

HARRAR COUNCIL

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CONFIDENTIAL

3 WAR Refugee Board (areas)

THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

AMERICAN LEGATION

No. 178.

Addis Ababa, July 4, 1944.

Subject: Project for Settlement of Jewish Refugees
in Harrar Province, Ethiopia - Reply of
Ethiopian Government.

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CONTROL COPY

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

1/ I have the honor to enclose herewith, as of possible interest to the Department, a copy of the reply of the Ethiopian Government to a request from a Jewish Refugee Group for assistance in establishing a Settlement for Jewish Refugees in Harrar Province, Ethiopia. It will be seen that the reply is not favorable. The request of the Jewish Group, which I have seen but of which I do not have a copy, was rather sweeping, being for practically the entire province of Harrar; I have been told that the request, or documents relating to it, had distribution at the recent International Labor Conference at Philadelphia.

Respectfully yours,

J. C. Caswell

Enclosure: ✓

1/ Copy of Ethiopian Government's reply (undated because it is to be sent by Ethiopian Minister in Washington.

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Ozalid to Department.

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Enclosure No. 1 to despatch no. 178, dated July 4, 1944,
from the American Minister, Addis Ababa, on the subject:
Project for Settlement of Jewish Refugees in Harrar
Province, Ethiopia - Reply of Ethiopian Government.

COPY

(Letter sent to Blatta Ephrem Tewelde-Medhen for presentation by him to the Jewish Refugee group interested in Harar Province JH6)

Gentlemen:

His Imperial Majesty has examined with thoughtful consideration the proposal submitted to Him in a letter under date of the 26th January, 1944, jointly signed by Mr. Erwin Kraft, Mr. Hermann Fuernberg and Madam Marie Ginsberg concerning a project for the settlement of European Jewish refugees in the Province of Harar, of the Empire of Ethiopia. The proposal is that the Province be set aside for the immigration of European Jews and be placed under an autonomous regime to be administered by such refugees.

His Imperial Majesty, my August Sovereign, has ever been most solicitous of the terrible plight of the refugees in and from Europe and His desires for affording assistance have been limited only by the fact that following five years of pillage and destruction the means of assistance have been all too inadequate for the needs even of the thousands of subjects of His Imperial Majesty who are today homeless and destitute as a result of the Italian occupation.

Notwithstanding these difficulties His Imperial Majesty has afforded asylum to many refugees from Europe in certain scattered areas where foreign settlers might be accepted, and is today collaborating with the other United Nations in searching for a practical solution to the difficult problem of the refugees.

However, it is my duty to state at the express order and in the name of His Imperial Majesty that a proposal such as has been submitted in the letter under consideration cannot meet with His approval.

The sincere desire of the Ethiopian nation to aid the victims of aggression is in no way consonant with the requirement that that same nation should set aside an entire province for any one group of refugees. The problem of refugees in general, both national and international, is far too broad to permit of a solution in favour of a particular group so costly from the viewpoint of the Empire of Ethiopia as to jeopardize the economy of the Empire and to leave no room for further assistance to its own nationals and to the victims of suffering generally.

In consequence, I must ask that the proposal, together with the name provisionally assigned thereto be now abandoned.

Most sincerely yours,

Mr. Erwin Kraft
Mr. Hermann Fuernberg
Madam Marie Ginsberg
22 West 75 Street
New York City, 23
New York

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PAUL RICHMAN
1003 K STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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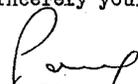
April 11, 1944

Dear Larry:

Enclosed herewith please find a project with which
undoubtedly you are familiar. When I see you perhaps you will
wish to discuss it further.

Warmest personal regards.

Sincerely yours,


Paul Richman

Mr. Lawrence Lesser, Assistant Director
War Refugee Board
Treasury Department
Washington, D. C.

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HARRAR COUNCIL
Council For An Autonomous Jewish Province in Harrar

18 West 75th Street
New York 23, N.Y.

March 31, 1944

Mr. Paul Richman
c/o B'nai B'rith
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Richman,

We were very happy to discuss the Harrar project with you last week. This project was originally thought out by Mr. Hermann Fuernberg several years ago, but could not at that time be executed owing to the outbreak of war. We feel however that the time has now come when the project can be put into operation granted the cooperation of the Governments of Ethiopia, United States and Great Britain. To develop the plan, the Harrar Council was formed about six months ago, the members of which are all Jews from Europe.

The main advantages of the Harrar scheme are threefold:

1. The territory is large enough to accommodate the very large number of Jews whose emigration from Europe will become inevitable in the near future; the climatic conditions are such that fruit, grain and vegetables grown in Europe can also be grown in Harrar, thus assuring favorable living conditions for a people emanating from Central Europe.
2. The territory is very sparsely populated, so that the political and racial obstacles to a free development found elsewhere are not likely to arise.
3. We have reason to believe that the Emperor of Ethiopia, himself a descendant of the House of David, is favorably inclined towards the Jewish people, and judging by speeches delivered by him, there seems a fair probability that he will be willing to cooperate to a large extent.

If we should succeed in founding the Province of Harrar under the conditions of autonomy and self-administration which we regard as essential, a permanent home for a large Jewish population would arise, where their cultural and economic development could proceed unimpeded.

Our project is in no way a rival to Palestine; in fact we feel the strength of the spiritual appeal which Palestine makes and fully appreciate the advantages of an established country as against the pioneering necessary to build up the new Province. Yet the essential fact remains that under present circumstances there is no possibility for Palestine to absorb all the Jews requiring help in this time of crisis. Furthermore in the Book of Sohar we find the prophetic words, "The Diaspora will come to an end when Jews enter the Land of Cush". Cush is no other than Ethiopia, of which Harrar forms a part.

Our petition has been submitted to the Government of Ethiopia through their Ambassador in Washington and copies have been sent to the Department of State and to the British Government. The Council is now working out detailed plans so that, given a favorable reply, further steps may be taken immediately and the initial difficulties of settlement may be overcome in the shortest time possible.

We will be glad if you will give this matter your consideration and let us have the benefit of your advice.

Yours sincerely,

/s/ Erwin Kraft

/s/ Marie Ginsberg

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HARRAR COUNCIL
Council For An Autonomous Jewish Province in Harrar

18 West 75th Street
New York 23, N.Y.

January 26, 1944

His Imperial Majesty the Negus of Ethiopia
Addis Ababa
Ethiopia.

Your Majesty,

A group of Jewish men and women of European origin beg to submit to Your Majesty the following petition and hope that it will receive Your gracious and favorable consideration. Our group is centred around Mr. Hermann Fuernberg, whose name and work in connection with the Harrar settlement project will most probably be known to Your Majesty.

In order to indicate our geographical and political aims the group assumed the provisional name of "Council for an Autonomous Jewish Province in Harrar" (Harrar Council), and we trust that Your Majesty will permit us to continue to use this designation or suggest an alternative which would be deemed more appropriate.

