgered the Colonial Secretary at Question Time or to have drawn angry attention to this or that aspect of the matter on Motions for the Adjournment. But hon. Members have refrained from doing these things. It is not because they are indifferent to what is going on in Palestine. The House is conscious of its responsibilities in Palestine, as it is of its responsibilities in any other part of the world. I think hon. Members have, perhaps, refrained from doing these things because they appreciate the special difficulty and delicacy of the situation with which we are faced in that country. I hope that I may appeal to hon. Members this afternoon, when we are about to enter into discussions with representatives of the Arabs and the Jews in London, to conduct this Debate with such a wise judgment that no word which is spoken here shall prejudice the chance of these discussions bearing at last the fruit of an Arab-Jewish agreement.

During the last few months a constructive political effort to ease the situation in Palestine has not been possible. It was unfortunate, but it was inevitable. We had to await the presentation of the Woodhead Commission's Report, and so our attention has been concentrated on the mere physical effort to restore law and order in that country. During the idle summer days, when there was little work for labourers to do in the fields, a campaign of assassination and violence, waged by terrorists, grew into something like an organised and widespread Arab revolt against British authority. The powerful military and police forces which are now at the disposal of the Government are steadily and surely re-establishing the authority of the Government throughout the land. A few weeks ago they cleared the old city of Jerusalem of

the rebels. The authority of the administration has been re-established in Jaffa. Without any blowing of trumpets the walls of Jericho have been re-occupied by our troops. Gaza is once more a place where the writ of the Government runs, and this week hostile elements have been driven out of Beersheba. Steadily and painfully the process of restoration is going on throughout the country.

We all know that certain interested propagandists have been levelling many foul charges against the conduct of our troops. I see a good many things in the Colonial Office, but I have never seen any evidence in support of these charges. On the contrary, the whole world knows that the re-occupation of the old city of Jerusalem a few weeks ago was an example of the way in which British troops can with perfect humility, as well as perfect success, conduct a delicate military operation in the midst of a civilian population. But the real problem in Palestine is not a military problem but a political problem. Our troops can restore order; they cannot restore peace. The Government have to do that; this House has to do that. There is nothing so easy as to state the problem in Palestine. It was done brilliantly in the pages of the report of the Peel Commission. There is no need to alter a word or a comma in the analysis of the problem as it is made in that remarkable State document.

Palestine is a tiny country; spiritually it is great. In its spiritual quality it has no peer among the countries of the earth; it guards some of the Holy Places of three of the world's great religions. But physically it is tiny. Its soil is very fertile and bears rich fruit, but much of the land is rocky or hilly, and much of it is desert. That is the nature of the small stage on which a great tragedy is being played to-day. There are two protagonists in the field. First of all there are the Jews. Nearly 2,000 years ago their home was Palestine, but since then they have been dispersed, scattered over the face of the earth. They are a country-less people, but during the last 20 years many of them have been hastening back to Palestine under the terms of the Mandate, endorsed by more than 50 nations, under which the administration of the country was entrusted to Great Britain. I do not think that any one can justly say that during these years Great

of labour not less favourable than those commonly recognised in the aircraft industry in the United States. There are no other contracts for the manufacture of aircraft for the Royal Air Force outside the United Kingdom.

Mr. McEntee asked the Secretary of State for Air whether the contracts for new aircraft being placed in Canada include any wood or wood and metal aircraft?

Captain Balfour: No, Sir. Aircraft ordered under the contracts in question will be all-metal types.

UNEMPLOYED ENGINEERING WORKERS.

Mr. Sutcliffe asked the Secretary of State for Air whether, in view of the official statements as to the shortage of skilled labour for undertaking Air Ministry contract work, he is aware of the large numbers of skilled workmen in small factories which are prepared but unable to obtain such work; and whether he will take steps to ensure that such small firms are better utilised in the rearmament programme?

Captain Balfour: As my right hon. Friend informed the House on 10th November he has paid special attention to the question of sub-contracting with a view to utilising the engineering resources of the country as widely as possible. He has requested aircraft firms to sub-contract

a substantial portion of their work; he has recently concluded arrangements with large industrial concerns for the development of extensive sub-contracting systems for the production of aircraft, and there is a separate Directorate to develop sub-contracting under the Director General of Production at the Air Ministry. He feels that all these measures should result in advantage being taken of suitable facilities which may be available in a factory such as my hon. Friend has in mind.

EDUCATION GRANTS.

Mr. Lipson asked the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education whether the Departmental Committee which has been conferring with representatives of local education authorities on the question of grants has made its report?

Mr. Lindsay: The hon. Member is mistaken in his reference to a Departmental Committee. Discussions are proceeding between representatives of local education authorities and officers of the Board with regard to the adjustment and equalisation of the various factors in the elementary grant formula. The present position is that various schemes for amendment of the formula have been laid before the representatives of local education authorities, and I understand that they are considering alternative proposals.

Britain has not been fulfilling her obligation to facilitate the immigration of Jews into Palestine.

Since 1922 more than 250,000 Jews have entered Palestine and settled there. Their achievement has been remarkable. They have turned sand dunes into orange groves. They have pushed ever further into waste land the frontiers of cultivation and settlement. They have created a new city, housing to-day 140,000 souls, where before there was only bare seashore. There is no knowing where their achievement might end if Palestine were empty of all other populations and could be handed over to them in full ownership. The Jews are in Palestine not on sufferance but by right, and to-day, under the lash of persecution in Central Europe, their eagerness to return to their own home land is multiplied a hundredfold. The tragedy of a people who have no country has never been so deep as it is this week. The sympathy of our own countrymen, their anxiety to do everything they can to help the persecuted Jews has never been so firm as it is to-day. But I hope that we are not going to allow our horror at the plight into which these people have been thrown to warp our cool and just judgment on the difficult problem of Palestine to-day.

