Report of the Director

# THE REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR.

In making my report to the Committee I assume that it will wish to have a brief survey of the present position of the problem of involuntary migrants from German territory and a more detailed account of the conversations which have taken place with the German authorities since the last meeting of the Committee.

The Committee will first wish to have some figures indicating the flow of refugees from Germany. For various reasons it is difficult to obtain accurate statistics, and the figures given by me must be regarded as approximate. The events of November last gave a great impetus to legal and illegal emigration, and although the pressure has been somewhat relaxed during the past three months, there is a constant outflow of refugees from German territory. Various estimates have been made of the number that left during 1938, but it was certainly not less than 120,000, and may have been as high as 140,000. During the first four months of the present year, the three leading organisations engaged in the emigration of refugees assisted nearly 29,000 persons to leave Germany, and in addition a considerable number were assisted by other organisations or emigrated without assistance. If the present rate is maintained it is therefore probable that the number evacuated during 1939 will be much the same as in 1938.

Unfortunately, large numbers of involuntary emigrants who have left Germany have not yet been permanently established elsewhere, and for the time being they are a heavy burden upon the countries in which they have been accorded temporary refuge, and also upon the resources of private organisations.

It has been estimated that in the other countries of Europe there are not less than 150,000 refugees who have left Greater Germany, and that approximately 60,000 of these are wholly or partly dependent on the charity of the private associations. The problem is not therefore confined to the evacuation of those who are still in Germany and who will have to leave. It is necessary also to find permanent homes for a large number of those who have found temporary refuge in other countries, and it is essential that this aspect of the case should be borne constantly in mind, for apart from the uncertainty that private bodies will be able to provide indefinitely for their maintenance, there is a definite obligation to the countries which have given temporary asylum to proceed with the emigration of their visitors. The apprehension lest it may not be possible to evacuate those who are already there, naturally acts as a deterrent to the admission of others, whereas if it were possible to arrange for a regular outflow there are several Governments which would be ready to adopt a more liberal attitude towards the reception of newcomers. This is one reason among many why it is most desirable to secure an orderly system of emigration from Germany.

In the meantime, there has been little change in the methods and directions of individual settlement. Pending the commencement of large-scale settlement, infiltration has provided the means of finding homes for at least ninety per cent. of the refugees who have been permanently settled. The main countries of settlement are the United States of

America, Palestine, Australia, and the countries of South America. The rate of infiltration is not constant, and several of the states of South America have imposed restrictions on immigration either by amendment of the law or by tightening up the administration of the regulations. I understand that one reason for their action is the fact that during the past few years the immigrants have included a certain number of unsuitable persons, while, owing to the rush of refugees from Germany, the private organisations have not always been able to organise or to finance emigration as thoroughly as could be wished.

I believe that many of the difficulties would be resolved if it were possible to place the finance of emigration, including both individual and group settlement, on a basis which would allow a long-term policy to be adopted providing, inter alia, for the training and the selection of emigrants destined for particular countries. From what I have seen of the refugees, and especially those in training camps in various countries, I have no doubt whatever that they represent a potential asset of very great value to countries with undeveloped resources, and I believe that it should be possible to devise an orderly programme which would not only give these unfortunate people a chance of making good, but would add greatly to the wealth of the countries offering them a permanent home. I trust that the countries which have been so generous in the past in offering facilities for permanent settlement will continue their liberal policy, for without their active assistance, it will be very difficult to find any solution of the problem.

## Large-scale Settlement

Since the last meeting of the Committee, considerable progress has been made with the investigation of the possibilities of large-scale settlement. I will state briefly the present position as regards British Guiana, the Dominican Republic, Northern Rhodesia, and the Philippine Islands, but I would explain that enquiry has not been limited to these areas. The private bodies specially interested in emigration are constantly investigating possibilities of settlement in countries all over the world, and there are several schemes of reasonable promise which could be pursued with advantage if the finance were secure.

### British Guiana.

In pursuance of the offer made by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom in November, 1938, of facilities for the settlement of refugees in British Guiana, a Commission assembled at Georgetown, British Guiana, on February 14th and completed its Report on April 19th. The Commission was organised by President Roosevelt's Advisory Committee on Political Refugees and included two representatives appointed by His Majesty's Government and one by the Government of British Guiana. The Commission expressed the view that, while the territory is not an ideal place for refugees from Middle-European countries, and while it could not be considered suitable for immediate large-scale settlement, it undoubtedly possesses potential possibilities that would fully justify the carrying out of a trial settlement project on a substantial enough scale to determine whether and how these possibilities could be realised. In particular, it considered that in the area available for settlement there are soils suitable for

permanent agriculture and natural resources which make possible a correlated industrial development, while climatic and health conditions are such that settlement by people of Middle-European origin is feasible. At the same time, it made it clear that there were various questions which required clarification, and to which answers could only be given by means of trial settlement on the spot. They therefore recommended that a number of receiving camps for trial settlement should be started, involving a population of 3,000 to 5,000 carefully selected young men and women and placed at properly chosen locations; that these trial settlements should be adequately equipped under competent leadership; and that they should contain a number of people with specialised training who would be capable of securing the necessary information and would also assist in making the settlements self-contained. It estimated that the approximate cost of establishing and maintaining the trial settlements for a period of two years with a population of 5,000 people would be £600,000. His Majesty's Government, after consideration of the Report of the Commission, has expressed itself in complete sympathy with the scheme of refugee settlement in British Guiana, and has stated its readiness to place very large areas at the disposal of private organisations for this purpose, and further, if the scheme develops, to allow a large measure of autonomy in local Government. It has also undertaken, when the stage of large-scale settlement is reached, to provide arterial communications, on the understanding that the cost of settlement will be met from private sources.

The position as regards this area is therefore, briefly, as follows: A Commission composed of highly qualified specialists has reported that the possibilities are suffi-

ciently good to justify the carrying out of experimental settlements, and while it did not feel justified in giving any assurance regarding the success of these, it does consider that, if they are successful, the ultimate prospects of the territory, as an area for settlement on a big scale, are very large. The organisations concerned are now considering practical plans for trial settlement and, provided that the necessary funds can be raised, it is hoped that a beginning will be made in the near future.

Dominican Republic.

As a result of the offer of the Dominican Government to admit one hundred thousand refugees, a Commission under the auspices of President Roosevelt's Advisory Committee on Political Refugees visited the Dominican Republic from March 7th to April 16th of this year. The Commission was given active assistance by the Dominican Government and investigated seventeen tracts of land which had been indicated as available for settlement, aggregating some 2,700,000 acres. Of this amount some 2,150,000 acres are owned by the Government while 550,000 acres are privately owned. It appeared that, if necessary, other areas adjacent to certain of the tracts could be made available for settlement. The Commission has reported that climatic conditions are favourable for colonists from Central Europe, and that health conditions are reasonably good. It found the soil in a number of tracts highly fertile and capable of producing a large variety of crops, for some of which there is a commercial market. Valuable forest products are readily accessible in large volume. While the Commission did not find that the whole of the area suggested was suitable for early colonisation, it considered that it

would be possible to settle approximately 29,000 families in certain specified areas on a subsistence basis. At the same time it stressed the fact that, before proceeding on a big scale with plans for colonisation, it would be necessary to carry out technical studies in topography, soils, drainage, agronomy, sanitation and forest-planning. It was recommended that the first step should be the establishment of pioneering groups of perhaps 200 or 250 persons each in camps similar to those of the Civilian Conservation Corps in the United States. Although, therefore, large-scale settlement must inevitably move slowly in the initial stages, it appears that a beginning of pioneer settlement can be made when a final agreement is concluded with the Dominican Government and the necessary capital is raised.

Northern Rhodesia

A Commission to investigate the practicability of settlement in Northern Rhodesia was formed by the Emigration (Planning) Joint Committee of the Co-ordinating Committee for Refugees. It assembled in the Colony on March 29th and concluded its Report on June 1st. It was greatly assisted by the Government of the Colony, who made available the services of the Director of Agriculture and the Directory of Veterinary Services. The Commission found no serious climatic or physical obstacles to settlement, but considered that it would be limited only by economic factors. It recommended that the individual holding should be sufficiently large to allow for subsistence with the addition of a small cash margin sufficient to repay over a long period advances made to the settler and to leave a small surplus for other expenses. It expressed the view that not more than 400 to 500 families could be settled over

a period of years without disturbing the economic system of the Colony, and it estimated that the cost of establishing a family and of maintaining it during an initial period would be from £1,000 to £1,500.

It would therefore appear from the Report of the Commission that this area is not suitable for large-scale settlement, and that the cost of individual settlement will be high.

Philippine Islands.

In pursuance of the offer of the Philippine Commonwealth, which was announced by Mr. Myron Taylor at the last meeting of the Committee, to consider plans for the settlement of refugees in Mindanao, a Commission of Enquiry was formed by the Advisory Committee of President Roosevelt. It assembled in Manila in April, and its Report is expected in the near future.

I must add that with the co-operation of the Dutch Government a commission is now exploring the prospects of settlement in Dutch Guiana. I have also just heard that with the active approval of the French Government an examination is being made of the possibilities of settlement in New Caledonia. I understand that in both these schemes the initiative has been taken by the International Refugee Colonisation Society, "Jewcol", an association in which Mr. Wolf of Amsterdam is taking a very practical interest.

Finance.

The finance of the movement is the cause of anxiety. As the Committee is aware, the cost has so far been met almost entirely from private sources. I say almost entirely, because there are several exceptions. Without the gift of £4,000,000 from the British Treasury it would have been possible to do comparatively little for refugees from the Sudetenland. The Belgian Government has recently undertaken the maintenance of 3,000 refugees in that country, and the Dutch Government proposes to construct a central training camp at considerable cost. Broadly speaking, however, the work has depended on private contributions.

I have had occasion lately to make an estimate of what has been subscribed from private sources in Europe and America

since the problem became acute in 1933. The estimate is necessarily a very rough one, because there are hundreds of private organisations which are working on the problem, and it has been possible to obtain figures only from the more important ones. I estimate the amount contributed in cash since 1933 at not less than £10,000,000. In addition there have been large contributions in kind, and if we include the cost to the thousands of private persons in different countries who have entertained, or are still entertaining, refugees at their own expense, the total contribution made by charity cannot be less than £15,000,000. Persons of all creeds and nationalities have co-operated in this magnificent effort, but by far the greatest contribution has been made by the Jewish community.

There is no reason to suppose that the requirements for the next few years will be less than in the past. On the contrary, the present tendency is for expenses continuously to increase. The main cause is the necessity of maintaining an over-growing number of refugees in countries of temporary refuge, and of supporting for an initial period those who have found asylum in countries outside Europe, but at present are unable to earn a livelihood. Many of the organisations responsible for the maintenance of refugees are under an obligation to provide for their emigration; and with several of the non-Jewish associations in particular, the commitments are so heavy that it is difficult to see how they can be met. The Jewish community has every intention of continuing its efforts, but the leading organisations are gravely concerned regarding the position, and with existing commitments so large, they naturally hesitate to assume new ones, especially when

they are of an indefinite character.

Thus, although a stage has now been reached when definite opportunities exist of group settlement on a considerable scale, difficulties are arising regarding the means of finding the necessary finance. The absence of adequate finance precludes a long-term policy, and prevents full advantage being taken of many openings for emigration. It therefore prolongs the period during which many refugees have to be maintained in idleness by private charity in countries of temporary asylum. While I do not wish to suggest that private resources are coming to an end, or that the work is approaching a standstill, I apprehend increasing difficulty in maintaining it at the present level, and I consider it most desirable that the present means of finance should be supplemented by new ones.

I would like to see the finance of maintenance and relief inside Europe separated from the finance of emigration outside, whether emigration is by individual or by group settlement. While leaving the former entirely to private charity, I would like emigration to be placed, so far as this is practicable, on an economic basis, and to be financed by means of advances which would be recoverable according to the ability of the recipient to repay. A scheme of this kind, however, would require a large capital sum, and it is improbable that this would be forthcoming from private sources alone. I believe that it could be successfully launched and that it would tap new sources of private money, if it were combined with some measure of governmental assistance. Private charity cannot continue to meet existing commitments, provide for the whole cost of emigration on the existing scale, and at the same time find the money necessary for group settlement. I regard the future with anxiety unless help is forthcoming.

Conversations with the German authorities.

I will now explain the conversations which have taken place with the German authorities since the last meeting of the Committee.

On February 14, as you will recall, the Committee adopted a resolution which authorized the Director to "inform the German authorities that the Committee, acting independently, has been, is using, and will use its best endeavours to develop opportunities within the next five years for permanent settlement of involuntary emigrants from Germany, within the limits of the laws and practices of the Member Governments".

Acting under the authority vested in him by this resolution, Mr. Rublee, before resigning as Director of the Committee, prepared the following letter to Mr. Wohlthat, which was approved by the Chairman:

"Dear Mr. Wohlthat:

Referring to the conversations which I had the honour of holding with Dr. Schacht and yourself in Berlin from January 11 to February 2, 1939, inclusive, and in particular to my letter to you of February 1st which contained the text of the "Confidential Memorandum" expressing the result of our conversations, and to your reply of February 2, 1939, I am happy to inform you that I am now in a position to tell you of the result of the meeting of the Intergovernmental Committee held in London on February 13 and 14, 1939.

I reported in full regarding my conversations with Dr. Schacht and yourself to the Committee, which was composed of the plenipotentiaries of the United States of America, the Argentine Republic, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, the United Kingdom, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Denmark, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Eire, France, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Norway, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Sweden, Uruguay and Venezuela. The text of the "Confidential Memorandum", which was included in my report, was then distributed to the representatives of the participating Governments.

The Committee gave most careful consideration to my report, and in particular to the memorandum which you agreed correctly states the programme which Germany, acting unilaterally, would adopt.

The Committee, having taken note of my report, instructed me to inform you that the Committee, acting independently, has been, is using and will use its best endeavours to develop opportunities within the next five years for permanent settlement of involuntary emigrants from Germany within the limits of the laws and practices of the member Governments.

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

To my great regret, I am obliged, for personal reasons, to retire from the office of Director of the Committee at this time. Sir Herbert Emerson has been invited to serve as Director, and Mr. Robert Pell has been appointed Vice-Director of the Committee, which maintains its separate and independent existence.

On March 3rd the Vice-Director proceeded to Berlin and handed this letter to Mr. Wohlthat who agreed that it furnished a basis for a continuation of the conversations with the executive of the Intergovernmental Committee. Mr. Wohlthat indicated that, in his view, the programme of the German authorities for the emigration of involuntary emigrants from Germany and the Committee's programme for the resettlement of involuntary emigrants, as well as the establishment of the Internal Trust referred to in the "Confidential Memorandum" and the outside purchasing agency, should proceed pari passu, and as a first step he suggested that it would be useful to him to have a memorandum of the projects which were on foot for the large-scale settlement of involuntary emigrants and of such supplementary details regarding infiltration as would be helpful.

Accordingly, a memorandum was prepared, and after it had been referred to the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Committee it was handed over to Mr. Wohlthat by the Vice-Director on April 6th when he visited Berlin. The text of this memorandum is in the hands of the members of the Committee and is attached to my report as Annex A. It was deliberately drafted on conservative lines, and it will be observed that it was specifically stated that the programme of Governments was subject to the full discretion which they have necessarily reserved regarding their policy towards refugees, and that they cannot be regarded as specifically committed to any future policy.

During this meeting there was some discussion of the Internal Trust and outside purchasing agency. Mr. Pell was able to state that conversations were in progress between private groups in New York and London regarding the foundation of an External Trust or Foundation, and Mr. Wohlthat informed Mr. Pell that a draft decree providing for the establishment of the Internal Trust had been prepared, that it had been approved by the various ministries concerned, and that it awaited the sanction of the Chancellor. There was also mention of the non-German Trustee of the Internal Trust, and Mr. Pell mentioned the name of a Dutch financier who had been suggested by the private groups as a suitable person for the appointment. He also asked what would be the conditions of the appointment. It was agreed that the Vice-Director should write a letter to Mr. Wohlthat on these points. A third visit was made to Berlin by Mr. Pell on April 6th, when he handed over to Mr. Wohlthat a letter relating to this matter.

Mr. Wohlthat showed the Vice-Director the text of a draft decree intended to set up the central Jewish organisation inside Germany referred to in Point 7. of the confidential memorandum, and also the draft of a second decree intended to establish the Internal Trust. Mr. Wohlthat explained that these decrees awaited the Chancellor's signature, which, however, was not likely to be given until there was good reason to believe that emigration from Germany would proceed in accordance with the programme set up in the German plan communicated to Mr. Rublee.

On June 6th Mr. Wohlthat was the guest of the Vice-Director at luncheon in London, where he met Lord Winterton and myself. Lord Winterton left shortly after lunch, and there was an informal discussion, during which Mr. Wohlthat explained the intentions of the German authorities when the Internal Trust is established. It was, he said, proposed to call up the contributions to the Trust in instalments, not exceeding five in number, thus mitigating the fall in values which the liquidation of property must entail, and also affording greater resources to the central Jewish organisations for the maintenance of the Jews pending emigration. Mr. Wohlthat again mentioned that sanction for the draft decree establishing the Trust was unlikely to be given until it was clear that real progress was being made with schemes of settlement. He stated that the Dutch financier, whose name had been previously mentioned, would be acceptable as the third Trustee, and that the other Trustees would be respectively a prominent German banker and an administrative official. He estimated the value of Jewish property in Germany at a high figure. It was agreed at this meeting that in the future

Mr. Wohlthat would deal directly with me in my capacity as Director of the Intergovernmental Committee.