Your Majesty is no doubt aware that during the last years large numbers of innocent men and women in Europe have suffered cruel persecution at the hands of the Nazis. This persecution has fallen with particular severity upon the Jewish people, whose sufferings have burned themselves into their very souls. Fear of a repetition of these agonies for themselves and their children make these people fervently desire to leave the Continent of Europe and settle permanently in a land where they will be able to develop freely and be assured of a peaceful life.

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The object of our group is the establishment of a new homeland for these persecuted Jews of Europe. Knowing Your Majesty's sympathetic attitude towards the Jewish people, our choice early fell upon Your Majesty's Province of Harrar.

We have discussed our plan with a number of important personages both in the political and industrial fields, and it has been recognized as potentially valuable and capable of realization. We have reason to believe that if Your Majesty's consent and cooperation are granted, the moral and financial support necessary to bring the scheme to fruition will be forthcoming. The investment of large sums supporting pioneer movements have always brought prosperity to the lands which have been so settled. In this present instance, the arrival of a culturally developed people cannot fail to enrich Your Empire; their settlement, equipment and manifold requirements will offer vast new markets for the products of Your land and stimulate the development of its natural resources.

In submitting the following points for Your Majesty's consideration, our purpose is to set forth the fundamental principles of and to create the basis for, an agreement to be negotiated with Your Majesty.

- (1) Under the sovereignty of Your Majesty the Province of Harrar shall be set aside for the immigration of European Jews. Representations shall be made to the British Government for territorial arrangements in British, Somaliland which will permit free access to the sea through the ports of Berbera and Zeila.
- (2) Immigration shall take place in large organized groups who would proceed to a territory previously carefully demarcated and assigned to them. All immigrants desirous of settling in the Province of Harrar shall be required to swear allegiance to Your Majesty. Upon completion of immigration formalities, they shall receive the rights and obligations of full citizenship within the Province of Harrar. Such citizenship shall not entitle them to citizenship in

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other parts of the Ethiopian Empire.

- (3) The Autonomy of the Province shall extend only within its confines. All internal affairs shall be administered by a governing body elected by the people of the Province. A Governor-Royal or Viceroy shall be appointed as the representative of Your Majesty; his rights and obligations shall be laid down in a democratic constitution to be provided for the Province.
- (4) English shall be the official language and all education shall be in that tongue.
- (5) Your Majesty shall be entitled to an agreed equitable proportion of certain taxes to be levied in the Province, an income which will increase with the growth of the industrial and cultural life of the Province. Liability for loans contracted by the Province of Harrar shall be restricted to the citizens of that Province and will not impose any burden or obligation upon the Ethiopian Government.

We are fully aware of the many difficulties involved in carrying out this project, but the necessity of solving the European Jewish problem is so urgent and the advantages which would accrue to Ethiopia from a realization of the plan are so important and far-reaching, that we feel entitled to call upon Your Majesty's wisdom and cooperation in the overcoming of these difficulties. If a harassed and persecuted people can be turned into a happy and prosperous community, the whole of Ethiopia will thereby be enriched and Your Majesty will rightly be regarded as one of the great benefactors of humanity.

Your Majesty will know that the Jews in whatever country they have lived have proved themselves law-abiding, orderly and loyal citizens. How much more will they be so in Harrar where Your Majesty will grant them autonomy and the possibility of free development. It is not necessary to emphasize the ability of Jews to build up an agricultural and colonial settlement and to develop it successfully. Palestine affords an excellent example.

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To us it seems no coincidence but the Will of God, that our preference has fallen on a territory ruled by a successor of King Solomon. We know that in the land ruled over by the descendants of King David, the Jews have always prospered and the prophetic words of the Book of Sohar are significant to us "The Diaspora will come to an end when the Jews enter the Land of Cush".

It is therefore our privilege to suggest, if Your Majesty is willing in principle to allow such a settlement in Your Province, that Your Majesty receive in Addis Ababa a delegation from our Council to explain our plans in greater detail and to hear what observations and requirements Your Majesty may wish to express. In view of the urgency of the situation, we earnestly appeal to Your Majesty to grant us an interview at an early date.

Respectfully submitted, on behalf of the Council

(Erwin Kraft)

(Hermann Fuernberg)

(Marie Ginsberg)

MAR 14 1944

Dear Mr. Fuernberg:

Your letter of March 6, 1944, to Mr. Breckinridge Long has been referred to me.

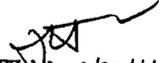
It is suggested that Miss Ginsberg arrange for an appointment with Miss Hodel of my staff the next time she is in Washington.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. W. Pehle

J. W. Pehle
Acting Executive Director

Mr. Hermann Fuernberg,
Harrar Council,
22 West 75th Street,
New York 23, N. Y.


JWP 3/13/44

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

W. R. B. _____
To: Files _____
No. Ans. Req. _____
Initial _____
Date _____

TO : Mr. John W. Pehle, War Refugee Board, DATE: March 8, 1944
Treasury Department.
FROM : Mr. George L. Warren ✓
SUBJECT:

The attached correspondence is self-explanatory and is transmitted for your information and attention at the request of Mr. Breckinridge Long.

George L. Warren

WRB:GLWarren:KG

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HARRAR COUNCIL

COUNCIL FOR AN AUTONOMOUS JEWISH PROVINCE IN HARRAR

22
XDEK WEST 75TH STREET
NEW YORK 23, N. Y.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE
MAR 7 1944
MR. LONG

March 6th, 1944

To Pelite
Mr. [unclear]

Memo to Mr. [unclear]

Mr. Breckinridge Long,
Assistant Secretary
Department of State
Washington, D.C.

Re: 840.48 Refugees/4485

Dear Sir:

In pursuance of the advice contained in your letter of September 27th, we had several interviews with Mr. Howard K. Travers and lately with the War Refugee Board.

However, our plans have matured to an extent that we believe that it would be of mutual interest to discuss the matter with you directly, especially as the general situation of the European Jewish problem has reached a stage where Jewish colonization outside of Palestine seems imperative.

Therefore we should be most grateful if you could grant an interview to Miss Marie Ginsberg, member of our Executive Committee and former Assistant Librarian of the League of Nations. Because of the great urgency of the matter, we hope you will be able to receive Miss Ginsberg soon.

Thanking you in advance for this courtesy,

Very truly yours,
Hermann Fuernberg
Hermann Fuernberg
(for the Council)

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March 7, 1944

My dear Mr. Fuernberg:

I have your letter of March 6 asking for an appointment for Miss Mary Ginsberg to discuss refugees, with particular reference to Jewish colonization outside of Palestine.

Since the occasion of my letter to you to which you refer these matters have been placed under the control of the War Refugee Board, of which Mr. John W. Pehle, is Acting Executive Director. Under those circumstances I am referring your letter to Mr. Pehle, Acting Executive Director, War Refugee Board, Treasury Department, Washington 25, D. C.

