"NEW LEADER, THE"

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FEB 3 1945

Dear Mr. Levitas:

For Mr. Pehle I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter of January 29, 1945, with which you enclosed proof of an article by Professor Chamberlain.

Mr. Pehle has asked me to advise you that he desires to make no comment regarding this article.

Very truly yours,

[illegible] Florence Hodel

Florence Hodel
Assistant Executive Director

Mr. S. M. Levitas,
Executive Editor,
The New Leader,
7 East 15th Street,
New York 3, N. Y.

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January 29th, 1945.

Mr. John Pehle,
War Refugee Board,
Main Treasury Bldg.,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Pehle,

Enclosed you will find proof of an article by Professor Joseph Chamberlain on the most important problem of the day, on the plight and problems of the refugees.

Upon the suggestion of Prof. Chamberlain, we invite you to participate in a symposium on this subject. If you agree or disagree with the contents of the article, we would like very much, to have a statement from you - let's say of about 750-1000 words.

We are planning to give this symposium the widest distribution and circulation and I assure you that your comment will be read with great interest. I would be thankful to you, indeed, if you would let me know when we can expect it.

With many thanks,

Sincerely yours,

S. M. LEVITAS,
Executive Editor.

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14—OVERMATTER LEADER

The Plight of Refugees——— 30pt. Ult. Bod.
A Comprehensive Survey of One of the World's Toughest Problems 24pt. Caslon Italic

By Joseph Chamberlain

GREAT social upheavals and wars have regularly produced floods of refugees. Sometimes they have been able to return to their home countries, but often the conditions which caused their flight have persisted so that they have been obliged to establish themselves in foreign countries, away from their former homes.

The distinguishing mark of the refugee is that he has left his country under political pressure and not, as in the case of most emigrants, seeking to better his fortunes abroad. The refugee is politically homeless. A person without nationality, or one without government protection, is in a deplorable situation in this world of national states. The rights of man, such as they are, cannot be exercised by an individual in his own right but only through the protection which his government affords him, either under the customary provisions of international law or under the intricate net of treaties by which two nations or groups of nations mutually grant rights on their territory to the citizens of other contracting governments, rights which in their turn can only be assured by the action of the government of which the individual is a national.

Many agreements among nations provide for the right, more or less limited, of the nationals of one to reside and to do business on the territory of the other, or provide for the protection of workers going from one country to take employment in another. Reciprocally, states grant many benefits to one another's nationals, for example in the field of public relief or of social security.

Since the last war, a person must have a passport to cross a boundary, and this passport can be issued only by a government. Entry into the United States, for example, depends on a visa stamped by a United States Consul on a travel document issued by a government, normally a passport. A stateless refugee has no right to a national passport. Countries to which he may seek admission are apt to be hesitant to permit him to enter because if he is admitted, he is likely to become a permanent resident who cannot be deported, since his country of original nationality has disowned him and no other country is under any obligation to receive him.

In most countries the right to work is the right of a citizen in his own country. It is not a right enjoyed by any individual living on the territory. Nor has an alien a right to remain a resident in a territory except on the consent of its government. These precious privileges are either granted of its own motion by a benevolent government to aliens, or they result from a reciprocal arrangement from which only a national of a contracting country can benefit. In the United States the right to work, with limited exceptions, and the right to remain in residence, are granted by our national policy to aliens admitted for permanent residence, and this right is protected against state laws by the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution.

Another priceless boon which the laws of this country grant is permission to such an alien to become a citizen after five years on satisfying the public authority of his dependability. In most countries citizenship is difficult to obtain; it is commonly an act of grace by the executive, and cannot be acquired at the request of the applicant on satisfying general requirements laid down in the law. As a consequence of the unwillingness of many countries to permit alien naturalization, many refugees, particularly Russian and Armenian, who were driven from their homes after the first World War, even though they have lived long in the territory of the country in which they have taken refuge, are still stateless and thus constitute an anomaly in a world organized on a basis of national states of which individuals are citizens, an organization to which not alone the international legal system but also that of the different countries has been adjusted.