On June 7th I had a further conversation with Mr. Wohlthat at which Mr. Pell was present. I took the occasion to explain in some detail to Mr. Wohlthat how emigration and resettlement of involuntary emigrants from Germany was managed and financed at the present time, and described the generous extent of the effort which had been, and was being, made by private contributors. Our conversation then turned to the organisation and financing of large-scale settlement projects. I explained that there would probably be an initial period of experimental and comparatively small resettlement. If that was successful, and if the necessary finance were forthcoming, the rate of settlement would increase progressively. Mr. Wohlthat appeared to appreciate the fact that large-scale settlement must be slow, but emphasised that from the political point of view it was important that a definite plan should be formulated for proceeding with the experimental stage coupled with some assurance that if the experiments were successful, large-scale settlement would follow. I sought to convince Mr. Wohlthat that too much emphasis should not be placed on large-scale settlement and that due account should be taken of the importance of infiltration, but it was clear that he held the belief that those who must make the final decisions in Germany would not be impressed with the seriousness of the effort on the outside until a beginning was made of large-scale settlement. My conclusion from the two conversations was that the German authorities would not put their programme, including the Internal Trust, into effect unless (a) a Foundation was set up on the outside and (b) there was an organisation (or organisations) within or without the Foundation which would

take up seriously the question of settlement, including the financing of it, but that there need be no immediate question of raising large additional sums for settlement.

In addition to the discussion of the above subjects, the opportunity has been taken on different occasions of raising other matters of current importance.

It was made clear to Mr. Wohlthat that if the private organisations had to deal with a mass emigration of Jews from Czecho-Slovakia, it was inevitable that the programme of evacuating involuntary migrants from German territory would be delayed. It was represented on several occasions that the despatch of refugees by German boats to destinations where they were not sure of a welcome not only created great difficulties for the private organisations, but did great harm by outraging public opinion in Europe and America. Representations were also made with the object of securing that the interests of migrants who were not Jews by faith, should be protected in the scheme of the central organisation inside Germany. During the conversations, and from other sources, it was ascertained that some steps had been taken to provide for the training of Jews inside Germany, and that the restrictions on the employment of Jews had been relaxed in some respects.

Since the last meeting with Mr. Wohlthat, there has been progress in two directions. First, after discussion between the various private groups, and in particular between British and American groups, the preliminary steps have been taken to establish in London an international private Foundation, to be known as the Co-ordinating Foundation. This body will co-ordinate refugee activities in general, will co-operate with the Internal Trust when set up inside Germany, will

investigate and facilitate the orderly emigration and re-settlement of refugees, and will accept gifts, donations and bequests for these objects. Perhaps the most important function of the Foundation will be to act as a link between the private organisations concerned with emigration, and the Internal Trust. It is not intended that the Foundation should itself directly finance emigration, and its authorised capital is therefore limited to one million dollars. Other measures will be required to place the finance of individual and group settlement on a sound basis, and these are now under discussion.

Second, the decree under which the Central Jewish Agency is established was promulgated on July 6th, but for the present it does not apply to the former territory of Austria. Its main effect will be to place the relief and education of Jews inside Germany under a single body, namely, the Reichsvereinigung.

I may perhaps be allowed to express to the Committee the views which I have formed in the light of the discussions described above regarding the plan contained in the "Confidential Memorandum" communicated to Mr. Rublee. I will preface my observations by the remark that since I was not at the time connected with the Committee, my opinion has been formed independently. First, it seems to me of great importance to realise that even if no discussions had taken place with the German authorities, the programme of emigration would have had to proceed on much the same lines as those stated in the plan. In other words, it does not impose on those concerned with the problem any obligation which they would not have had in any case to meet ultimately.

Second, the action to be taken by external bodies as contemplated in the programme will be equally valuable

even if, for any reason, the discussions were to break down or the plan were not put into operation. Third, I am satisfied that there is in Germany, property of great value belonging to the Jews which is capable of being used partly to assist emigration, and partly for purposes of maintenance pending emigration. Without accepting any particular estimate, which in the circumstances of the case must necessarily be highly speculative, I have no doubt that the sum which can be made available is sufficiently large to afford assistance of very real value towards the solution of the problem. I mention this because it is sometimes assumed that little Jewish property in Germany has escaped confiscation or dissipation. Fourth, I believe that the great majority of Jews in Germany wish to see the plan put into effect. Fifth, I consider that the German authorities are laying too much stress on large-scale settlement, and have failed to realise how great a part individual emigration has played and will play; as a consequence of this misconception they have not fully appreciated the fact that even with the existing methods and scope of external finance, the Internal Trust would be of great value in assisting the objects which they desire, namely, the early evacuation of Jews. Sixth, efforts should be made to remove this misconception as opportunity occurs, but action should not be confined to this. Quite independently of the German plan, new methods of financing emigration have to be devised if real progress is to be made. That they may and should have the further merit of bringing into being the Internal Trust, is a reason for proceeding with them as rapidly as circumstances will allow.

In short, while I can see no prejudice to the problem as a whole in bringing the discussions to a successful

conclusion, I have no doubt that a solution would be much facilitated if the plan in all its aspects came into operation.

The Committee will learn with great regret that Mr. Robert Pell, the Vice-Director, is shortly severing his official connection with the Committee, on his return to the State Department at Washington. Mr. Pell has been associated with the Committee since its inception. He has made its interests his own, and has worked wholeheartedly for the welfare of refugees. During the past few months it has been his duty to carry on discussions with the German authorities, and I cannot speak too highly of the ability and tact with which he has performed this very delicate task. During his connection with the Committee he has made many friends, both among the representatives on the Committee and members of the private associations, who have appreciated the disinterested and effective work he has done. I myself am greatly indebted to him for the support and assistance he has given to me at all times, and for his uniform optimism in face of considerable difficulties; and I part with him with the greatest regret.

## RAPPORT DU DIRECTEUR.

En présentant mon rapport au Comité je pense que ce dernier tiendra à avoir un bref exposé de l'état actuel du problème de l'émigration involontaire des territoires Allemands, ainsi que des renseignments plus detaillés sur les conversations qui ont eu lieu avec les autorités Allemendes depuis la dernière réunion du Comité.

D'abord, je pense que le Comité désirera avoir quelques chiffres indiquant le volume de l'émigration de l'Allemagne. Pour des raisons diverses des statistiques exactes sont difficile à obtenir et les chiffres que je vous cite ne peuvent être considérés que comme approximatifs. Les évènements du mois de Novembre dernier ont grandement accéléré cet exode, tant légitime qu'illégal, et quoique le rhythme de l'émigration des territoires Allemands se soit quelque peu rallenti pendant les mois derniers, l'exode continue néanmoins sans interruption.

Le nombre de ceux qui ont quitté l'Allemagne en 1938 a été diversement évalué, mais il est certain qu'il ne peut être inférieur à 120,000 et pourrait bien atteindre les 140,000. Au courant des premiers quatre mois de cette année les trois principales organisations qui s'occupent de l'émigration de réfugiés ont aidé à-peu-près 29,000 personnes à quitter l'Allemagne, et un grand nombre d'autres ont été assistées par d'autres organisations ou sont parvenues à émigrer sans assistance. Si la cadence actuelle d'émigration est maintenue, le nombre des personnes évacuées en 1939 sera à-peu-près le même qu'en 1938.

Malheureusement, un grand nombre d'émigrés involontaires qui ont quitté l'Allemagne n'ont pas encore été établis ailleurs et leur présence constitue une lourde charge tant pour les pays qui leur ont offert un asile temporaire que pour les ressources des organisations privées. On a calculé qu'il n'y a pas moins

de 150,000 réfugiés provenant des territoires Allemands, dont à peu près 60,000 dépendent entièrement ou en grande partie de la charité des organisations privées. Le problème n'est donc pas seulement celui d'évacuer ceux qui sont encore en Allemagne et qui seront obligés de quitter. Il s'agit aussi de trouver un foyer permanent pour les nombreux émigrés qui ont trouvé un asile temporaire dans d'autres pays. Il importe de ne pas perdre de vue cet aspect de la situation, car, outre le fait que les organisations privées ne pourront probablement pas pourvoir à leur maintien indéfiniment il y a une obligation catégorique envers les pays qui leur ont offert un asile temporaire de poursuivre l'évacuation de leurs hôtes. Evidemment, la crainte qu'il ne pourrait être possible d'évacuer ceux qui s'y trouvent déjà explique l'hésitation que ressentent ces pays à recevoir encore d'autres émigrés. D'autre part, si un arrangement assurant un écoulement ordonné pourrait être réalisé, plusieurs gouvernements seraient disposés à adopter une attitude plus libérale au sujet de l'admission de nouveaux venus. Voilà une des raisons, parmi beaucoup d'autres, pourquoi il serait hautement désirable d'établir un système ordonné d'émigration des territoires Allemands.

Dans l'entre-temps il y a eu très peu de changements dans les modalités et le sens de l'établissement individuel de réfugiés. En attendant le commencement d'un établissement de grande envergure il a été possible, grâce à l'infiltration, de trouver un asile pour en moins quartre-vingt-dix pour cent des réfugiés qui ont été établis de façon permanente. Les principaux pays d'établissement sont les Etats Unis d'Amérique, la Palestine, l'Australie et les pays de l'Amérique du Sud. Le volume de cette infiltration est assez variable et plusieurs pays

de l'Amérique du Sud ont introduit des restrictions à l'immigration soit par des amendements à la loi, soit par une application plus stricte des règlements. Il paraît qu'une des raisons qui ont inspiré ces mesures est le fait que pendant les dernières années il s'est trouvé parmi les immigrés un nombre de personnes peu recommandables ou dont les aptitudes ne les rendaient pas désirables comme immigrants. En outre, étant donné le nombre croissant de réfugiés provenant d'Allemagne les organisations privées n'ont pas toujours été à même d'organiser ou de financer l'émigration comme il eût été désirable de le faire.

Je crois que bien des difficultés pourraient être applanies s'il y avait moyen d'établir les finances de l'émigration - tant individuelle que par groupes - sur une base permettant d'adopter un programme d'émigration à longue haleine, prévoyant entre autres le réadaptation professionelle des émigrés et le triage de ceux qui doivent se rendre dans certains pays. D'après mon expérience personelle et surtout d'après ce que j'ai vu dans les camps d'entraînement pour les réfugiés dans divers pays, je suis convaincu que ces réfugiés représentent un avantage potential des plus précieux pour les pays dont les ressources sont peu développées et je crois que ce ne serait pas impossible de dresser un programme ordonné qui, non seulement serait susceptible de donner à ces malheureux la chance de refaire leur vie, mais en outre contribuerait grandement à la prospérité des pays qui leur auraient offert un foyer permanent. J'ose espérer que les pays qui se sont montrés si généreux en offrant des facilités pour l'établissment permanent de ces malheureux ne se lasseront pas de suivre cette politique libérale, car sans leur collaboration active ce problême resterait

presque insoluble.

Etablissment de grande envergure.

Depuis la dernière réunion du Comité, l'enquête sur les possibilités d'établissement de grande envergure a fait de grand progrès. Je vais vous faire un bref exposé de la situation en ce qui concerne la Guyane Britannique, la République Dominicaine, la Rhodésie du Nord et les Philippines, mais je désire souligner que l'enquête n'a pas été restreinte à ces pays. Les organisations privées qui s'intéressent à l'émigration ne cessent d'explorer les possibilités d'établissement dans toutes les parties du monde et il existent déjà plusieurs projets qui semblant réalisables et dont la réalisation promettrait des avantages précieux si leur financement pouvait être assuré.

Guyane Britannique.

Le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté dans le Royaume Uni ayant offert des facilités pour l'établissement de réfugiés en Guyane Britannique, une Commission s'est réunie le 14 février à Georgetown en Guyane Britannique, et son Rapport a été achevé le 19 avril. La Commission avait été organisée par le Comité Consultatif pour les Réfugiés Pol'tiques du Président Roosevelt et comprenait deux délégués nommés par le Gouvernement de sa Majesté dans le Royaume Uni et un délégué nommé par le Gouvernement de la Guyane Britannique. La Commission a exprimé l'opinion que quoique ce territoire ne soit pas idéal pour l'établissement de personnes provenant des pays de l'Europe Centrale et quoiqu'il ne puisse pas être considéré comme se prêtant à un établissement immédiat de grande envergure, il présente indubitablement des avantages qui, dans l'avenir, pourraient justifier l'exécution d'un programme d'essai d'une envergure suffisante pour démontrer si ce programme est réalisable et comment il pourrait être exécuté.

La Commission a été d'avis que le sol disponible dans cette région se prêtait à une cultivation permanente et que la région possédait des ressources qui permettraient un développement industriel simultané. Le climat et les conditions sanitaires sont tels que l'établissement de personnes provenant de l'Europe Centrale serait praticable. Néanmois, la Commission a fait observer qu'il y avait plusieurs questions qu'il était important d'éclaircir et qui ne pourraient être résolues qu'après avoir fait des expériences sur les lieux mêmes. Elle a donc recommandé l'établissement d'un certain nombre de camps de réception pour les réfugiés capables d'accommoder une population de trois mille à cinq mille jeunes gens - hommes et femmes - choisis avec soin et placés dans des régions appropriées. Elle recommande entre autres que ces établissements d'essai soient bien outillés et installés et placés sous la direction de chefs compétants. En outre, ces groupes devraient embrasser un certain nombre de personnes qui auraient joui d'un entraînement spécialisé et qui seraient capables d'obtenir les informations nécessaires et pourraient contribuer à rendre ces établissements indépendents. La Commission a évalué les frais de la constitution et du maintien de ces établissements d'essai pendant une période de deux ans et comprenant une population de cinq mille personnes à approximativement £600,000. Le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté après avoir examiné le rapport de la Commission s'est exprimé en plein accord avec le projet tendant à établir des réfugiés en Guyane Britannique, et s'est déclaré disposé à placer à cet effet à la disposition d'organisations privées des terrains très étendus, et, si le projet venait à se réaliser, d'octroyer une grande mesure d'autonomie dans son Gouvernement local. Il s'engage aussi, dès qu'un établissement de grande envergure aura été réalisé, de fournir les communications artérielles nécessaires à condition que les frais de l'établissement des réfugiés soient à

la charge des organisations ou personnes privées.

La situation en ce qui concerne ce territoire est donc brèvement comme suit: Une commission composée de spécialistes hautement qualifiés a déclaré que si les espoirs de développement étaient suffisamment bons pour justifier l'établissement à titre d'essai d'un certain nombre de réfugiés, tout en ne se sentant pas à même de donner une assurance positive quant au succès de cette expérience, elle croit pouvoir dire que si cet essai devait donner de bons résultats les chances que ce territoire s'avère comme propre à un établissement de grande envergure seraient très bonnes. Les organisations en question sont en train d'examiner des projets pratiques pour l'établissement expérimentel de réfugiés, et pourvu que les fonds nécessaires puissent être obtenus, elles espèrent que l'exécution de ces projets pourra être entamée dans un avenir rapproché.

## République Dominicaine.

Le Gouvernement de la République Dominicaine ayant offert d'admettre cent mille réfugiés, la Commission, sous les auspices du Comité Consultatif pour les Réfugiés Politiques du Président Roosevelt, a visité la République Dominicaine du 7 mars au 18 avril de l'année courante. La Commission, qui a joui de la co-opération active du Gouvernement Dominicain, a examiné dix-sept terrains, d'une superficie totale de 2,700,000 acres, qui avaient été indiqués comme disponibles pour l'établissement de réfugiés. De ces terrains 2,150,000 acres sont la propriété du Gouvernement tandis que 550,000 acres appartiennent à des particuliers. Il paraît que, si cela s'averrait nécessaire, des terrains voisins pourraient être acquis pour l'établissement des réfugiés. La Commission estime que le climat serait assez favorable pour des colons venant de l'Europe Centrale et que les

conditions d'hygiène ne seraient pas trop mauvaises. Le sol, dans plusieurs de ces régions, paraît être très fertile et capable de rapporter une grande variété de produits, dont plusieurs pourraient trouver un marché au dehors. Des produits forestiers en grande quantité sont facilement accessibles. Quoique la Commission n'ait pas été d'avis que toute la région proposée soit recommandable pour une colonisation immédiate, elle a estimé que l'établissement de 29,000 familles à peu près serait possible dans certaines régions spéciales où ces familles pourraient vivre de leurs produits. D'autre part, la Commission a souligné qu'avant de procéder à l'établissement de projets de colonisation sur une grande échelle il faudrait étudier le terrain du point de vue technique, sa topographie, la composition du sol, drainage et assainissement, agronomie, hygiène et sylviculture. La Commission recommande que, pour commencer, il y aurait lieu d'établir des groupes de colons qui pourraient se composer de 200 à 250 personnes dans des camps du genre des Civilian Conservation Corps des Etats Unis. Donc, quoique, au début, l'établissement de grande envergure ne puisse évidemment se poursuivre que lentement on pourrait procéder à un premier établissement de colons dès qu'un accord définitif aura été conclu avec le Gouvernement Dominicain et que les fonds nécessaires auront été obtenus.

Rhodésie du Nord.