Sincerely yours,

Breckinridge Long

Mr. Hermann Fuernberg,
Harrar Council,
22 West Seventy-fifth Street,
New York 25, New York.

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES

February 24, 1944

Mr. Puernberg and Mr. Kraft called today to press for a formal War Refugee Board blessing for their plan for an autonomous Jewish province in Harrar, Ethiopia.

I advised them briefly to the effect that the War Refugee Board is interested in knowing of their plan and that our main purpose is to formulate and effect programs for the immediate rescue of the victims of enemy oppression. They had no information concerning the present position of the Ethiopian Government with respect to entry permits but they feel that this is worth exploring in connection with the problem of finding ~~payments~~ ^{agencies} for people who escape into neutral countries. They emphasized that Harrar is the only province in Ethiopia which has a suitable climate for European peoples and that Professor Isiah Bowman has confirmed this to them. They state that it is very easy to get to Harrar from Turkey or Palestine.

It may be worthwhile to look into the possibility of getting refugees into Harrar.


F. Hodel

*Discussed with
W. Marks - to have
provisions 2/26/44*

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**THE CASE OF
EUROPEAN JEWS**

by **HERMANN FUERNBERG**

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Since the above pamphlet has been written, the situation of the European Jews has undergone no amelioration, and the possibility of saving the surviving Jews has remained the same.

Nobody can predict how many of the six to seven million European Jews will survive the war and the Nazi rule. It is certain, however, that European Judaism will have lost all its older members and all those unable to work. Moreover no children will survive these, the most difficult times, European Jewry has ever known.

In the past year it has become a certainty, even to the pessimistic, that the United Nations will be victorious. Those pessimists fear today that the United Nations, whilst winning the war, will lose the peace. It is to be hoped that they will also be mistaken on this point.

We can report progress in the Jewish camp over here.

In the United States, seven Jewish organizations have joined hands in order to work together on the problem of saving the European Jews. The JOINT EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR EUROPEAN JEWISH AFFAIRS* can only become a real force for the European Jewry if the individual Jewish organizations are determined, without regard for party, organizational or other interests, to work solely in behalf of the suffering Jews of Europe.

In one point in particular the interests of the European Jews are at one with the interests of World Jewry:

Help for them — and for all Jews — can only be provided, based on democratic principles, outside of Europe, and outside of Palestine. Only when the realization of these basic facts has become a reality amongst both — Jews and non-Jews — can the solution of the undoubted problems of the European Jews be attempted.

If this does not become the case, the European Jews, to the lasting shame of humanity (and not only of the Jews), will stay in Europe, despised and hated, until once again they will have reached that state of culture and civilization which they attained before Hitler came to power. And that will not be the solution!

New York City, April 1943.

*In the JOINT EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR EUROPEAN JEWISH AFFAIRS are represented: American Jewish Committee, American Jewish Congress, B'nai B'rith, Jewish Labor Committee, Synagogue Council of America, Agudath Israel, Union of Orthodox Rabbis, and American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs.

New York, May 1942.

The Jewish people may today be divided into three groups differing widely from one another:

- (1) Jewry under direct or indirect domination of the Axis powers.
- (2) Jewry under the jurisdiction of Soviet Russia.
- (3) Jewry resident in the British Empire, U.S.A. and states within their sphere of influence.

Antisemitism in group 1 is openly acknowledged, politically aggressive and is frankly driving towards the extermination or at least the isolation of the Jewish people.

In Russia antisemitism is forbidden by law. (The fight against the Jewish religion is part of the general fight against all religion.) The Russians deny the existence of any antisemitism in their country, but it is not known whether it has actually totally disappeared from this country formerly noted for its pogroms.

Group 3 countries condemn in their official and intellectual statements antisemitism of all kinds, without, however, being able to prevent efficiently the growth of anti-Jewish movements and their aggressive propaganda. Such propaganda may specially be noticed in countries on the fringe of this group (for instance in some South American countries and in the Polish army).

The fate of group 1 seems to me already a foregone conclusion, that of group 2 and 3 will be dependent upon how strongly democracy will develop after the war. Special thought should now be given to group 1 of the Jewish people, those under Axis domination.

The Nazis have never left us in any doubt as to what the fate of European Jews would be if Hitler should win this war. As, however, the victory of the United Nations is a certainty and only a question of time, we need not waste time over Hitler's ideas of the Jewish question. But the question of the fate of European Jewry as a whole cannot be left open till after conclusion of the war. This problem has occupied the attention of the world for a long time and must be satisfactorily settled as one of the requisites for a peaceful post-war development.

Let us examine some of the solutions already offered; the enumeration which follows does not pretend to be complete but does include the more important and fundamental ideas on the subject.

- (A) The return of all expelled Jews to their country of origin.

This proposal is often made by Jews all over the world whose own position is secure, who do not like to hear of even the existence of the problem affecting European Jewry, and who nourish the hope that a democratic victory will automatically re-establish conditions in Europe as they were before Hitler's seizure of power. This attitude is

also prevalent among homesick European emigres and is sometimes found among those who on their return after a democratic victory expect substantial restitution of their property. This attitude will rarely be found among those who have suffered in their persons for any length of time under the Hitler regime, and certainly not among those who still directly or indirectly vegetate under Nazi domination.

Probably it will be possible for a selected few to return to Central-Europe and re-establish their life there, but for the broad mass of expelled Jews such a possibility will not exist.

Hitler is even today deporting large numbers of Jews to Poland. There will be, therefore, whatever befalls, too many Jews in that country after the war, quite apart from the fact that long before this war conditions for Jews in Poland were far from ideal. We may accept as honest the expressions of opinions and intentions made by Polish statesmen in exile, dependent as they are on the good-will of the democracies, that they have abandoned their former antisemitism. It may be that the antisemitic propaganda made by the Nazis in Poland does not have the same effect as in Germany, but for all that it is highly doubtful that the Polish population, especially the middle classes, will change their centuries old antisemitic mentality.

In the interest of the Jews themselves a mass return to Central-Europe appears most undesirable. One is entitled to assume that the fall of Hitler and the end of the war will either change the mentality of the Nazis or bring them all to the gallows. Undoubtedly the surviving Nazis will continue to agitate against the Jews, underground if necessary; these Nazis will not be prepared to place the responsibility for the lost war upon their idolized Hitler and the cry of antisemitism will not have lost its popular appeal.

It is certain that any democratic government which will come to power in post-war Germany or in any a Federated Europe will discourage and oppose any aggressive antisemitism — if for not better reason than to keep themselves in good standing with the democratic victors. But it is equally certain that to keep themselves in good standing with their own population, these post-war governments would not dare to open wide the doors of their countries to a large number of Jews and will abolish restrictions against Jews "DE JURE" only. They will be forced to this not only through the underground activities of the Nazi antisemites, but especially through the general antisemitic mentality engendered by ten years of Nazi education. Even the United Nations may have to take this mentality into consideration when working out schemes for cooperation with the German people.