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EVEN in the United States the rights of an alien admitted for permanent residence do not extend to a person admitted for a temporary stay. He may remain as long as he is permitted to, and he has not the right to work except so far as special legislation or regulation authorizes it.

The situation of the refugees is much affected by the economic conditions of the time. When the country of refuge is prosperous, when it needs hands and brains, they can be readily absorbed, as for example the German refugees who came to this country after the revolution of 1848, or those who fled from the pogroms of Russia during the period of economic expansion in the United States. Different is his fate during a depression when nationals may be seeking jobs, when opportunities for nationals in the professions and in business are limited and there is the [illegible]

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on the whole, made a splendid and resolute effort to save themselves from the worst results of their unhappy lot. They have shown a determination and enterprise, in trying to support themselves by their work, which is beyond all praise. Many who are entirely unaccustomed to manual labor have gone as laborers and, as workmen in the most menial capacities. They have started restaurants, cafes, shops; they have sold newspapers and articles in the street. Every means by which they could earn an honest living has been attempted."—Quoted by C. A. Macartney in *Refugees, the Work of the League*, page 9.

It is highly desirable, both in their own interest and in that of international order, that they should remain in the countries in which they have been so long settled and that those countries should accept them as citizens and thereby establish their status. It would seem unwise, both from a national and an international point of view, to have a large number of permanent residents in a country who have not the rights and who are not held to the duties of citizenship.

A word should be said about the activities of the private associations in aid of the refugees, some of the most important of which were formed among the refugees themselves. They had taken a large share in the feeding and care of the refugees in Constantinople and the Near East and continued their work up to World War II. Their importance was recognized in the consultative committee on private organizations which was attached to the League Office.

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THE expulsion of the Jews from Germany under the Hitler regime differs materially from the exodus of Russian and Armenian refugees from Russia after World War I. Russians and Armenians who had left their country during or soon after the war were found in large numbers in foreign lands, unable or unwilling to return home. Others fled subsequently from Soviet countries and Turkey and joined the flood already existing abroad, but the problem in great part, created by the war, was that of finding a way to deal with all the former Russians and Armenians who were then homeless. In the case of the refugees from Germany the flight developed over a period of years from 1933 up to the second World War, becoming greater as the pressure inside Germany was intensified. No substantial help was given by the governments as in the case of the Russians, but the work of relief and of migration was carried on and the cost borne by private persons and by private organizations.

The League again was appealed to in the new emergency, but opposition on the part of Germany, then a member, prevented the setting up of an official of the League to deal with this new emergency. An office was, however, created by the Council to take the lead in making provision for the refugees from Germany, but even its expenses were paid by private organizations, and the main dependence of the High Commissioner, Mr. James G. McDonald, a devoted American, was upon the willing help of the great private organizations devoted to relief. It was the council of private organizations attached to his office upon whose advice and financial aid he counted, more than upon that of the official council composed of government representatives, created to supervise the work of his office and counsel him in respect to his activities.

The full force of the policy of Adolf Hitler and his party did not break at once on its victims, but it soon became clear that the purpose was to make the innocent Jew the scapegoat for the mistakes of German rule for two decades and to drive them out into the wilderness. As members of society, they were singled out for abuse and afforded less and less police protection for their persons or property. Their places of business were picketed and posted, store fronts broken and stocks even pillaged without hope of redress. Employers were threatened with boycott if they employed Jews or even continued faithful workers in employment.

Legal persecution followed, and encouraged, social pressure. Jews were excluded from the public service, from the practice of profession, from many trades. Measures were taken against their right to hold property or to carry on business. Systematically ways in which they could earn a living were cut down. In September 1935 came the Nuremberg laws under which Jews were no longer citizens but only subjects of the Reich. The persecuted class included all non-Aryans, persons with at least one Jewish grandparent regardless of whether the individual was Catholic or Protestant. The concentration camp was freely used as part of the machinery of persecution and gave added emphasis to the avowed Nazi campaign to clear Germany of all non-Aryans.