Une Commission pour examiner la possibilité d'établir des réfugiés en Rhodésie du Nord a été constituée par le Emigration (Planning) Joint Committee du Co-ordinating Committee for Refugees. Elle s'est réunie en Rhodésie le 29 mars et a achevé son Rapport le 1 juin. Le Gouvernement de la Colonie a tout fait pour l'aider

dans sa tâche et a mis les services du Directeur d'Agriculture et du Directeur des Services Vétérinaires à sa disposition. La Commission a estimé qu'il n'y avait pas de sérieux obstacle à la colonisation du point de vue climat ou topographie mais que cette colonisation serait inévitablement limitée par les conditions économiques. Elle recommande que les propriétés des colons soient suffisamment grandes pour pourvoir aux besoins de la famille tout en laissant une petite somme en marge permettant au colon de rembourser petit à petit les avances de fonds qui lui auront été faites et de lui laisser une petite somme en main pour d'autres dépenses nécessaires. La Commission est d'avis que l'on ne pourrait pas établir plus de 400 ou 500 familles, par étapes, pendant une période de plusieurs années, sans déranger l'économie de la Colonie, et elle évalue les frais d'établissement et de maintien d'une famille pendant la période initiale à £1000 jusqu'à £1500.

D'après le rapport de la Commission cette région ne paraît donc pas être propre à un établissement de réfugiés à grande envergure et les frais d'établissement par famille seraient considérables.

Philippines.

En suite d'une offre du Commonwealth des Philippines, annoncée par Mr. Myron Taylor lors de la dernière réunion du Comité, de considérer avec bienveillance un projet qui permettrait l'établissement de réfugiés sur l'île de Mindanao, un Comité d'Enquête a été constitué par le Comité Consultatif du Président Roosevelt. Il s'est réuni à Manila et son Rapport est en train d'être rédigé.

Je dois ajouter qu'avec la co-opération du Gouvernement Neerlandais une Commission est en train d'explorer les possibilités d'établissement en Guyane Neerlandaise. Je viens aussi d'apprendre qu'avec l'approbation et la co-opération du Gouvernement Français, on examine en ce moment les possibilités d'établissement en nouvelle Calédonie. D'après mes informations ces deux projets sont dûs à l'initiative de la International Refugee Colonisation Society, dite "JEWCOL", une association à laquelle M. Wolf d'Amsterdam prend un intérêt actif.

Finance.

Le financement du mouvement donne de bien grandes inquiétudes. Le Comité n'ignore pas que les frais ont été supportés jusqu'à présent presque entièrement par des particuliers ou des organisations privées. Je dis "presque entièrement" parce qu'il y a plusieurs exceptions. Sans un don de £4,000,000 de la part du Trésor Britannique il aurait été très difficile de secourir les réfugiés de la région Soudète. Le Gouvernement Belge s'est chargé récemment de l'entretien de 3000 réfugiés dans ce pays et le Gouvernement Néerlandais est prêt à construire à grands frais un camp central pour la ré-éducation professionelle des réfugiés. Mais à part ces exceptions l'oeuvre a été financée par des contributions privées.

J'ai eu occasion dernièrement de faire une évaluation des sommes de source privée en Europe et en Amérique, depuis que le problème se soit révélé urgent en 1933. Cette évaluation est evidemment seulement approximative parce qu'il y a des centaines d'organisations privées qui s'occupent de ce problème et je n'ai pu obtenir des chiffres exacts que des plus importantes de ces organisation. D'après mes calculs les fonds contribués depuis 1933 ne sont pas de moins de £10,000,000. En outre, les contributions autres qu'en argent ont été considérables et en comptant les frais encourus par des milliers de particuliers dans tous les pays qui ont donné l'hospitalité aux réfugiés, et qui en grande partie le font encore, le total des contributions charitables ne saurait être de moins de £15,000,000. Toutes les croyances et toutes les nationalités sont représentées parmi ceux qui ont contribué à ce magnifique effort mais c'est la Communauté Israélite qui a contribué le plus largement à cette oeuvre.

Il est peu probable qu'il soit possible de relâcher ces

efforts dans un avenir prochain. Tout au contraire, les frais tendent à s'accroître sans cesse. La cause principale en est le nécessité de maintenir un nombre toujours croissant de réfugiés dans les pays où ils se sont réfugiés et de pourvoir pendant la période initiale aux nécessités de ceux qui ont trouvé un asile dans des pays extra-Européens et qui ne sont pas encore à même de gagner leur vie. Un nombre d'organisations s'occupant des réfugiés se sont engagées à pourvoir à l'émigration de ces réfugiés. Dans le cas de quelques-unes des associations non-Israélites les engagements financiers sont si considérables que l'on ne voit pas trop comment il leur sera possible de faire face à ces charges. La communauté Israélite est bien décidée à continuer ses efforts, mais la situation leur cause de graves préoccupations, et étant donné l'envergure des engagements déjà pris elles hésitent bien naturellement à en assumer de nouveaux, surtout s'ils ne sont pas d'une nature très précise.

Donc, maintenant que le moment est venu où des occasions se présentent de procéder à un établissement de réfugiés par groupes sur une assez vaste échelle, la difficulté de trouver les fonds nécessaires devient de plus en plus grande. Le manque d'une finance suffisamment ample exclut les projets à longue haleine et empêche de profiter de bien d'occasions d'émigration qui se présentent actuellement. La période pendant laquelle il est nécessaire de pourvoir au maintien de beaucoup de réfugiés qui ne peuvent pas gagner leur vie et qui restent à la charge de la charité privée dans les pays d'asile temporaire est ainsi indûment prolongée. Quoique je ne veuille pas dire que les ressources privées tirent à leur fin ou que l'oeuvre soit obligée de s'arrêter, je prévois qu'il sera de plus en plus

difficile de le maintenir à son niveau actuel et je considère qu'il est hautement désirable de trouver de nouvelles sources de revenu pour augmenter les apports de financement actuels.

J'estime qu'il serait préférable de séparer les finances spécialement affectées au maintien et à l'assistance des réfugiés en Europe de celles consacrées à l'émigration hors de l'Europe, que cette émigration se fasse individuellement ou par groupes. Le maintien pourrait être laissé entièrement à la charge de la charité privée, mais l'émigration devrait être placée, autant que possible sur une base économique solide et financée au moyen d'avances remboursables en fonction de la capacité du colon de s'acquitter de la dette. Évidemment un projet de ce genre nécessiterait un capital considérable et il est peu probable que des sources privées à elles seules soient à même de le fournir. Je crois qu'un projet de ce genre pourrait être lancé avec succès et de nouvelles sources de fonds privés pourraient être trouvées, si ce projet était joint à un système d'assistance gouvernementale. La charité privée n'est plus à même de continuer à se décharger des engagements déjà pris par elle de pourvoir aux frais relatifs de l'émigration sur son échelle actuelle et en même temps de trouver les fonds nécessaires pour l'établissement par groupes. L'avenir de l'oeuvre ne manque pas de se donner de grandes inquiétudes à moins que des secours nous viennent d'un côté ou d'un autre.

Conversations avec les Autorités Allemandes.

Je vais vous donner maintenant un resumé des conversations qui ont eu lieu avec les autorités Allemandes depuis la dernière réunion du Comité.

Vous vous rappellerez que le 14 février le Comité a adopté une résolution autorisant le Directeur de signaler au Gouvernement Allemand que le Comité, agissant unilatéralement, a fait, fait et fera tout son possible au cours des cinq prochaines années pour développer les possibilités d'établissement permanent d'émigrants involontaires d'Allemagne dans le cadre des lois et usages des gouvernements participants.

En vertu de cette résolution Mr. Rublee, avant de quitter son poste de Directeur du Comité, a préparé la lettre suivante adressée à Mr. Wohlthat et qui a été approuvée par le Président.

"Cher M. Wohlthat,

Comme suite aux entretiens que j'ai eu l'honneur d'avoir avec M. le Dr. Schacht et vous-même à Berlin du 11 janvier au 2 février 1939 et, en particulier, à ma lettre du 1er. février comportant le texte du "Mémorandum Confidentiel" donnant le résultat de nos conversations, et à votre réponse du 2 février 1939, je suis heureux de vous signaler que je suis maintenant à même de vous informer des résultats de la réunion du Comité Intergouvernemental tenue à Londres le 13 et 14 février 1939.

J'ai fait un rapport détaillé au Comité concernant mes entretiens avec le Dr. Schacht et vous-même. Le Comité était composé des plénipotentiaires des Etats Unis d'Amérique, de la République Argentine, de l'Australie, la Belgique, Bolivie, du Royaume Uni, du Brésil, Canada, Chili, de la Colombie, Cuba, du Danemark, La République Dominicaine, l'Ecuador, l'Irlande, la France, le Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexique, Nicaragua, Norvège, Pays Bas, la Nouvelle Zélande, le Panama, Paraguay, Pérou, Suède, l'Uruguay et le Vénézuéla. Le texte du "Mémorandum Confidentiel" qui était compris dans mon rapport a ensuite été distribué aux représentants des Gouvernements participants. Le Comité a examiné mon rapport avec le plus grand soin et particulièrement le mémorandum qui - comme vous me l'avez confirmé - rend un compte exacte du programme que l'Allemagne est disposée à adopter unilatéralement.

Le Comité, ayant pris connaissance de mon rapport, m'a chargé de vous signaler que le Comité, agissant unilatéralement, a fait, fait et fera tout son possible au cours des cinq prochaines années, pour développer les possibilités d'établissement permanent d'émigrants involontaires d'Allemagne dans le cadre des lois et usages des Gouvernements participants.

Le Comité prit note également de la formation projetée d'une corporation internationale privée destinée à servir d'agence pour le financement de l'émigration d'Allemagne, et pour le maintien des contacts avec les autorités Allemandes susceptibles de servir à cette fin.

A mon grand regret je suis obligé, pour des raisons personelles, de me démettre à ce moment de mes fonctions de Directeur du Comité. Sir Herbert Emerson a été invité à assumer les fonctions de Directeur et Mr. Pell a été nommé Directeur Adjoint du Comité, qui conserve son existence séparée et indépendante".

Le 3 mars le Directeur Adjoint se rendit à Berlin et remit cette lettre à M. Wohlthat qui confirma qu'elle pourrait servir de base à des conversations ultérieures avec les agents exécutifs du Comité Intergouvernemental. M. Wohlthat fit remarquer que, selon lui, le programme des autorités Allemandes pour l'émigration involontaire d'émigrants d'Allemagne, le programme du Comité pour l'éteblissement d'émigrants involontaires, la formation en Allemagne d'un Fonds de Gestion dont il est question dans le "Mémorandum Confidentiel", et la constitution d'une Agence d'Achat à l'extérieur du pays devraient se poursuivre pari passu, et que, pour le début il lui serait fort utile de tenir un Mémorandum au sujet des projets déjà mis sur le pied pour l'établissement de grande envergure d'émigrés involontaires ainsi que des détails regardent l'infiltration qui pourraient lui être utiles.

En conséquence, un mémorandum a été préparé, et après avoir été soumis aux Président et Vice-Président pour leur approbation il a été remis à M. Wohlthat par le Directeur Adjoint le 6 avril lors de sa visite à Berlin. Le texte de ce mémorandum a été distribué aux Membres du Comité et a été ajouté à mon rapport

comme Annexe A. Il a été dressé à dessein en des termes prudents et vous vous rendrez compte qu'il déclare nettement que les Gouvernements se réservent entière liberté quant à leur programme et leur politique au sujet des réfugiés et qu'ils ne peuvent pas être regardés comme liés d'aucune manière en ce que concerne leur politique future.

Pendant cette réunion le Fonds de Gestion intérieur et l'Agence d'Achat extérieure furent discutés. Mr. Pell déclara que des pourparlers avaient été entamés entre des groupes privés à New York et à Londres au sujet de la création d'un Fonds de Gestion ou d'une fondation extérieure (External Trust or Foundation) et M. Wohlthat fit savoir à Mr. Pell qu'un projet de décret pour la formation d'un Fonds de Gestion intérieur avait été rédigé, qu'il avait été approuvé par les ministères intéressés et n'attendait que l'approbation du Chancelier. Il a aussi été question du Commissaire Etranger de l'Administration du Fonds de Gestion. Mr. Pell mentionna le nom d'un homme de finance Néerlandais qui avait été proposé par des groupes privés comme personalité particulièrement apte à remplir ces fonctions. Il demanda aussi quelles seraient les conditions afférant à ce poste. Il fut décidé que le Directeur Adjoint serait chargé d'écrire une lettre à M. Wohlthat lui demandant d'élucider ces points. Mr. Pell se rendit à Berlin une troisème fois le 6 avril et remit à M. Wohlthat une lettre ayant trait à ces questions. M. Wohlthat montra au Directeur Adjoint le texte d'un projet de décret portant la création en Allemagne du Bureau Central des organisations Israélites dont il est question au point 7 du "Mémorandum Confidentiel" ainsi que le projet d'un second décret pour la formation du Fonds de Gestion à l'intérieur du pays.

M. Wohlthat explique que ces décrets attendaient la signature du Chancelier mais que ce dernier ne donnerait probablement pas sa signature avant qu'il y ait de bonnes raisons d'espérer que l'émigration d'Allemagne se ferait d'après le programme exposé dans le plan Allemand communiqué à Mr. Rublee.

Le 6 juin M. Wohlthat fut invité par le Directeur Adjoint à un déjeuner à Londres où il rencontra Lord Winterton et où moi-même j'étais present. Lord Winterton ne resta pas longtemps après le déjeuner, et il y eut une courte discussion pendant laquelle M. Wohlthat expliqua les intentions des autorités Allemandes dès que le Fonds de Gestion Intérieur serait créé. On avait proposé de demander les contributions au Fonds par versements échelonnés, le tout étant payable en cinq versements, pour atténuer la baisse des valeurs qui doit inévitablement se produire lors de la liquidation de biens, et pour fournir des ressources plus importantes aux organisations Israélites centrales en attendant l'émigration. M. Wohlthat répéta que le projet de décret tendant à la création du Fonds de Gestion ne serait probablement pas approuvé tant que la réalisation des projets d'établissement n'était pas en bonne voie. Il déclara que l'homme de finance Néerlandais dont il avait été question serait agréé comme troisième Commissaire et que les deux autres Commissaires seraient un banquier Allemand de marque et un fonctionnaire administratif. Il évalua la valeur des biens Israélites à un chiffre très élevé. On se mit d'accord lors de cette réunion qu'à l'avenir M. Wohlthat se mettrait en rapport direct avec moi comme Directeur du Comité Intergouvernemental.

Le 7 juin j'eus encore une conversation avec M. Wohlthat à laquelle Mr. Pell assistait. Je saisis l'occasion de donner

une explication détaillée à M. Wohlthat du système d'après lequel l'émigration d'émigrés involontaires d'Allemagne et leur établissement ailleurs étaient effectués et financés en ce moment, et je m'efforçai de lui donner une idée de l'importance des efforts généreux qui avaient été faits et qui étaient encore faits par des collaborateurs privés. Ensuite on parla de l'organisation et du financement des projets d'établissement de grande envergure. J'expliquai qu'au début il y aurait probablement une période d'établissement expérimentel et sur une échelle assez modeste. Si ces efforts réussissaient et si les fonds nécessaires étaient disponibles le mouvement progressif de l'établissement des émigrés s'accélérerait de plus en plus. M. Wohlthat sembla bien comprendre que l'établissement de grande envergure ne pouvait se faire que lentement, mais il souligna que du point de vue politique il était important qu'un plan bien arrêté fût adopté pour la période expérimentelle, avec l'assurance que si l'établissement expérimentel réussissait on procéderait à l'établissement de grande envergure. J'essayai de convaincre M. Wohlthat qu'il ne fallait pas attacher trop d'importance à l'établissement de grande envergure et qu'il fallait tenir compte également des avantages de l'infiltration. Mais il était evidemment persuadé que l'importance des efforts faits au dehors ne feraient pas une très grande impression sur les autorités en Allemagne dont dépendaient les décisions définitives jusquà-ce qu'un commencement ne fût fait avec l'établissement de grande envergure.

Après ces deux conversations je suis arrivé à la conclusion que les autorités Allemandes ne mettraient pas à exécution leur programme - y compris l'établissement du Fonds de Gestion - à moins que (a) une Fondation ne soit créée à l'extérieur et (b) qu'il y eut une organisation (ou des organisations) faisant partie de la Fondation, ou en dehors d'elle, s'occupant sérieuse-

ment de la question de l'établissement des émigrés, y compris son financement, mais que la question d'obtenir de grosses sommes supplémentaires n'était pas d'une importance immédiate.

En dehors de la discussion des questions sus-mentionnées on a profité de toutes les occasions d'aborder d'autres questions d'importance immédiate. M. Wohlthat a bien compris que si le soin d'organiser l'émigration sur une grande échelle d'Israélites de Czecho-Slovaquie était laissé aux organisations privées l'exécution du programme d'évacuation des émigrants involontaires d'Allemagne serait inévitablement retardée. À plusieurs reprises on a expliqué que d'expédier nombre de réfugiés par des bâteaux Allemands à des destinations où il n'étaient pas sûrs d'être reçus non seulement créait de sérieuses difficultés pour les organisations privées mais faiseit un mal énorme en outrageant l'opinion publique de l'Europe et de l'Amérique. Des représentations furent faites également pour obtenir que les intérêts des émigrants de réligion non-Israelite soient protégés dans le plan de l'Organisation Centrale en Allemagne. Au cours de ces conversations et d'après d'autres sources d'information il a apparu que des mesures avaient été prises pour la ré-éducation professionnelle des Israélites en Allemagne même, et que les restrictions imposées à l'admission des Israélites au travail avaient été adoucies en quelque sorte.