I must utter this word of warning. When we promised to facilitate the establishment of a national home for Jews in Palestine, we never anticipated this fierce persecution in Europe. We have made no promise that that country should be the home for everyone who is seeking to escape from such an immense calamity, and even if there were no other population in Palestine, its rather meagre soil could not in fact support more than a fraction of those Jews who may wish to escape from Europe. The problem of the refugees in Central Europe cannot be settled in Palestine. It has to be settled over a far wider field than that. Palestine, of course, can make its contribution; it is making a contribution to-day. At the present time, despite the disturbances, Jewish emigrants are going to Palestine week after week at the rate of about 1,000 a month. The Jewish Agency naturally, in the light of recent events, are now anxious that the rate of immigration shall be greatly increased. I saw two representatives of the Agency on Monday and they spoke to me about it. I asked

them to let me have their proposals complete in every detail. Those proposals reached me this morning, and they will, of course, receive at once my most careful consideration, and I shall consult about them with the High Commissioner in Jerusalem. But I must in all honesty say this: the Government have often been charged with having no policy in Palestine, or else they have been charged with having a policy and then wobbling on it, changing their mind. The Government announced a short time ago what the next definite stage in its policy would be. That is a policy of discussions with Arabs and Jews in London, and we are going to abide by that conference. We cannot do anything now which might prejudice the chance of those discussions ending successfully. It is in the best interests of the Jews themselves that future policy in Palestine should as far as possible be based on a wide agreement.

The second people who are involved in this bitter controversy in Palestine are the Arabs. They have lived in the country for many centuries. They were not consulted when the Balfour Declaration was made, nor when the Mandate was framed, and during the post-War years they have watched with occasional angry protests this peaceful invasion by an alien people. They have watched the buying up of their lands, they have watched Jewish settlements spreading ever further over the countryside. They have been compelled to recognise the superior energy and skill and wealth of that wonderful people; and the Arabs are afraid. In 1933, 30,000 Jews came into Palestine; in 1934 42,000 Jews came into Palestine; and in 1935 the number was 61,000. The Arabs wonder when a halt is going to be called to this great migration. They wonder whether a halt is ever going to be called to it, and they fear that it is going to be their fate in the land of their birth to be dominated by this energetic, new-coming people, dominated economically, politically and commercially. If I were an Arab I would be alarmed. If we are ever to have an understanding of this problem, if we are ever to play our part in finding a happy solution for it, we must be able to put ourselves in the shoes not only of the Jews but of the Arabs.

I know that a great many people regard this Arab agitation as the mere protest of a gang of bandits. Of course it is

[Mr. MacDonald.] true that many of these Arabs who have taken part most eagerly in the troubles are cut-throats of the worst type. Their massacres of the innocents at Tiberias, and on a score of other miserable battlefields, have disgraced their cause. It is true also that many of those who are associated with them have been terrorised into that association. But there is much more than that in the Arab movement. I think that this House, which is so capable of a generous understanding of other peoples, ought to recognise that many in the Palestinian Arab movement are moved by a genuine patriotism. However wrong they may be, however misguided they may be, however disastrous their policy may be, many of them have felt compelled to take the risk of laying down their lives for their country.

I know that that is not the whole story. There is a great deal else that has to be said if the description of the situation is to be complete and just. There is one set of facts especially, of great importance, that I must mention. Those who conceived 20 years ago the possibility of facilitating the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine were moved by a great idea, and already in these first 20 years that idea has been translated into a wonderful act of creation. But I do sometimes wonder whether all of the authors of this great creative act were fully informed of the situation even at that time, in 1917, 1918 and 1919. I sometimes wonder whether they knew then that there were already living between the Jordan and the Mediterranean Sea more than 600,000 Arabs. Certainly I do not think they could know that as a result of the coming of the British administration, with the coming of the Jews and because of the coming of the Jews, that Arab population would increase rapidly. The Jews brought with them money and development work provided extra livelihood. Modern health services, which were extended not only to Jews but to Arabs, gave the individual a further lease and security of life. Since 1922 the Arab population in Palestine has, scarcely at all by migration from outside and almost entirely by natural increase, gone up from something over 600,000 to 990,000 persons. Perhaps I should add that it is calculated that the total of 990,000 Arabs

in Palestine to-day will have become 1,500,000 Arabs within 20 years from now.

That remarkable and significant set of facts leads to two reflections. In the first place I think it must upset at any rate some of the calculations about how many Jews could be settled in Palestine without prejudicing the rights and position of the Arab population. But, as I say, there are two sides to that state of things. The other side is this: The Arabs cannot say that the Jews are driving them out of their country. If not a single Jew had come to Palestine after 1918, I believe the Arab population of Palestine to-day would still have been round about the 600,000 figure at which it had been stable under Turkish rule. It is because the Jews who have come to Palestine bring modern health services and other advantages that Arab men and women who would have been dead or alive to-day, that Arab children who would never have drawn breath have been born and grown strong. It is not only the Jews who have benefited from the Balfour Declaration. They can deny it as much as they like, but materially the Arabs in Palestine have gained very greatly from the Balfour Declaration.

I know that it is useless to press that argument on the Arabs. They are deaf to the argument, they are blind to the spectacle of a gradually improving standard of life for their people, because they are thinking of something else. They are thinking of their freedom and they are afraid that, if this process goes on, then at last they will have to surrender to the political over-lordship of the enterprising, hardworking, ever-increasing citizens of the Jewish National Home. I say that we British people ought to be the last people in the world not to understand the feelings of the Arabs in this matter, because we too would sacrifice material advantages if we thought our freedom was at stake. We cannot put the Jews under the domination of the Arabs in Palestine, but also, unless we can remove that Arab fear that they are going to be put under the domination of the Jews, we shall have to face a suspicious and hostile people over a great area of the Near East, and we shall find that we have to lock up a great part of our Army in Palestine indefinitely.

Therefore, we have most solemn obligations to both peoples in Palestine. On

the one hand, we are pledged to facilitate Jewish immigration into Palestine under suitable conditions and to encourage close settlement of Jews on the land; and on the other hand, we are pledged to see that the rights and position of the Arab population are not prejudiced. How can we reconcile justly and peacefully those two obligations? That is the problem that we have to solve. That is the riddle for which we have to find an answer. What is the answer? The Peel Commission, with irresistible logic, recommended that the country should be partitioned, that the Jews and the Arabs should be, to a certain extent, kept apart, that the ambition of each of them to enjoy self-government should be satisfied in different areas of Palestine, whilst the Holy Places were kept in an enclave still under mandatory control. This House never committed itself to that policy. The Government accepted it in principle as the most hopeful solution to the deadlock which had arisen, but admittedly the practicability of the principle had to be further investigated, and the Woodhead Commission went out to Palestine for that purpose.