I do not share the wishful thinking of so many, that after the fall of Hitler, the German people will completely change their attitude toward the Jews. It seems extremely improbable that this same German people who have tormented their Jewish fellow citizens or at best remained silent at their persecution, should suddenly feel an urge to welcome the Jews back into their midst and undo the wrong perpetrated against them. — Even if a large number of Germans should feel a

sense of shame at their behavior towards their Jewish fellow citizens, they will still prefer that the Jews already outside the country should remain there. Nevertheless they may be willing to assist with schemes for their rehabilitation elsewhere.

These are my reasons for believing that a general return of Jews to Central-Europe from Poland and elsewhere is neither possible nor desirable in the interest either of the Jews themselves or of a rapid and general pacification of Europe.

(B) Another group holds the opinion that a general return of Jews to Central and Western-Europe will not be possible, but does believe that a distribution of the Jews among the various non-European countries by a system of quotas will be possible and should be demanded at the peace conference.

This group still thinks in terms of infiltration. It is recruited largely from Jews living in security in Anglo-Saxon countries, unwilling to recognize the wave of antisemitism enveloping much of the world. It is characteristic of this group that they regard any Jewish scheme for collective emigration of Jews from Europe as "appeasement" towards antisemites. The half-hearted help given to the tormented Jews of Central-Europe after the pogrom of 1938 is in part due to the ideas of infiltration which had originated with this group in Jewry.

That the system of infiltration cannot be carried through for really large masses of the Jewish people has been proved by the stringent laws against immigration by one state after another in recent years (and by the lack of success of the Evian conference in July 1938).

The danger of infiltration is briefly that Jews like all other peoples follow the line of least resistance.

The Jewish emigrant (except in cases of collective immigration) will in the majority of cases drift into the larger cities, as these with their many types of occupation not only offer him a livelihood but give him greater opportunities for learning new trades. Furthermore the Jewish emigrant, spiritually depressed, cannot do without the diversions offered by a city, and thrown into strange surroundings and a new mode of life endeavors to surround himself with friends and acquaintances of his own type.

All these tendencies of the Jewish emigrant are easily comprehensible to his fellow-Jews, but not in the least comprehensible to the wicked antisemite and often not even to the well-wishing Gentile.

The Jewish immigrants will tend to congregate abroad in the larger cities. The arrival of a large number of foreign Jews brings with it immediately an increase in local antisemitism. People like to explain this fact only as the effect of Axis propaganda, and it is true that Axis propaganda increases and speeds up the process, but this increased antisemitism has been observed in all parts of the world even before the rise of Hitler wherever there has been a sudden increase in Jewish immigration.

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Infiltration seems to me the hope of a small group. The attempt to carry through a policy of infiltration cannot fail to harm Jewry as a whole.

(C) The third group expresses an opinion ostensibly facing the facts. They conclude that after the war for many reasons it will be impossible for the Jews now in Hitler's concentration camps — especially in Poland — to be reintegrated into the economic life of Europe. They admit that emigration by way of infiltration will meet with determined resistance from countries overseas; they declare the Zionist demand for a self-governing state in Palestine and mass-immigration into that state as quite impossible and scorn the Zionist policy as so much bluff. This group believes that the European Jews will have to be maintained in their camps until they die out. A few may be enabled to emigrate through the help of children and relatives, a few may possibly be able to return to their old homes, but the remainder will just have to be maintained in their camps.

(D) The Socialist Group. This group has not taken any stand in recent times concerning either the general Jewish problem or what should be done with the European Jewry after the downfall of Hitlerism.

For socialists, whatever their shade of opinion, no Jewish problem exists, neither in Europe nor elsewhere. They all argue that as soon as their socialist program will have been carried through, the Jewish problem will be solved and therefore requires no special thought. Socialists of many shades of opinion being convinced that in any event they will be in control of Europe after the war is over, have postulated nothing outside their own program as to what is to happen to the Jews of Europe. They should, however, have given thought to this problem for they, as much as any other party, will have to take into account the mentality of their former supporters and potential new adherents and the ravages effected upon it by ten years of Hitler education.

The socialists in any case never admitted that any Jewish problem really existed, but regarded it as part of the general social problem. A few of them are now prepared to include the Jewish problem among the various minority problems.

(E) The fifth group are the Zionists, who alone propose a political solution to the problem.

The Zionists do not take their stand on the platform that some million European Jews require help today, but demand regeneration of the whole of Jewry. The Zionist program has as its goal the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine and the regeneration — cultural, political and religious — of the Jewish people within the framework of this Palestinian state. Their extensive program is so set that they cannot deviate from it to take account of current events and urgent problems which these events may raise. Thus Zionism believes that every attempt at collective emigration which Jews may undertake on a non-Zionist basis may easily damage the Zionist cause and therefore the Zionists oppose all such attempts. Zionism has many admirable and heroic

achievements to its credit, but in spite of 40 years of propaganda has not been able to convert to its side the great mass of the Jewish people. Until recently its propaganda seemed more concerned with the collection of money than with the kindling of enthusiasm for an actual Jewish state in Palestine. The funds were collected on the plea that Jews persecuted in Poland must have a fresh start in Palestine, and later the same appeal was made on behalf of Jews from Germany.

And the Jewish people did contribute large sums, especially the American Jews, not so much because they were particularly interested in a Jewish state in Palestine, or intended to live there themselves, but because they believed they were in this way fulfilling their obligations to their hard-pressed co-religionists in Europe and showing their solidarity with Judaism as a whole.

By and large it has always been a gesture of charity and piety.

But through their fund-raising campaigns of these 40 years the Zionists were able to build a number of quasi-political organizations, which owing to the dearth of other suitable Jewish agencies after the assumption of power by Hitler, assumed greater importance for Jewry as a whole. Nevertheless these organizations had never been capable of arousing even among their own adherents sufficient political understanding of the real significance of the current wave of antisemitism so as to make the cry for a Jewish state the united demand of a whole people.

The United States which supplied the bulk of the funds for Palestine, had, according to Zionist statistics, in 1941 a membership of only 200,000 or that is 5% of the Jewish population, and this in spite of the fact that 80% of the Jewish press is Zionist dominated, and this in spite of the fact that Hitler had been in power almost nine years.

Without belittling the marvelous achievements of Zionism, in rescuing thousands of young Polish Jews, and giving them a fresh start in Palestine, or in the historic building up of Palestine itself, one asks oneself what wonders might have been achieved by these people had they had better conditions than Palestine afforded.

Hitler's coming to power gave Zionism apparently a great increase of strength, which, however, was soon proved illusory. The increasing immigration into Palestine — both legal and illegal — brought with it increasing resistance — and not only from the Arab world. The opposition to Jewish immigration (infiltration), observable throughout the world, appeared in Palestine in an accentuated form due to the peculiar historic conditions of the country and the consequent demands put forward by the Zionists. Furthermore, it soon became clear that Palestine was by no means able to absorb all the Jews compelled to leave their home-lands. This fact is not affected by assertions to the contrary nor by demands for more territory made by the Zionists themselves.