Depuis ma dernière rencontre avec M. Wohlthat on peut constater un progrès dans deux directions. D'abord, après discussion entre les divers groupes privés, et en particulier entre les groupes Britanniques et Américains, les mesures préliminaires ont été prises pour créer à Londres une Fondation privée internationale qui serait désignée Co-Ordinating Foundation. Cette organisation aura pour but de co-ordiner

les efforts faits pour les réfugiés, de co-opérer avec le Fonds de Gestion Intérieur dès qu'il sera établi en Allemagne, d'étudier et de faciliter l'émigration ordonnée et de trouver de nouveaux foyers pour les émigrés; elle sera autorisée à acquérir des biens et des legs à ces fins. De plus importantes de ses fonctions sera peut-être de servir de trait d'union entre les organisations privées qui s'occupent de l'émigration et du Fonds de Gestion Intérieur. La Fondation ne s'occupera pas directement du financement de l'émigration et pour cette raison son capital social sera limité à un million de dollars. D'autres mesures encore seront nécessaires afin d'établir le financement de l'établissement des réfugiés, tant individuellement que par groupes, sur une base solide et ces mesures sont à présent à l'examen.

Ensuite, le décret en vertu duquel la Central Jewish Agency a été fondée a été promulgué le 6 juillet, mais pour le moment il ne s'applique pas à l'ancien territoire de l'Autriche. Ce décret aura pour effet principal de réunir l'assistance aux Israélites et leur ré-éducation professionnelle sous une seule autorité, la Reichsvereinigung.

Peut-être le Comité me permettra-t-il de lui exposer l'opinion que j'ai formée à la suite des discussions dont je viens de parler en ce que concerne le programme contenu dans le "Mémorandum Confidential" communiqué à Mr. Rublee. Pour commencer, je voudrais faire observer que, comme je n'étais pas membre du Comité à ce moment-là je suis arrivé à mes conclusions indépendamment. Premièrement, il me paraît de la plus haute importance de se rendre compte que même si les pourparlers avec les autorités allemandes n'avaient pas eu lieu, le programme d'émigration aurait nécessairement dû suivre les lignes tracées

[illegible] programmes. Cela veut dire que le programme d'[illegible] par l'intelligence [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

la réalisation de leur désir, c'est à dire, l'évacuation des Israélites dans un avenir rapproché.

Sixièmement, il y aurait lieu de faire des efforts pour corriger cette idée erronée chaque fois que l'occasion s'en présentera, mais on ne devrait pas se borner à ces activités. Encore il faudra trouver de nouvelles méthodes de financement de l'émigration, indépendemment du programme Allemand, si un vrai progrès doit être réalisé. Le fait qu'elles auraient le mérite de rendre possible la création du Fonds de Gestion intérieur est encore un motif de plus pour les réaliser aussi vite que les circonstances le permettront.

Bref, quoique je ne voie pas d'inconvénient à tâcher de mener les discussions à bonne fin, je suis convaincu que la solution du problème serait grandement facilitée si le programme était mis à éxécution sous tous ses aspects.

Le Comité apprendra avec un vif regret que Mr. Robert Pell, Directeur-Adjoint, va sous peu se démettre de sa charge pour reprendre son poste au State Department à Washington. Mr. Pell a été associé à notre organisation depuis ses débuts. Il a fait siens ses intérêts et a travaillé avec une dévotion admirable à cette oeuvre. Durant les derniers mois il avait été chargé des discussions avec les autorités Allemandes, et je ne peux qu'exprimer ma haute admiration pour la compétence et le tacte avec lesquels il s'est acquitté de cette tâche très délicate. Il s'est fait beaucoup d'amis pendant son association avec le Comité, tant parmi les délégués au Comité que parmi les membres des associations privées, qui ont hautement apprécié son travail désinteressé et efficace. Moi-même je lui suis profondément reconnaissent de l'appui et de l'aide qu'il n'a cessé de me donner, et de son optimisme inébranlable en face de toutes les difficultés. Je le vois nous quitter avec le plus profond

regret.

Mr. Achilles, dont les services ont été mis à la disposition du Comité par le State Department du Gouvernement des Etats Unis d'Amérique, prendra la place de Mr. Pell, et le Comité, ainsi que moi-même, ne pouvons que nous féliciter d'avoir un Directeur-Adjoint si capable et ayant tant d'autorité.

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Annex A.

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. WOHLTHAT.

1. The Intergovernmental Committee is a continuing meeting of the representatives of more than thirty Governments to develop the work of the Intergovernmental Meeting which was held at Evian, France, in July 1938.

The persons coming within the scope of the activity of the Committee are:

(a) Persons who have not already left their country of origin, that is, Germany (including Austria and the Sudetenland), but who must emigrate on account of their political opinions, religious beliefs or racial origin,

and

(b) Persons as defined in (a) who have already left their country of origin and who have not yet established themselves permanently elsewhere.

In other words, the activities of the Committee are not confined to the category of persons referred to in the "Confidential Memorandum" reported by Mr. Rublee after his conversations with Mr. Wohlthat, but extend to all other persons who have been or may be obliged to emigrate from Germany on account of their political opinions, religious beliefs or racial origin, and thus include those persons - many thousands in number - who are in places of temporary refuge awaiting final settlement.

2. As a consequence, although it may be practicable for the Committee to lay emphasis upon the settlement of a particular category of persons such as the wage-earning group referred to in the "Confidential Memorandum", it cannot give exclusive attention to this group in projects of settlement and cannot divest itself of responsibility with regard to other groups. In this connection

there is the further consideration that some of the Governments of final settlement participating in the Intergovernmental Committee cannot, under their laws and practices, confine immigration to one category of persons, but must receive immigrants who fulfil the conditions of entry in the order of their application for visas. In practice, therefore, the Committee cannot restrict its efforts to persons of one category or one age-group, although it can assist in the fulfilment of the programme of the German side in this respect.

3. Emigration from Germany (including Austria and the Sudetenland) to places of final settlement may be accomplished either direct from Germany or first to places of temporary refuge and thence to places of final settlement. In either case emigration to places of final settlement may be (a) by infiltration or (b) by colonisation on a large or small scale.

An orderly system of immigration into the countries of final settlement predicates an orderly exodus from Germany which will allow the simultaneous and systematic development of the methods of emigration.

4. Of the countries of temporary refuge, those which are contiguous to Germany, together with the United Kingdom, have since 1933 borne the brunt of involuntary emigration and continue, in view of the fact that there is no appreciable relaxation of the pressure, to bear the brunt. Persons to the number of many thousands have found, and continue to find, temporary asylum in these countries where they constitute a problem of serious proportions alike from the social, economic and financial standpoints and from the standpoint of public order. The Governments of these countries in co-operation with the private organisations, have exerted themselves to the

utmost to deal effectively and generously with the situation caused by the continuous, and often irregular, arrival of these refugees, and to retrain them for settlement overseas. It must be appreciated, however, that there is a saturation point, which to all practical effect has now been reached, and the Governments and private organisations of these countries can continue to make a valuable contribution only if there is a corresponding outflow from them of persons to places of final settlement.

5. So far the most fruitful method of final settlement of involuntary emigrants has been by infiltration. Since 1933 persons have been settled by this means to the number of approximately 40,000 annually, notably in the United States of America, the countries of South and Central America, France, the United Kingdom and Colonies, Australia and Canada. Although discussions with regard to the possibilities of infiltration are continuing among the Governments participating in the Intergovernmental Committee, a point may be reached when opportunities for settlement by infiltration may be limited to a comparatively few countries.

a) The United States of America, under its existing laws and practices, receives a total of 27,370 immigrants from Germany (including Austria) in one year. Intending immigrants are not limited by age or category, but they must fulfil certain requirements as to health and means of support in the United States. Their admission into the United States takes place in the order of their application for quota numbers. Applications have now been received for several years in advance.

b) Possibilities of infiltration in the various

countries of Central and South America still exist, although admissions are very much curtailed at the present time. These countries show preference for trained agricultural workers, and there are some openings for qualified craftsmen, technical specialists and scientists. In addition, most governments of Central and South America stipulate that immigrants shall be in possession of a substantial amount of capital.

c) France, in addition to the great numbers of people it has accepted, and continues to accept, for temporary refuge, has offered permanent hospitality to persons, many thousands in number, who have been obliged to leave their country of origin.

d) The United Kingdom is not an immigration country in the true sense of the word, and, in consequence, its contribution to a solution of the refugee problem must be primarily that of a country of refuge offering temporary hospitality or opportunities for retraining for a limited number. It has been possible, however, for His Majesty's Government to take permanently in the United Kingdom and the Colonial possessions a certain number of refugees in particular occupations.

e) The Government of the Commonwealth of Australia has informed the Committee that it is prepared to receive up to 15,000 refugees over a term of three years. The Commonwealth Government will approve only the admission of those classes whose entry into Australia does not disturb existing labour conditions. It will give special consideration to individuals who have the capital and experience necessary for establishing and developing industries not already catered for. In short, the Government has decided that on broad lines the admission

of refugees should conform to the principles governing the entry of white aliens generally as regards desirability, health and possession of landing money. It has reserved full discretion regarding the country of origin of the refugee.

f) Canada is making arrangements to take refugees from the Sudetenland by agreement with private organisations.

6. There remains the second form of settlement, that is, colonisation on a large or small scale. At the present time, projects are being explored in (a) British Guiana, (b) Netherland Guiana (Surinam), (c) The Dominican Republic, and (d) The Philippines. There are also prospects of some limited agricultural settlement in (e) Northern Rhodesia.

7. The Prime Minister stated in the House of Commons on 21st November, 1938, that an investigation would be instituted to ascertain the possibility of large-scale settlement in British Guiana. He indicated that with regard to this and other large-scale settlement schemes, the Governments of local territories could only be expected to cooperate provided the schemes were formulated and carried out by responsible organisations. Accordingly, the Emigration Committee under the general control of the British Coordinating Committee, and in collaboration with a sub-Committee nominated by the Advisory Committee on Refugees set up by the President in the United States of America, made the preliminary arrangements for a commission to visit British Guiana to explore the territory which is available for investigation occupying approximately 40,000 square miles.

The Commission, which consists of British and American officials and experts, has now arrived in British Guiana and

has begun its enquiry.

8. The Government of the Netherlands has indicated to the Committee its willingness to accept, in limited numbers, immigrants in Netherland Guiana (Surinam).

9. The Government of the Dominican Republic notified the Committee in August 1938 that it was prepared in principle to accept up to 100,000 refugees, professional and business people as well as agricultural workers, in accordance with the laws and practices of the Republic and provided that the Dominican Government should undertake no obligation for financing this immigration, which will have to be carried out with due regard to the country's needs. Preliminary contacts with the Dominican Government have been established by a representative of President Roosevelt's Advisory Committee on Political Refugees, and a plan has been submitted to this Government which is the subject of investigation by a commission of experts which has now begun its enquiry.

10. President Quezon, of the Commonwealth of the Philippines, authorised the American delegate to the recent Intergovernmental Committee meeting to state on behalf of the Commonwealth Government that:

The Commonwealth authorities were favourably inclined to a plan which would permit the settlement of refugees on the island of Mindanao and in other sparsely populated areas of the Philippines. The Island of Mindanao, the southernmost of the Philippine archipelago has an area of some 37,000 square miles, is sparsely inhabited, is in the main favourable climatically, and is believed to be capable of supporting a very considerable population. The Commonwealth Government is now completing plans for the large-scale colonization of

Mindanao by Filipinos, and substantial sums are available for general development purposes. It is believed that this program could be materially aided through the use of refugee specialists, engineers, technicians, doctors, skilled and semi-skilled artisans. The Commonwealth Government would favor the settlement of refugees in Mindanao in accordance with the following conditions in such number and at such a rate as may be found to be within the interest of Philippine national economy.

(a) That a responsible Committee representing the refugees or acting on their behalf shall submit a satisfactory plan for future such settlements;

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

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

(d) That until they become Filipino citizens they shall reside in the Dole reserve for them;

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

(f) That the plan contemplated and the condition shall be subject to the immigration laws and in form or which may hereafter be passed by the National Assembly.

Arrangements are now being made in the Dole

States to assemble a technical commission which will proceed in the very near future to the Philippines.

11. With regard to Northern Rhodesia, the private organisations in London have assembled a mission to visit the territory, and this mission has commenced its investigations.

12. It is not possible to assess the prospects of colonisation on a large scale until the Commissions of enquiry mentioned above have reported, but it may be stressed that a favourable report by any of them would at once simplify the problem, and that if a large area suitable for settlement is made available in any of the countries named, there will be almost immediate relief on the existing pressure.

13. It must be understood that the above statement of the programme of the Governments participating in the Intergovernmental Committee is subject to the full discretion which they have necessarily reserved regarding their policy towards refugees, and they cannot be regarded as specifically committed to any future policy. Subject to this understanding, it is none the less clear from the foregoing paragraphs that there is good ground for hope that, having regard to what has already been achieved and to the prospects of new outlets becoming available, the problem, as presented in the "Confidential Memorandum" reported by Mr. Rublee, will admit of solution within a reasonable period. But, as already suggested, continuous and orderly immigration into countries of final settlement presupposes an orderly exodus from Germany regulated in accordance with the openings available from time to time.

30th March, 1939.

DECLARATION DE LA DELEGATION DES ETATS UNIS.

Je viens d'entendre avec un vif intéret la déclaration de Lord Winterton que son Gouvernement était en train d'éxaminer les modalités appropriées, et la mesure dans laquelle des cotisations privées versées à un fonds international destiné à contribuer à l'émigration outre-mer pourraient être encouragées effectivement par une initiative gouvernementale, et que, si d'autres gouvernements étaient disposés à donner leur adhésion à ce changement de principe et à co-opérer avec cette initiative, le Gouvernement Britannique serait prêt à dresser un plan à ces fins.

Je ne manquerai pas d'entretenir mon Gouvernement de ce projet et de pressentir ses vues à ce sujet. Cette proposition constitue en somme une déviation des principes sur lesquels le Comité Inter-gouvernemental avait été fondé. Néanmoins, je dois expliquer clairement d'ores et déjà que d'après la constitution Américaine toute contribution de fonds de la part du Gouvernement des Etats Unis ne peut se faire qu'avec l'assentiment du Congrès. D'ailleurs, je suis convaincu que pour qu'une proposition de ce genre soit bien accueillie par l'opinion publique et par le Congrès des Etats Unis il faudrait qu'elle fusse d'un caractère et d'une envergure tels que, au lieu d'être une solution partielle seulement, elle puisse être considérée comme une solution radicale du problème.

Le Gouvernement des Etats Unis apprécie parfaitement les circonstances qui ont amenés le Gouvernement du Royaume Uni à prendre cette décision et je suis persuadé qu'il examinera la proposition de Lord Winterton avec sympathie.

STATEMENT BY THE AMERICAN DELEGATION.

I have heard with great interest Lord Winterton's statement that his government was examining the manner and extent to which private subscriptions to an international fund to assist in defraying the expenses of overseas emigration of refugees might be encouraged by government participation and that if other governments were prepared to agree to this change of principle and to cooperate in such participation the British Government would take the initiative in preparing a scheme for the purpose.

I shall be pleased to consult my Government as to its views with regard to this proposal, which represents a departure from the basis on which the Intergovernmental Committee was founded. I am obliged to make it clear, however, that under the American Constitution any contribution of funds by the American Government would necessarily be subject to the decision of Congress. Moreover, I am certain that if such a proposal were to be considered favourably by public opinion in the United States and by Congress it would have to apply to a project of such a nature and extent that instead of being a palliative it would be considered as initiating a basic solution of the problem.

The American Government is truly sensible, however, of the circumstances which have motivated the decision of the British Government and will, I am sure, give most serious consideration to Lord Winterton's proposal.

SPEECH BY MYRON C. TAYLOR

FOR JULY 19th, 1939.

When we first met at Evian in an effort to evolve machinery and a plan for dealing with the harrowing problem of forced migration, we, none more than my Government, were fully aware of the tremendous difficulties which confronted us. With very little warning, from the very centre of civilised Europe, tens of thousands of people were in flight, torn from their normal lives, uprooted from their homes and familiar surroundings. The private organisations, ably assisted by the League of Nations Commission, were working heroically to cope with a situation which had been forced upon the world, but clearly the time had come for the public action to which President Roosevelt had summoned the Governments.

We met at Evian aware that the situation was acute and armed with the realisation that humanitarian considerations required us to do our utmost. We approached the task humbly but with a deep conviction that if we were patient and persevering we would find in our effort a means of ameliorating the lot of the peoples seeking to find a new homeland for themselves and their children. We were conscious also of the importance of an orderly solution of this problem to the countries which had to shoulder this difficult burden which was not of their creation.

As the Director pointed out in his opening statement, over a year has passed since we sat down together at Evian. Surveying the accomplishments of that year, we have reason to-day to feel that our hopes were justified and that our perseverance has been rewarded. It has been no easy task, but when measured against the obstacles which we had to over-

come, our progress is such as to justify the effort and to confirm the wisdom of the Governments which, motivated by a sincere desire to find a solution of the problem, agreed to meet.

It is with great satisfaction that we have heard our Director review the details of this year of achievement. During this period conversations were carried on by our executive with the German authorities which have enabled both sides to make the most of progress towards an ultimate solution along the course charted by Mr. Rublee and Herr Wohlthat. The machinery which they envisaged will shortly be set up and we are hopeful that this will mean order where the emigration is initiated and pave the way to real accomplishment.