For three months they lived dangerously in the city of Jerusalem, they toured the whole country, always with their escort of armed men, they went about their business with great courage, and they went about it also with great thoroughness. A short while ago they presented their report. That report makes it clear that partition, as proposed by the Peel Commission, is impracticable. That report makes it clear that if we were to divide Palestine into a Jewish State and an Arab State and a Mandated area, then the Jewish State would have a great surplus in its budget every year, but year after year the budgets of the Arab State and the Mandated Territory would show a great deficit. The Commission therefore reported that under the terms of their reference they were unable to recommend boundaries for the proposed areas which would afford a reasonable prospect of the eventual establishment of self-supporting Arab and Jewish States. I think that is itself a remarkable tribute to the achievement of the Jews. It is impossible, without the continuous aid of the Jews, for the people living in Palestine beyond the Jewish settlements to maintain the standard of government and the social

services to which they have become accustomed.

But that state of affairs also kills the proposal for the dividing up of Palestine into two sovereign States, and His Majesty's Government lost no time in accepting the position. A part of Palestine is not to be handed over to control by the Jews, another part is not to be handed over to control by the Arabs; the Government have declared that they will continue their responsibility for the Government of the whole country. We have adopted, if I may say so, a motto, a policy, which my right hon. Friend the Member for Epping (Mr. Churchill) said that he would make a present of to me when I met him in the Lobby shortly after I had assumed my office as Colonial Secretary. He muttered to me, as he passed one afternoon, "Not partition, but perseverance." We have got to find the alternative means of meeting the needs of the unhappy situation in Palestine. I receive a great deal of help in my study of the problem from numerous correspondents. Scores of letters pour in, many of them containing solutions to this problem. I do not remember any two letters which suggested exactly the same solution. Many of the letters offer no solution at all; their writers merely cry in desperation, "Is there any solution to this appalling problem?"

Of course, there is a solution, but I do not think that it ought to rest on the Government alone to find that solution. It ought to rest also on the two other parties who are concerned in this matter, the Arabs and the Jews. They have both got a contribution to make; they have both got to make concessions to the other. If they would only be willing to do that, then peace and prosperity would return to both peoples in Palestine. I know that it is going to be exceedingly difficult to break down the hard bitterness which has naturally grown up on each side during months of violence and bloodshed. It may be that one's idealism is running away with one in supposing that any agreement is possible at the present time. But the Government attach so much importance to an understanding between the Jews and the Arabs that they are prepared to make a supreme effort to achieve that understanding. It is not impossible for ordinary Jewish and Arab people to live contentedly side by side in Palestine. Many of them have been doing

[Mr. MacDonaid.]
so in numerous communities in Palestine right through these distressing times. Nor is it impossible for Jewish and Arab leaders to reach agreement together. There was a moment, 20 years ago, when that not only seemed possible but seemed to have been actually accomplished. Dr. Weizmann, on behalf of the Zionist Organisation, crossed the River Jordan and met the Emir Feisal in his camp in the desert, surrounded by his Arab hosts, and in due course, after some months, those two men signed an agreement about Palestine. It is to that sort of relationship between Arab and Jew that we want to go back.

So the Government have proposed that discussions should take place in London. They will probably be, in the first instance, discussions between the Government and the Arab representatives and discussions between the Government and the Jewish representatives, but we hope that they will develop before long into a discussion between all three parties meeting round a common table. The Government will, of course, enter those discussions bound by its obligations under the Mandate to Jews and to Arabs, bound by its duty to Parliament, and to the other members of the League of Nations, and to the United States of America; but we shall not seek to prevent either the Arab representatives or the Jewish representatives from offering arguments as to why the Mandate should be changed. The discussions will be full, frank, and free; and therefore, I am sure the House will not expect me to say more at this stage about the policy which the Government itself will pursue in the course of those discussions. I hope that it will be possible for the discussions to start in London within the next few weeks. If they cannot start before Christmas, I hope they will start at the very latest at the beginning of January, for it is imperative that the present uncertainty should be brought to an end as soon as possible. It is of the highest importance that policy should be formulated and clearly declared. For that reason, if the discussions in London do not yield some kind of understanding between the three parties within a reasonable period of time, then the Government will itself take full responsibility, in the light of its examination of the question, following the Peel and Woodhead Reports, and in the light of the discussions

themselves, for formulating and declaring future policy.

Hon. Members in this House in these days have to deal with a great variety of political problems. Each day they crowd upon us, but I always feel conscious that there is something about Palestine which distinguishes its problem from any of the others. The others are essays in the art of government—the most difficult of all the arts. When I attempt to deal with them I, naturally, like other hon. Members, feel a lively human interest and even fascination in them. In the possession of those qualities this Palestine problem yields nothing to any other. Its complexities make it the supreme test of our capacity to govern. But there is more to it than that. When I turn to the Palestine problem I feel a certain awe and reverence. I cannot remember a time when I did not hear about Palestine. I cannot remember a time when I was not told stories about Nazareth and Galilee, about Jerusalem and Bethlehem, where was born the Prince of Peace. This House, in its long history, has had placed in its keeping many noble trusts, but it has never had a trust so sacred as that of restoring peace and good will in the Holy Land.

4.34 p.m.

Mr. Herbert Morrison: I think Members in all parts of the House have listened closely and with every sympathy to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman who has just placed this problem before us. I am bound to say that many of us on this side, and, indeed, I think, many other hon. and right hon. Gentlemen, listened to the first part of the right hon. Gentleman's speech with a good deal more sympathy and conviction than they were able to give to the latter part of his observations. One felt that in what may be called the second part of the right hon. Gentleman's speech, he was getting deeper and deeper into the mire, that there was less and less clarity of utterance and less and less decision. Really, even for this Government—and I make all allowances—to come along and tell us that they have a policy for dealing with this matter and that that policy is discussion—well, it is a little beyond the limit even for this Government to tell us that. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster appears to dissent, but I am within the recollection of the

House. What the right hon. Gentleman in effect said was, "We must have a policy for the next stage, and we are going to discuss it." [HON. MEMBERS: "Hear, hear!"] I agree that discussion may be very meritorious. I understand that the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster has very strong views upon this matter, and I make all allowances for the strength of his convictions, but if the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Colonies did not say, as I believe he did say, that the policy of the Government in this situation was discussion, then can anybody tell me what else he said?

