

Jul 35

Refugees.

Friends.
Miss Pye

CONFIDENTIAL

DRAFT ONLY

MEMORANDUM TO H.M. GOVERNMENT

The Society of Friends through its groups is working on the problem of refugees in France, Czecho-Slovakia, Holland, Austria and the Saar, as well as in this country. It urges His Majesty's Government to support the view that the Governments of those countries who together form the League of Nations shall take collective responsibility for refugees from a political situation that has made life impossible for them in their country of origin.

The appointment by the Assembly in 1933 of a High Commission for refugees coming from Germany raised hopes that have not been fulfilled. Even the granting of certain facilities to refugees which would have involved the minimum of expenditure by individual governments has not been accomplished, and the arrangements differ widely in the different countries.

It should be realised that the actual numbers of refugees is not enormous when considered as a problem for the 58 nations who compose the League. The estimate of the number of unsettled or destitute refugees in need of financial assistance is obviously difficult to compute, but since the total number of refugees from Germany was given in April 1934 as 63,400, of which the High Commissioner reports that 27,000 have been settled in new homes, even if 36,400 were all destitute, which is certainly not the case, the problem would not be insoluble if the governments would take a hand in solving it.

It is roughly calculated that from 8,000 to 10,000 refugees require help in settlement or maintenance, not including those who have hitherto been resident in the Saar before the Hitler régime in Germany.

There are certain difficulties which face all the Relief Committees which could at once be removed by governmental action in all countries.

I. The Granting of Public Assistance Facilities to:-

- 1) The type of case who would normally come under public assistance in the country of refuge, i.e. the cases where it is obvious that constructive efforts to place families or individuals on an independent basis will fail for reasons of health or unemployability. These cases may be numbered in hundreds rather than thousands, and would not be likely to constitute a heavy charge in any country. The small amount of money available for ^{the help of} refugees is drained away through the impossibility of leaving, e.g., a mother in poor health with six young children to die of starvation.
- 2) Cases normally able to support themselves but who fall ill.

e.g. A well known German journalist who suffered from starvation in Paris came to this country and was able to carry on her profession. Owing to previous privation she fell ill. Through the efforts of one of the Relief Committees she was admitted to a Public Assistance Hospital where she was in part paid for, and where she recovered.

The Home Office upon hearing this stated she must leave the country, upon which she had to leave as soon as she was able to travel. She was a valuable element and was not taking the place of any British worker. She is now compelled to join the group of those who wander from country to country, because having been expelled from one country no other will accept her. X

II. The Granting of Public Education Facilities to Child Refugees.

This is granted in France but refused by H.M. Government in this country. As the numbers in this country are very small the cost to the public would be practically nil, but the children would not grow up a danger through their ignorance.

e.g. O. & S.P.

Age : 9 and 11 years.

Were brought to this country because their father was in prison and their mother with two smaller children live in desperate poverty in Berlin.

Hospitality was found for them in worker's families in the North of England, where they attended a local elementary school. The relief organisation which assisted them to come over was informed that they must leave the elementary school forthwith as "the Government cannot agree to any foreign children being educated at the public expense". When hospitality was found for them where they could not attend school, their permit was extended for a short period in order that they might have good food during the winter months; but the relief organisation was informed that "the Government cannot agree in any event to these children being brought up in this country" X

III. Permission to Settle in the Country of Refuge.

The utmost confusion exists. Cases recommended as good citizens by the Relief Committees, and helped by them to a position in which they can maintain themselves, have their

permission suddenly withdrawn and are served with an expulsion order. Others who left Germany without proper papers, have fled from country to country often serving terms of imprisonment in each successive country of refuge. The British Government recognises the principle that in so far as these people are in danger of arrest they should not be deported to Germany, but there is no possibility of sending these unhappy people to any country in Europe, as they are refused admittance or imprisoned and then deported. In this way there is being created a generation of wanderers, ever more embittered against each country from which they are expelled, and contributing in no small degree to the general unrest of Europe. They would be willing to settle, but the cost of settlement exceeds the powers and possibilities of the non-Jewish Relief Committees, while the generosity of the Jewish Committees has been strained to the utmost in providing for the 32,000 cases they have settled.

IV. The Granting of the Document of Identity and Travel Without Application to the Consulates of the Country of Origin.

The grant of this document free of charge is recommended by the Governing Body of the High Commission for Refugees, but this recommendation is not being carried out.

The reason for the last clause will be made clear by the following example:-

X.M. A socialist refugee obliged to fly from Germany without proper papers. His passport was lost or stolen in Paris. He lived in France for some months, then was imprisoned in that

country. After release he fled to Belgium and Holland and was ordered in turn to leave both of these countries. Relief committees in Paris and in Holland attempted to obtain identity papers for him, but without success. He was smuggled into this country and lived from hand to mouth for some months with the help of left wing socialists, discovered by the police and sentenced to two months imprisonment for entering the country without permission of an Immigration officer and recommended by the magistrates for deportation. The Home Secretary has not carried out the deportation order, but X.M. has been ordered to leave the country within the next two or three weeks, as soon as a country of refuge can be found. The Home Office will not issue any identity papers until an application for a passport has been made to the German Consulate here and refused. By making this application X.M. may be bringing added risks to his father and brother who are still in Germany (the brother has been two long periods in a concentration camp). With his history it is almost impossible to find a European country which would take him. On the other hand he is a good workman and if it were possible to raise enough money to send him to South Africa he would almost certainly get work there. In the meantime it is a terrible waste of money to compel him to leave here for some other European country which in turn he will be compelled to leave almost immediately.

V. The Grant Without Charge of Papers Giving Permission to Remain in the Country.

France makes a charge so high (100 francs plus another 100 to 200 "amende" if they are late in the payment of the first 100) that many of the refugees are quite unable to pay it. Refugee Committees have paid large sums in all for these quite temporary permits, as well as the refugees themselves.

This country makes no charge but admits very few cases. The following is an example of the high-handed procedure at the port of entry of which the results are most serious for the refugee.

Case XY. Was established in France and landed at Dover with the intention of paying a visit to friends in this country. He was detained and crossexamined at great length, and all his letters were read. In the letters from a woman friend there were a number of references to a dog couched in the most affectionate terms. The Immigration Officer refused to believe that these expressions referred to a dog and apparently thought that they were a sort of code. He was refused permission to land in England, and the French authorities informed that he has been refused permission to land as an undesirable, which brought him into conflict with the police in France and he was thereafter obliged to leave that country also.

*by a pt re
exclusion
in re charge*

If the League of Nations would accept responsibility and would divide the refugees among its member-states, suggesting to each a quota which it might be reasonable to expect could be absorbed by it or its colonies, providing the necessary funds for settlement from a slight increase in the sum paid to the League by each member-state, the actual work of settlement might be undertaken by voluntary associations in each country, who would be responsible to the government concerned for the expenditure of the money, thus saving considerable sums in administration. The advice and help of the I.L.O. might be sought in drawing up the quotas. In making these suggestions political considerations have not been forgotten. European peace depends on good relations, and it is surely in the

X

interests of peace that the worthy citizens of any country who can no longer find a home there, should be settled peacefully and become good citizens of another country instead of roaming Europe, a spectacle of misery and despair, and of the failure of civilisation to provide any alternative.

The present High Commission has no powers to tackle any of these suggested ways out of an intolerable situation.

An important debate in the Chambre on January 29th has raised the question of refugees in France in a very definite way, and the subject of refugees from the Saar is to be raised at the meeting of the League Council in May. This would give the opportunity for the Representative of Great Britain to bring support to the view that the present situation of the refugees who have had to leave their respective countries for political causes cannot be tolerated, and must be treated as a matter of international interest that should be placed under the direction of the League of Nations as recommended in Article 24 of the Covenant.

GERMAN REFUGEES

Appeal to Private Charity

(From our Correspondent.)

GENEVA, JANUARY 21.

The High Commissioner for the German refugees, Mr. MacDonald, in a statement to the press to-day, laid stress on the unhappy situation of the German refugees.

Up to now about 35,000 refugees had been placed in Palestine and elsewhere, but there were thousands and thousands more who were in a desperate situation. He therefore addressed an appeal to private charity for the purpose of helping the refugees.

(M. G. 22/1/55)

Reffers. Jan 26.

11

Relieve distress. & denounce of Govt.
Ed to Ambarⁿ - while deprecating
we all desire, I hope, to return to all states,
sympathy & suffering in Bk tradⁿ.
outweighs all other considerations
Sufferings. Sick here. Spread abroad.
but I get pain - is I uprooted.

Seen arm^m, Mac^m, Serbs in war.
b mostly peasants. not as we.
I s educ d. saw at Paris.
same homes, shot, tastes.

Dr, lawyers, Teachers, journalists. X
+ tradespeople } Hosp. situated
Hotel. Mosa
I talked - varied opinions
pol. rly.
akin to us.
\$ (Anderson will describe

not new problem.

Jews. Pilgrims fr. Huguenots.
 to feel diff. intimate.

Existent (McDonald.)

70 m. 1/2 in France.

15 m in Cyco. 8 m intell.

x ~~Eng.~~ 45000 emigrable. £225 m. V
 Eng. Jews £200 m last yr (900 non-Jew)
~~Holland & Brit.~~

Palentine. 20 m.

Eng. academics.

Saar. interest fr.

look to fr to respect rights.

What SCF doing. Hunt £1192.

works w Fred + Intra Aide.

esp ch? nursery + chateau.

French SCF.

Assistance med? (Eisfeld to say)

Needs.

money, clo, hosp ty, Schls,

Why give? ~~Thank offering~~

Ans: How sufficient sympathy?

How - - - - - Thankful to be

free of disorders wh
cause I misery?

Imagine - driven - deprived
- money

--- ~~Thank offering~~ penniless in Paris.