Turning to the other side of the picture, important studies have been undertaken and surveys have been completed of places in the world where substantial numbers of refugees can be settled, supplementing migration by infiltration. Already we have the reports of investigations made in British Guiana, the Dominican Republic and Northern Rhodesia. The Commission which is investigating settlement prospects in Mindanao has not yet completed its report, but I have just received word that it has submitted a preliminary report to the Government of the Philippine Commonwealth. This preliminary report, which has the approval and assurance of the co-operation of the Commonwealth authorities, indicates the possibility of settling some 10,000 refugees in areas on the Island of Mindanao suitable for agricultural or industrial colonisation. I trust that the full report will be available in the near future. The reports already received, which the Director has discussed in some detail, while taking into account the obvious obstacles which

exist between the time when potentials are estimated and the actual establishment of settlements, nevertheless hold out constructive and substantial prospects for settlement on a large scale. Certainly there is every reason to believe that if the work is carried forward with care and with the same earnest spirit in which it has been inaugurated, it will be possible to arrange in the time contemplated of five years for the migration and permanent re-establishment in various parts of the world of the numbers of involuntary migrants specified in the Rublee-Schlthat conversations.

The actual amount of migration from Germany during the first four months of this calendar year provides a striking and hopeful indication of what we may contemplate when the machinery which we are creating is finally in full operation. During this period of four months alone the private organisations, whose magnificent achievement has been sustained and encouraged by the Committee, have arranged for the orderly migration from Greater Germany of approximately 25,000 individuals.

In addition to this about 20,000 more, who have depended on their own resources, have been able to find new countries in which to begin the task of rebuilding their lives. The private organisations deserve the highest praise for the unselfish and generous spirit which has made possible this very substantial contribution to a solution of the problem. It provides an example of what adequate collaboration between the private organisations, upon whom rests the final responsibility for migration, and the Governments operating through the Committee can accomplish. The significant fact is that somewhere in the neighbourhood of 50,000 involuntary emigrants have been taken out of Germany during the first third of the year. And this was accomplished at a time when the

permanent residency, which is now complete, was not in doubt.

An important by-product of the work accomplished during this period has been the disposition of the German authorities, given substantial evidence of both the will and the ability of the Government associated in this Committee, to arrange for migration, to make the situation of those who must remain in Germany for the time being. The position of these people is not happy or even tolerable according to normal standards. There is evidence, however, that the German authorities have begun to put into practice certain of the measures outlined to Dr. Guillaume permitting the progressive adaptation to apply a tolerable status inside Germany and even to earn their livelihood. We trust that this process, which we are glad to note has been inaugurated, will continue, intensified, and will develop along constructive lines as the work of re-settlement expands.

Looking into the future it is clear that the development of large-scale settlements will become an increasingly important element in the ultimate solution towards which we are all striving. We cannot overlook the fact that a very large proportion of the individuals who have left Germany have been given only temporary asylum in countries of refuge. While the process of individual problem to provide ultimately for a substantial number, possibly the greater part of those who are subject to migration, the fact remains that this process alone is not sufficient to bring us to an ultimate and complete resolution of our task. The role of individuals of any country accepting migration on this basis must inevitably be selective in order to avoid immediately and undeniable economic and social disturbances. We in the United States

have found by experience that the rate of immigration permitted under our quota laws is roughly as high as is desirable and feasible, and we fully appreciate the reluctance of other countries to let down the bars to mass immigration of a character which would disturb the public order. The experiences which lead to this conclusion emphasize the importance of the speedy development of areas of mass settlement. It is important to the countries which now are giving shelter to a very substantial number of migrants. It is important to the well-being of those individuals still remaining in Germany. There remain areas with vast undeveloped resources. It was migration which in past periods of the world's history advanced our economic and social horizons and we would be blind indeed to close our eyes to the opportunities provided by the talented and able group of migrants with whom we are dealing.

We find ourselves now in midstream. We have accomplished just enough to prove to our own satisfaction that our efforts are not in vain, but from this point we must go ahead with increased and not relaxed diligence. The interest of my own Government is as great as ever in this effort to bring relief to the unfortunate victims of political conditions, as an international effort which will be conducive to a relaxation of existing tension and a promotion of better world conditions to which we so ardently aspire.

DISCOURS DE MYRON C. TAYLOR

AU 19 JUILLET 1939.

Quand nous nous rencontrâmes pour la première fois à Evian, dans un effort de développer un mécanisme et un projet pour faire face au problême troublant d'émigration involontaire, nous tous, et personne plus que mon Gouvernement, nous rendîmes parfaitement compte des difficultés énormes nous confrontent. Presque sans avertissement, du centre de l'Europe civilisée, des dizaines de milliers de gens furent en fuite, leur vie normale déchirée, arrachés de leurs foyers et de leur milieux familiers. Les organisations privées, assistées de façon efficace par la Commission de la Ligue des Nations, travaillèrent héroïquement pour faire face à une situation forcée sur le monde, mais il était clair que c'était temps pour l'action publique à laquelle le Président Roosevelt avait convoqué les Gouvernements.

Nous nous recontrâmes à Evian, bien réalisant que la situation était poignante, et armés de la certitude que les considérations humaines nous demandèrent notre dévouement entier. Nous nous approchâmes de notre tache en toute humilité, mais avec une conviction profonde qu'en étant patients et tenaces nous trouverions par nos efforts des moyens pour améliorer le sort de ceux en quête de trouver une nouvelle patrie pour eux-mêmes et leurs enfants. Egalement, nous nous rendîmes compte de l'importance d'une solution bien ordonnée de ce problème pour les pays lesquels avaient à porter ce fardeau si lourd, mais point crée par eux.

Comme le Directeur l'a mentionné dans son discours d'ouverture, il s'est passé plus d'un an depuis que nous nous réunîmes à Evian. En revisant ce qu'a été accompli dans cet an, nous avons cause aujourd'hui de penser que nos espérances

ont été justifiées et que notre persévérance a été récompensée. La tâche n'a pas été facile, mais en la comparant aux obstacles qu'il nous fallait surmonter, notre progrès est tel qu'il justifie les efforts et qu'il confirme la sagacité des Gouvernements lesquels, motivés par un désir sincère de trouver une solution du problème, arrangeaient de se réunir.

C'est avec grande satisfaction que nous avons appris de notre Directeur les détails de cette année d'accomplissement. Au cours de cette période des conversations eurent lieu entre nos Plénipotentiaires et les autorités allemandes, permettant les deux parties de faire le plus du progrès possible vers une solution définitive suivant la voie tracée par M. Rublee et M. Wohlthat. Le cadre désigné par eux sera prochainement construit, et nous avons toute espoir que ceci assurera un bon ordre à l'endroit d'émigration et mènera à l'accomplissement réel.

Revisant l'autre côté du tableau, des études importantes ont été faites et des expertises ont été complétées d'endroits du monde où des nombres considérables de réfugiés peuvent être établis, en ajoutant l'infiltration à l'émigration. Nous tenons déjà les rapports de recherches faites en Guyane Britannique, dans la République Dominicaine et dans la Rhodésie du Nord. La Commission en train d'étudier les possibilités d'établissement à Mindanao n'a pas encore complété son rapport, mais je viens d'apprendre la nouvelle qu'elle a soumis un rapport préliminaire au Gouvernement du Commonwealth des Philippines. Ce rapport préliminaire, lequel a été approuvé par et reçu l'assurance de la collaboration des autorités du Commonwealth, indique la possibilité

d'établir environ 10.000 réfugiés aux terrains sur l'île de Mindanao convenables à la colonisation agricole ou industrielle. J'espère que le rapport complet sera disponible prochainement. Les rapport déjà reçus, dont le Directeur nous a parlé en quelque détail, tout en tenant en considération les obstacles évidents existants entre le temps quand les possibilités sont estimées et le moment actuel d'établissement, promettent néanmoins des perspectives constructeuses et substantielles d'établissement de grande envergure. Il y a certainement toute raison à croire que si l'oeuvre est continuée avec soin et dans le même esprit d'empressement que celui dans lequel on l'a inaugurée, il sera possible d'arranger dans le temps prévu de cinq ans, l'émigration et l'établissement permanent dans des endroits divers du monde les nombres d'émigrants involontaires spécifiés dans les conversations Rublee-Wohlthat.

Le volume effectif d'émigration de l'Allemagne pendant les premiers quatre mois de cette année donne une indication frappante et rassurante de ce que nous pourrons prévoir quand la machine que nous sommes en train de construire courira a toute force. Seulement dans cette période de quatre mois, les organisations privées, dont l'oeuvre splendide a été supportée et encouragée par le Comité, ont arrangé l'émigration en bon ordre de l'Allemagne actuelle d'environ 29.000 personnes.

En outre, un nombre d'environ 20.000 autres qui dépendaient de leurs moyens privées, ont été à même de trouver de nouveaux pays pour commencer la tâche de la réconstitution de leurs vies. Les organisations privées méritent le plus haut éloge de l'esprit altruiste et généreux qui a fait possible cette contribution bien considérable à la solution du problême. C'est une illustration de ce que peut être accompli

par une collaboration solide entre les diverses organisations privées, lesquelles portent la responsabilité finale d'émigration, et les Gouvernements, agissant par le Comité. Le fait signifient est que pendant le premier trimestre de l'année, un nombre de quelque 50.000 émigrants involontaires ont été sortis de l'Allemagne. Et ceci s'accomplit à un temps où la machine permanente, maintenant complétée, n'existe pas encore.

Un produit secondaire bien important de l'oeuvre accomplie pendant cette période a été la disposition des Autorités allemandes, présupposant des preuves substantielles de la volonté ainsi que de la capacité des Gouvernements associés dans ce Comité d'arrenger l'émigration, à soulager la situation de ceux qui doivent rester en Allemagne pour le moment. La position de ces gens n'est point heureuse, ni même supportable en la mesurant au niveau normal. Pourtant, il y a des preuves que les autorités allemandes ont commencé à mettre en pratique certaines des mesures esquissées à M. Rublee, permettant les émigrants en perspective de jouir d'une certaine position sociale en Allemagne, et même de gagner leur vie. Nous espérons que ce procès dont nous notons avec joie l'inauguration, continuera sans interruption et développera sur des lignes pratiques accompagnant l'extension de l'oeuvre d'établissement.

En regardant l'avenir, il est clair que le développement d'établissements de grande envergure deviendra un facteur de plus en plus important dans la solution finale pour laquelle nous luttons tous. Nous ne pouvons ignorer le fait qu'une très grande proportion de ceux qui ont quittés l'Allemagne n'ont reçu qu'un abri temporaire dans des pays de refuge. Tandis que le procès d'infiltration promet de pourvoir à la fin pour un nombre considérable, possiblement pour la plupart de ceux qui

sont sujets à l'émigration, le fait reste néanmoins que ce procès seul ne saurait être suffisant à nous mener à une solution complète et finale de notre tâche. Le taux d'infiltration dans tout pays admettant des émigrants sur cette base doit inévitablement être modéré, afin d'éviter des dérangements économiques et sociaux innécessaires et inconvenables. Nous autres, aux Etats Unis, ont appris par expérience que le taux d'émigration admis selon nos lois de contingent, est en grandes lignes aussi haut que désirable et possible, et nous comprenons tout à fait la répugnance d'autres pays à ouvrir les barrières contre l'émigration en masse d'un caractère à déranger l'ordre publique.

L'expérience menant à cette conclusion souligne l'importance d'un développement rapide de terrains d'établissement de grande envergure. C'est important pour les pays maintenant abritants un nombre bien considérable d'émigrants. C'est important pour le bien-être de ceux qui restent encore en Allemagne. Il y a encore des territoires avec de vastes ressources non-développées. Ce fût l'émigration qui à des périodes de l'histoire du monde avança nos horizons économiques et sociaux, et nous serions vraiment aveugles en fermant nos yeux aux opportunités pourvues par le groupe capable et plein de talent d'émigrants faisant le sujet de nos présents efforts.

A présent, nous nous trouvons à mi-chemin. Nous avons accompli justement assez pour prouver à notre propre satisfaction que nos efforts ne sont point en vain, mais de ce point il nous faut avancer d'une allure augmentée, et non pas relâchée. Mon Gouvernement s'intéresse plus que jamais dans cet effort de porter du soulagement aux victimes mal-

heureuses des conditions politiques, comme un effort international conduisant à un relâchement de la tension actuelle et à l'avancement de meilleures conditions mondiales, lesquelles nous désirons tous si ardemment.

## REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR ON THE FINANCES OF THE COMMITTEE.

This is a brief statement of the financial position of the Director's office to July 15, 1939.

The accounts were audited by the Comptroller and Auditor General to His Majesty's Government for the period ended March 31, 1939, and I annex the formal statement of account (Annex 1) confirmed May 23, 1939. This audit shows that contributions towards the expenses of the Director's office were received to the amount of £6766. 9.10. There was a balance on hand at the end of that period, including credits, amounting to £2651. 7. 5.

From April 1 to July 15 there has been received the balance of the contribution of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom amounting to £888. 1.1, the contribution of the Dominican Republic of £18, and a refund on the deposit for furniture of £118. 1. 8.

Out payments during the period April 1 to July 15 amounted to £1341.11.0., the detailed statement of which will be included in Annex 2. The balance on July 15 is £2211. 5. 0.

Contributions have been received from the following Governments: The United States of America, the Argentine Republic, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Denmark, the Dominican Republic, Eire, Honduras, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Peru, Sweden, United Kingdom, Venezuela, and a payment on account by the French Government.

The following Governments have not so far paid their contributions: Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Ecuador Guatemala, Haiti, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Switzerland and Uruguay.

In view of the fact that there will have to be a financial audit at the close of the year on August 15, it is hoped that the delegates of those Governments which have overlooked their payments will advise the Chairman as soon as practicable when the payment of their contributions may be expected.

ANNEX 1.

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE.

Account of Receipts and Payments for the Period

Ended 31 March, 1939.

| RECEIPTS. | £. s. d. | PAYMENTS. | | £. s. d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Contributions towards the expenses of the Director | 6766. 9.10 | Salaries & Wages | | 2948. 8. 4 |
| | | Travelling Expenses | | 456.13. 8 |
| | | Office Expenses: including Postage & Bank Charges | | 171.16.11 |
| | | Telephones, Telegrams & Cables | | 120.18. 9 |
| | | Rent, Heating & Lighting | | 252.12. 6 |
| | | | | 3950.10. 2 |
| | | Furniture purchased | | 164.12. 3 |
| | | BALANCE, 31 March, 1939: | | |
| | | Advanced to H.M.O.W. | 118. 1. 8 | |
| | | Cash at Bank | 2528.13. 3 | |
| | | Cash in Hand | 4.12. 6 | 2651. 7. 5 |
| | £6766. 9.10 | | | £6766. 9.10 |

May 5th, 1939.

(Signed) H. M. EMERSON.
Director.

I have examined the above Account. I have obtained all the information and explanations that I have required, and I certify as the result of my audit, that in my opinion this Account is correct.

Exchequer & Audit Department.
London. 23rd May, 1939.

(Signed) G. E. UPCOTT.
Comptroller & Auditor General.

ANNEX 2.

## ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS FOR THE PERIOD

## April 1 to July 15, 1939.

| RECEIPTS. | £. s. d. | PAYMENTS. | £. s. d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Balance Forward | 2528.13. 3 | Salaries | 947.16. 8 |
| Balance, Contribution of United Kingdom | 588. 1. 1 | Supplies | 49.16. 4 |
| Contribution of the Dominican Republic | 18. 0. 0 | Telephone, Telegrams, Cables | 32.16. 1 |
| Refund, Office of Works, Deposit for office furniture | 118. 1. 8 | Travel | 132.13. 9 |
| | | Rent, Heating & Lighting | 103.19. 2 |
| | | Stamps, Petty Cash, Duplicating, etc. | 74. 9. 0 |
| | | | 1341.11. 0 |
| | | BALANCE, July 15, 1939: | |
| | | Cash at Bank 2207.6.6 | |
| | | Cash in Hand 3.18.6 | 2211. 5. 0 |
| | £3552.16. 0 | | £3552.16. 0 |

RAPPORT DU DIRECTEUR SUR LES FINANCES DU COMITE

Ceci représente un bref exposé de la position financière du Bureau du Directeur au 15 juillet 1939.

Les comptes ont été vérifiés par le Contrôleur et Vérificateur en Chef du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique pour la période terminant le 31 mars 1939, et j'attache le Relevé Officiel des Comptes (Annexe 1), confirmé le 23 mai 1939. Cette vérification relève que des contributions aux dépenses du Bureau du Directeur ont été reçues au montant de £6766. 9. 10. A la fin de cette période, il y eut une balance, y inclus les crédits, s'élevant à £2651. 7. 5.

Du 1 avril jusqu'au 15 juillet ont été reçu: la balance de la contribution du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique dans le Royaume Uni, s'élevant à £888. 1. 1., la contribution de la République Dominicaine de £18, et un remboursement de part du versement pour le mobilier de £118. 1. 8.

Les paiements faits pendant la période du 1 avril jusqu'au 15 juillet s'élèvent à £1341. 11. 0., un relevé détaillé desquels sera inclu dans l'Annexe 2. La balance au 15 juillet est de £2211. 5.

Des contributions ont été reçues des Gouvernements suivents: Les Etats Unis de l'Amérique, la République Argentine, l'Australie, la Belgique, la Bolivie, le Brésil, le Danemarque, la République Dominicaine, l'Irlande, le Honduras, les Pays Bas, la Nouvelle Zélande, la Norvège, le Pérou, la Suède, le Royaume Uni, le Vénézuéla, ainsi qu'un versement acompte du Gouvernement français.