Under this pressure non-Aryans, and all those who disagreed with the Nazi principles were impelled to seek safety by emigration or flight. Western European countries received them in large numbers, some to remain, many in transit to new countries overseas. For the greater number the emigration was

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At the end of the first World War the principal refugee problem was that of the great flood of Russians who had fled their country and thus had become stateless in fact. A stream of Armenians escaped from both Russia and Turkey and added to the number of the homeless. There was an immediate problem of relief at the close of the war, too great to be met wholly by private agencies, so that western European governments helped with substantial sums in the care of this great mass of refugees, without a government to which they could appeal or a country to which they could or would return.

Fortunately the League of Nations was in existence as a focus of the international spirit, and a great leader appeared, Dr. Fidjof Nansen, to urge upon the peoples of the world that they give thought to the human rights of refugees. Largely under his inspiration and through League efforts, a travel document was arranged for and greater security of residence and opportunity for work brought about. Agencies set up by the League, and for a time by the ILO, acted as spokesmen for the refugees with governments and as coordinators of the effective work of private organizations. Some Russians and Armenians returned to Soviet territory; some Armenians found homes in the Near East, but the greater share had to be absorbed on the continent on which they found themselves, mostly in Europe, a lesser share in China. Those who emigrated overseas did not form a very considerable proportion of the total. The problem was not one of overseas migration.

It was not easy for the refugees to take up their lives under the difficult conditions in which they found themselves. Many of them were not accustomed to manual work, which, except in a few cases, was the only employment offered, and even for those who were a strange language and a new social environment constituted a heavy handicap. Nevertheless, they had become more or less adjusted and self-supporting when the second World War began. Dr. Nansen says of them:

"In the face of their sufferings the refugees have, however, created by the Council to take the lead in making provision for the refugees from Germany, but even its expenses were paid by private organizations, and the main dependence of the High Commissioner, Mr. James G. McDonald, a devoted American, was upon the willing help of the great private organizations devoted to relief. It was the council of private organizations attached to his office upon whose advice and financial aid he counted, more than upon that of the official council composed of government representatives, created to supervise the work of his office and counsel him in respect to his activities.

The full force of the policy of Adolf Hitler and his party did not break at once on its victims, but it soon became clear that the purpose was to make the innocent Jew the scapegoat for the mistakes of German rule for two decades and to drive them out into the wilderness. As members of society, they were singled out for abuse and afforded less and less police protection for their persons or property. Their places of business were picketed and posted, store fronts broken and stocks even pillaged without hope of redress. Employers were threatened with boycott if they employed Jews or even continued faithful workers in employment.

Legal persecution followed, and encouraged, social pressure. Jews were excluded from the public service, from the practice of profession, from many trades. Measures were taken against their right to hold property or to carry on business. Systematically ways in which they could earn a living were cut down. In September 1935 came the Nuremberg laws under which Jews were no longer citizens but only subjects of the Reich. The persecuted class included all non-Aryans, persons with at least one Jewish grandparent regardless of whether the individual was Catholic or Protestant. The concentration camp was freely used as part of the machinery of persecution and gave added emphasis to the avowed Nazi campaign to clear Germany of all non-Aryans.

Under this pressure non-Aryans and all those who disagreed with the Nazi principles were impelled to seek safety by emigration or flight. Western European countries received them in large numbers, some to remain, many in transit to new countries overseas. For the greater number, the emigrations was overseas, differing from the settlement of the Russians in the European Continent. A reason for this was that there were settled overseas thousands of persons of German descent who had relatives and friends in Germany and who stretched out a helping hand. Voluntary agencies were formed to help, but individual aid to individuals played the major role in the successful work of providing for the refugees as individuals or in families. The American Hemisphere received much the largest number, and of these the greater part came to the United States. Others went to British Dominions; Palestine was an important refuge; tens of thousands fleeing the Nazi wrath came to that country and helped in its upbuilding.