End

British Acad^y.
Manuscripts.

720.

18 COMLEY STREET
WESTMINSTER.

Appeal to - 'broadminded.'
(Capable of caring for Europe
as well as Eng.
For foreigners to many here.

~~I consent to~~

"Oh - & reply."

Yes - Jewish. done well.
But many Xtn (Gentile?)

We who claim Xtn - 2

But wider. I'd Sam² didn't ask
(who reply.)

~~you're wrong no support~~
~~are in any of food etc?~~
~~are in desperate need.~~

18 COWLEY STREET
WESTMINSTER.

Tell Press

~~not anti-~~

~~Defeat to Defeat~~
Non-Jews (non) reports

Thanksgiving.

Wopa.

Expand Paris. +

What SCF does.

+ re Einfeldt

as in SCT.
Relief - too big.
✓ Times 2X
+ McDonald

POINTS ON THE REFUGEE QUESTION.

A Matter for Government Action.

When the High Commission for Refugees from Germany was set up in October 1933, the question was raised out of the orbit of private charity into that of Government action. The Resolution of the Assembly regarding the appointment of this High Commission states that the presence in several countries of refugees from Germany "constitutes an economic, financial and social problem, which can be solved only by international collaboration". The Assembly apparently envisaged ~~both~~ Government action ^{as well as} ~~and~~ action through private charitable agencies. This seems to be the most important point, i.e., the international ^{Government} aspect, and in particular the appropriateness of the League for dealing with the matter. It is not the obligation of any single nation, and yet, admittedly, it must be dealt with.

Pay a
disgrace
humanity
to civil.

2) The Responsibility of the United Kingdom. Of the 65,000 refugees from Germany, only a small proportion has found refuge in the United Kingdom. Is it not, therefore, incumbent on H.M. Government to contribute in some way funds which may be used for settling some of the ~~the~~ refugees in countries willing to receive them?

Funds
show public
and
substant

2a

Further, as regards admission into the U.K. it ~~It~~ was stated in the House of Commons (I will send you the date and the quotation later) that no difficulty would be put in the way of refugees entering the U.K., as long as they were not going to take work from British workers. This does not, however, seem to have been the common practice. Refugees have been refused admission by the immigration officers, although there was no question of their taking work.

Alternative admin. cruel & unworthy. Sup. trad. only met by (GRAND) fund. Charities. 2 OCT

means to prevent all reprisals against those suspected of having voted against union with Germany, and to quell threatening and terrorising activities on the part of individuals. At the same time, may we express the hope that the German Chancellor will see that strength lies not in repression and persecution, but in tolerance, freedom and generosity.

*I wd
imagine self
in eyes of world
by reprisals* They cannot expect friendly feelings in ~~Germany~~ other countries
~~(See Mr Eden's Statement)~~
as long as they cast their citizens out on to the charity of the outside world.

*Eden: I sh-ld be subjected to discrimi-
on etc of language race or religion.
Seen remark of - threatened / pool opinion
to we are entitled to expect the promises
will be kept!*

German refugees. Suggestions from Mr Golden.

General situation - Germany, France and other countries, the Saar.

Foundations of the problem - Loyalty of the Jews to Germany; implied undertaking of the German government to give justice; German attitude to the French; Britain's non possumus attitude.

This is the objective point of view:

Certain Germans, Aryans and non-Aryans find themselves in opposition to the present German Government. Some of these people have taken refuge in the Saar. A number of them feel that in the present state of political excitement and national exuberance, it is not safe for them to remain in the Saar.

In addition to this class a number of Sarrois have taken an active part in politics either as Catholics, Jews, Social Democrats or Communists in opposition to the extreme nationalist ideas of the majority. Hence they consider their liberty, if not their lives, in danger and they are anxious to leave Saar territory.

When these two classes of people cross the frontier, they become refugees. It is understood that the French Government is doing what it can to accommodate them. But is not reasonable for the French Government to provide all the means for the support, distribution and possibly the settlement of these people.

At a time when nationalist feelings are acute in all countries not excepting France and our own country, it is practically impossible to ask any Government to make a financial contribution towards helping these people. At the same time it is useless to rely on charity.

The Jewish community throughout the world, oppressed by their own economic difficulties, have come forward with their usual generosity to help both Jews and non-Jews, but even this tremendous effort is inadequate to tackle the problem as a whole. It is a palliative, not a solution.

The non-Jewish world has responded in a very meagre way to the ^{call} ~~call~~ for help. The world unfortunately has become too much accustomed to misery in these post-war years to be moved. The public imagination is blunted by continuous catastrophes, economic as well as political, which plunge millions of people into despair and degradation.

The non-Jewish world has not the racial incentive to charity and lacking this incentive it is naturally obsessed by the want

and misery at its own doors. How can you expect the great American public to help when it has 12 million unemployed at home? What would our own people say if the Government were to make a grant for foreign refugees?

There is however a way of raising a certain amount of money to help the refugees. (At the moment I am referring to the refugees from the Saar, but) there is no reason why the suggestion should not be extended to the other humanitarian activities of the League. Each year the League budget shows a number of economies over estimates. Would it not be possible to collect the results of these economies into one fund for use for humanitarian purposes? Could not this fund be further augmented on a £ per £ basis by the members of the League, if necessary up to a stipulated maximum sum? Practically the whole world joining in a humanitarian effort would be a magnificent answer to the cries of distress and despair which continually arise from one part or another of this harassed world.

Too many causes besides refugees?

(While I think this suggestion would never be agreed to, I think that if Lord Noel-Buxton insisted on the Government's taking up the matter it would rivet the attention of Governments, at home and abroad and in the Dominions, on the question of the refugees. L.B.G.)

her clinic, the Assistance Médicale aux Enfants d'Emigrés, about 75 per cent. of whom are Jewish. They are all in a state of urgent need. Only 27 per cent. are of normal weight, sixty per cent. suffer from digestive troubles, the consequence of privation and unsuitable food, and almost all have affections of the skin, which is one of the results of the exiguous sanitary arrangements imposed by the conditions under which they are living.

The Relief Funds.

Besides the Save the Children Fund, the following British organisations are concerned in the matter of relief of distress among German refugees:

- The Society of Friends
- The Academic Assistance Fund
- The Students' International Service
- and (for their own people) the Jewish Community.

— Trade Unions

The first three, with the Save the Children Fund and the (new suspended) German Refugees Hospitality Committee and Professional Classes Relief Committee, were formerly grouped together as the

German Refugees Assistance Fund, which no longer exists. The Jews have always been independent in their organisation.

Immigration. 3 Cases of Harshness, known to S.C.F.

The following case of apparently harsh treatment of a child immigrant may perhaps be quoted. Vouched by Mrs Ormerod, who formerly ran the Hospitality Committee and is now working with the Society of Friends.

(1) Siegfried Mangel, age 11. Father imprisoned in Germany for some time and later escaped to Czechoslovakia. Mother still in Berlin, struggling in great poverty to maintain two other children. Siegfried came to England in July last and was sent to a family at Blaydon-on-Tyne. He was a 'working-class' child and was sent to the public elementary school. In October the Home Office intimated that they could not allow the boy to be educated at the public expense and that he must go back to Germany. Permission was eventually granted for him to remain until December 31, and a further extension has now been granted till April. But the decision of the Home Office remains unaltered as expressed in a letter from Sir E. W. E. Holder-
ness,

Januar
1936

Am Dienstag, den 27. November 1934 verliess ich um 9.30 Uhr Paris, Abfahrt Gare du Nord, um über Boulogne-Folkestone nach London zu fahren. Ein Billet 1. Klasse Paris-London, einen gültigen Reisepass czechischer Nationalität Nr. 475, ausgestellt in Paris auf dem Cechischen Generalkonsulat am 9. Nov. 1934, auf den Namen Victor -Viktor Drechsler dit Palfi, Operateur, geboren am 15. ~~Oktober~~ 1910 zu Berlin, gültig bis zum 8. November 1936 für ganz Europa, ausgenommen U.R.S.S. hatte ich bei mir, ausserdem eine Carte d'Identité, gültig vom 16. I. 1934 bis zum 16. I. 36 auf den Namen Victor Palfi, Nummer 34-AC 50464, ausgestellt am 14. Juni 34 Beruf: Assembleur de film à son compte, augenblickliche Adresse: Paris 14, 60, Rue de la Santé; ein livret de mariage, ~~ein~~ Militärschein, Nationalitätsbescheinigung, Mitgliedskarte der Confédération Generale de l'Artisanat Français, Déclaration de Registre de Commerce, da ich einen Hund bei mir hatte, ein Hundebillet und eine Lizenz des Londoner Ministeriums für "Agriculture" und eine Einladung der Miss Leonora J. Carey, wohnhaft Whitley Lodge, Beulah Road, Thornton Heath, LONDON, folgenden Inhaltes: "Dear Mister Palfi, I hear you are coming to England and I shall be very glad if you will come and stay with us. It is a long time since we've seen you and I do hope you contemplate making a good long stay this time. Yours very sincerely Leonora J. Carey." - Der Brief selbst ist undatiert gewesen, lediglich das Couvert, das ich zufällig auch noch hatte, trug den Poststempel von Streatham, S.D. 16, 3.30 p.m., 24.XI. 1934.-

In Boulogne angekommen, hatte ich die erste Passkontrolle, die glatt verlief. Nach Abfahrt des Schiffes aus dem Hafen von Boulogne hatten sich alle Ausländer, d.h. alle Passagiere bis auf drei, vor der Kabine des Immigration-Officers aufzustellen. Die Abfertigung der anderen Ausländer ging in wenigen Minuten vor sich, während sich der Vorgang folgendermassen bei mir abspielte:

Zunächst füllte ich die weisse Fragekarte aus und übergab sie dann ~~nebst~~ meinem Reisepass dem Immigration-Officer. Dieser fragte mich nach dem Grund meiner Reise, worauf ich ihm sagte, dass ich eingeladen sei. Er liess sich meine Einladung zeigen, ~~und~~ studierte sie sehr lange und machte sich, auch im Folgenden, Notizen. Es schien ihm ausserordentlich zu befremden, dass die Einladung kein Datum trug. Auf seine Frage, ob ich genügend Geld bei mir hätte, schien er mit meiner Antwort zufrieden, dass ich Ffrs 5.000.- bei mir hätte. Ich erklärte auf die Frage nach der Dauer meines Aufenthaltes, ca 2 Monate in England bleiben zu wollen, um Weihnachten, Neujahr und meinen Geburtstag im Kreise meiner englischen Freunde zu verbringen. Auch diese Antwort schien ihm einleuchtend, wie er überhaupt keine meiner Antworten beanstandete. Auf seine Bitte übergab ich ihm noch meine Carte d'Identité und erhielt den Bescheid, kurz vor Ankunft des Schiffes in Folkestone mich wieder bei ihm zu melden, um die Papiere zurückzubekommen.