I am not saying that discussion is a bad thing. After all, that is what we do in this House. But you cannot govern a country by talk, and you cannot solve international problems by eternal discussion. The time has come when we ought to have some reasonable idea of what the policy of the Government is. I say, with every understanding of the right hon. Gentleman's difficulties and the troubles which he has inherited from previous Ministers, that the latter part of his speech did not give the impression that he had any reasonably clear idea of where he was going or, if he had any such idea—and that may be so—that he had any clear idea of how far his Ministerial colleagues were willing to go with him. Some Minister is reported to have said in a humorous moment that foreign affairs would be splendid if there were no foreigners, and I began to think, listening to the right hon. Gentleman, that he had come to the conclusion that the Palestine problem would be easy if there were no Jews and no Arabs. What has he said? He has appealed for restraint during these discussions, and all of us will agree with that. He has resented as untrue foreign propaganda against the decency and humanity of the British troops. We agree with him about that, and we hope he will report it to the Prime Minister, because the Prime Minister knows where the propaganda comes from, and we all know the great friendship of the Prime Minister for that source of propaganda.

The right hon. Gentleman said that this was not a military but a political problem. There is truth in that, but I suggest to him and to the Colonial Office, if that Department is capable of lifting itself above the ordinary traditional methods of

treating colonial problems, that those methods really will not fit this country with which we are dealing. This is not a primitive country of the ordinary colonial type. It is much more complicated and it seems to me that we cannot altogether agree with the right hon. Gentleman that this is a political problem alone. It is a social problem as well, and an economic problem, and unless the Colonial Office and the administration in Palestine, take into account social and economic as well as political and military considerations, they will not reach a solution. The right hon. Gentleman told us that we must not let our horror of the German persecution warp our reasonable judgment, and said that we were making a contribution in Palestine by permitting the immigration of 1,000 Jews a month, or 12,000 a year. But that is no contribution whatever in the circumstances which have arisen out of the German persecution in recent weeks. There is no change in the number of Jews that are permitted to go to Palestine. Therefore, the net Palestinian contribution to meet the difficulties which have arisen out of recent persecutions is precisely nil. The Government are not permitting one additional Jew to enter Palestine as a consequence of the terrible events which are happening in Europe.

Mr. Pilkington: Is not the percentage of German Jews greater?

Mr. Morrison: I could not say whether there has been any adaptation of that kind, but it would be impossible within the limit of 1,000 per month to do very much, however you might adapt the figure. But even if that be so, whatever adaptation of the proportions has been made, as between German Jews and other Jews, I would remind hon. Members that Germany is not the only country where there are difficulties, and even if there has been any contribution in that way, that contribution must be negligible in relation to the magnitude of the problem. The right hon. Gentleman said with truth, and it was one of the points to which I myself had intended to refer, that far from Jewish immigration having made it impossible for the Arabs to live in Palestine, far from it having damaged the Arabs socially and economically, Jewish immigration had made possible the existence of a much larger Arab population. That view is confirmed in the recent report of

[Mr. Morrison.] the Partition Commission. The right hon. Gentleman also said that the Jewish population had assisted in the hygienic and social progress of the Arabs, and that is true. It is also true that the Arabs, up to a point, have helped themselves, and we wish them to help themselves, and we wish the Government to help them to help themselves.

When the right hon. Gentleman went on to say that the Arabs were thinking about their freedom and were apprehensive about the growth in the number of Jews, then I began to think that the Jews were responsible for everything. They came into the country and by their economic development of it, by their capital, their enterprise, their vigour and their social work, they made it possible for a much larger number of Arabs to exist in Palestine. Indeed, the growth of the Arab population since Jewish immigration began is much greater than it has ever been in history. I almost thought, though I was probably wrong in so thinking, that the right hon. Gentleman argued, "Well, the Jews have made it possible for a larger number of Arabs to live there; that is one of the causes of the problem with which we are faced, and so, it would seem, that the beneficial work among the Jews which has made possible that increase in the Arab population is really responsible for the problem itself. Therefore, it is a pity that the Jews ever went there at all." That is the kind of vicious circle of argument to which, I think not consciously but sub-consciously, the right hon. Gentleman seemed to be brought. It amounted to saying, "If the Jews are naughty, that is too bad, and if the Jews do good work and make it possible for more Arabs to live there in healthy conditions, that is too bad also." What can the Jews do which is right and helpful, if that kind of argument is produced—and it almost has been produced—as a justification of the Government's indecisive policy?

We are not going to criticise the fact that the Government have decided to call a conference of Arabs and Jews, but I do not think that any hon. Members, including the right hon. Gentleman himself, are excessively optimistic about the result of such a conference. We do not publicly gamble in this House but neither the right hon. Gentleman nor I, if we did

gamble, would put any excessive sum on that result. But the Government having decided to call a conference, we all, in every quarter of the House, hope very much that the conference will be useful, that it will succeed in solving the problem, and that everybody concerned will seek to make their contribution to an amicable settlement. We wish the right hon. Gentleman luck, even though we are not too optimistic about it. But it is all very well for the right hon. Gentleman to say that both sides must make their contribution, that the Jews must give something away and that the Arabs must give something away. We agree with that but while it may be that they can, I am not sure that they can, in the circumstances in which we are now placed. If they can, and the thing is amicably settled, and everybody is satisfied, we shall all be happy.