The exodus to Palestine may be called mass emigration and mass settlement, a process which succeeded largely because of the sentimental attachment to the Jewish "homeland" and partly because of the ready welcome to the emigrés, and because there were opportunities both in the country and in the cities for them to earn their living. The greater part of German Jewry succeeded in escaping to other countries in Europe or overseas in the period prior to the spring of 1938, when the problem was tragically worsened by the Nazi seizure of Austria. When that country was annexed in March 1938, the accumulated experience of five years of persecution was turned to account promptly in the attacks on Austrian Jews in a riot of personal abuse and in the legislation depriving them of property and employment. A similar procedure followed the Swastika wherever it went and new victims of the Nazi oppression sought to escape as best they could.

* * *

IT was a difficult time in which to establish a livelihood in a new land. The worldwide depression of the 1930s darkened economic prospects all over the world; opportunities for aliens were becoming fewer, and there was a conscious effort to send alien workers back to their homelands. The situation was made worse by the financial acts of the German government. At first refugees possessing property in Germany were able to take abroad with them a limited amount, what was left after special taxes and after other measures of confiscation. Either in liquid capital or in goods, a large sum was taken out of Germany in the earlier years, so that a few of the well-to-do exiles had the wherewithal to establish themselves in the countries of refuge, among them Palestine.

As the Nazi ring grew tighter this resource disappeared. All non-Aryan property in Germany was con-

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fiscated and nothing was left to the non-Aryan which he could take away with him, save a few personal belongings. Not only were they asked to pay the high costs of emigration, and sometimes charges assessed against the intending emigrant which must be settled before he would be cleared for exit, but also venal Nazi officials took the opportunity to press the foreign relatives on their own account. A man subjected to the torture of a concentration camp would be told that he could be freed and allowed to go abroad if a sum of money was paid to the right official, and he was advised to convey the request to his family that the money be made available. For the state and for the personal profit of its servants wearing the Hakenkreuz, not only were luckless people in Germany pressed to the utmost but large sums were extracted from sympathetic relatives and friends overseas.

Friendly governments were alarmed at the flood of refugees coming from Germany. Efforts were made to direct the immigration in an orderly fashion to the countries which would receive it and to persuade the German government to allow the refugees to take with them part of their property and to find a way through the use of non-Aryan property in Germany to provide funds through which it would be rendered easier to arrange for settlement in new countries. James G. McDonald, as High Commissioner, aided by the voluntary agencies, did his best in this difficult situation. Later, in 1938, at the Evian Conference, an intergovernmental committee was established by interested countries under the leadership of the President. The committee in its turn tried to arrange with the German government to secure ordered emigration, decent treatment of those remaining in the country until they could be transferred, and the use of part of the confiscated fortunes of the non-Aryan community to pay the cost of settling emigrants abroad.

The seizure of Austria so increased the number of victims that the procedure considered became impracticable, and with the coming of the war it ended. As the war went on Hitler changed his policy to that of liquidation through deportation to the East, chiefly to Poland, of the Jews remaining in Germany and Austria. From other countries in Europe there continued a stream of emigration overseas, until as each country was occupied by the German army the doors were closed to ordered emigration and only a few were able to flee, often helped by the venality of Nazi officials or their associates. *Not only were the unfortunate Germans who had found refuge in France, Belgium and Holland for a second time torn from the homes they had established, but also the native non-Aryans in occupied countries were treated as members of an enemy race and thousands sent to the prison camps and the work camps of Poland or Germany.*

Fortunately the greater number of German refugees escaped to Britain or overseas. Including those who escaped from Austria, it was estimated in 1944 there remained in Britain about 60,000, and in the United States there are about 200,000, including refugees from all occupied countries. In Latin America there may be 125,000, in Palestine 120,000, of whom about half were Germans, and in other overseas countries more than 50,000. In Sweden the estimate is 12,500; in Switzerland at least 24,000.