Als ich mich zu der angegebenen Zeit bei ihm meldete, hatte ich den Hund an der Leine. Auf seine Frage, ob dies mein Hund wäre, erklärte ich ihm, dass es der Hund einer Bekannten von mir sei, der ich ihn mitbringen wollte. "Ist das dieselbe Bekannte, von der Sie die Einladung haben?" "Nein, das ist ~~wieder~~ eine andere Bekannte". "Haben Sie von der Bekannten, die Ihnen die Einladung schickte, nicht noch andere Post?" "Das kann sein, ich will mal unter meinen Papieren nachsehen." Ich fand tatsächlich noch einen anderen Briefumschlag von einem Brief, den Mrs. Carey mir früher gesandt hatte.

inzwischen an Bord gekommenen

Inzwischen legte das Schiff an und sämtliche Passagiere verlies-
 sen das Schiff. Ich lieferte den Hund dem ~~bereitsxxxxxxxKistewarten~~
 den Agenten von Cook ab und begab mich wieder zur Kabine des Immigra-
 tion-Officers in der Absicht, dort meine Papiere in Empfang zu nehmen
 und dann gleichfalls das Schiff zu verlassen. Dort waren inzwischen
 noch drei andere Herren. Der Immigration-Officer liess sich sofort
 das Couvert ~~xxx~~ geben, das ich noch gefunden hatte, nachdem ich ihm
 sagte, dass ich keine andere Korrespondenz hätte. Einer der Herren,
 offensichtlich "der Chef", riss mir das Couvert aus der Hand, das ich
 dem I.-O. hinreichen wollte, und schrie sofort: "That is not the enve-
~~lope of this letter."~~ Obwohl kein Mensch behauptet hatte, dass der
 Umschlag zu jenem Einladungsbrief gehörte, schien die Entdeckung des
 "Chefs" unerhört belastend, denn von diesem Augenblick an behandelte
 man mich wie einen Verbrecher. Auf ein Zeichen hin kamen Matrosen, nah-
 men meinen Koffer und mich an Land zu dem Büro des I.-O. in Folkestone.
 Nach einigem Warten erschienen der "Chef" und der I.-O. vom Schiff und
 verschwanden sofort in einem anschliessenden Büro, wohin ich nach noch-
 maligem Warten gerufen wurde. Jetzt fing ein Vernör an; wieso ich zu
 der Einladung von Mrs. Carey käme, ohne doch andere Korrespondenz von
 ihr zu haben. Ich erklärte den Fall, dass ich nämlich Mrs. Carey von
 Berlin her kenne und die Einladung bei mir behalten hätte, da sie mir
 bei der Einreise von Wichtigkeit sein könne, die andere Korrespondenz
 jedoch als unwichtig nicht aufgehoben hätte. Diese Erklärung wurde
 nicht geglaubt, denn man untersuchte mich körperlich und dann ~~in~~
 Koffer nach Briefen von Mrs. Carey, ohne Erfolg. Der zweite Teil des
 Vernörs ging um den Hund. "So, das ist also nicht der Hund von Mrs.
 Carey? Das ist ja merkwürdig. Wem gehört der Hund denn?" - Ich nannte
 den Namen der betreffenden Bekannten und musste auch ihre Adresse an-
 geben. Daraufhin entdeckte man in meinem Notizbuch, dass dort derselbe
 Name mit einer anderen Adresse eingeschrieben war. Ich erklärte auf
 Befragen, dass die Dame gerade jetzt umgezogen sei. "Das ist ja sehr
 merkwürdig!" Man durchsuchte meine Sachen nach Briefen von dieser Da-
 me und fand einige Briefe, die fast ausschliesslich von dem Hund hand-
 ten und die ich aufgehoben hatte, um mich während der Reise nach diesen
 Angaben zu richten. "Sie glauben wirklich, dass wir Ihnen glauben, die
 Briefe handeln nur von dem Hund? Da steckt doch was dahinter, soviel
 und solange schreibt man doch nicht über einen Hund!" Das Vernör über
 den "Hund" dauerte mindestens eine Stunde, denn man wollte absolut
 nicht glauben, dass der Hund, den man doch bei mir gesehen hatte, nur
 ein Vorwand war, um ungestört eine Korrespondenz über einen anderen
 "Hund" führen zu können.

Von diesem Augenblick an wurde jede Zeile meiner Papiere, meines
 Notizbuches, meiner Briefe usw. genauestens untersucht und - verdächtigt.
 Man fand einen uneröffneten Brief, den ein Herr an die Besitzerin des
 Hundes geschrieben hatte, der den Hund in pension gehabt hatte. "Was
 steht in dem Brief?" - "Ich habe keine Ahnung." - "Sagen Sie es lieber
 vorher!" - "Ich habe nichts zu sagen, denn ich kenne den Inhalt des
 Briefes nicht." - Der Brief wurde geöffnet, er handelte naturgemäss
 von dem Hund. "Das ist ja sehr merkwürdig!" - Man fand in meiner
 Brusttasche ein Stück Eisen, das ich seit Jahren als Talisman bei mir
 trage. "Was machen Sie denn mit dem Eisen?" - "Das ist ein Talisman!"
 "Das ist ja sehr merkwürdig!" - "Sie heissen Drechsler, dit Palfi, un-
 ter welchem Namen waren Sie denn schon mal in England?" - "Ich war noch
 nie in England." - "Und das sollen wir Ihnen glauben!" ✓ Man las

Vin Paris

V Bitte werden

Telephone : Museum 5204.

Telegrams :

Saviniana, Westcent,
London.

The Save the Children Fund

40, GORDON SQUARE,

LONDON :: W.C.1.

President: THE RIGHT HON. LORD NOEL-BUXTON

Hon. President: HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF ATHOLL, K.T.

~~Vice President: THE LADY WEARDALE~~

19. 11. 1935

Harshish & Benon immigrants

I have seen the Jewish people & they
think they can let us have some quotable
cases in the course of a few days.

EF.

POST



CARD

10 P.M.
19 FEB
1935



The Royal. Inst.

Card Noel - Annet

18 Cowley Street

SW 1

Telegrams : Enhearten, Norwest, London

Telephone : Museum 6334

Cablegrams : Enhearten, London

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS
Germany Emergency Committee

(Appointed by Friends Service Council and Meeting for Sufferings)

FRIENDS HOUSE, EUSTON ROAD, LONDON, N.W.1.

Chairman :
GEORGE B. JEFFERY

Secretary :
BERTHA L. BRACEY

Treasurers :
CARL HEATH
WM. F. NICHOLSON

February 21st, 1935

Lord Noel Buxton,
18 Cowley Street,
S.W.1.

Dear Lord Noel Buxton,

I am sending you another case, which although not so bad as the others, is interesting and really the poor child felt she had been through a very unpleasant experience.

We have some other very bad cases, but in talking it over with Miss Anderson we have come to the conclusion that they are rather too out of date. to quote.

Yours sincerely,

Mary Ormerod

per H.G.
MARY ORMEROD

Enclosure.

*I have written
to ask the facts
(approximate) N.A.*

Gannaway
Hampton in Arden
Nr. Birmingham

February 22nd/35

Dear Miss Anderson,

I cannot give you the exact date on which our young German friend and her girl friend, had such a bad welcome at Harwich, as my family cannot agree about it. But both she and the friend were hindered from landing as they had to strip and have a medical examination in the presence of a stewardess. I had not heard of any such procedure before and have not since. It was particularly unnecessary in this case as our friend is the daughter of an eminent Frankfurt doctor, and obviously perfectly healthy. Moreover she was coming here as a student (London School of Economics) and not to take up a job. She is a very merry person, and made light of it at the time but I expect it caused a bad impression at her home. She is married now and back in Germany.

This is all I can tell you, but it is enough to want such totally unnecessary happenings to cease. I do not suppose our young friend would say ~~she was badly~~

'Badly treated' because as I say, she is temperamentally not the sort to get worked up. But a similar experience unexpectedly inflicted upon another girl, possibly suffering from sea-sickness as well, might be very damaging & undesirable.

Both girls were examined.

Yours sincerely,

Kathleen R. H. Head.



FROM THE PRESS AND PUBLICITY DEPARTMENT
THE SAVE THE CHILDREN FUND

FOR PREVENTING CHILD SUFFERING AND IMPROVING THE
STANDARDS OF CHILD CARE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

PRESIDENT : THE RIGHT HON. LORD NOEL-BUXTON

40, GORDON SQUARE :: LONDON, W.C.1

TELEPHONE : MUSEUM 5204

SECRETARY FOR PUBLICITY AND RESEARCH : EDWARD FULLER

February 18 1935

Dear Lord Noel-Buxton,

Thank you for your letter. It is very gratifying that the Home Secretary should sit up and take notice as a result of your reference to cases of harsh treatment of refugee immigrants. The cases which I quoted to you (doubtless the same as Miss Anderson gave you) were described to me by Mrs Ormerod, of Friends House, and she expressed the view that whereas the officials concerned were often fairly lenient, it is the Home Secretary himself who, in an excess of patriotism, adopts a policy of excluding the greatest possible number of refugees.