A short time ago a Zionist writer in New York stated that Palestine is as large as the Jews make it — if millions came, there would

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be room for millions. Such phrases do not increase the size of Palestine nor do they diminish other people's resistance to a Jewish state in Palestine. On the contrary, such phrases afford no help to the hunted Jews of Europe but can only do them harm.

Zionism claims Transjordan for the Jewish state.

About Transjordan Dr. Israel Zwi Kanner, a leading Zionist, writes in his book, "The Arab States Neighbouring Palestine," published 1938 by Josef Belf in Vienna, Austria, on page 43 as follows, when speaking of the founding of the State of Transjordan:

"In this way against all the rulings of the Mandate *the fertile 17,000 square miles* (italics by Dr. Kanner) comprising nearly two-thirds of the territory destined for the Jewish national home were cut off from Eretz Israel. No inhabitant of those bare rocks and barren acres has ever dreamed that here was the place for an independent state."

These two sentences are jointed immediately one following the other.

Well, what is this Transjordan, claimed by the Zionists in reality — is fertile or is it barren?

Impartial observers say it is unsuitable for colonization and can be used only for extensive cattle-raising, and thus hold out little hope for mass-immigration. But even if these observers are wrong, and the Zionists right, when they state that Transjordan is fertile, how does this help the position of the million of Jews in Europe?

Palestine including Negh'eb has an area of approximately 10,000 square miles and a population of 2,100,000; Transjordan has an area of approximately 17,000 square miles and a population of 350,000. In Palestine there are therefore today approximately 210 people per square mile or including Transjordan approximately 91 per square mile. Altogether there are about 500,000 Jews in Palestine as against 1,600,000 Arabs. The rate of natural increase among the Arabs is practically double that of the Jews.

4,000 out of Palestine's 10,000 square miles are entirely unsuitable for colonization, and Transjordan's 17,000 square miles are also by no means ideal territory for colonization. For purposes of comparison, one should state that in Europe serious economic difficulties arose whenever the density of population exceeded 130 per square mile — and this under economic conditions vastly more favorable than Palestine.

Apart from all political opposition therefore the future, of mass immigration in Palestine is not at all a bright one.

These considerations must have been in the mind of Dr. Chaim Weitzmann when he declared in Washington, D. C., on April 16, 1941 (as quoted by the Washington Post on the following day), that if the quota permitted, Palestine was capable of absorbing 60,000 to 70,000 people per annum.

After this declaration by Dr. Weitzmann it is difficult to understand the statement he made in New York in May 1942 before the Extraordinary Meeting of the Zionist Conference.

Dr. Weitzmann began by stating that after the war there would be in Europe about three million homeless Jews for whom it would be essential to find a new home. "Objective investigation shows Palestine with a modernized agriculture and a rationalized industry could double its present population without even reaching the maximum density of population it could support."

However, Dr. Weitzmann does not state during what space this doubling is to take place. If we are to accept the figures he gave at Washington, D. C., then this doubling of population would take approximately 25 years.

A heavy responsibility rests today upon the shoulders of Zionism. The fate of entire Jewry depends upon their appreciation of the true needs of their European brethren. The next few years will show whether Zionism is really concerned about the Jewish masses or whether Zionism will prefer to allow millions of Jews to perish in order to maintain the semblance of a fight for their party program and an object impossible of attainment.

Today it is no longer a question of getting permission for a Palestinian immigration quota of 10,000 or 20,000 after lengthy negotiations with the British Administration, nor a question of buying here and there a few thousands Dunam of land. The real problem consists in getting several millions of human beings out of Europe in a relatively short term of years and providing for them conditions of political security which will permit their economic development.

The problem facing the Jews of Europe today is not how to conquer the land of their forefathers against the economic and political resistance of other religions, peoples and states, but is fundamentally the problem of actually keeping alive — of surviving the times they are living in and the times immediately ahead of them.

European Jews at the present time have nothing left but hope; they hope that their brethren in the free world will take whatever steps are possible to enable them — once the war shall be over — to rebuild their lives with decency and honor.

There is no doubt that the European Jews, harassed and hunted for years will not be willing to conquer Palestine against a world hostile to them, but that they will prefer to build a new home for their children — in the desert if necessary — where they can reckon on being left in peace. It is very doubtful whether a majority of the European Jews today support the policy of the Zionists.

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Up to this point I have endeavored to describe the various points of view which exist regarding the post-war fate of European Jewry. I will now make some constructive proposals as to how the Jews might be dealt with, both in their own interest and in the interest of all civilized mankind.

But before I come to the actual proposal I beg the reader to consider a few points.

It is a fact that Europe is overpopulated. It is a fact that the signatories of the treaties after the last war must have known this, but failed to take this into their calculations. It is a fact that this failure of the peace conferences played its part in the development of the various "isms" in Europe. It is a fact that this failure is partly the cause of the present war.

Before the war of 1914-18 more than two million people emigrate annually from Europe. The peace treaties of 1920 closed almost all overseas states and the number of emigrants from Europe sunk to about 250,000 annually.

It is almost self-evident that the peace treaties following this war will have to consider carefully this question of European overpopulation. Even this totalitarian war will not have cost as many lives as is represented by Europe's surplus population and after this war, as after all wars, the birthrate will rise.

If the future peace conference fails to take measures to alleviate this situation they will be doing democracy a bad turn, for a fresh closing of doors against European emigration will and must lead to a fresh and still more overwhelming explosion than the present war.

The fanatical hatred of Hitler has picked out one group of people living in Europe — let us forget for the moment that they are Jews and think of them simply as human beings —, torn them out of their regular surroundings and occupations, and it is very doubtful whether they will ever be able to return to them. One thing is very clear and that is that the attempt to reinstate them will be extremely difficult.

To summarize: These people have been eliminated from the life of Europe without actually having left that continent, therefore it cannot be amiss to propose that they should now be enabled to emigrate actually from it.

As emigration by infiltration presumably will be out of the question as it will meet opposition (whether justified or unjustified does not affect the argument) organized collective emigration will obviously suggest itself especially at a time when collective action represents the only basis of survival for these groups.

But it can only be undertaken with definite and specific political guarantees. This means in my opinion they be guaranteed in their country of settlement not only immediately full rights of citizenship, but also the rights and possibility of full democratic self-government.

I feel very strongly that any attempt at a collective immigration of this kind will be doomed to failure if the rights of immigrants are restricted to economic activities and if in a political sense they should be compelled to adapt themselves to the political institutions or parties of the country in which they find themselves or what would be worse that they should be deprived of any means of giving political expressions to their needs.

Now naturally the introduction of something like a million people, some of them politically very experienced, demanding political rights at once, may very likely change the political picture of the country of immigration in a way and to an extent so as to overwhelm entirely the majority of the former inhabitants. That this would lead to real trouble is obvious.