Those who have come to the United States have in the main become self-supporting and assets to the war economy of the country. They have entered the armed forces, many as volunteers, and those who cannot serve in uniform have worked on the land or in the munition factories or have found adjustment in other spheres of work. Life has been hard for most of them. Many came from the professional, business and financial classes, and were forced to find such means of earning their living as they could. They have, however, accepted what work they could get in their desire to become self-supporting and to establish a place for themselves and their children in this country. Even though the father and mother expected to have a hard life

in France. They cannot safely return to Spain, and yet they have not become a part of French society. They will remain part of the refugee problem unless changes in Spain make it possible for them to return, and in that case it is likely that there will be a corresponding exodus from Spain and a new refugee problem.

In eastern Europe it is to be expected that there will be a large refugee problem at the close of the war. Eastern European countries may be unwilling to accept back many of their former citizens, and on the other hand many who might return may be unwilling to do so because of fear of what may happen to them personally or because they are unwilling to adjust themselves to new conditions. In addition to the Germans from Soviet Russia, and from the Baltic republics which the Soviets have incorporated into the USSR, there are many thousands who have been sent to Germany as workers, or who have fled the advancing Soviet armies. Probably two million former Russian citizens will be found in Germany itself, in western European countries or in Poland. The Russian Government has recently declared that it will welcome their return to their homeland, but it is possible that many will be unwilling to go. Will this welcome extend to racial Germans who were Russian citizens, and will they be willing to return?

The racial doctrine of the Nazis, diligently spread throughout Europe, has created a special difficulty in the readjustment of the Jews in many of the countries. It is hard to imagine that many will want to return to Germany. Displaced Jewish nationals of western European countries will be able to return and take their place as citizens in the country, and it is to be hoped that hospitality will be extended to former residents. In eastern Europe the number of Jews has been very greatly reduced by remorseless mass executions and death from illness and privation. There have been wholesale deportations, principally to Poland, but the countries of former citizenship may be expected to provide for the repatriation of those who wish to return. All discriminatory laws against Jews, as other minorities, will of course be repealed, as already provided in the Bulgarian and Rumanian armistice terms; their property must be restored and the privilege given them of reassuming their former nationality wherever it has been taken away. Many will prefer to remain in their old homes, provided that fair treatment can be given them and an equal opportunity to share in the restoration of the country. Those who prefer to remain should be given every possible assurance of equal protection which national law and international order can bring about.

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BUT emigration will be sought. The memory of the atrocities, in cold blood and in hot blood, and fear of what may happen will certainly induce many to wish to leave their home countries. Probably infiltration in countries overseas and a mass migration to Palestine will be the most likely future of those European Jews who do not feel that they can safely remain and be received in the society of their old homelands. Palestine has been an important resource in the past. It must remain so for the future. But for German and other European Jews the way of infiltration in the Western Hemisphere, in the British Dominions or elsewhere overseas should also be kept open. Some will have relatives who can help them to get a start in life. Others may be aided by the private agencies which have functioned so effectively during many years.

To deal with the whole problem of refugees, most of whom will be without the protection of any government whether they be formally stateless or not, there exists the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, with its seat in London. Thirty-six governments are members, both European where the refugees will be found, and overseas where it is hoped they will find a home. The committee, whose head is also head of the League of Nations organization for refugees, is charged both

who cannot serve in uniform have worked on the land or in the munition factories or have found adjustment in other spheres of work. Life has been hard for most of them. Many came from the professional, business and financial classes, and were forced to find such means of earning their living as they could. They have, however, accepted what work they could get in their desire to become self-supporting and to establish a place for themselves and their children in this country. Even though the father and mother expected to have a hard life they felt that they could look forward to an opportunity for their children in a free country; to them, after their experience, this is the greatest boon.

Everyone has heard of the great scientists and writers who have enriched our national life, and the same may be said of many musicians, actors, and other artists. Our universities and schools have profited by Hitler's expulsion of men and women of brains from Germany.