I enclose herewith some of the special personal appeal letters for your signature. Perhaps you will kindly return them to me for despatch. There are a good many more to follow.

I also send half a dozen copies of the memorandum for your own use. Other copies are available should you want them.

Yours sincerely

Edward Fuller

Miss Julia Gelernter. 19 years of age, entered the country at Harwich on October 11, 1934, with a letter of invitation from Mary Ormerod. She came to the country to learn English shorthand and typing and the English language, having been previously employed by the Comité International pour le placement des intellectuels réfugiés at Geneva, and she was invited to this country at their request in order to obtain the extra-secretarial training. Miss Gelernter was subjected to a long cross-examination and very stringent medical examination. The officials expressed doubt as to whether she could be allowed to enter the country owing to her delicate appearance. She asserted vigorously that her appearance was due to sea-sickness, not to delicate constitution and finally she was allowed to enter.

This treatment is, however, exceedingly upsetting to a sensitive young girl.

Telegrams : Enhearten, Norwest, London

Telephone : Museum 6334

Cablegrams : Enhearten, London

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS
Germany Emergency Committee

(Appointed by Friends Service Council and Meeting for Sufferings)

FRIENDS HOUSE, EUSTON ROAD, LONDON, N.W.1.

Chairman :

GEORGE B. JEFFERY

Secretary :

BERTHA L. BRACEY

Treasurers :

CARL HEATH

WM. F. NICHOLSON

February 26, 1935.

Dear Lord Noel-Buxton,

At Miss Anderson's request I have looked up some of the old cases in the files of the Professional's Committee, and I am enclosing particulars of five cases.

I would like to point out that in the case of Köbel the man is really a nazi and ^{particularly} not very desirable. Therefore, I did not take up this case myself.

Yours sincerely,

Mary Omerod

The Right Hon.
Lord Noel-Buxton,
18, Cowley street,
S.W.1

TELEPHONE
SPEEDWELL 2149

6, ERSKINE HILL,
GOLDERS GREEN, N.W.11.

20th Feb. 1935.

Dear Lord Noel-Buxton,

It does seem difficult to get many recent cases such as you want for the

Home Secretary. I believe the

reason is that people have been warned not to come to England. Mrs.

Ormerod tells me she always warns

people who want to come over of the difficulties they are likely to encounter.

Even people coming for quite a definite purpose and a limited period

2
have to go through a regular inquisition.

For instance Dr. Eissfeldt, although she had a return-ticket and ~~was~~ an invitation to stay with Miss Marshall, didn't think she could have got past the authorities at Newhaven if she hadn't had a letter from Mr. Golden about the lecture.

She was questioned terribly closely.

As for Mrs. Ormerod's 1st. case, Drechler, he had a Czech passport but all the same he was a refugee

3
TELEPHONE
SPEEDWELL 2149

2
6, ERSKINE HILL,
GOLDERS GREEN, N.W.11.

from Germany. The examination he
underwent seems to have been most
ridiculous. I enclose his account
of it. The immigration officers
seem to have behaved utterly
spitefully and arbitrarily. Sending
a warning to the French authorities,
which resulted in his not being
allowed to go back to Paris was
surely an excess of zeal.

I rang up Mr. Norman Bentwich
people being turned back
about this matter and she tells me

4
that she has no objection to your letting

X the Home Secretary that her organisation,

the German Refugees Hospitality Committee

had a lot of trouble over their
cases. It has now closed down & her files are at
~~cases~~ Friends' House. I will send you more

X particulars about them tomorrow. Perhaps

you As regards the girl who had an
invitation to stay with Miss Wigglesworth,

Miss Wigglesworth is a friend of Mr.

Buxton's and of all of us, so we

could easily get more information for

her if necessary. She lives at Accrington.

I think your care is sound, but of
course we don't hear of about all the
cases who are turned back! Mr. Rose Anderson

TELEPHONE
SPEEDWELL 2149

6, ERSKINE HILL,
GOLDERS GREEN, N.W.11.

25.2.35.

Dear Lord Noel-Baxton,

I am afraid I have delayed sending you
a final letter on the subject of the Refugees
in vain. I had hoped to get some
more striking cases. But one I was
waiting for, that Mr. Gibbs had told
me about, arrived this evening and
is not strong enough.

Mrs. Ormerod's cases seemed to
me good, ~~however~~, though there are
hardly enough of them. The earlier
ones are rather inaccessible and of
course they are rather ancient.

I am writing to ask the date regarding

GOLDERS GREEN, N.W.11.
& ERSKINE HILL.

3282
TERRACE
S.W.11

the case Mrs. Heady writes about.

The Friends are going ahead on the matter of the Deputation. They would have liked you to be on it, and possibly to have headed it, on behalf of the SCF. I believe I ought to have urged this more strongly at the SCF Council & not been cowed by Mr. Golden!

I mean to go into the matter of the allocation of the money for the German Refugees with Mr. Golden.

I have put my typed notes in the last person though they are probably inadequate.

Yours sincerely
Nora Anderson

Telegrams : Enhearten, Norwest, London

Telephone : Museum 6334

Cablegrams : Enhearten, London

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS
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CARL HEATH

WM. F. NICHOLSON

February 18, 1935.

Dear Lord Noel-Buxton,

At the request of Miss Mosa Anderson, I am sending you full particulars of the cases quoted in Miss Pye's memorandum which she sent you recently before you raised the question of German refugees in the House of Lords. I have not had any very recent complaints about the treatment at the ports, but I think that is partly because people know of the numerous difficulties and do not attempt to enter unless they have plenty of money in their pockets or definite business to bring ^{them} into the country. We have had so many unpleasant experiences that we always write to people that they must not come unless we can get permission from the Home Office beforehand, which is exceedingly difficult to obtain.

I would be very glad to send you any more particulars which you may require, but I am afraid I have not any more really recent cases, and if we quote old ones they will inform us that, owing to previous representations made by the Society of Friends, the Immigration Officers were instructed to be more lenient.

Yours sincerely,

Mary Amnerod

The Right Hon.
Lord Noel-Buxton,

18, Cowley street,
S.W.1.

The Position of Refugees entering the U.K.

Draft

The position seems to be as follows:-

The Jewish immigrants who come in under the Jewish Refugee Committee are allowed to enter the country, it being recognised that, in case of distress, they will be supported by their own community and will not be a charge on public funds.

Political refugees, on the other hand, have to pass a very strict cross-examination, especially if they are Jews, even if they have invitations to stay with friends or relations over here. Mrs Bentwich of the German Refugees Hospitality Committee (which has now closed down) and Mrs Ormerod of the Professionals Assistance Committee, both tell me that they had on their books cases of refugees who had definite invitations to stay with friends, and who were not intending work, but who were refused admission.

While I do not wish to take up these cases, many of which are old and have been the subject of correspondence with your Office, I wish to point out that ^{these cases} the fact that they occurred has an immediate bearing on the present position.

The Friends Germany Emergency Committee and the Professionals Assistance Committee, aware of the difficulty in passing the Immigration Officers, have latterly followed a policy of dissuading refugees from attempting to come here.

Nevertheless, some cases still occur and have been brought to my notice (see papers attached).

It is moreover probable that other cases of the same sort occur, but are never brought by the rejected immigrant to the notice of the Relief Organisations. I enclose particulars also about two girls who were subjected to disagreeable medical examination, though they do not come under the category of Refugees.

O Send facts re work at Paris.

German Refugees. First draft of notes for Lord Noel-Buxton's speech in the House of Lords, February 6 1935

Certain aspects of the situation in general with special reference to the children:

Emigrés from Germany represent relatively small proportion of non-Aryan population - the intellectuals. In the main business people and tradesmen still there. Au fond they still love Germany as their Fatherland - still Germans before Jews. As an eminent British Jew has said (Mr// Leonard Montefiore, but do not quote name): Most of them ask nothing but to be allowed to live in peace in the land where their fathers have lived and died for generations and wherethey hoped their children would live to become good citizens of the German nation.

Those remaining in Germany now faced with the question whether it is fair to their children to leave them open to the humiliation which is inevitably their lot in Germany, or better to risk the perils and hardships of reguee life abroad. Definite

and virulent anti-Semitic teaching introduced into school texts in German schools. [Can be elaborated with examples if required.]

France, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia have shown no little generosity in opening their frontiers to the refugees and in permitting and encouraging relief work. But how long can this generous attitude be expected to continue? Inevitably a tax on the countries concerned.

The expected ingress from the Saar will increase the demands on France. An outside ~~number~~ estimate of the number is 10,000. including Jews (perhaps a thousand of the 5,000 there may feel that they have to leave, and between 1,500 and 2,000 former emigrés from Germany into the Saar who will now have to move on.) Nevertheless, a considerable ^{further} tax on French generosity.

X
40m?

The agreement between France and Germany come to in June and December last year for the safeguarding of ~~the xxxrefugeesxxxx~~ non-Aryans remaining in ~~xxxxxxx~~ the Saar ^{is} for one year only. After that the German Government will be free to ~~enact~~ ^{enforce} to the full the non-Aryan

clauses for the elimination of Jews from public and professional life.

England.