The proposal follows almost automatically to give these millions a territory where they can build their own state, according to their own desires and their own needs. Of course it will probably be necessary for those states which are interested in carrying out of such a plan to undertake its protection in some form for some years without exercising an undue tutelage over it.

I have met much opposition to this proposal, but also a good deal of support. The support came particularly from those who preferred to live as free and equal human beings rather than as half-despised, and only half-accepted citizens in a newly organized Europe of the future.

For Europe itself it makes no difference whether the emigrants themselves come from an age-group of 30 years, a group whose grandmothers had brown eyes or a group of Jews or from other classes but as Jews. This is a detail only important to the emigrants themselves.

What is of real importance is to change a wrong wrought by Hitler and his hordes into a right which shall benefit not only those attacked by Hitler but if possible humanity at large.

My proposal to offer the Jews driven out of Europe the possibility of building up a new home elsewhere, of giving them a chance to settle somewhere collectively does *not pretend to be a complete solution of the Jewish problem*. I do not think this is a problem which can be settled within a few years. If there really is a Jewish problem of world-wide proportions, it cannot be solved merely by the attempt to ameliorate conditions caused by cruelty and terror in one part of the world.

Nor does my proposal seek to create a national home for the Jews.

It is purely and simply a plan to enable them to carry on their lives in a way consonant with the democratic thought of our times and in a manner which not only rights the wrong committed against them, but which shall seem to them correct and worthy.

I am quite sure that it will never be possible to convert the Jews to Christianity either by force or persuasion. Nor is there any need for this. But it may well be that founding of a self-governing independent

state for the Jews of Europe may be one step towards the solution of the so-called "Jewish problem."

What objections are being made to such a self-governing free state, which since it would be inhabited chiefly by Jews, might be called a Jewish state?

The objections depend naturally enough upon the particular religious, political and intellectual standpoint of the individual. Zionists have only one main objection, namely that this could never become the national home of the Jews. Dr. Weitzmann has stated this repeatedly. The Zionists further emphasize that the formation of any such state would check the political coordination of the Jews and that no true political, cultural and religious regeneration is possible outside Palestine. It may be that the Zionists are correct—who can decide this today? But at the moment the rescue of several million Jews is far more urgent than the gathering and regeneration of a small proportion of their number in Palestine.

Others object, because they fear that the existence of a Jewish state, no matter where it is situated, would lead in many countries to a demand for the emigration of Jews from those countries to the new Jewish state. I do not believe that this criticism is valid. We are living in a new democratic period. The Irish for example, have a state of their own. Yet it has occurred to no one to request the Irish in New York to return to Ireland. Even the British Empire, not on the best terms with the Irish, has never put forward such a demand. There is therefore no good reason why other states should make such demands on their Jewish citizens. But just as little as any state can prevent an Irishman from returning to Ireland, so no state should prevent any Jew wishing to emigrate from doing so.

The existence of a free self-governing Jewish state outside Palestine, far from being an added danger for the rest of Jewry, would do much to counteract antisemitism throughout the world.

Left-wingers like to argue that such a state would be synonymous with the re-nationalization of the Jews and would therefore represent a retrogression. I certainly believe that the Jews who emigrated from Europe would become a nation in the course of time in their new land. But these European Jews would have come from a dozen different European countries and until recently would have claimed any other nationality but Jewish. Now they have simply become Jews and desire to live with their fellow citizens. Could this Jewish melting-pot not develop into something more democratic than is involved in the general term "Nation" today? Jews are so capable of assimilation, that they will assimilate also into a Jewish state.

To whom could such a free, self-governing Jewish state be detrimental?

Certainly Zionism would first be unfavorably affected, but I think it certain that Zionists should be ready to bring their small temporary sacrifice gladly if thereby they are enabled to rescue several

million fellow-Jews. And at the last resort, Zionism is a movement of Jews—for Jews.

I see no one who would suffer from the existence of such a state. I see no disadvantage which any Christian, Jew, Mohamedan or Buddhist, Englishman, American or any other national would suffer if this state were founded outside Palestine.

We see the word "democracy" used today as a slogan for many causes. The United Nations are defending democracy against the aggression of dictators.

Here the word "defending" is not very correct.

After this war we shall see whether the United Nations have reached the true democracy.

For Hitler is persecuting the Jews not on account of their religion, not, as he pretends, on account of differences of race, but because he knows that the age-old history of the Jews in all its phases has always been closely linked with the political and social liberation of mankind. Hitler is persecuting the spirit of the Jewish laws; Hitler is persecuting the spirit of Jewish revolt—however much stifled by circumstances it has had great latent strength throughout the last 2000 years and it is this that makes the Jews the natural allies of the United Nations.

The Jews outside Central Europe have already been the allies of England and America in one war. At that time the British Empire through the Balfour Declaration promised the Jews, the Jews of the whole world, their independence. At that time the British Empire promised the Jewish people a National Home in Palestine.

Today it is not the time to investigate where the blame lies that this promise was not implemented, whether it was due to Jewish remissness or British unwillingness. Suffice it to say that the promise was not kept at a time when it would have been possible to keep it.

In the interest of democracy and progress it does not seem to me possible to keep it today.

And herein, in my opinion, lies the great service the Jewish people can render to the war effort of the democratic Nations, especially as it would at the same time help those fellow-Jews so urgently needing succour.

I mean the RENUNCIATION OF THE BALFOUR DECLARATION.

England certainly gave a binding promise in this Balfour Declaration, and it seems to me certain that the majority of the British statesmen honestly tried to keep their promise. The attempt has caused and is causing a great deal of friction between the British Empire and the Near East. Only a fanatical Zionist could be blind to the fact that a voluntary renunciation of the Balfour Declaration on the part of the Jews would not be an act of appeasement, but would appreciable im-

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prove relations between Great Britain and her neighbors in the Near East.

Such a renunciation would make it possible to bring the Near East heart and soul into the fight against Hitler and turn many present enemies of the Jews into their friends.

I feel confident that the war will ultimately be won by the Allied Nations, but I am also sure that it will be won only at the cost of enormous sacrifices; the renunciation of the Balfour Declaration will be the sacrifice offered by the Jews. The renunciation of independence in Palestine, of the National Home in the Holy Land is indeed a heroic sacrifice — a sacrifice on the altar of humanity.

It will be justified if it helps to shorten the war, even if only by a few days; it will be doubly justified if it creates the possibility for millions of Jews to live in political and economic security.

This possibility actually exists: it exists here and now.

The Jewish people the world over, not only those persecuted by Hitler, have for many years looked trustfully towards the people of England and U.S.A. Who can doubt that these two people will appreciate the magnitude of the sacrifice involved in a renunciation of the Balfour Declaration?

Who can doubt that they will immediately seek to create a self-governing home for the European Jews?

We need a land for our children — and we demand it!