I am apprehensive that, although the right hon. Gentleman said they would do it, the Government seem to dread the prospect that they themselves may have to come to a conclusion about Palestine sooner or later. History bears that out, does it not? If there has been indecision about the Government's foreign policy, at least their Palestine policy can keep pace with it. There has not been much else but indecision there ever since they came along, and it is all very well to plant two sides to a controversy across a table or round a table and say, "Now, you fellows, we have had a lot of trouble with you; see what you can give each other, see what you can concede to each other, and try to agree." I hope they will succeed, but they may not be able to give things to each other, and then the Government will have to reach decisions, and if we say they will have to reach decisions and if even hon. Members opposite say so too, they may have to do it, but there is so much in the history of the Government in this matter that I very much doubt whether in fact they will be willing to come to conclusions and to pursue an honest and upright policy in that country. After all, they reached a point some time ago where the test of the Palestinian Administration was, Could it govern at all? Were the Government capable of governing in that country? And if they go on long enough being undecided, lacking in clarity, the issue will arise that somebody will say to them, "You had better govern or get out."

Another thing that I want to know is this: If this conference takes place, and if agreement is reached, or if the Government then comes to conclusions either on their own account or in conjunction with others, I hope the right hon. Gentleman or the Noble Lord will be able to give an undertaking to the House that the Government and Parliament will not be committed until this House has been consulted. I think it is profoundly important that that should be done, because the Mandate, the undertaking to promote and to facilitate the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine, is not a mere Government responsibility. The honour of the British people is bound up with it, and the honour of the British people is bound up with the Balfour Declaration. So is the House of Commons in particular, and it is not a matter of a mere national obligation on the part of the country itself, important as that is, but we also have an obligation in honour towards the 50 nations which were parties to that mandate being conferred upon Great Britain.

I very much hope, therefore, that in this matter, at any rate, the Munich method will not be repeated, and that before the Government are committed finally as to their policy, before they have got so far that they cannot modify it, the Government will give an undertaking that this House will be consulted, in order that its views may be expressed. It was consulted about partition. There was a full-dress Parliamentary Debate, and at the end of the day the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Epping (Mr. Churchill), the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Carnarvon Boroughs (Mr. Lloyd George), the Leader of the Opposition, and myself were all involved in a final compromise, so to speak, whereby the Government were authorised to go and argue the case for partition on their own responsibility, on the understanding that Parliament was not committed to it. And how wise the House has proved to have been in that compromise which was reached, because the amazing situation in which we now find ourselves is, that whereas the Government, through the right hon. Gentleman's predecessor, were very sure in the early stages of that Debate that partition was right, the Government, very obligingly towards these Commissions' reports, are equally sure to-day that partition is wrong. There-

fore, I think the Government need a little assistance in these matters, and I hope very much that we can have that clear undertaking, that the House will be consulted before the country is committed in this matter.

At any rate, the Balfour Declaration was made, and the Balfour Declaration was that, without prejudice to the rights, the customs, or the religious feelings of the Arabs, a definite Jewish home would be established in Palestine, and the right hon. Member for Carnarvon Boroughs, in his evidence before the Royal Commission, gave a very wide and comprehensive meaning to that undertaking by His Majesty's Government at the time, in which he personally was involved. We ought to know also from the Chancellor of the Duchy—at the end of the Debate we shall expect to know—whether the Government still adhere to the undertaking that a national home for the Jews shall be built in Palestine, whether they still adhere to the Balfour Declaration, because I became apprehensive, as the Colonial Secretary proceeded, as to whether that was still the case. We want to know whether that is meant in terms. The Balfour Declaration was an important matter. It was given in the eyes of the world, and it was given in conjunction with the United States of America, with whom we are all happy that we have just succeeded in making a trade agreement, but let it not be forgotten that the people of the United States are very very interested in this matter and that it would create difficulties in our relationship with that country if we appeared to be breaking the Balfour Declaration.

Although the right hon. Gentleman said that we had proceeded to implement it, I think that the degree of the implementation, the certainty of it, is another matter, because by 1922 the policy which had been applied under the Balfour Declaration was partly reversed, and it is important that this should be remembered. Transjordan, which has an area of nearly four-fifths that of Palestine, was considered in the Balfour Declaration to be part of Palestine and was in fact part of Palestine, but the Balfour Declaration was completely lopped off in 1922, and the Jewish emigration to Transjordan was forbidden thereafter, and it has since been closed to Jews. Secondly, immigration has been restricted since that time, partly

[Mr. Morrison.]

under the doctrine of economic absorptive capacity, with which the right hon. Member for Epping was associated, and I quite agree that it is easy to argue that it is not an unreasonable doctrine in itself, provided it is reasonably interpreted, but since then that doctrine of economic absorptive capacity, which has never been formally thrown over by the Government, has really been converted, almost officially, into the policy of political absorptive capacity, and political absorptive capacity in turn is dependent upon the political capacity of the Government at home and of the Palestinian Government in Palestine to govern that country. It is out of those complications that the Government have got into their difficulties.

If, in this particular case of all cases, we are going to be sticky about Jewish immigration at this time, we shall really be in the greatest difficulty in the eyes of the world. The Government are meeting pressure to permit Jewish immigration here, and some Jewish immigration is being permitted. I am a realist about it. I do not under-estimate the fact that there are limitations as to how far that can be permitted in this country without serious political effects in certain parts. We have all to recognise that, and there is investigation by the Government as to how far that can be done here, but there is also investigation as to how far it can be done in certain of our Colonial territories. But what the Government have not done is to permit a single additional Jew, beyond what was ordinarily intended, to proceed to their own national home, to which we are committed, in Palestine.

When the Government talk about British Guiana as a possible place of immigration, I really must remind the right hon. Gentleman that the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself—it is curious how often we meet the Chancellor of the Exchequer all over the world—has given us a grave warning as to the possible power of that country to absorb immigrants. In the case of British Guiana, the Council of the League of Nations sent out a committee in 1935 to investigate the possibilities of settling there some 20,000 Assyrian refugees from Iraq, and when the committee returned it reported as follows:

"But neither the duration nor the prospects of success of the extremely limited experiment proposed could be estimated with any degree of confidence. Over a period of years at least it was clearly impossible to expect the settlement of more than a few hundreds in British Guiana, and it was equally evident that the territory suggested was even then unlikely ever to be capable of maintaining in prosperity more than a fraction of those for whom it is the committee's task to try and find a home."