We have not opened our frontiers to the refugees in the same way as other countries. Indeed our traditional care for the welfare of victims of political and religious persecution has in the main found expression only in the relief efforts of such voluntary ~~efforts~~ organisations as the German Refugees Assistance Fund and, so far as the children specially are concerned, the Save the Children Fund. If the Commons could vote a generous sum for the alleviation of the sufferings and for the settlement of the refugees, that would clear our conscience to some extent in this matter. The fact that voluntary gifts have been forthcoming indicates that there is a section of public opinion which could be counted on to approve this course.

X [Examples of gratitude for British aid expressed to the Save the Children Fund could be quoted, and of the effectiveness of

relief work which has been carried out ~~at~~ with very limited
recourses.]

Political measures.

9
✓
under

So far as the Saar is concerned it is of urgent importance that the undertaking given by Germany to France, to refrain from religious or racial discrimination for one year after the plebiscite, should be continued indefinitely. In short, full citizenship should be sought on behalf of those who elect to remain in the Saar, that is probably 4,000 or the original 5,000 Jewish population - see ante.

This desire is not dictated by any feeling of hostility to Germany. Germany would injure herself in the eyes of the world by exerting rigorous measures against the inhabitants of the Saar. Nevertheless the situation is a matter of international concern and responsibility.

German refugees
TRANSLATION

Dr. O. Hollaender,
43, rue de la Ferme,
Neuilly-sur-Seine. ~~18 COWLEY STREET~~
~~WESTMINSTER.~~

Neuilly S., 6 January 1935

Dear Miss Anderson,

Many thanks for your friendly lines of January 2nd, and good wishes, which we truly need. For 1934 was a very sorrowful year to us, and the future is even darker. We heartily reciprocate your good wishes. May this year bring many happy results of your tireless work, and may it bring health to you also. Many thanks also to Lord Buxton for his kind help, which really rescued us from the most difficult situation immediately.

The ladies at the Quakers' have again advised me by telephone to write to the gentleman whose parents were discussed as possible tenants of our room. I naturally did so at once, but the gentleman has not given me any answer. Since all other prospective tenants have fallen through, (it is apparently quite impossible to think of a boarding-house, which alone would enable us to take the house), we are back at the same point as before. I have taken care to give notice of termination of the lease on the 1st April 1935, and unless a miracle happens, in which I can no longer believe, we must on that date give up the house, and there-with the little home-bakery carried on by my wife, and I must look out anywhere for a small cheap room to hire, and take my wife and the ten-year-old Christopher there. My daughter is at present in Germany, and may perhaps remain there, in view of our sad position here, although again I cannot see how she can live there. My mother, who is 75 years old and ill, cannot keep her any longer.

In these circumstances it would naturally be a great relief to us if my wife could really go to Waterford. She finds it, moreover, difficult to endure a large city, and would only too gladly take up work in a small town. It would naturally then be very desirable for our Christopher to be with her there. For she clings very much to the child, and he again is very dependent on his parents. If I had him here with me, that would be no great luck for him, since I do not at all know whether I can keep myself alone,

(especially as the removal of my library into a small room is scarcely possible, and therefore receipts from that will fall off also), and my small earnings would certainly not suffice for us both. What, therefore, is to become of the child? Perhaps Böhm has already left the school in Waterford, or at least will soon leave it, so that perhaps for a quite short interval some way out might be found. I think that perhaps some kind-hearted family might be found, who could take him in the interval, and he might use this period to learn English, so that he can then take part more easily in an English school. At the worst, I must try (perhaps with the help of the Quakers here) to get him into a family here until a place is free for him at Waterford. Since he is a very industrious scholar, (after three months of school here he was ninth out of forty-two scholars), Mr. Marsh will take pleasure in having him.

There still remains the question of our little John. On this matter my wife will write you a line. Once more I thank you from my heart for your warm interest in us.

Yours very truly,

O. Holländer.

O. HOLLAENDER
43, Rue de la Ferme, NEUILLY-sur-SEINE
TÉL. : MAILLOT 25-03

Neuilly S., 6. Januar 1935.

Hochgeehrte Miss Anderson!

Vielen Dank für Ihre freundlichen Zeilen vom 2. Januar und Ihre guten Wünsche, die wir wirklich gebrauchen können. Denn 1934 war für uns ein zu trauriges Jahr und die Zukunft ist fast noch düsterer. Wir erwidern diese Wünsche herzlichst. Hoffentlich bringt dies Jahr Ihrer unermüdlichen Arbeit viele schönen Erfolge und erhält Ihnen Ihre Gesundheit! Vielen Dank auch noch an Lord Buxton für seine schöne Hilfe, die uns im Augenblick wirklich aus der aller-schwierigsten Lage heraushilft!

Die Dame bei den Quäkern hatte mir nochmals telefonisch geraten, an den Herrn zu schreiben, dessen Eltern als Mieter für unser Zimmer in Frage kamen. Ich habe dies natürlich sofort getan, aber der Herr hat mich nicht einmal einer Antwort gewürdigt. Da auch alle andern Vermietungsaussichten sich zerschlagen haben (an einen Pensionär, der allein uns ermöglichen würde, die Wohnung zu halten, ist scheinbar gar nicht zu denken), sind wir also noch auf demselben Standpunkt wie vorher. Ich habe vorsorglich die Wohnung zum 1.4.35 gekündigt, und wenn nicht ein Wunder geschieht, an das ich nicht mehr glauben kann, müssen wir zu diesem Zeitpunkt die Wohnung und damit auch die kleine von meiner Frau betriebene Hausbäckerei ganz aufgeben, ich muss sehen, ein ganz kleines billiges Zimmer irgendwo zu mieten und meine Frau und den 10 jährigen Christoph anders unterzubringen. Meine Tochter ist z. Zt. in Deutschland und wird vielleicht wegen der traurigen Verhältnisse hier dort bleiben, obwohl ich auch da noch nicht klar sehe, wie sie da leben will. Meine Mutter, die 75 Jahre alt und kränklich ist, kann sie nicht lange behalten.

Unter diesen Umständen wäre es natürlich eine Erlösung für uns, wenn meine Frau wirklich nach Waterford kommen könnte. Sie kann ohnehin die Grossstadt schlecht vertragen und würde eine Tätigkeit dort in der Kleinstadt nur zu gerne übernehmen. Natürlich wäre es dann sehr erwünscht, wenn unser Christoph mit ihr dort sein könnte. Denn sie hängt sehr an dem Jungen, und dieser wiederum hängt sehr an seinen Eltern. Wenn ich ihn hier bei mir haben würde, wäre das für ihn sicher kein Glück, denn ich weiss ja nicht mal, ob ich mich allein ernähren kann (zumal die Fortführung meiner Bibliothek in einem kleinen Zimmer ja kaum möglich ist und daher auch diese Einnahme wegfallen wird), für uns beide aber würde mein minimaler Verdienst bestimmt nicht ausreichen. Was soll also mit dem Jungen werden? Vielleicht hat bis dahin Böhm ja auch die Schule in Waterford verlassen, oder wird sie jedenfalls bald verlassen, sodass für eine ganz kurze Zwischenzeit vielleicht irgend ein Ausweg zu finden wäre. Ich denke, dass sich vielleicht eine gutgesinnte Familie finden lässt, die ihn in der Zwischenzeit aufnehmen kann, und er diese Zeit benutzt, um englisch zu lernen, sodass er dann in der englischen Schule auch besser mitkommt. Schlimmstenfalls müsste ich hier (vielleicht mit Hilfe der Quäker hier) versuchen, ihn in einer Familie unterzubringen, bis ein Platz in Waterford für ihn frei wird. Da er ein sehr fleissiger Schüler ist (er ist hier nach 3 Monaten Schule 9. unter 42 Schülern geworden), wird Herr Marsh auch Freude an ihm haben.

Nun bleibt noch die Frage mit unserm kleinen Johannes offen. Über diese Frage wird meine Frau noch eine Zeile an Sie richten. Ich möchte Ihnen nochmals für Ihr warmes Interesse herzlich danken!

Ihr ganz ergebener:

O. Hollander.

Dec 28. 11

PLIGHT OF THE PERSECUTED IN GERMANY

LEAGUE OFFICIAL'S WARNING

500,000 PEOPLE BEING CRUSHED

PLEA TO WORLD TO AVERT TRAGEDY

An appeal to world opinion on the subject of religious and political persecution in Germany is made in a letter issued to-day by Mr. James G. McDonald, League of Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. He states that conditions in Germany have developed so catastrophically since his appointment in 1933 that the League should reconsider the entire situation.

More than half a million people are being crushed, he claims, and private philanthropy can only mitigate a problem of growing gravity and complexity.

Mr. McDonald, who is resigning tomorrow, was appointed to organise international aid for Jewish and other refugees from Germany. He is an American professor, chairman for several years of the Foreign Policy Association of New York, and vice-chairman of the National Council for the Prevention of War.

"CANNOT REMAIN SILENT"

FEAR OF CALAMITY

Mr. McDonald's letter is addressed to M. Avenol, Secretary-general of the League. He states:

"Convinced as I am that desperate suffering in the countries adjacent to Germany, and an even more terrible calamity within the German frontiers, are inevitable unless present tendencies in the Reich are checked or reversed, I cannot remain silent.

"When domestic policies threaten the demoralisation and exile of hundreds of thousands of human beings, considerations of diplomatic correctness must yield to those of common humanity. I should be recreant if I did not call attention to the actual situation and plead that world opinion, acting through the League and its Member-States and other countries, move to avert the existing and impending tragedies."

"ESCAPE BARRED"

Mr. McDonald's criticisms of Germany include the following:

"The intensified persecution (since 1933) threatens the pauperisation or exile of hundreds of thousands of Germans—men, women, and children—not only Jews, but also the 'non-Aryan' Christians treated as Jews, and Protestants and Catholics who, in obedience to their faith and conscience, dare resist the absolute will of the National Socialistic State.