Les Gouvernements suivents n'ont pas encore payé leurs

contributions: le Canada, le Chili, la Colombie, la Costa Rica, la Cuba, l'Ecuador, la Guatemala, le Haiti, la Mexique, Le Nicaragua, le Panama, le Paraguay, la Suisse et l'Uruguay.

En considération du fait qu'à la fin de l'exercice, le 15 août, il faudra avoir une vérification financière, il est à espérer que les Délégués des Gouvernements lesquels ont par mégarde manqué de payer leurs contributions aviseront dès que possible le Directeur quand le paiement de leur contribution peut être expecté.

ANNEXE I.

BUREAU DU DIRECTEUR DU COMITE INTERGOUVERNEMENTAL

Compte des Recettes et des Paiements pendant la Période terminant le 31 mars 1939.

| RECETTES | £. s. d. | PAIEMENTS | £. s. d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Contributions aux dépenses du Directeur | 6766. 9. 10. | Salaires et Gages | 2948. 8. 4. |
| | | Frais de Voyage | 456.13. 8. |
| | | Dépenses de Bureau, y inclus Timbres et frais de Banque | 171.16.11. |
| | | Téléphone, Télégrammes & Cables | 120.18. 9. |
| | | Loyer, Chauffage et Eclairage | 252.12. 6. |
| | | | 3950.10. 2. |
| | | Mobilier acheté | 164.12. 3. |
| | | BALANCE, le 31 Mars 1939 | |
| | | Avancé à l'Office de Travaux de S.M. 118. 1.8. | |
| | | Depôt à la Banque 2528.13.3. | |
| | | Argent en Caisse 4.12.6. | 2651. 7. 5. |
| | £6766. 9. 10. | | £6766. 9.10. |

le 5 mai 1939.

(signé) H. H. EMERSON,
Directeur.

J'ai examiné le compte ci-dessus. J'ai obtenu toute information et tous les éclaircissements dont j'avais besoin, et je certifie comme résultat de ma vérification que dans mon opinion ce compte est correct.

Département de l'Echiquier
et de Vérification.
Londres, le 23 mai 1939.

(Signé) G. E. UPCOTT
Contrôleur et Vérificateur
en Chef.

ANNEXE 2.

Compte des Recettes et des Paiements pendant la Période du 1 avril jusqu'au 15 juillet 1939.

| RECETTES | £. s. d. | PAIEMENTS | £. s. d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Balance Rapportée | 2528.13. 3. | Salaires | 947. 16. 8. |
| Balance, Contribution du Royaume Uni | 888. 1. 1. | Fournitures | 49. 18. 4. |
| Contribution de la République Dominicaine | 18. 0. 0. | Téléphone, Télégrammes, Cables | 32. 18. 1 |
| Remboursement, Office des Trevaux, versement pour mobilier de Bureau | 118. 1. 8. | Frais de Voyage | 132. 13. 9. |
| | | Loyer, Chauffage et Eclairage | 103. 19. 2. |
| | | Timbres, Petites Dépenses, Multiplication de documents, etc. | 74. 9. 0. |
| | | | 1341. 11. 0. |
| | | BALANCE 15 juillet 1939: | |
| | | Argent en Banque £2207.6.6 | |
| | | Argent en Caisse 3.13.6 | 2211. 5. 0. |
| | £3552.16. 0. | | £3552. 16. 0. |

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR ON THE FINANCES OF THE COMMITTEE.

This is a brief statement of the financial position of the Director's office to July 15, 1939.

The accounts were audited by the Comptroller and Auditor General to His Majesty's Government for the period ended March 31, 1939, and I annex the formal statement of account (Annex 1) confirmed May 23, 1939. This audit shows that contributions towards the expenses of the Director's office were received to the amount of £6766. 9.10. There was a balance on hand at the end of that period, including credits, amounting to £2651. 7. 5.

From April 1 to July 15 there has been received the balance of the contribution of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom amounting to £888. 1.1, the contribution of the Dominican Republic of £18, and a refund on the deposit for furniture of £118. 1. 8.

Out payments during the period April 1 to July 15 amounted to £1341.11.0., the detailed statement of which will be included in Annex 2. The balance on July 15 is £2211. 5. 0.

Contributions have been received from the following Governments: The United States of America, the Argentine Republic, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Denmark, the Dominican Republic, Eire, Honduras, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Peru, Sweden, United Kingdom, Venezuela, and a payment on account by the French Government.

The following Governments have not so far paid their contributions: Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Ecuador Guatemala, Haiti, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Switzerland and Uruguay.

In view of the fact that there will have to be a financial audit at the close of the year on August 15, it is hoped that the delegates of those Governments which have overlooked their payments will advise the Chairman as soon as practicable when the payment of their contributions may be expected.

ANNEX 1.

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE.

Account of Receipts and Payments for the Period

Ended 31 March, 1939.

| RECEIPTS. | £. s. d. | PAYMENTS. | | £. s. d. |
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| | | Travelling Expenses | | 456.13. 8 |
| | | Office Expenses: including Postage & Bank Charges | | 171.16.11 |
| | | Telephones, Telegrams & Cables | | 120.18. 9 |
| | | Rent, Heating & Lighting | | 252.12. 6 |
| | | | | 3950.10. 2 |
| | | Furniture purchased | | 164.12. 3 |
| | | BALANCE, 31 March, 1939: | | |
| | | Advanced to H.M.O.W. | 118. 1. 8 | |
| | | Cash at Bank | 2528.13. 3 | |
| | | Cash in Hand | 4.12. 6 | 2651. 7. 5 |
| | £6766. 9.10 | | | £6766. 9.10 |

May 5th, 1939. (Signed) H. M. EMERSON.
Director.

I have examined the above Account. I have obtained all the information and explanations that I have required, and I certify as the result of my audit, that in my opinion this Account is correct.

Exchequer & Audit Department. (Signed) G. E. UPCOTT.
London. 23rd May, 1939. Comptroller & Auditor General.

ANNEX 2.

## ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS FOR THE PERIOD

## April 1 to July 15, 1939.

| RECEIPTS. | £. s. d. | PAYMENTS. | | £. s. d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
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| Balance, Contribution of United Kingdom | 888. 1. 1 | Supplies | | 49.16. 4 |
| Contribution of the Dominican Republic | 18. 0. 0 | Telephone, Telegrams, Cables | | 32.16. 1 |
| Refund, Office of Works, deposit for office furniture | 118. 1. 8 | Travel | | 132.13. 9 |
| | | Rent, Heating & Lighting | | 103.19. 2 |
| | | Stamps, Petty Cash, Duplicating, etc. | | 74. 9. 0 |
| | | | | 1341.11. 0 |
| | | BALANCE, July 15, 1939: | | |
| | | Cash at Bank | 2207.6.6 | |
| | | Cash in Hand | 3.18.6 | 2211. 5. 0 |
| | £3552.16. 0 | | | £3552.16. 0 |

## RESOLUTION.

THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE

(1) Noting the report of Sir Herbert Emerson, the Director, on the work of the Intergovernmental Committee, and the present position of the refugee problem;

(2) Taking note of the information which it has received concerning the current rate of emigration of involuntary emigrants and their resettlement in other parts of the world, notably where immigration is possible under prevailing laws and practices;

(3) Recognising the great work accomplished since 1933 by the States neighbouring the country of origin of involuntary emigrants, a work which has consisted not only of receiving and extending hospitality to hundreds of thousands of persons since that date, but also of reincorporating them in commercial, agricultural and industrial fields of service to humanity;

(4) Recognising the value of the work done by the commissions which have investigated or are investigating the possibilities of settlement in the Dominican Republic, British Guiana, Northern Rhodesia, the Philippine Islands and the Netherlands Guiana;

(5) Recognising that while tens of thousands of involuntary emigrants have already left Germany, in progressively increasing numbers during recent months, much remains to be done in reaching a solution of the problem, which must include

the/

the emigration of large numbers from countries of temporary asylum;

(6) Noting the preparations which are now being made to finance experimental settlement in British Guiana;

(7) Considering that, whether or not Government assistance is given, private initiative is essential in the financing of emigration and in particular of large scale settlement such projects as may be developed and that such projects must be carried out by private administration in co-operation with the Governments concerned;

RECOMMENDS

(8) That the Governments participating in the Committee continue to furnish the Committee with as full information as possible concerning (a) the numbers and types of immigrants they are prepared to receive, and (b) any change which may be made in their existing immigration laws and regulations;

(9) That the Governments participating in the Committee continue to admit involuntary emigrants in the maximum numbers compatible with their existing laws and regulations and their economic and social interests;

(10) That the Governments participating in the Committee give increased consideration to ways and means by which their interests can be furthered through the creation of new activities or the expansion of existing activities by making use of the

varied/

varied skill and special abilities possessed by many involuntary emigrants;

(11) That every effort be made, through private initiative with governmental co-operation, to develop as rapidly as possible large-scale settlement in the areas so far recommended for such settlement and that efforts be continued to find additional suitable areas;

(12) That to these ends the Governments participating in the Committee continue to co-operate with the Director in the carrying out of his task.

REMARKS BY MR. TAYLOR PRECEDING INTRODUCTION OF THE RESOLUTION ON REORGANIZATION.

In view of the information which the Director, Sir Herbert Emerson, has given to us and the plans which have been outlined in our discussions for the future development of our work I feel that it is now appropriate to take up the question of a readjustment of the machinery of the committee to accord with the changed character and scope of its work.

The degree of progress which has been achieved during the past year in evolving a definite program of action and in setting up appropriate machinery for carrying out that program in a sense concludes the first stage of the work projected by our governments at the original Evian meeting. We have now reached the point where we can look ahead to a new period in which the permanent machinery will begin to operate with, we are confident, steadily increasing effect. It is reasonable to contemplate that the private international Foundation which is now being set up in London will work in collaboration with the Trust to be set up in Germany and will be able to develop a more orderly and better integrated migration from Germany with benefit both to the emigrants and to the countries which will receive them.

The period of preliminary work now ending involved the process of opening contact with the German government, establishing the new machinery of the internal Trust in Germany and of the Foundation, and of coordinating the immigration plans of the 32 governments which have associated themselves in this great humanitarian task. For this preliminary work a staff consisting of a Director, Vice-Director, Assistant Director and four secretaries has been essential. The burden on the staff during this period has been heavy and I feel that we should congratulate Sir Herbert Emerson on having carried out his mandate with no

greater assistance than this. But most of the appointed tasks have now been brought to a successful conclusion and I think that we can safely consider a reduction in the staff - an objective which was kept in mind at the London meeting last August when arrangements were made for its establishment.

The Intergovernmental Committee, as the agency for initiating and supervising the machinery for migration, will have an important continuing function. But its work will probably be more supervisory and consultative and to a decreasing extent executive. It would seem therefore that we can contemplate the adequate discharge of its executive functions by a reduced staff. I would suggest that the expenses of meetings of the Committee continue to be borne by the Governments according to the Evian scale, and that the Governments make such contribution to the expenses of the Director's office as they may consider appropriate. If this reorganisation is brought about, the United States Government is prepared to make a substantial contribution to the expenses of the Director's office.

REMARKS BY MR. TAYLOR PRECEDING INTRODUCTION OF THE RESOLUTION ON REORGANIZATION.

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18th July, 1939.

The Director,
Intergovernmental Committee,
16 Northumberland Avenue,
S. W. 1.

Sir,

I write to inform you of the anticipated establishment - which has been completed with the exception of certain minor legal formalities - of a Foundation to be known as the Co-Ordinating Foundation, and which is to take the form of a company limited by guarantee and not having a share capital.

2. I enclose two copies of the draft Memorandum and Articles of Association, and a list of the persons at whose instance the Foundation is being formed, and who, it is contemplated, will be the first members of the Council of Administration.

3. The objects for which the Foundation is being established are set out in detail in the Memorandum and Articles of Association, and may be summarised as follows:-

(a) To co-operate with individuals and organisations engaged in improving the conditions of persons discriminated against in Germany, whether German citizens or otherwise, because of their political or religious beliefs or racial origins.

(b) To co-operate, negotiate and deal with the Intergovernmental Committee, League of Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, and any Government, authority, body, trustee or other agency or official, where in the opinion of the Foundation such action is calculated to benefit the beneficiaries described in (a) above.

(c) To endeavour to bring about an improvement of the conditions of those persons who, for reasons of age, health or other disabilities, are unable to emigrate from Germany, and to endeavour to improve the conditions of and to ensure the orderly emigration of involuntary emigrants and the protection and transfer of their property.

(d) To co-operate with individuals and organisations in the investigation of the facilities and suitability of places of settlement for involuntary emigrants, and to conduct negotiations and arrangements for furthering plans relating thereto.

(e) To set up a secretariat organisation to facilitate and improve arrangements for the transfer of goods and assets, and to assist involuntary emigrants in preparation for and during and after their emigration from Germany.

The Foundation will be empowered to make all arrangements it thinks fit in order to further the objects described above.

4. The administration of the Foundation will be primarily in the hands of members of the Council of Management. This Council will, it is anticipated, consist of approximately twenty persons, ten of whom are to represent American interests, and ten European. Of the ten representing European interests, seven or eight are expected to be British subjects, and the remainder will probably be found from France, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland or Scandinavia.

5. The first members of the Council will, as stated above, be the persons whose names are shown on the enclosed list. The Foundation is being formed as a charitable organisation, and application has been made to the Board of Trade to omit the word "Limited" from its name. The initial funds of the Foundation which it is expected will be approximately £200,000 are to be provided by American, British and possibly Continental individuals and groups who have long been interested in refugee work.

6. It should perhaps be made clear that it is not intended that any of the funds of the Foundation should actually be expended in the relief or rehabilitation of refugees, or used to finance their settlement, or used to finance the purchase or transfer of goods intended solely for the use of emigrants or their settlement and not for resale. Its activities will consist primarily of co-ordinating the efforts of private organisations and others engaged in such work and in conducting negotiations relative thereto.

I have endeavoured in this letter to give you an outline of the functions of the Foundation as at present envisaged. It is of course difficult to say at this stage how in practice the matter will actually develop. In the event of your requiring any further information, I shall be glad if you will let me know.

Yours faithfully,

(signed) H. O. LUCAS

HOL/JA

## TRUSTEES OF CO-ORDINATING FOUNDATION.

The Earl of Desborough, former Governor General of Canada.

Mr. Paul Baerwald, Esq. Chairman, American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee.

The Right Honourable the Viscount Bearsted, Chairman, Shell Transport & Trading Co. Ltd.

Mr. Harold Butler, Esq. K.B., Warden, Nuffield College, Oxford.

Lord L. John, Esq. K.C.
Honourable John W. Davis, Attorney, former United States Ambassador in London.

Dr. Rufus Jones, President, Swarthmore College.

Simon Marks, Esq.
Honourable Nathan L. Miller, Attorney, and former Governor of the State of New York.

Honourable Dave Hennen Morris, former United States Ambassador in Brussels.

Honourable Joseph Proskauer, Attorney, former Justice of New York State Supreme Court.

Esq.
Mr. Lessing J. Rosenwald, Chairman, Messrs. Sears, Roebuck & Co.

Lord Esq.
Mr. Edmund de Rothschild, Banker, of Messrs. N.M. Rothschild & Sons.

The Right Honourable Sir Horace Rumbold, Bart, G.C.B., former British Ambassador in Berlin.

Sir John Hope Simpson, K.B.E., C.I.E., Royal Institute of International Affairs.

Esq.
Mr. Lewis L. Strauss, Banker, of Messrs. Kuhn, Loeb & Co., New York.

Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Rabbi, Free Synagogue, New York.

Honourable Owen D. Young, ~~[illegible]~~
Chairman of Board of General Electric Co., & former Agent General of Reparations.

RESOLUTION.

LE COMITE INTERGOUVERNEMENTAL

(1) Ayant pris acte du rapport du Directeur, Sir Herbert Emerson, sur le travail accompli par le Comité Intergouvernemental, et sur l'état actuel du problème des refugiés;

(2) Ayant pris note des informations reçues sur la cadence actuelle des émigrants involontaires et leur établissement dans d'autres pays, notamment ceux dont les lois et règlements en vigueur permettent l'immigration;

(3) Rendant homage à l'oeuvre positive accomplie depuis 1933 par les nations voisines de celle d'où sont originaire les émigrants involontaires; oeuvre qui a consisté non seulement à les receuillir et à les hospitaliser par centaines de milliers depuis cette date, mais aussi à les re-encadrer dans les professions commerciales, agricoles et industrielles appropriées en même temps qu'utiles à la communauté humaine;

(4) Appréciant d'autre part la valeur de l'oeuvre accomplie par les Commissions qui ont examiné ou qui examine actuellement les possibilités d'un établissement de refugiés dans la République Dominicaine, en Guyane Britannique, en Rhodésie du Nord, les Philippins at le Guyane Néerlandaise;

(5) Constatant que, quoique des dizaines de milliers d'émigrants involontaires aient déjà quitté l'Allemagne, en nombres toujours croissants pendant les derniers mois, il reste beaucoup à faire pour arriver à une solution du problème qui doit prévoir l'émigration d'un grand nombre de personnes des pays d'asile temporaire.