Palestine is the land of our Fathers!
Palestine is the Holy Land Israel!
Palestine is the Holy Land of all Christians!
Palestine is a Holy Land for the Mohamedans!
Palestine is the home for two million people!

Make of Palestine THE HOLY LAND OF ALL MANKIND!
MAKE OF PALESTINE A TEMPLE OF CULTURE!

The advantages for the founding of such a state would be even greater for non-Jews than for the Jews.

It seems certain that renunciation of the Balfour Declaration would remove the poison from Arab-Jewish relations and make friendship and understanding between the two people possible. I have already pointed out the advantages accruing the British Empire and the United Nations. The whole world would be relieved of a center of possibly permanent unrest.

For the Jews of England and of both Americas the creation of a self-governing Jewish state outside Palestine would be a great improvement in their own position.

This refers with particular significance to the Jews in the U.S.A.

For whatever decisions may be taken concerning the European Jews, the influence of the Jews in the U.S.A. will be of the utmost importance. But any arrangements which do not have a sound political basis will be fraught with more dangers to American than to European Jewry.

For even if it is frequently asserted that there is no solidarity among the Jews, the last few years have proved that American Jews, in spite of differences of a political and even a religious nature, have always been more than ready to come to the assistance of their persecuted fellow-Jews in Europe.

In the course of the last five years about 150,000 Jewish refugees came to the United States. The majority of these still have other relatives and friends in Europe and it is only natural that they will do their best to bring them over also.

But during this same five years there has been an increase in anti-semitism. Even if immigration into the United States is still further restricted, this will not decrease the moral pressure which the European Jews will exert upon their brethren in the U.S.A.

Only a future guaranteed both politically and economically can free the Jews of the world and especially of the U.S.A. from the demand for help from the tortured Jews of Europe.

The establishment of a self-governing Jewish state would be beneficial economically to all the world and not only to the immigrating Jews. There is no longer any question about the merit of Jews as colonizers. They have proved their worth throughout the centuries and again in Palestine under the most unfavorable circumstances.

If we give these European Jews who have survived Hitler's most inhuman conditions of labor a chance of bringing within the sphere of culture and civilization a country up to now fallow and unexploited, we are benefiting not only the Jews but all mankind.

The idea to create a Jewish state outside Palestine is not new, and quite a number of territories have been examined from this point of view.

Since Palestine has been renounced, no country offers a strong attraction from sentimental motives.

What is important is that the territory selected should be sufficiently large to avoid fresh difficulties one or two generations hence.

It should be thinly populated so that an accommodation with the existing inhabitants can be easily reached.

It should have a useful climate and it should hold out good prospects for economic development.

The most varied territories have been proposed, Uganda, Kenya,

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Angola, Northern Kimberley, etc. Everyone of these has its disadvantages and its political and other difficulties.

I believe there is only one territory which combines in itself all the four advantages I have mentioned.

My proposal is to unite the so-called HARRAR-territory of Ethiopia with part of British-Somaliland and create there a state for the European Jews.

This territory is large enough; it would be easy to devote 60,000 to 70,000 square miles there for this purpose. This territory is inhabited by a small agricultural population, who are not likely to raise great difficulties. Nevertheless it will be necessary to remember the lessons learned by the Palestine experience, namely, to prevent the territory being overrun by people from other parts of Ethiopia and to keep out foreign agitators.

The climate on the plateau is absolutely healthy and suitable for Europeans. Those parts of the Somali coast which have a bad climate could be improved in measurable time by irrigation.

The HARRAR territory is particularly suitable for agriculture and hence for mass immigration. It would have ready markets for its agricultural and later its industrial products in the interior of Africa, in the Arabian countries and in parts of India.

Politically these territories belong, as already stated, to Great Britain and the Empire of Ethiopia.

In July 1935 the British Government proposed to the Emperor of Ethiopia that the port of Zeila and certain other parts of British Somaliland be ceded to him if he were prepared to make certain concessions to Italy.

It is therefore not impossible that the British Government may today be ready to cede a rather larger portion of Somali-land together with the port of Berbera to the European Jewish state we have in mind.

The Imperial House of Ethiopia claims its descent from the Jewish King David, and the Emperor bears the title "Lion of Judah."

Should this not also imply a certain obligation to offer much needed help to this half-brethren in Europe and to receive them on terms worthy of the 20th century?

The Jews on their part should have no objection to recognizing the overlordship of the Emperor of Ethiopia with some guarantees from Great Britain and U.S.A.

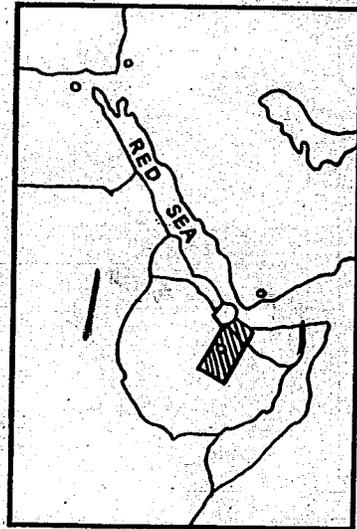
May the Lion of Judah prove that he combines the courage of David, the wisdom of Solomon, and the good sense of the Queen of Sheba.

On the question as to who should inhabit this new state, I offer the following suggestions:

No one should be compelled to emigrate into this state.

Every Jew, whether he considers himself as such or is classed as such against his will, should have the right to enter this state.

Beyond these two points the Government of HARRAR should have the right to give or deny permission to enter or reside in its territory.



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FEB 14 1944

Dear Mr. Kraft,

I have received your letter of February 4, 1944, and your letter to Mr. Travers of February 1, 1944.

I suggest that you call my office for an appointment the next time you plan to come to Washington.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. W. Pehle

J. W. Pehle
Acting Executive Director

Mr. Erwin Kraft,
Chairman,
Harrar Council,
22 West 75th Street,
New York 23, N.Y.

JW
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HARRAR COUNCIL

COUNCIL FOR AN AUTONOMOUS JEWISH PROVINCE IN HARRAR

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11 WEST 75TH STREET
NEW YORK 23, N. Y.

February 8, 1944

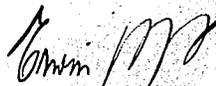
Mr. John W. Pehle.
Director, War Refugee Board.
Treasury Department.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir,

I beg to refer to my letter addressed to Mr. Howard K. Travers on February 1st, which I understand has been forwarded to you together with a copy of the petition which this Council presented to His Imperial Majesty the Negus of Ethiopia.

I should be very grateful if you would indicate a time when it would be convenient for you to see Dr. Fuernberg and myself as we would like to discuss this project with you. An appointment in the early afternoon would be most suitable for us.

Yours very truly



(Erwin Kraft).
Chairman.

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, D. C. 25

Dear Mr. Kraft:

I thank you for your very courteous letter dated February 1, 1944 enclosing a copy of the petition dated January 26, 1944 which you have addressed to His Imperial Majesty the Negus of Ethiopia.