"Tens of thousands are anxiously seeking ways to flee abroad. But except for those prepared to sacrifice the whole or greater part of their savings, the official restrictions on export of capital effectively bar the road to escape, and the doors of most countries are barred against impoverished refugees.

"It is now clear that the effectiveness of the High Commissioner's efforts was weakened from the beginning by the compromise which was agreed upon at the time his office was set up—that is, the decision to separate it definitely from the League. This compromise was accepted in order to avoid the veto of Germany, which was then an active member of the League.

"Progress has been made during the last three years in settling the refugees from Germany. Of some 80,000 who have already left the Reich, approximately three-fourths have now found new homes—more than half of these in Palestine—or have been repatriated to their countries of origin.

"This accomplishment has been primarily the work of the refugees themselves, and of the philanthropic organisations—Jewish and Christian—whose devoted labours have been ceaselessly carried on in many parts of the world. Probably not more than 15,000 refugees now remain unplaced.

"But the number may be increased many times by new flights. Not only the Jews, who now number about 435,000, but also tens of thousands of Christian 'non-Aryans' who are classified as Jews, have lost their citizenship, been disfranchised, and made ineligible to hold public office.

CHILDREN PERSECUTED

"Relentlessly the Jews and 'non-Aryans' are excluded from all public offices and any part in the cultural and intellectual life of Germany. They are subjected to every kind of humiliation. Neither sex nor age exempts them from discrimination. Even children do not escape cruel forms of segregation and persecution.

"It is being made increasingly difficult for Jews and 'non-Aryans' to sustain life. In many parts of the country there is a systematic attempt at starvation. . . . The victims of the terrorism are being driven to the point where, in utter anguish and despair, they may burst the frontiers in fresh waves of refugees.

"Again, as so often during their long heroic and tragic history, the Jewish people are used as the scapegoat for political and partisan purposes. The National Socialists level against them charges of the most outrageous and untenable kind. They ignore all the facts of the continuous loyalty of the Jews in Germany.

"The moral authority of the League and Member States must be directed towards a determined appeal to the German Government in the name of humanity and of the principles of the public law of Europe. They must ask for a modification of policies which constitute a source of unrest and perplexity in the world, a challenge to the conscience of mankind, and a menace to the legitimate interests of the States affected by the immigration of German refugees."

"TRAGIC WITNESSES"

Mr. McDonald adds to his letter an exhaustive appendix giving details of discrimination against "non-Aryans" in all departments of life. "Its psychological and spiritual effects can hardly be overstated," he declares.

"The number of suicides, the distortion of minds and the breaking down of bodies, the deaths of children through malnutrition, are tragic witnesses."

THE REFUGEE QUESTION

League Assembly Decisions

Need for Voluntary Aid Continues

THE ORGANISATIONS CREATED by the League of Nations on behalf of refugees will terminate at the end of 1938.

That was the outstanding decision—or, rather, confirmation of an earlier decision—of the fifteenth Assembly of the League, held recently in Geneva, in regard to the refugee question. Judge Michael Hansson, President of the Nansen International Office, took once more the opportunity to stress the tragic position of the refugees and to make it very clear that the problem would continue long after the date fixed for the liquidation of the Nansen Office. Some form of international protection of the refugees must, he said, be maintained. He remarked, too, the disparity between the task which the Office had to accomplish and the financial resources at its disposal. So far from expenditure diminishing, more money would inevitably be required during the period of liquidation.

Over 800,000 Refugees

On the basis of an enquiry into the statistics of various countries the Nansen Office estimates that there are about 700,000 refugees in the category which falls within the competence of the Office—Russian, Saar, Armenian, and Assyrian. In addition, there are, on the estimate of Sir Neill Malcolm, High Commissioner for Refugees from Germany, approximately 100,000 Jewish and 15,000 other of these refugees, and about 15,000 Jews and 2,000 others still in a precarious situation.

One of the most perplexing phases of the refugee problem is the situation of Russian refugees in the Far East, and the Assembly approved an expenditure of 15,000 Swiss francs to enable the Nansen Office to send out a mission—consisting of one man and one woman—to study this question. Judge Hansson laid emphasis on the fact that hitherto no adequate contact had been established with the large number of refugees in that area. This proposal was approved by a large majority, the dissentients taking the view that, as the Nansen Office would be liquidated by the end of 1938, the practical results likely to be achieved by the despatch of this mission would not justify expenditure upon it.

A proposal to ask the League of Nations for a grant of 400,000 Swiss francs to settle refugees from the Saar in Paraguay was carried by a majority of twelve votes to seven. Judge Hansson explained that the refugees from the Saar were almost all in France, but were no longer concentrated in camps; they have scattered throughout the country and the circumstances of their existence are in many cases precarious. The Committee felt that if 200 families could be sent out to Paraguay the problem would be solved. An experimental party had already been sent. Among the minority against the proposal was Lord Cranborne, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, who said that the British Government was obliged to maintain its opposition to the proposal on grounds of principle. It took the view that the League should not accept responsibility for the settlement of refugees.

The report of the Committee on International Assistance to Refugees, which was the basis of the Assembly's consideration of the matter, made it clear that there were three main elements in the problem—status, relief, and settlement. The question of status was essentially an international problem, and the Assembly recommended that the Governments concerned should adopt the Convention of October 28, 1933, on this matter (see *THE WORLD'S CHILDREN*, July 1936, for full text) and the Provisional Arrangement of July 4, 1936, concerning refugees from Germany.

Voluntary Effort Still Needed

The other outstanding questions in the Committee's view were relief and settlement, and these depended largely on the economic situation. The League could assist, in some degree, in the co-ordination of the efforts of private organisations in the work of settlement and relief, but it could not infringe the principle that the League budget should not be asked to provide funds for schemes for the settlement of refugees.

This means, in effect, that voluntary organisations like the Save the Children Fund must continue their work of ameliorating the lives of those who are refugees, whatever the organisations of the League may be able to do towards the ultimate settlement of the problem.

EMERGENCY NURSERY SCHOOLS

Superintendents in Conference

Striking Improvement in Children's Health

THE HEALTH OF THE CHILDREN was one of the most important subjects discussed at the annual conference of superintendents of the Save the Children Fund Emergency Nursery Schools held at Rachel McMillan Training College, Deptford, on October 3rd.

The schools are all in poor districts, and the children suffer from the prolonged unemployment of their parents and unsatisfactory living conditions. Nevertheless, all superintendents had encouraging general reports to give, and the statement of one that 'improvement in the health of children subsequent to admission is quickly noticeable and invariably maintained' was typical. All schools reported gains in weight of underweight children and gave numerous examples. Here again the fact that the children gain most soon after they enter the schools and then go steadily on is especially significant. At one school the average gain during one term is from one to one-and-a-half pounds, and the children who do not gain are those who do not attend regularly. A particularly good comment on the usefulness of the nurseries is that in some places the children lose weight during their month's holiday in the summer.

Every school has striking records of recovery from the effects of severe undernourishment and from rickets and special cases of improvement in particular bad conditions. The effects of the former are generally shown by general sores, boils, etc., which quickly clear up in nursery schools. One superintendent said that nasal catarrh and coughs decrease and skin sepsis and other sores hardly ever occur in children who have been in the school for over a year. Others stated that epidemic illnesses were less often caught by nursery school children than by others, and that the children who caught them were less seriously ill. Special conditions due to underfeeding and poverty and lack of fresh air and sunlight also improve quickly.

Kenneth is a good example. On admission he could scarcely walk; his knees were pitifully bent and he could not stand erect. After ten months he walks and runs with the other children and can hold his own with any of them. His knees are practically straight and his legs, which were so thin, are now covered with fine firm flesh. Such

improvements are brought about by the regular good food, fresh air and rest, and the training which are part of nursery school routine.

Other improvements, however, are due to particular care. Medical examinations take place regularly. Every child is examined on entering the school and at intervals afterwards, besides those who are examined because they seem to need special treatment, so that bad conditions are treated and, more important, prevented. Defects of all kinds are treated, sometimes by the medical officer of the school or a nurse, and sometimes through the co-operation of the Local Education Authority or a local clinic or welfare centre. Teeth, eyes, and ears are looked after, in some cases sunlight treatment is given, and one school even has the help of a masseuse. Here again there are spectacular results. One child suffering from infantile paralysis had lost the use of one arm and could not walk; now he is normal. However, in spite of the fact that welfare centres and local authorities nominate children needing special care and attention to the nursery schools, one superintendent remarked that the nurse who attends once a week had often no work to do in the summer.

Local Authorities Co-operate

Another question discussed by the Conference was the interest shown in, and the help given by the Local Education Authorities to the schools. In several cases opinion has been hostile to the schools before they started, though other authorities were neutral. Now members of the Local Education Committee sit on all school committees; two committees have as a member the Director of Education and six members have been appointed to another by the Local Education Committee, two being Inspectors of Schools. The active interest taken, however, varies exceedingly. One Local Authority lends the ground on which the school is built and gives a grant of £50 a year, and another prepares all Board of Education returns and accounts and purchases equipment for the nursery school at its usual discount for schools. A third provides the cheap milk supplied to elementary schools and a fourth lent a bus to take the children for a holiday. Co-operation is

Refus (Wink)

Dec 2 '36

1

T. Hansen. (was re-termining a. b. of depression).

'36 Grant made. for Saar. & Paraguay.
refusal.

recommndⁿ to ratify Convⁿ of '33.

order by mandate in '38.

Convⁿ. binds both to use Hansen passport.

— to be expelled. & a refuse ret.

— give permit to work if 3 yrs or less.

— social services as to most favored nation.

'36 Eng promised to ratify. (still then only Norway, Poloa
& Czechos.)

Relief by ports. when Wrangel came to Court^e.
ports gave most.