(6) Ayant pris connaissance de l'action entâmée en vue du financement d'un établissement expérimental dans la Guyane Britannique;/

Britannique;

(7) Estimant que des sources privées sont essentielles pour le financement de l'émigration et en particulier de programmes d'établissement à longue haleine ainsi que pour d'autres projets qui pourraient être developpés et que des projets de ce genre devraient être mis en exécution par gestion privée avec la co-opération des Gouvernements intéressés;

RECOMMANDE

(8) Que les Gouvernements participant au Comité continuent à fournir au Comité les renseignements les plus complets sur: (a) le nombre ainsi que les qualités et aptitudes des immigrants qu'ils seraient disposés à recevoir et (b) tous les changements qui pourraient être introduits dans leurs lois et règlements actuels concernant l'immigration;

(9) Que les Gouvernements participant au Comité continuent à admettre des émigrants involontaires dans la mesure que le leur permettront leur législation actuelle concernant l'immigration et leurs intérêts économiques et sociaux;

(10) Que les Gouvernements participant au Comité étudient avec soin les voies et moyens de servir leurs propres intérêts en créant de nouvelles occupations ou en développant des activités déjà existantes en tirant parti des divers talents et compétences que possèdent beaucoup d'émigrants involontaires;

(11) Que tous les efforts possibles soient faits par l'intermédiaire des organisations privées avec la coopération des Gouvernements, pour developper le plus rapidement possible l'établissement de grande envergure dans les régions

recommandees/

recommandées comme se prêtant à un tel établissement et que l'on ne relâche pas les efforts pour trouver d'autres régions convenant à l'établissement de refugiés;

(13) Qu'à ces fins les Gouvernements participant au Comité continuent à co-opérer avec le Directeur dans l'accomplissement de sa tâche.

## RESOLUTION ON REORGANIZATION.

The Inter-Governmental Committee.

Recalling that the Director is empowered to negotiate with the Governments of refuge and settlement;

Considering that the activities of the Committee will become increasingly supervisory and consultative rather than administrative in nature;

Having noted with regret that it has been necessary for Mr. Pell to resign from the position of Vice-Director;

Recognizing the need for keeping expenditure to a minimum;

Recommends

That the Inter-Governmental Committee continue to meet from time to time as occasion may require upon the call of the Chairman;

That the resignation of Mr. Pell from the office of Vice-Director be regretfully accepted and that there be placed on record the Committee's high appreciation of the devoted services which he has rendered;

That the Director continue to make every effort to keep the expenses of his office to a minimum;

That the Governments participating in the Committee contribute to the expenses of future meetings of the Committee according to the Evian scale and make such contributions to the expenses of the Director's office as they may deem appropriate.

RESOLUTION.

LE COMITE INTERGOUVERNMENTAL.

(1) Rappellant que le Directeur est autorisé à poursuivre des négociations avec les Gouvernements de refuge et d'établissement;

(2) Estimant que les attributions du Comité seront à l'avenir d'un ordre consultatif et de direction plutôt que d'ordre administratif;

(3) Constatant avec regret que Mr. Pell est obligé de quitter son poste de Directeur Adjoint;

(4) Etant persuadé de la nécessité de limiter les dépenses à un minimum;

RECOMMANDE

(5) Que le Comité Intergouvernemental continue de se réunir de temps en temps, quand bon lui semble, sur l'appel du Président;

(6) Que la démission de Mr. Pell de ses fonctions de Directeur Adjoint soit acceptée avec les plus grands regrets; el que la haute appréciation par le Comité, des services devoués qu'il a rendus soit exprimée.

(7) Que le Directeur continue de faire tous les efforts possibles pour réduire les dépenses de sa charge à un minimum;

(8) Que les Gouvernements participant au Comité contribuent aux frais des réunions à tenir à l'avenir d'après le barême fixé à Evian ainsi qu'aux frais du bureau du Directeur, de la façon qui leur semblera la plus appropriée.

CONFIDENTIAL

L.I.C. 34.

Copy No. 65

INTER-GOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE TO CONTINUE AND DEVELOP THE WORK OF THE EVIAN MEETING, LONDON, 1938.

(LONDON INTER-GOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE).

Statement by the United Kingdom Representative, in continuation of the confidential memoranda L.I.C. 14 and 26.

1. My Colleagues will remember that detailed information regarding the admission of refugees to the United Kingdom was given in the confidential memoranda which I circulated to the Committee under the numbers L.I.C. 14 and L.I.C. 26 of the 1st November 1938 and the 11th February 1939 respectively. Since February very considerable progress has been made, and I think that the Committee will be interested to have the further information which I am now able to give it.

2. The various special arrangements outlined in the memorandum L.I.C. 26 are working satisfactorily. To take first that for the admission of children under the charge of the Movement for the Care of Children from Germany, the position now is that up to the end of June permission had been given for the entry of 6,224 children, 6,991 of whom had arrived.

3. For the special arrangement for refugees in transit, that is refugees who have a good prospect of emigration to the United States or some other country after a certain period of time, the position is that authority has been given for the grant of visas for 3,700 heads of families under this scheme. By the end of June, 1,466 men and 241 women had arrived. It should be understood that this figure does not cover all refugees entering the United Kingdom who will eventually re-emigrate, but only those....

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those entering under the special scheme mentioned in paragraph 8 of the document L.I.C. 26.

4. Excellent progress has been made with the scheme for retraining refugees in agricultural or in industrial callings. Arrangements have been made with the co-operation of the Ministry of Agriculture, the National Farmers Union and Agricultural Trade Unions, for the training of 1,500 refugees in agriculture. Up to the present 700 have made a start on farms or training centres in the United Kingdom. As regards industrial training, 1,400 industrial trainees have been placed since the beginning of this year. The total number of refugees to whom visas in this category had been granted to the 30th June is 3,568. 2,495 had arrived by that date.

5. Another special scheme provides for permission for a permanent stay in this country for elderly people over 60 years of age who have retired from the active practice of their business or profession. Up to the end of June, authority to enter this country had been given in respect of 2,509 applications, and 575 men and 503 women had arrived.

6. Progress is being made with the scheme to bring refugee women to the United Kingdom as domestic servants. The Co-ordinating Committee for Refugees has set up a Domestic Bureau, which has appointed representatives in Greater Germany to examine and recommend applicants. By the end of June authority had been given to grant visas to 5,160 women, of whom 4,459 had arrived.

7. The Training Camp at Richborough in Kent, which was mentioned in the document in L.I.C. 26 has now been established. It will be remenbered that this Camp is intended to provide a

clearing...

clearing centre where refugees can be maintained and trained before emigration. By the end of June 2,000 men had arrived in the Camp, and authority has already been given for the admission of a further 400. A few have already left. The Director and I visited this camp not long ago, and were much impressed by the quality of the refugees there; who would, I am sure, prove most satisfactory immigrants.

8. In the document L.I.C. 36 approximate figures were given for the numbers of refugee women for whom provision had been made as trained nurses, probationer nurses and midwives. The detailed figures for the period ending the 30th June are as follows. Permits have been granted for 166 trained nurses, 556 probationer nurses and 147 midwives. Of these categories 109, 545 and 75 respectively have arrived.

9. Very valuable work is being done by the Society of the Protection of Science and Learning to assist refugees scholars, research workers, university teachers etc. Since 1933 690 scholars with their families have been admitted to the United Kingdom, of whom 175 have been placed in permanent positions and 350 in temporary positions. 195 have proceeded to other countries where their future is assured.

10. The scheme to encourage refugee industrialists to establish factories in this country is working well, and since June 1936 permission to establish factories has been given in nearly 300 cases. Provision is also being made for refugees who wish to set up in business on a more modest scale, and since October, 1938, 250 applications have been recommended by the Committee which has been set up to advise the Home Office on such cases.

11. .....

11. Progress is also being made with the schemes for the admission to the United Kingdom of Ministers of Religion, both Christian and Jewish.

12. It has been decided that in areas where there is a shortage of agricultural workers for seasonal work, the engagement of refugees already in the country may be permitted. It is understood that the wages to be paid will not be lower than the agricultural minimum wage which is ordinarily applicable in the district to the type of work to be undertaken. It is expected that advantage will be taken by the farmers in this country to engage the services of refugees in such seasonal work as sugar-beet, fruit picking, potato lifting, grain harvesting etc.

13. It will thus be seen that the great efforts which have been made by all those engaged in refugee work in this country are bearing fruit. The figures given in preceding paragraphs do not, of course, cover all refugees entering the United Kingdom, but only those entering under the special arrangements of which details have been given in the documents previously circulated. There are now approximately 40,000 refugees in the United Kingdom, of whom some 29,000 have entered since last November, so that the rate of entry is now very roughly 45,000 a year. And as is shown by the figures given above, there is often a very substantial difference between the number of visas authorised and the number of arrivals. A certain time-lag between the authorisation of the visa and the arrival of the refugee is inevitable; and of course in many cases the refugee has great difficulty in getting permission to leave his country of origin. If regard

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is had not only to the number of arrivals in the country but also to the number of visas authorised, which is very much larger, I am sure that it will be agreed that the United Kingdom is fully playing its part both as a country of refuge and, so far as is possible, as country of permanent settlement by infiltration.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~.

L.I.C. 33. COPY NO. 65

INTER-GOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE TO CONTINUE AND DEVELOP THE WORK OF THE EVIAN MEETING, LONDON, 1938.

I circulate to my colleagues herewith a statement on the admission of refugees to Palestine, to which I referred in the course of the meeting on the 20th July.

WINTERTON.

20th July, 1939.

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UNCLASSIFIED

Memorandum by the United Kingdom Delegation.

The Committee will remember that two months ago His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom announced their readiness to facilitate the immigration into Palestine of 75,000 Jews during the five years beginning the 1st April, 1939. These 75,000 immigrants would, subject to the criterion of economic absorptive capacity, be admitted as follows:-

(a) For each of the next five years a quota of 10,000 Jewish immigrants will be allowed, on the understanding that shortage in any one year may be added to the quotas for subsequent years, within the five-year period, if economic absorptive capacity permits.

(b) In addition, as a contribution towards the solution of the Jewish refugee problem, 25,000 refugees will be admitted as soon as the High Commissioner is satisfied that adequate provision for their maintenance is ensured, special consideration being given to refugee children and dependants.

There is of course no reason why a large proportion of the annual quota of 10,000 immigrants should not consist of refugees and His Majesty's Government anticipate that this will be the case. Palestine should thus be able to make a most important contribution to the solution of the refugee problem.

2. But during the last few months there has been an organised attempt to defeat the proper regulation of immigration into Palestine by a traffic in illegal immigration. Since the beginning of May over 3,500 illegal immigrants are

known/

known to have entered Palestine and it is estimated that in recent months several thousand have landed undetected. Several thousand more are known to be on their way to Palestine at the present time.

3. His Majesty's Government are determined to prevent this attempt to defeat the law of Palestine. The numbers of illegal immigrants who remain in Palestine and cannot be deported are being deducted from quotas of legal immigrants. These numbers have lately been so large that His Majesty's Government have authorised the High Commissioner to announce that no immigrants quota will be issued for the next six months, that is for the period from the 1st October to the 31st March next. Whether there will be a resumption of immigration quotas after that date must depend upon the circumstances then prevailing regarding illegal immigration.

4. Many of these illegal immigrants are refugees from Central Europe, but a large, and apparently an increasing, proportion are Jews from Hungary, Poland and Roumania. The movement no longer has the character of a movement of refugees and it is in fact threatening the efforts of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the Palestine Government to assist refugees.

5. The illegal immigrants are known to obtain transit visas for the countries through which they must pass before embarking for Palestine by showing visas of an ultimate destination of countries outside Europe which they have no intention to use.

6. I cannot stress too strongly the importance of putting an end to this traffic in illegal immigrants to Palestine. Not only is it preventing the admission of

refugees/

refugees into Palestine but it also cuts at the root of the whole policy of this Committee to promote an orderly emigration of refugees. His Majesty's Government trust that members of the Committee will bring the situation to the serious attention of their Governments and will urge that all possible steps should be taken to check the traffic, and in particular, that stringent instructions should be sent to Consular representatives in Central and Eastern European countries that visas should not be granted to Jews if there is any reason to suppose that they have no intention of proceeding to the country concerned but are planning to enter Palestine illegally.

~~CONFIDENTIEL~~.

L.I.C. 33.
(Traduction.)

Exemplaire no. 2

COMITE INTERGOUVERNEMENTAL POUR LA CONTINUATION ET LE DEVELOPPEMENT DE L'OEUVRE DE LA CONFERENCE D'EVIAN, LONDRES, 1938.

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Je distribue à mes collègues la déclaration ci-jointe visant l'admission des réfugiés en Palestine, à laquelle j'ai fait allusion au cours de la séance du 20 juillet.

WINTERTON.

le 20 juillet 1939.

REGRADED
UNCLASSIFIED

Mémorandum de la Délégation du Royaume-Uni.

Les membres du Comité se souviendront qu'il y a deux mois le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté dans le Royaume-Uni a annoncé qu'il était disposé à faciliter l'immigration en Palestine de 75.000 Israélites pendant les cinq ans suivants le 1er avril 1939. Ces 75.000 immigrants seraient admis de la façon suivante, conformément au principe de la capacité d'absorption économique du pays:

(a) Dans chacune des cinq prochaines années l'admission d'un contingent de 10.000 immigrants israélites sera autorisée, pourvu que, si ce nombre n'était pas atteint dans une année quelconque, le déficit soit ajouté aux contingents des années suivantes pendant la période de cinq ans si la capacité d'absorption économique du pays le permet.

(b) En outre, comme contribution à la solution du problème des réfugiés israélites, 25.000 réfugiés seront admis aussitôt que le Haut Commissaire sera convaincu que des dispositions suffisantes pour leur maintien auront été assurées, une considération spéciale étant accordée aux enfants réfugiés et dépendants.

Il va de soi qu'il n'y a aucune raison pour laquelle une proportion considérable du contingent annuel des immigrants ne consisterait pas de réfugiés, et le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté s'attend à ce que ce soit le cas. La Palestine pourrait ainsi apporter une contribution des plus importantes à la solution du problème des réfugiés.

2. Mais pendant les derniers deux mois il s'est produit un effort organisé ayant pour but d'entraver le règlement voulu de l'immigration en Palestine par un trafic en immigration illégale. Depuis le début du mois de mai on sait que plus

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de 5.500 immigrants clandestins sont entrés en Palestine, et on évalue à plusieurs milliers ceux qui y ont pénétré sans être découverts. On sait également qu'il y en a plusieurs milliers qui se dirigent actuellement vers la Palestine.

3. Le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté est décidé à combattre cet attentat à la loi palestinienne. Le nombre d'immigrants clandestins qui restent en Palestine et ne peuvent pas être refoulés sera déduit des contingents d'immigrants légitimes. Ce nombre est tellement élevé depuis quelque temps que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté a autorisé le Haut Commissaire à annoncer qu'aucun contingent d'immigration ne sera autorisé pendant les six mois suivants, c'est-à-dire du 1er octobre 1939 au 31 mars 1940. La reprise des contingents d'immigration après cette date dépendra de la situation en ce qui concerne l'immigration illégale.

4. Beaucoup de ces immigrants clandestins sont des réfugiés de l'Europe central, mais une proportion considérable d'entre eux qui est, semble-t-il, de plus en plus grande, sont des Israélites de la Hongrie, de la Pologne et de la Roumanie. Ce mouvement ne revêt plus le caractère d'un mouvement de réfugiés, et il porte atteinte aux efforts du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté dans le Royaume-Uni et du Gouvernement palestinien pour aider les réfugiés.

5. On sait que les immigrants clandestins se procurent des visas de transit pour les pays par lesquels ils doivent passer avant de s'embarquer pour la Palestine en présentant des visas de destination définitive extra-européenne qu'ils n'ont aucune intention d'utiliser.

6. On ne saurait souligner avec trop d'emphase à quel

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point il importe de mettre un terme à ce trafic d'immigrants clandestins en Palestine. Non seulement explique-t-il l'admission de réfugiés en Palestine, mais il porte atteinte aux principes de base de ce Comité qui s'efforce à réaliser l'immigration ordonnée des réfugiés. Le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté espère que les membres du Comité signaleront cette situation à l'attention de leurs gouvernements, et qu'ils les inviteront à prendre toutes les mesures possibles pour empêcher ce trafic, et il espère actuellement que des instructions très strictes seront envoyées aux représentants consulaires dans les pays de l'Europe centrale et orientale afin que des visas ne soient pas accordés aux Israélites s'il y a lieu de croire que ceux-ci n'ont pas l'intention de se rendre dans les pays intéressés mais se préparent à entrer en Palestine de façon illégale.

~~CONFIDENTIEL~~

L.I.C. 33.
(Traduction.)

Exemplaire no. 5

COMITE INTERGOUVERNEMENTAL POUR LA CONTINUATION ET LE DEVELOPPEMENT DE L'OEUVRE DE LA CONFERENCE D'EVIAN, LONDRES, 1938.

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Je distribue à mes collègues la déclaration ci-jointe visant l'admission des réfugiés en Palestine, à laquelle j'ai fait allusion au cours de la séance du 20 juillet.

WINTERTON.

le 20 juillet 1939.

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Mémorandum de la Délégation du Royaume-Uni.

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(a) Dans chacune des cinq prochaines années l'admission d'un contingent de 10.000 immigrants israélites sera autorisée, pourvu que, si ce nombre n'était pas atteint dans une année quelconque, le déficit soit ajouté aux contingents des années suivantes pendant la période de cinq ans si la capacité d'absorption économique du pays le permet.

(b) En outre, comme contribution à la solution du problème des réfugiés israélites, 25.000 réfugiés seront admis aussitôt que le Haut Commissaire sera convaincu que des dispositions suffisantes pour leur maintien auront été assurées, une considération spéciale étant accordée aux enfants réfugiés et dépendants.