The successful adjustment of the refugees in this country has been greatly helped by the laws allowing naturalization freely. Almost all have taken advantage of the privilege of becoming American citizens and therefore can face the future as persons having the rights of a citizen, a very different status than those who are merely allowed to remain in a country on sufferance and can take no part in its political life. Earl G. Harrison, former Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, has recently summed up the record of these immigrants to the United States:

"Our experience with refugees [in respect to their social and economic adjustment] has been, on the whole, most fortunate. We have gained new Americans already geared to the necessity of fighting for a democratic way of life; new Americans who, thanks to the colossal stupidity of the Nazi regime, are rapidly enriching our nation with the fruits of their skills and their brains. There can be no doubt about the goals these people share in common with the rest of our population. The most immediate one, of course, is to win the war. The other goals are the goals of any democratic people living together harmoniously and striving to give all possible life to the principles of freedom and human decency."

AFTER this war there will be upwards of 20,000,000 displaced in Europe. In Germany, on a conservative estimate, there will be found about 10,000,000. In Poland will be what is left of the hundreds of thousands of Jews deported to that country from Germany and western and southeastern Europe. Another large group consists of "racial Germans," brought from Russia, from southeastern Europe, from the Tyrol, by the German government to form part of the greater Germany of the Nazi dreams. The greater proportion of them are also in Poland, settled in the provinces which were, during the war, made part of the German Reich. Many displaced Poles are to be found in the Polish armies fighting on the side of the Allies, in Russia, in western Europe, in the Middle East, or scattered throughout the world.

For the most part these displaced people will be welcomed home by their governments. The return of such great numbers will take time, but they have a government to care for them until they can be returned and make provision for them at home. However, there will be many left who either have no country to which they can go or who do not want to return.

The stateless have no right to claim admission to any country as its nationals. It has already been suggested that the countries in which they have an established residence should continue to give them hospitality and should receive back those who have been deported or have left home because of the war. Such persons, if their loyalty is determined, should be given an opportunity to become citizens. Such as were Germans, however, should not have German nationality restored to them without their consent. Germany should be required to offer to all Germans the opportunity to re-acquire German citizenship, but it should be left free to the individual refugee to decide whether or not he will accept. It would be grotesque to compel people cast out by Germany to assume the disadvantages a lost war had brought upon the German people.

There will be few western Europeans who will not be returned to their home countries. The only considerable group are the Spanish refugees, principally functioned so effectively during many years.

To deal with the whole problem of refugees, most of whom will be without the protection of any government whether they be formally stateless or not, there exists the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, with its seat in London. Thirty-six governments are members, both European where the refugees will be found, and overseas where it is hoped they will find a home. The committee, whose head is also head of the League of Nations organization for refugees, is charged both with the care of the refugees in the places where they may be found, in improving their condition and their relations with the local government, and in helping to settle overseas those who do not find an opportunity in Europe.

It will need energetic leadership and large grants from member governments, especially the United States and Great Britain, if it is to be effective in caring for refugees or in finding homes for them. UNRRA was authorized at its Montreal meeting to care for enemy and ex-enemy nationals who were forced to leave their country because of race, religion, or assistance to the United Nations, prior to their repatriation, and to repatriate them, but it has no authority to enter the field of migration. Public money and public agencies are essential if the broad problems of the refugees are to be met, but the private agencies will be depended on as they always have been for work which public agencies cannot or do not get done.

The possibilities of migration overseas will depend very largely on economic conditions and the need for labor after the war. There are indications that overseas countries may receive industrial workers and farmers in limited numbers. Within Europe there may develop a need for workers which will absorb a large share of the refugees capable of working at the gigantic task of restoration which Europe will be facing, but the outlook for professional and business people is not good. Social changes will bear hard on these classes in Europe and openings abroad will be limited. Then there will remain a large number of the broken and the aged, many of whom can scarcely be expected to make a place for themselves in a new bustling order so different from the society in which they were brought up. It may be that the best solution for them will be to provide, temporarily at least, for their care in the countries where they may be found, at the cost of those people under whose masters they have been brought to their present plight, with the help of interested governments and of the private agencies which have given such witness of their devotion and their efficiency.