Conclusion.

These are matters upon which great masses of
opinion ^{with} require to be assured. I submit that their ^{with} demand
is reasonable, and is every whit as loyal to the real
interests of the country as is the attitude of those
who unconditionally support the Government's policy.

I hope that the Government will be able to give ~~ix~~
definite assurances, such as to gain a support which will
be really general. *only so, get under the Government*

Refers.

II German.

Convⁿ in '33 (nominally outside of bec
I was in it.)

'36 Integritⁿ Coups. prov^l arrangement; in Convⁿ:

Volume of "Arrang^t." (like Convⁿ)

To Issue cert^{if} like Kaiser's passport.

- if domicile.

- access to counts.

Eng^l sd wd adhere. (coups next yr
v Malcolm.)

to make it a Convⁿ.

[Eng^l write 1 2 Convⁿ].

Covenant and Treaty.

There are one or two other points ~~xx~~ which I would give as examples of the need for re-assurance.

COVENANT

AND

TREATY

ONE is the removal of legitimate grievances represented by the association of the Covenant with the Peace Treaty. Mr. Eden said at Geneva that the Government favoured separation of these two instruments; but the Government is now claiming renewed leadership in affairs, and here is a matter in which we want to lead.

RIVERS.

We ought many years ago to have insisted that every provision of the Treaty which was a legitimate grievance to Germany should be removed. One such grievance was with regard to river navigation. This has now been disposed of; but I suggest that, had we acted as we should, the recent injury to the tradition of legality would have been avoided.

WAR

GUILT

CLAUSE

A further point is the incorporation of the admission of WAR GUILT in the Treaty. Everybody is entitled to his own opinion as to the responsibility for the War; but there is no justification, in the absence of a proper legal verdict, for a forced adhesion to an ex parte ruling on the matter.

References to this view should be formally ~~deleted from~~
~~the Treaty~~ repudiated, whether they occur in the Treaty or in the correspondence accompanying it.

18 COWLEY STREET
WESTMINSTER.

- 4 -

what would happen in other circumstances.)

This failure only confirms what we knew before, viz. that success in this case was made almost impossible because France was at the moment the warm friend of Italy, and while France was disloyal, England was half-hearted. We can hardly discard a vital system because this one case was abnormally difficult. Moreover, in spite of the difficulty *there was considerable* ~~it showed~~ elements of success. A trade boycott was organised on a great scale. Few had thought such a sanction possible.

A pessimistic mood is therefore not rational. It ignores past successes, e.g. the stopping of two Balkan wars, which

Respect Pray

entirely master family inf. fears
Tyrone. bed. dying.
TU Sec got him into hosp
Chⁿ milk stopped

4 times expelled. 1

9 chⁿ - p^r deed. wth d^r of Am^e.

Aliens
(not published)

July 19th, 1940.

Dear Sir,

May I suggest that a clear statement on the Government policy in regard to enemy aliens would help to allay the feeling of uneasiness caused by the secrecy which surrounds the question. The public is puzzled by actions which seem to be taken in response to clamour. Proof of a reasoned policy would be welcome.

We can trust the Government to take all necessary steps to protect the country from undesirable aliens. But we are in danger of departing from the British tradition of protection to the victims of political persecution.

The points on which it would be desirable to have an authoritative statement are:

- (1) The separation of families, particularly of husbands and wives. It may have been necessary, as an emergency measure, to intern the men first, but it should be possible now to intern married couples together.
- (2) The unreasonably short notice frequently given to those to be interned. Methods of arrest, sometimes in public places, have been callous in the extreme. Many interned persons who have built up a business over a period of years, are given

3. The Burden too heavy on France.

The refugees have poured into France in the greatest number.
 (Ex. What you saw in October 1933). The organisations there
 have not been able to cope with the problem. The French
 Government is endeavouring to expel a large proportion of
 these people (See debate in the French Chamber).
 The problem of dealing with these people must be dealt with
 internationally.

On January 21st, the High
 Commissioner said that "while 35,000 refugees had been placed
 in Palestine and elsewhere, there were thousands and thousands
 more who were in a desperate situation." The problem of
 refugees from the Saar has still to be faced. The Times
 on January 21st, 1935, wrote: "France, helpful as she is
 proving herself, cannot be expected to bear the whole burden.
 Private charity may afford some partial relief, but properly organised
 relief can come only through the League". The British
 Government ought to take its part by shouldering a share
 of the expense involved.

3a
 2 clamped
 2/10/35

X

2
 X

(97!)

50+ active - 1 said. What I said.

3

4. The Need for Christians & Co-faithful

Jews done well. mainly brain workers. pitiable. fail to chⁿ to face humiliⁿ. record of man Jew. from Geneva. Davidson. not fed.

Why give? bed a refugee. + on faced. On report. 20 Jews. 97

At the same time, there is a case for a special appeal to the generosity of Christians. According to Lord Cecil "while 20% of the refugees are non-Jewish, only 3 or 4 per cent of the relief money comes from non-Jewish sources".

The Report of the High Commission says:

"Among the non-Jewish exiles, in addition to a relatively small number of Communists, are many of the political and intellectual leaders under the German

Republic - Democrats, moderate Socialists, pacifists, liberal professors, journalists, Catholic priests and Protestant pastors. For these no adequate funds have been available. Hundreds of them are now reduced to penury in France, Czechoslovakia, the Saar, Switzerland, and elsewhere. Surely the necessities of these men and women, among whom are some of the finest intellectual representatives of democratic Germany, should stir the sympathy and enlist the generosity of liberal and democratic people irrespective of creed".

5. German Responsibility

While stressing the need for redoubled effort on the part of private organisations, and for the active cooperation of H.M. Government and other Governments, it would be unrealistic to ignore the source of the whole trouble - the outlawing by the German Government of whole sections of its population on the ground of race, religion or political opinion. The German Government has promised to safeguard the rights of the minority in the Saar. We must hope that it will find

not internal affair. -2- not make needles, books.

WIMBLEDON
3497

~~What for given?~~
~~Why given set?~~

9, BERKELEY PLACE,

WIMBLEDON,

S. W. 19.

4. IX. 36.

Dear Lord Noel-Buxton

re Refugee Committees in Prague

There are four committees dealing with
different categories :-

1. The Jewish Committee
2. The Social-Democratic Committee
(Sonder?)
Prague II. Narochi Palac (4).
3. Democratic Committee
Prague I Prekopky 17
4. The Salda Committee

(Intellectual, middle-class)
I used to correspond with Mrs. Löwenbach on it.)

I enclose some old statements which
I drew up about them, some time ago,
which I believe are still fairly
accurate, and also letters from Dr.

WIMBLEDON
34-97

9, BERKELEY PLACE,
WIMBLEDON,
S. W. 19.

Yaro Kose, who is still in touch with the work, and his card, with his address.

The main change of recent date is the formation of a coordinating committee, (chairman; - Mme. Schmolkova, a Jewish woman whom I know; ~~and~~ Friends

representative; - Dr. Linkova, Dobro- uskeho, 14, Prague 7.)

Dr. Yaro Kose is in touch with this committee and I would advise you to see him first and you might suggest that he should put you in touch with Dr. Linkova, or, if she is not accessible, with Lieba Androsova

P.T.O.

30019 PLACE
WIMBLEDON
2 W 10

It will be very interesting if you
get some up-to-date information
about the work.

WIMBLEDON
2 W 10

Miss Pye
was there this summer and she has
told me a certain amount about
the committees. But I don't suppose
it is worth while to try and tell
you what you will no doubt be
shown. —

With best wishes for an interesting
time.

Yours sincerely

Rose Anderson

Prag. Refees

6 Erskine Hill
N.W.!!

Dear Lord Noel-Buxton

The correct address of Dr. Linkova is as follows:-

Dr. Jarka Linkova,
Dobrovskeho 14,
Prague VII.

I gather that Dr. Kose is very often away from Prague,
and that when he is away, she is the best person to see.

Yours sincerely

Rose Anderson

Praha 12/11/36¹.

The Rt. Hon.

Baron Noel-Buxton, London,
via the British Embassy, Prag.

Sehr geehrter Herr Baron!

I read in the Prager Tagblatt
of your noble appeal for the
children of German refugees.
You may be assured that your
intervention will be valued
by all ~~my~~ refugees as an
outstanding act which can-
not be enough appreciated.
Allow me only to draw your
attention to a circumstance
which is little known, but
nevertheless demands particular
consideration:

A considerable number of refugees are living here who, in spite of extreme distress, cannot make any claim on the committee, since, out of consideration for their relatives who have been compelled to remain in Germany, they must avoid being entered in the refugee lists. (Not long ago someone was in fact betrayed by a German Secret Police agent, and it appears that there were unpleasant consequences for his relatives in Germany.)

3.
It is therefore necessary to find
a way to help émigrés who
from the cause explained above
do not dare to claim the
help of the refugee organisation.
And this could only be done
through a foreign consulate
or some purely Czech authority,
in which the refugees who
presented themselves would be
safe from any indiscretion or
betrayal.

Please take this state of
affairs into consideration.
You will be certain of the grati-
tude of all those affected.

Mit vorzüglicher Hochachtung
ganz ergebenst

Alfred Benjamin (?)

Praha II Jungmannova 9 (or 19?)

Praha. I. 12. XI. 36

Hochwollbornen
Herrn Baron Noel-Buxton, London
via Englische Gesandtschaft Prag.

Sehr geehrter Herr Baron!