Il va de soi qu'il n'y a aucune raison pour laquelle une proportion considérable du contingent annuel des immigrants ne consisterait pas de réfugiés, et le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté s'attend à ce que ce soit le cas. La Palestine pourrait ainsi apporter une contribution des plus importantes à la solution du problème des réfugiés.

2. Mais pendant les derniers deux mois il s'est produit un effort organisé ayant pour but d'entraver le règlement voulu de l'immigration en Palestine par un trafic en immigration illégale. Depuis le début du mois de mai on sait que plus

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de 3.500 immigrants clandestins sont entrés en Palestine, et on évalue à plusieurs milliers ceux qui y ont pénétré sans être découverts. On sait également qu'il y en a plusieurs milliers qui se dirigent actuellement vers la Palestine.

3. Le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté est décidé à combattre cet attentat à la loi palestinienne. Le nombre d'immigrants clandestins qui restent en Palestine et ne peuvent pas être refoulés sera déduit des contingents d'immigrants légitimes. Ce nombre est tellement élevé depuis quelque temps que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté a autorisé le Haut Commissaire à annoncer qu'aucun contingent d'immigration ne sera autorisé pendant les six mois suivants, c'est-à-dire du 1er octobre 1939 au 31 mars 1940. La reprise des contingents d'immigration après cette date dépendra de la situation en ce qui concerne l'immigration illégale.

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COPY No. 4.

L.I.C.No. 94

INTER-GOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE TO CONTINUE AND DEVELOP THE WORK OF THE EVIAN MEETING, LONDON 1939.

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STATEMENT OF THE MEXICAN DELEGATION.

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The Mexican Delegation desire to inform the Intergovernmental Committee that the Mexican immigration policy tends to stimulate the entry into Mexico of all those peoples, that seeking a new home are willing to contribute to the welfare of the community, and to its cultural, industrial and artistic development. However, in order to avoid social and economic disturbances within the country, it has become necessary to demand a guarantee of the fulfilment of certain requirements, such as:

> that immigrants neither become a public charge, nor a disturbing element in the remunerative activities of Mexican labour, nor a menace to the control and development of national economy;
>
> that they engage themselves in the cultivation of the land or in industrial development;
>
> that they engage themselves only in those activities for which authorisation has been granted to them specifically or individually, and that they remain beyond the bounds of the Capitals and the more densely populated cities, residing in the districts allotted to them.

Mexico does not, therefore, close her doors to the victims of involuntary emigration, but by force of

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prevailing circumstances, is compelled to consider a selective and organised immigration policy, schemes for which are to be submitted for the approval of the competent authority.

The Mexican Government likewise desire to inform this Committee that they have received no less than 20 commissions from various Jewish organisations in the country and from abroad, which have proposed several immigration projects, presenting them in various forms all purporting to be beneficial to the community. These projects have been studied with benevolence and the interested organisations have been advised that the schemes can be taken into consideration, provided they are backed by some guarantees fitting such cases, in order to ensure their fulfilment; but although these schemes purport to be reputable and financially sound, there is not - up to date - a single case in which this responsibility has been assumed and guaranteed.

Notwithstanding that Mexico is at present faced with the problem of repatriating, through her Northern frontier, a large number of her own nationals, she has shown her hospitable attitude by the admittance of as large a number of Spanish refugees as her national economy permits.

Finally...

Finally, we desire to stress and confirm the fact that no racial prejudice exists in Mexico, and that our laws show respect for freedom of thought and beliefs. Mexico, therefore, is prepared to give shelter to those refugees who pursue the causes of freedom and scientific and technical progress.

LONDON, July 20th, 1959.

G. RUDERS DE VEGAR
MEXICAN DELEGATE.

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

se conformant aux plans devant être soumis à l'approbation de l'autorité compétente.

Le Gouvernement mexicain désire d'autre part informer le Comité qu'il a reçu au moins vingt commissions envoyées par différentes organisations israélites indigènes ou étrangères, et qu'elles ont proposé des projets d'immigration, présentés sous différentes formes et revendiquant tous des avantages pour la communauté. Ces projets ont été étudiés avec sympathie, et les organisations intéressées ont été informées que les plans peuvent être pris en considération, pourvu qu'ils soient appuyés par les garanties voulues assurant leur réalisation. Mais bien que ces plans aient la prétension d'être sérieux et solides du point de vue finances, jusqu'ici la responsabilité n'en a été assumée et garantie dans aucun cas.

Bien que le Mexique se trouve actuellement vis-à-vis du problème du rapatriement par sa frontière du nord d'un très grand nombre de ses propres ressortissants, il a montré son attitude hospitalière en admettant un aussi grand nombre de réfugiés espagnols que son économie nationale le lui permet.

Finalement, nous désirons souligner et confirmer qu'aucun préjugé racial n'existe au Mexique, et que nos lois assurent le respect de la liberté intellectuelle et religieuse. Le Mexique est donc disposé à abriter les réfugiés qui recherchent la liberté ainsi que le progrès scientifique et technique.

Londres, le 20 juillet 1939.

G. LUDERS DE NEGRI
Délégué mexicain.

MR. TAYLOR'S DINNER SPEECH.

From time to time, since we first met at Evian, I have had the pleasure of the company at dinner of the distinguished delegates to the Intergovernmental Committee, together with other honored guests, and in my talks on these occasions I have purposely avoided mention of the specific problems which are properly the concern of the Committee in session and have treated our task in relation to the wider issues which are debated in the world to-day.

It is so very easy to lose our way among the trees and in doing so to miss the forest. It is especially easy in the work in which we are engaged - where we are deeply and emotionally involved in cases of individual suffering, where we are apt to focus our attention and time on piecemeal solutions - to overlook the fundamentals of our problem and consider as Utopian the more permanent cures.

We have been at work for a year. Our achievements may not have been dramatic. At least, we have not staged any well-publicized meetings at which we all pretended that we had solved everything solvable. We have not willed to be dramatic not merely as a matter of good taste, but because I think we have all felt a deep and sincere sense of our responsibility and could not therefore deceive ourselves into believing that we had partly and completely solved a problem which cannot by its very nature be partly and completely solved.

For we have had before us a very deep issue and we had neither the power nor the will to compromise, much less to settle, the rights and the wrongs of that issue. Had we so endeavoured, I venture to believe that, while we might be

getting encomiums from some of the parties involved, we should have done nothing toward contributing a formula or a mode for alleviating the distress that confronted us. It seems to me that when we deliberately introduce dramatic moments and sequences into delicate international affairs where full agreements are impossible, we only cause two or more questions to grow where only one grew before.

But as I think over the patient, unobtrusive work of these many months since we met at Evian and I recall how at that time it seemed that all doors were closed and there was no way out, I cannot but feel that perhaps we have accomplished more than we imagine and that the tangible results, substantial as they may be, of our many talks are trivial as compared to the great principle that has been evolved through our meetings. It seems to me that we have given birth, with great travail, to a new principle which may in the future have a large meaning in the affairs of nations. We have evolved a principle to apply to an issue which has never before been settled in the history of nations except by the force of arms. Our principle has not been wholly accepted and probably it will not be wholly accepted in our time. But we have made a beginning.

In the short view, we were asked as a body to consider a particular problem of political and religious refugees. There were some who, by over-simplification, resolved this into a mere matter of re-settlement. We were met at once with the fact that the refugees did not want to be resettled except after their own fashion and also by the fact that few nations during the present period of economic dislocation were at all anxious to have more mouths to feed. And so it seemed that we had before us a question that could not be answered - and there was

more than a suspicion that we were expected to fondle the question until it died of exhaustion.

But merely asking us to answer a question - even without the expectation that we could answer it - marks a step forward in the conduct of international affairs. We undertook to aid in the orderly migration of a people. In the past, if my memory serves me, it has been taken for granted that a migration could not be orderly and that it was a matter governed solely by brute force - by the survival of the fittest. What we have been seeing lately is something that has been going on in the world ever since the beginning of time. Some nations, some peoples, have always been on the march. Some have been forced out of their land through its exhaustion, while others have been forced out by a superior force. Wave after wave has rolled through Asia. Wave after wave has rolled from Asia into Europe. I venture to say that no man in this room comes from a race that has not forced out some other race. Every nation of Europe is a compound of conquest and assimilation. No matter how much any of us may pride ourselves upon the purity of our blood stock, we shall find, if only we go back far enough, that we are racial compounds and that all of us have had hairbreadth escapes from being something very different from what we actually are. Had it not been that strong men arose to meet the needs of defense, it is not inconceivable that all of western Europe would to-day be Mohammedan.

It has always been taken for granted that the displaced peoples would have to shift for themselves and find new homes or perish. Every nation here represented has at some time or other in the course of its history given haven to the political or other refugees from some other nation and also I think I am safe in saying that every nation here has at some

time in its history refused to give haven to political or other refugees. The point that I am endeavoring to make is that we as a body were asked to find a method to alleviate the sufferings of refugees, whereas in former times the political conscience had not been developed to a point where refugees were held to be anybody's problem. The mere fact of our appointment marks a long step forward, and, although we have been asked to meet a particular problem, in fact we were asked to meet a problem quite as old as the world. It is saddening to realize that the civilization of western Europe has not produced a humane culture which would, of course, have excluded what amounts to a reversion to barbarism in the indifference shown not only as to the fate of refugees but also as to the elementary rights of neighboring nations.

We had to meet the situation as we found it and to meet it as practical men. We could not restore to the refugees the privilege of returning to the homes from which they had been expelled and neither could we hold out an offer to finance and settle everyone in whatever country he desired to go to. In so far as the United States has been concerned, the authority has never been vested in me or in anyone else to change our immigration laws to favor the admission of larger quotas of refugee immigrants. That is a question which could be decided only by the Congress of the United States and in so far as I know there has never been any disposition on the part of the Congress to change our laws in this respect.

The practical point of view - which is also the humanitarian point of view - has been to abstain from large promises, to take into account the laws under which

the refugees were expelled, and also to take into account the laws and the practices of the various states of the world which might receive the refugees. There are a certain number of states who are willing and even anxious to receive a quota of immigrants with proficiencies in various lines and who in addition have sufficient financial resources to insure that they would not become public charges.

The refugees are not all of one kind. Some of them are agriculturalists, some of them are mechanics and some of them are traders. Therefore to treat all of them as though they were agriculturalists and only seeked land on which to settle was to promote an illusion.

Bearing all these points in mind, we have, with patient effort, endeavored, and with some success, to persuade the expelling nations not to throw upon the world too many refugees all at once, and our further effort has been to see that these refugees, through their compatriots in other lands, were not penniless but could offer themselves as financially able to look after themselves until they could find places in the economy of the receiving nations.

A further effort of our Committee has been to find places of temporary or transient refuge while developing a permanent haven where refugees, regardless of race, creed or politics, might resume their lives with full opportunity for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Our survey has been world-wide and we are proceeding cautiously, giving study to each step before we take it. And in the progress towards these objectives some of us have been most actively associated in forming a foundation which will act as something more than a clearing house in co-ordinating efforts

and negotiations between the general and diverse interests involved.

Our efforts have thus been in two directions. First, to bring to the negotiating matrix a measure of international responsibility so that the stream of refugees would not be too great at any one time, and, second, to bring to the negotiators of the refugees a sense of responsibility for their financial condition. We have along with these events accomplished more than for a time it seemed possible to accomplish. I think we have developed something in the nature of a formula or a set of principles which will work out in such fashion that we can come within at least hailing distance of a give-and-take resettlement of the refugee problem of the future.

Internally, we have been dealing not with a passing phenomenon but with a broad problem of population pressure which manifests itself in the social, economic and even political fields with ever increasing intensity, in a world which is still unevenly populated. The natural fact is, and we cannot ignore it, that the best lands are now occupied. There are, at first sight, no great reservoirs into which human beings who suffer the pangs of population pressure can be poured. Within the last quarter of a century not only the United States but most of the countries into which immigration had been practically eliminated, have felt the need of imposing restrictions in order to maintain their existing economic organization and social and national composition. Economic conditions have tended to heighten the barriers so that even the individual who is social circumstances seems to set out from one of the overcrowded centers of the world to a place where he can improve his manner of existence finds virtually all doors closed. And how many times

more difficult it is for the refugee, the victim of the pressure of population, who is uprooted suddenly, together with tens of thousands of his fellow human beings, and is told to go, go quickly somewhere, and find a new home - if he can.

Clearly, then, there is a vicious circle: population pressure, an explosion in which human beings are the hapless victims, doors closed everywhere. The blame for this condition cannot be attached to any one country or any one group, but must be attributed to fundamental economic and social causes. The cure cannot be within the province of any one country or group, but is the responsibility of the community as a whole which should be brought to appreciate the underlying causes of the present tragedy and contribute to a practicable solution. The peoples and governments of the world are faced with an urgent problem which is not of their own choosing or their own making, but which, whether they like it or not, they cannot ignore.

I shall not attempt to-night to offer panaceas. These must be debated at the council board rather than at the festive board. My wish is merely, at the beginning of a new year of activity to direct your thoughts along the line which I have underscored, since we and the governments which we represent have to prove that we thoroughly understand the lessons which we have learned in a year of intergovernmental activity in behalf of refugees and to apply the knowledge which we have acquired in a true humanitarian spirit and with effective zeal.

In conclusion, may I say that The President of the United States has authorized me to express to you his earnest hope that this meeting of the Intergovernmental Committee on

Political Refugees will result in constructive preparation for the speedy alleviation of the terrible plight of those peoples whom we have been striving to assist.

Since the Evian meeting a year ago, the situation which political refugees face has become increasingly severe and desperate. Private organisations and charities are reaching the end of their resources while the problem itself becomes increasingly complex. Thousands of persons, innocent of any crime, are being subjected to the severest hardships because of racial origin, religious belief, or political opinion. If this suffering is to cease, even greater efforts will have to be expended than have been in the past. The entire world is expecting concrete action and a large scale solution of the refugee problem. The President of my country hopes that the 32 governments which have worked together thus far to change a chaotic exodus into an orderly emigration of refugees from Germany will redouble their efforts to arrive at a solution of the refugee question which has become one of the great human problems facing the world.

Release 9:00 P.M.

MR. TAYLOR'S DINNER SPEECH.

From time to time, since we first met at Evian, I have had the pleasure of the company at dinner of the distinguished delegates to the Intergovernmental Committee, together with other honored guests, and in my talks on these occasions I have purposely avoided mention of the specific problems which are properly the concern of the Committee in session and have treated our task in relation to the wider issues which are debated in the world to-day.

It is so very easy to lose our way among the trees and in doing so to miss the forest. It is especially easy in the work in which we are engaged - where we are deeply and emotionally involved in cases of individual suffering, where we are apt to focus our attention and time on piecemeal solutions - to overlook the fundamentals of our problem and consider as Utopian the more permanent cures.

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We had to meet the situation as we found it and to meet it as practical men. We could not restore to the refugees the privilege of returning to the homes from which they had been expelled and neither could we hold out an offer to finance and settle everyone in whatever country he desired to go to. In so far as the United States has been concerned, the authority has never been vested in me or in anyone else to change our immigration laws to favor the admission of larger quotas of refugee immigrants. That is a question which could be decided only by the Congress of the United States and in so far as I know there has never been any disposition on the part of the Congress to change our laws in this respect.

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Bearing all these points in mind, we have, with patient effort, endeavored, and with some success, to persuade the expelling nations not to throw upon the world too many refugees all at once, and our further effort has been to see that these refugees, through their compatriots in other lands, were not penniless but could offer themselves as financially able to look after themselves until they could find places in the economy of the receiving nations.

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and negotiations between the several and diverse interests involved.

Our efforts have thus been in two directions. First, to bring to the expelling nations a measure of international responsibility so that the stream of refugees would not be too great at any one time, and, second, to bring to the immigrants of the refugees a sense of responsibility for their financial condition. We have along with these avenues accomplished more than for a time it seemed possible to accomplish. I think we have developed something in the nature of a formula or a set of principles which will work out in such fashion that we can come within at least hailing distance of a give-and-take resettlement of the refugee problem of the future.

Basically, we have been dealing not with a passing phenomenon but with a great problem of population pressure which manifests itself in the social, economic and even political fields with ever increasing intensity, in a world which is still unevenly populated. The central fact is, and we cannot ignore it, that the best lands are now occupied. There are, at first sight, no great reservoirs into which human beings who suffer the pinch of population pressure can be poured. Within the last quarter of a century not only the United States but most of the countries into which immigration has been practically eliminated, have felt the need of imposing restrictions in order to maintain their existing economic organization and racial and national composition. Economic conditions have tended to heighten the barriers so that even the individual who in normal circumstances wishes to set out from one of the overcrowded centres of the world to a place where he can improve his manner of existence finds virtually all doors closed. And how many times

political refugees will result in constructive preparation for the speedy alleviation of the terrible plight of those peoples who are now been striving to assist.

Since the Geneva meeting a year ago, the situation which political refugees face has become increasingly severe and desperate. Private organizations and charities are reaching the end of their resources while the problem itself becomes increasingly acute. Thousands of persons, innocent of any crime, are being subjected to the severest hardships because of racial origin, religious belief, or political opinion. If this suffering is to cease, even greater efforts will have to be expended than have been in the past. The entire world is appealing, numerous action and a large scale solution of the refugee problem. The President of my country hopes that the 32 governments which have worked together thus far to change a situation which has an orderly emigration of refugees from Germany will redouble their efforts to arrive at a solution of the refugee question which has become one of the great human problems facing the world.

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