I am not objecting at all to the Government considering the possibilities of British Guiana or of Tanganyika. I confess that my sense of humour is tickled by the thought of Tanganyika and certain other Colonial territories that formerly belonged to somebody else, who is creating the problem. I rather like the idea that he should not be permitted to get away with a solution of his domestic problems too easily. I like it almost as much as I like the humoristic action of Mayor La Guardia, of New York City, who, when asked to provide protection for the German Consulate there, sent Jewish police under a Jewish captain to provide it. I think that is lovely. However, we must remember that these territories may not be ready for a rapid immigration, and it is the problem to-day with which we are concerned, for as many Jews as can possibly be handled. The Jews who are there are ready to receive all additional Jews, willing to accept responsibility for them, economically and in other ways. The Palestinian Jews are ready to-morrow to receive 10,000 children in their own homes. Why cannot we say, "Yes, let them go"? It is the quickest way to deal with those children, and I should have said, "Why do we want to stand in the way there more obstinately than in any other place, in the very place in which we have promised a Jewish national home?"

This British Guiana plan that the Prime Minister was talking about on Monday is obviously not an immediate solution to any extent, and it looks as if it is not an ultimate solution either. The Prime Minister went all round the world on Monday, but he carefully avoided Palestine as far as ever he could. If the Prime Minister does not accept the views of the Committee of the League of Nations, he must accept the views of his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the leader of the advanced Liberal element in His Majesty's Government, because this is what the Chancellor of

the Exchequer said at the League of Nations on 17th April, 1935. He was talking about the place that the Prime Minister is speaking about as a partial, urgent, quick solution of the problem created by the German persecutions, and this is what the right hon. Gentleman said:

"It is impossible for His Majesty's Government, who have had an opportunity of studying the Commission's report, not to agree with the conclusion at which the Council's Committee has arrived, that whatever the potentialities of ultimate development which the district in question may possess, it cannot be regarded as offering a sufficiently assured or a sufficiently rapid solution of the exceptional problem which the Assyrian question presents."

What was the "exceptional problem" of the Assyrian question? The "exceptional problem" was that of settling 20,000 persons only. If that was true in that respect, then you cannot advance British Guiana as at any rate a very big or quick contribution to the solution of this problem, and so we say, "By all means consider the Colonies." I think Colonial areas, if they are suitable, may well be appropriate for consideration for Jewish colonisation. And let the House be under no misapprehension. The Jews have proved to be first-class colonisers, to have the real, good, old, Empire-building kind of qualities, to be really first-class Colonial pioneers, and I do not object in any way—on the contrary, I welcome it—that there should be consideration of appropriate Colonial territories. But all this is bound to take time. All these territories have their problems. What I cannot let go of is this. Do that if you will by all means; I urge you to do it; but is it not an onus upon us now to lift the restrictions upon Jewish immigration so far as they now exist and permit a much greater number of Jews to go to Palestine, particularly the 10,000 children for whom Jews in Palestine are willing to accept entire responsibility? In 1922 Transjordan, representing nearly four-fifths of the area, was cut off and immigration was restricted. Since 1932 there has been restriction, but up to 1936, at any rate, it was assumed that the British Government were willing to continue responsibility for the Mandate.

Then the Royal Commission was appointed and the whole Mandate issue again came into the field of discussion.

The Government definitely accepted partition. The other Commissioners reported that the Government's action about partition was all wrong, and so the Government obligingly said, "Very well, no partition; we always agree with the latest Commission's report." We do not know even now—the right hon. Gentleman was careful not to tell us, and I understand he had reasons for not doing so—what the policy of His Majesty's Government is. The so-called majority of this latest Commission, which was exactly half the Commission, produced a scheme of partition which is called Scheme "C," which would mean that after having lost nearly four-fifths of Palestine by the Transjordan decision, the Jewish area of western Palestine would be reduced to about one-half of western Palestine itself. Everybody must agree that the right hon. Gentleman is right in coming to the conclusion that, as far as he can see, partition is impracticable and must, therefore, be rejected. If it is rejected, however, we must know what the Government are going to do, because they cannot go on merely rejecting things: they must come to a conclusion.

It is actually the case that additional labour is urgently required in Palestine, according to the Jewish authorities—not the Jewish employers or the Jewish well-to-do who invest money in Palestine, but the Jewish Labour Federation. The federation, which is a trade union organisation, estimates that there will be a shortage of something like 22,000 labourers in the coming orange-picking season. That is the estimate of a responsible trade union organisation of Jews in Palestine, and I think the right hon. Gentleman will agree that it is probably one of the most ably organised, best led, and most efficient trade union organisations to be found in the world. We also suggest that, just as there are training schemes for prospective Jewish agriculturists in certain European countries, it should be possible to establish some of these centres in Palestine itself, in order that there can be a connection between training and performance in that country. There are other questions about Huleh and other parts of the country. Huleh is an extraordinary case, and we would like to know what the Government are going to do and why they are holding things up. My hon. Friend the Member for Don Valley (Mr. T. Williams) will deal more fully with these

[Mr. Morrison.] questions. I only mention them in the hope that the Chancellor of the Duchy will be ready to deal with them in his reply.

I have been to Palestine and I was enormously impressed by it. Nobody can fail to be impressed by it, with all its Biblical and other associations and in view of the wonderful character of the people and the wonderful work that is being done. You cannot go to Palestine and come back cold in the way of opinions one way or another; they may be right or wrong, but you cannot go there and come back cold. It is an amazing and extraordinary experience. I am sure that the British administration there has been doing the best it can according to its lights—and it is its lights about which I am worried. Palestine is nothing in the nature of an ordinary backward country inhabited solely by primitive people. The Arabs have a relatively high state of civilisation. They are an ancient people. They have their literature, and they have their politics, unfortunately for the right hon. Gentleman. When we are dealing with the Arabs we are not dealing with a backward, primitive people, such as there are in the equatorial parts of Africa. The Jewish population has come from modern industrial Europeans and other countries. Consequently, we are dealing with a modern economic and social problem and not with a backward colonial problem. I am anxious and apprehensive whether the Colonial Office have been handling this problem too much upon the basis of an old-time, old-world colonial problem. If they have, we can well understand their failure. Are they something like British Ambassadors who go to foreign countries—heaps of them—and never bother to understand the ordinary people of the countries to which they go? It is profoundly important that British officers in Palestine should understand the social and economic problems in the domestic sense with which they are faced in that country.