I am forwarding your letter with a copy of this reply to Mr. John W. Pehle, who has been appointed Acting Director of the War Refugee Board recently named by the President. Mr. Pehle is in the Treasury Department and I suggest that you communicate with him there to request an appointment.

Whereas I am no longer charged with any responsibility concerning refugees, I am, of course, interested in doing everything I consistently can to assist the Intergovernmental Committee in London, the War Refugee Board and other organizations in their efforts to save the lives of persons living under threat of death by Hitler.

Sincerely,

Howard K. Travers
Chief, Visa Division.

Mr. Erwin Kraft,
Harrar Council,
22 West Seventy-fifth Street,
New York 23, New York.

VD:HKT:BB

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RECEIVED 1944

HARRAR COUNCIL

COUNCIL FOR AN AUTONOMOUS JEWISH PROVINCE IN HARRAR
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

228 WEST 75TH STREET
NEW YORK 23, N. Y.

1944 FEB 4 AM 9 43

VISA
DIVISION

February 1, 1944

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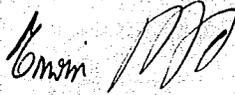
Mr. Howard K. Travers,
Chief of the Visa Division,
State Department,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Travers,

Our Council held a committee meeting last night and asked me to express to you our keen sense of gratitude for the advice and encouragement you have given us in regard to the Harrar project. We much regret to hear of the probability that we may no longer have the benefit of your interest and help.

I have been asked to send you enclosed copy of the petition which has been sent to His Excellency the Ambassador of Ethiopia and to the British Embassy at Washington. May I ask you in the event of your ceasing to be connected with this work, to be good enough to hand over this petition to whomever may be appointed to deal with matters of this kind. At the same time I would esteem it a favor if you would give me an introduction to the member of the President's Refugee Board competent for this project as I would like to discuss the Harrar plan with him and also hear whether in general our Council can be of any assistance in the work of the Beard.

Yours sincerely



(Erwin Kraft).

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22 West 75 street
New York City. 23

January 26, 1944

His Imperial Majesty the Negus of Ethiopia
Addis Ababa
Ethiopia

Your Majesty:

A group of Jewish men and women of European origin beg to submit to Your Majesty the following petition and hope that it will receive Your gracious and favorable consideration. Our group is centered around Mr. Hermann Fuernberg, whose name and work in connection with the Harrar settlement project will most probably be known to Your Majesty.

In order to indicate our geographical and political aims the group assumed the provisional name of "Council for an Autonomous Jewish Province in Harrar" (Harrar Council), and we trust that Your Majesty will permit us to continue to use this designation or suggest an alternative which would be deemed more appropriate.

Your Majesty is no doubt aware that during the last years large numbers of innocent men and women in Europe have suffered cruel persecution at the hands of the Nazis. This persecution has fallen with particular severity upon the Jewish people, whose sufferings have

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burned themselves into thro their very souls. Fear of a repetition of these agonies for themselves and their children make these people fervantly desire to leave the Continent of Europe and settle permanently in a land where they will be able to develop freely and be assured of a peaceful life.

The object of our group is the establishment of a new homeland for these persecuted Jews of Europe. Knowing of Your Majesty's sympathetic attitude towards the Jewish people, our choice early fell upon Your Majesty's Province of Harrar.

We have discussed our plan with a number of important personages both in the political and industrial fields, and it has been recognised as potentially valuable and capable of realisation. We have reason to believe that if Your Majesty's consent and cooperation are granted, the moral and financial support necessary to bring the scheme to fruition will be forthcoming. The investment of large sums supporting pioneer movements have always brought prosperity to the lands which have been so settled. In this present instance, the arrival of a culturally developed people cannot fail to enrich Your Empire; their settlement, equipment and manifold requirements will offer vast new markets for the products of your land and stimulate the development of its natural resources.

In submitting the following points for Your Majesty's consideration, our purpose is to set forth the

fundamental principles of, and to create a basis for, an agreement to be negotiated with Your Majesty.

- (1) Under the sovereignty of Your Majesty the Province of Harrar shall be set aside for the immigration of European Jews. Representations shall be made to the British Government for territorial arrangements in British Somaliland which will permit free access to the sea through the ports of Berbera and Zeila.
- (2) Immigration shall take place in large organised groups who would proceed to a territory previously carefully demarcated and assigned to them. All immigrants desirous of settling in the Province of Harrar shall be required to swear allegiance to Your Majesty. Upon completion of immigration formalities, they shall receive the rights and obligations of full citizenship within the Province of Harrar. Such citizenship shall not entitle them to citizenship in other parts of the Ethiopian Empire.
- (3) The Autonomy of the Province shall extend only within its confines. All internal affairs shall be administered by a governing body elected by the people of the Province. A Governor-Royal or Viceroy shall be appointed as the representative of Your Majesty; his rights and obligations shall be laid down in a democratic Constitution to be provided for the Province.
- (4) English shall be the official language and all education shall be in that tongue.
- (5) Your Majesty shall be entitled to an agreed equitable proportion of certain taxes to be levied in the Province, an income which will increase with the growth of the industrial and cultural life of the Province. Liability for loans contracted by the Province of Harrar shall be restricted to the citizens of that Province and will not impose any obligation upon the Ethiopian Government.

We are fully aware of the many difficulties involved in carrying out this project, but the necessity

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of solving the European Jewish problem is so urgent and the advantages which would accrue to Ethiopia from a realisation of the plan are so important and far-reaching, that we feel entitled to call upon Your Majesty's wisdom and cooperation in the overcoming of these difficulties. If a harassed and persecuted people can be turned into a happy and prosperous community, the whole of Ethiopia will thereby also be enriched and Your Majesty will rightly be regarded as one of the great benefactors of humanity.

Your Majesty will know that the Jews in whatever country they have lived have proved themselves law-abiding, orderly and loyal citizens. How much more so will they be in Harrar where Your Majesty will grant them autonomy and the possibility of free development. It is not necessary to emphasise the ability of Jews to build up an agricultural and colonial settlement and to develop it successfully. Palestine affords an excellent example.

To us it seems no coincidence, but the Will of God, that our preference has fallen on a territory ruled by a successor of King Solomon. We know that in the lands ruled over by the descendants of King David, the Jews have always prospered and the prophetic words of the Book of Sohar are significant to us: "The Diaspora will come to an end, when the Jews enter the land of Cush."

It is therefore our privilege to suggest, if Your Majesty is willing in principle to allow such a settlement in your Province, that Your Majesty receive in Addis

Ababa a delegation from our Council to explain our plans in greater detail, and to hear what observations and requirements Your Majesty may wish to express. In view of the urgency of the situation, we earnestly appeal to Your Majesty to grant us such an interview at an early date.

Respectfully submitted, on behalf of the Council,

(signed)

Erwin Kraft.

Hermann Fuernberg

Marie Ginsberg.