In local government there is a field in which every encouragement should be given to both Arabs and Jews to become experienced in civic administration. It could have been done. It is harder now. Let us not forget that our own standing as a Parliamentary democracy did not begin in Parliament. It began in the localities, in the towns and the villages, and the right end in which to train these

people in constitutional government is in the local government end, but we have kept that local government primitive. Take a great corporation like Tel-Aviv. It can hardly do anything without the permission of the district commissioner or the district officer. It has an opportunity now of raising a loan from the Prudential Assurance Company. Its credit is so good that the Prudential people are willing to lend the money, and they are not sentimentalists, whatever else they are. They accept the credit of Tel-Aviv. For years Tel-Aviv has wanted the loan in order that there shall be sanitary and other developments which are urgently required in that town. Who is standing in the way? The Palestine administration, for which the right hon. Gentleman is responsible. Why should they stand in the way? What is it to do with them? Why should they need to stand in the way, for it is good that local government should develop in that town. They told me that the municipal budget requires the approval of either the district officer or the Government in Jerusalem. I can see an argument for that, but they told me that the budget was not approved until almost the end of the financial year in which the money was spent. That is an amazing state of affairs, but it is characteristic of the kind of mentality which is concerned with the government of that country. Municipalities cannot be treated in that way, and it ought not to be done. I therefore urge that there should be a further development of local government. While I appreciate that we must move with circumspection, there is a strong case for greater responsibility in local government in that country on the part of both Jews and Arabs.

The British policy has been uncertain. I believe that if it had been firm and clear most of the trouble with the Arabs would not have arisen. After all, it has largely been created and stimulated by a limited number of well-to-do Arab families and the Mufti who was appointed by the Palestine Government itself. If the Government had been firm and strong with these people at the beginning, coupled with something with which I will now deal, I believe that three-quarters of the political difficulties could have been eliminated. It is not enough to repress the mischief-makers. There is responsibility upon the Government in Palestine,

to which there would not be the smallest objection, I anticipate, by the Jews, not merely to rule the Arabs and keep them in order, but to take the greatest pains to lift up the Arab standard of life, their health, their capacity for local administration, and the self-respect of the working-class Arab in that country. There have been attempts at trade union organisation among the Arabs. The Jewish trade unions have not organised Arabs within their ranks, for that would have been foolish and unwise, but they have helped the Arabs to organise in trade unions. They wish the Arabs to be organised. If the Government were wise, they would encourage the Arabs to organise in trade unions and help them forward in their social self-reliance and economic status. Indeed, it would be wise of the Government to encourage the poorer Arabs to demand a higher standard of life and help them to get it in that country. The Government have not done it, and I wonder whether the Government here are preserving the class sympathy with the well-to-do and with employers which generally characterises them, which even influences their foreign policy and might well influence their policy in Palestine. It is obviously good business for Great Britain to lift up the status, the intelligence, and the spirit of co-operation among the masses of Arab people.

We think that the restrictions which now exist, which are the same as they were before the German persecution of the Jews, should be materially relaxed. In this country particularly, we have a responsibility to promote Jewish immigration. A large proportion of the Arabs are as much the victims of Arab terrorism as the Jews; there have been more Arabs killed in these troubles than Jews. Why should we not in the administration get the co-operation of the Jews, and, if we can, of Arabs in the maintenance of order in the country? The Jews are willing to be armed under disciplined government for the defence of the country and the maintenance of order, and I am sure that many of the Arabs would be willing similarly to be armed if they felt there was a real government at Jerusalem which was capable of ruling the country with will and decision. Therefore, it is not necessary that a large British Army should be there for an indefinite time, and that the British Army should be running all the risks. The Jews are

perfectly willing to take all the risks that the Government will put upon them, provided it is a disciplined force and the Government mean business. I believe that the same might well be true of many of the Arabs.

Let me say this in conclusion: The House on Monday passed unanimously, and we were all delighted about it, a Motion moved by my hon. Friend the Member for Derby (Mr. Noel-Baker). To-day we are really going through a testing day as to whether that Motion meant business or not, for Palestine in particular. First of all, it is a place where Jewish immigration ought to be permitted, where it might make an immediate contribution to the relief of the anxiety of a very large number of people in Europe. Even the hope of getting there is in itself a relief. I beg the Government to recognise that, having regard to the Balfour Declaration, and despite the views of the Chancellor of the Duchy, with which we are very familiar, and in view of our international obligations, they should think seriously about this matter, and consider whether our honour does not require that in Palestine, in particular, we should make all the contribution we can to the solution of this cruel problem.

5.16 p.m.

Mr. Piekthorn: The right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Hackney (Mr. H. Morrison) laid some stress upon his sense of humour. I think that sense of humour was more an article for export than for use at home. He reproached the Colonial Secretary for approaching the Palestinian problem as if it were easy supposing there were neither Jews nor Arabs there. I do not think that was fair comment upon the right hon. Gentleman's speech, but if it had been I think that would be a better way of approaching the Palestinian problem than to approach it upon the single assumption that there are no Arabs; and in the speech of the right hon. Gentleman opposite there was, I think I am right in saying, no reference at all to Arabs except for two out of the last four minutes, and there were a great many references which took it for granted that Palestine already is a completely Jewish country. "Palestine," we are told, is ready to receive 10,000 immigrants, and is ready to do this and to do that.

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Mr. H. Morrison: I admire the enthusiasm of the hon. Member, but he is misrepresenting me. I said the Jews in Palestine were ready to receive 10,000 immigrants.

Mr. Pickthorn: I am in the recollection of the House. I took his words down very carefully, and I have no doubt at all that what the right hon. Gentleman said was that Palestine was ready, and that was the burden of the whole speech.

I was about to begin what I wish myself to contribute to this Debate by reading one or two sentences from a letter which I received this morning from a British resident in Jerusalem who has very deep and wide experience there, and who is certainly a person of perfect probity and great intelligence.

"Where we feel people are sorely misled in England is that masses of people think that pro-Arab and anti-Jew are synonymous terms: a conviction that political Zionism is a profound mistake on the part of Jewry does not constitute an anti-Jewish attitude. Allied to this is the fact that Arabs as such have no hatred for the Jews as such even now that hate is the policy."

He goes on to say, I do not know with what truth not being a Yorkshireman myself:

"But there is nothing like the anti-Jew feeling I have remarked in Sheffield."

I think that sentence worth reading, because I should not intervene in this Debate if I thought that there was the least risk that it should appear because I was pro-Arab that therefore I was anti-Jew, nor even if I thought there was much risk that I should be thought to be pro-Arab in the sense of espousing the Arab cause or, at any rate, of identifying myself with it. I wish to intervene merely as one who thinks it necessary that there should be some persons in this House who approach the matter with a desire primarily to consider the interests of the majority of the population of Palestine. I do not believe that there is anything necessarily anti-Jewish in that and I think there is a very special responsibility upon this House in the matter, much more so than with most questions of policy.

In many questions of policy things may be left more or less to the Front Bench, but here we have a very particular responsibility. On general grounds if we are to keep either our democracy or our Empire we must keep both; I do not

think for a moment that one would survive the other for long. The business of this House as an Imperial House of Commons is to see that certain standards of administration are preserved in the territories for which His Majesty's Government are responsible. I would by no means go so far as the hon. Gentleman who spoke from the Front Bench in the last of these Debates, who said that most of the disease in Palestine arises from the mal-administration of the Mandate, but I think it is proper that we should admit that there have not always been preserved those standards of administration in Palestine which most of us think must be preserved in our territories if they are to be worth defending. That has been so, no doubt, mainly because of ambiguities of policy, and, incidentally, I thought there was a curious instance of the right hon. Gentleman's lack of humour in twitting His Majesty's Government upon tergiversations and hesitations in the matter of foreign policy. I thought that joke might have come from anywhere better than from Members on the Opposition Front Bench. [HON. MEMBERS: "Why?"] Read the reports of the Trades Union Congresses for the last 20 years.

What I was trying to say was this, that if that mal-administration, such as it has been—I do not admit there has been much, but we should not deny that there has been some—has been largely due to ambiguities of policy, then this House is largely responsible for it. There is a much more particular reason why this House is responsible. Sixteen months ago there was, perhaps, just a chance that partition might have worked. I do not say that it would, but a very strong Commission thought it would, and His Majesty's Government thought it would, and there was just a chance that it might have worked; but, as the right hon. Gentleman reminded us just now, this House by a most elaborate and multi-angular manoeuvring between Epping and Carnarvon and South Hackney and the rules of Order and the back of the Speaker's Chair and other parts of the world, instead of accepting the policy, merely authorised the Government to go to Geneva and explore the possibilities of the policy. There, again, the right hon. Gentleman's sense of humour seems to me to be relevant, because whereas on that occasion he was all for going to Geneva

and exploring possibilities rather than having a policy, now he is all for saying that discussion cannot be policy. He talked a good deal about ordinary Colonial territories. I do not know whether South Hackney is an ordinary democratic territory, but on the assumption that it is, it was odd that he should object to Government by discussion. I do not know how we can have government except by military force or by discussion, and it is odd that the right hon. Gentleman, having on an occasion when there was a definite policy before the House helped to destroy it, should now say that nothing is a policy if it is merely utilising discussion.

Mr. H. Morrison: I hesitate to correct a distinguished representative of the Universities, but I said nothing of the kind. I never object to discussion. I only objected to the right hon. Gentleman describing discussion as a policy.

Mr. Pickthorn: I do not think I said the right hon. Gentleman objected to discussion. I do not want to enter into competition with the right hon. Gentleman on that matter, but what I said was that he objected to discussion being described as a policy, and it seems to me that that is a ludicrous objection to come from democratic Hackney, and a more ludicrous objection to come from one of those who, when there was a definite policy before the House, was largely instrumental in the destruction of that policy. That is what I said, and I think it is perfectly consistent with what the reporters took down of his remarks. The effect of that vote in this House was that for the last 18 months nothing could be done, and we are still in a position in which nothing has been done because of that day's vote.

What ought to be done now? With respect to the right hon. Member for South Hackney, I think it would, perhaps, be impertinent for us to suggest. There is not very much point in having a conference if, beforehand, a definite policy is to be announced by His Majesty's Government, and hardly more perhaps if the House of Commons were to be urged to tie itself, but there are one or two things which I think may be said. We not only welcome the calling of a conference, but also we are glad that the conference is to be as widely representative as possible. We are glad that the surrounding Arab States are to be represented, and we hope

and believe that His Majesty's Government will allow the widest possible freedom of movement and choice, so that the Palestinian Arabs may feel themselves to be represented as they would wish. There is another thing which I think we may without impertinence say about the conference, and that is about the object. Here, at the risk of misunderstanding, I would wish to traverse wholly the suggestion made by the right hon. Gentleman who spoke for the Opposition. The object of the conference surely is to arrange for order and decent government in Palestine.

Another great problem is the minimising of Jewish misery in Europe. I do not wish to compete in good intentions or idealism with other Members of the House, or to give testimonials to myself, but I am not conscious of any reluctance in that respect. I believe that I have tried to do and hope that I shall try to do everything proper that can be done to relieve Jewish misery in Europe. That is a very great problem, but it is another problem from the problem of getting decent government in Palestine, and I suggest that that distinction is not less valid, but is even more urgent because of what has happened during the last fortnight. The Peel Report spoke of the real fear of being overwhelmed and, therefore, dominated by Jewish immigrants. In our last Debate here the Colonial Secretary said the objection to the National Home and to Jewish immigration grew deeper, and that there was no hope for a home for a largely increasing number of Jews. In a recent book by an Arab who is, I was going to say, a constituent of mine—I rather think that he has not got the vote because of his nationality, but, at any rate, he is a graduate of my University—there appears this observation:

"To place the brunt of the burden upon Arab Palestine is a miserable evasion of the duty that lies upon the whole of the civilized world. It is also morally outrageous. No code of morals can justify the persecution of one people in an attempt to relieve the persecution of another."

I would wish to remind the right hon. Member for Epping (Mr. Churchill), if he were here, that as long ago as 1922, when there had been only 25,000 immigrants into Palestine, while now there have been some 20 times that number, he said that immigration should not be a burden on the people of Palestine as a whole. Surely there is no instance in