Im Morgen Express las ich von Ihrem hochherzigen Ansuchen um die Kinder
der deutschen Emigranten. Sie dürfen versichert sein, dass die Emigranten
von allen Flüchtlingen als eine hervorragende und nicht gering anzusehende
Tat gewürdigt worden wird. • festsetzen Sie mir mir noch auf einen Umstand
aufmerksam machen zu dürfen, der wenig bekannt ist und doch der be-
sondern Beachtung bedarf:

Es leben hier noch eine Anzahl Flüchtlinge, die trotz drückender Nothlage
die Komites nicht in Anspruch nehmen können, weil sie mit Rücksicht
auf ihre in Deutschland zwangslos gebliebenen verwandtschaftlichen Angehörigen
die Aufnahme in die Emigrantenlisten vermeiden müssen. (Es ist ja auch
tatsächlich vor einiger Zeit ein Verbot durch einen Kaiserantrag an den
Kaiser vorgekommen, der für die Familienmitglieder in Deutschland man-
gachene Folgen gehabt haben soll).

Es müsste also der Weg gefunden werden, auch den Emigranten zu helfen,
die aus den oben angeführten Gründen nicht wagen, die Hilfe der Flücht-

linge-

stellen in Anspruch zu nehmen. Und dieses Erg. kommt mir über ein aus-
ländisches Konsulat oder eine rein technische Behörde schein, bei denen
die sich meldenden Emigranten vor jeglicher Indiskretion und Tenat ge-
schützt wären.

Pithe, nehmen Sie sich dieser besonderen Sachlage an, für Dank aller
dieser Betroffenen wird Ihnen gewiß sein.

Mit vorzüglicher Hochachtung

Sehr ergebene

Alfred Büchmann

Fahrstr. Jungmannsweg 9

In die Englische Freundschaft, Prag,

mit der Bitte um freundliche Weiterleitung an

Herrn Baron Noel-Bucator.

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC CONFERENCE.

London, Oct. 11, 12, 13, 1920.

RESOLUTIONS.

1.

In consequence of information gathered from all sides as to the prevailing distress and of the serious views expressed by the experts of different countries concerning a threatened collapse of credit, trade, and industry in Europe, this Conference considers that urgent measures should at once be taken in the hope of averting some of the inevitable misery and suffering which must result in this and other lands.

This Conference considers that the conditions precedent to an adequate economic reconstruction of the world are: a cessation of military operations in Eastern Europe and elsewhere, with the consequent reduction of expenditure on armaments; the cessation of all blockades and restrictions for purely political purposes upon economic intercourse; the enlargement of the area of Free Trade by specific Treaties between States, particularly those of the late Austrian, Russian, and Turkish Empires.

2.

This Conference is of opinion that to prolong the period during which any country is unable to know the full extent of the claims that will be made by the Reparation Commission is fatal to the restoration of productivity. Revision of the Treaty should have as its aim the restoration of production throughout Europe, without which no solution of the general problem of the increased cost of living can be found; and such restoration cannot take place unless the sum fixed for reparation is a reasonable one and generally admitted to be within the power of the countries concerned to pay. The clauses concerning Reparation, the supply of coal, the delivery of shipping, &c., should be immediately revised in this sense.

3.

This Conference is gravely concerned with the existing financial situation which now shows symptoms of complete breakdown, not only in Russia and in the Central Powers, but in the Entente Nations as well, and desires to direct the attention of the

B

peoples and Governments of every nation to the urgent need of co-operative measures in order to create the credits which Europe requires to restart her industries and to restore her productive power.

This Conference desires to record its conviction that the necessary international credit cannot be obtained until the reparation payment by Germany has been fixed at an amount within the power of Germany to pay and within the amount which the countries that can grant the credit expect her to pay.

This Conference is convinced that the financial danger cannot be overcome until measures are taken to restore production in Russia and to restart trade relations with that country.

This Conference desires to record its conviction that Europe cannot obtain either credit guarantees or the credits themselves until the various nations reduce their military outlays, make a real effort to curtail their governmental expenditure, endeavour to restore equilibrium to their budget, and thus indicate their intention to stop the issue both of paper currency and of governmental loans for other^{than} productive purposes.

This Conference desires to express its appreciation of the effort of the League of Nations to avert the imminent financial danger by means of the Brussels Conference, and trust that the League will take further steps to avert the danger by inducing the whole world to participate in the work of reconstruction and to consent to the creation of some system of collective credit by means of which the necessities of Europe can be satisfied.

The Conference considers that the League of Nations should itself act as trustee for any international loan that may be created and for the expenditure of the credits obtained by such loans for productive purposes, and not in order to meet governmental expenses or budget deficiencies.

4. This Conference urges the desirability of appointing an International Council, representative of the countries concerned, to advise as to the production and distribution of food, coal, and other indispensable raw materials, with a view to ensuring the satisfaction of vital needs and to securing the largest possible production throughout the world.

5. This Conference is of opinion that the League of Nations can never be an effective instrument for reconstruction until it has admitted all States desirous of membership. The Conference further urges that having so admitted all such States, the League's first activities should be directed towards assisting in the economic reconstruction of the world by agreement, and in the provision of a Court before which all questions justiciable in their character may be brought for decision.

6.

This Conference, while recognizing the need for making tropical products available for the outside world, demands that this shall only be done with adequate safeguards for the interests of the native races concerned. It protests against the policy of differential duties in Crown Colonies, mandatory districts and spheres of influence. It protests against the parcelling out of these countries as part of the spoils of war, and calls upon the Members of the League of Nations to assert their unquestioned obligation and right to define the degree of authority and control in the mandated areas.

PUBLIC MEETING RESOLUTION.

October 13th.

This meeting demands that the Peace Treaties be revised in order that all obstacles to economic reconstruction be removed, that all nations be admitted to the League of Nations, that the League be authorized to pledge its collective credit in order to overcome the economic and financial breakdown with which the world is now confronted, and that by means of the credits it obtains the League shall secure the proper distribution of food, coal, raw material, and other materials essential to reconstruction.

This meeting asks the Fight the Famine Council to request the British Government and the Secretary of the League of Nations to receive deputations which are hereby authorized to bring before them the previous resolution, as well as the other resolutions, passed by the Conference.

FIGHT THE FAMINE COUNCIL,
PREMIER HOUSE,
150 SOUTHAMPTON Row, W.C.1.

THE FIGHT THE FAMINE COUNCIL FOR ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION.

PREMIER HOUSE, 150 SOUTHAMPTON ROW, W.C.1.

ECONOMIC COMMITTEE :

Chairman of Committee :
Lord Parmoor.

Vice-Chairman :
Mr. E. Backhouse.

Sir GEORGE PAISH, Mr. NORMAN ANGELL, Mr. NOEL BUXTON,
Mrs. C. RODEN BUXTON, LADY COURTNEY, Mr. G. D. H. COLE,
Mr. G. P. GOOCH, Mr. J. A. HOBSON, Mr. J. L. HAMMOND,
Miss E. M. LEAF, Mr. PERCY A. MOLTENO, Mr. J. M.
KEYNES, LADY PARMOOR, Mr. BASIL WILLIAMS, Mr.
LEONARD WOOLF, Rt. Hon. F. D. ACLAND, M.P., Captain
WEDGWOOD BENN, M.P., Mr. H. WILSON HARRIS, Sir SYDNEY
OLIVIER, Col. WEDGWOOD, M.P.

Treasurer :
Mr. Noel Buxton.

Secretary :
Miss Sheepshanks.

COUNCIL :

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Mr. William Archer.
Mr. H. Baillie-Weaver.
The Hon. Lady Barlow.
Rev. Canon Barnes.
Earl Beauchamp.
Sir Hugh Bell.
Lord Henry Bentinck.
The Lord Bishop of Winchester.
The Lord Bishop of Chelmsford.
The Lord Bishop of Lichfield.
The Lord Bishop of Peterborough.
The Lord Bishop of Oxford.
Lord Buckmaster.
Mr. Noel Buxton.
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Rev. John Clifford, D.D.
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The Dean of Worcester.
Rev. E. C. Dewick.
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Principal Garvie, D.D.
Mr. G. P. Gooch.
Mr. Alexander Gossip.
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Mr. Philip Snowden.
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Sir D. M. Stevenson.
Sir Charles J. Tarring.
Rev. Tissington Tatlow.
Mr. R. H. Tawney.
Mr. Raymond Unwin.
Miss Ward.
Lord Weardale.
Mr. C. Hagberg Wright.
Mr. Robert Young, M.P.
and others.

*Jessie speech
(Meyfield)*

3. TUESDAY MORNING

This Conference is gravely concerned with the existing financial situation which now shows symptoms of complete breakdown, not only in Russia and in the Central Powers, but in the Entente Nations as well, and desires to direct the attention of the peoples and Governments of every nation to the urgent need of co-operative measures in order to create the credits which Europe requires to restart her industries and to restore her productive powers.

This Conference desires to record its conviction that the necessary international credit cannot be obtained until the reparation payment by Germany has been fixed at an amount within the power of Germany to pay and within the amount which the countries that can grant the credit expect her to pay.

This Conference is convinced that the financial danger cannot be overcome until measures are taken to restore production in Russia and to restart trade relations with that country.

This Conference desires to record its conviction that Europe cannot obtain either credit guarantees or the credits themselves until the various nations reduce their military outlays, make a real effort to curtail their governmental expenditure, endeavour to restore equilibrium to their budget and thus indicate their intention to stop the issue both of paper currency and of governmental loans for other productive purposes.

This Conference desires to express its appreciation of the effort of the League of Nations to avert the imminent financial danger by means of the Brussels Conference and trust that the League will take further steps to avert the danger by inducing the whole world to participate in the work of reconstruction and to consent to the creation of some system of collective credit by means of which the necessities of Europe can be satisfied.

The Conference considers that the League of Nations should itself act as trustee for any international loan that may be created and for the expenditure of the credits obtained by such loans for productive purposes, and not in order to meet governmental expenses or budget deficiencies.

Ec col to advise re food, coal, independent nations

*How often beaten
no 2 points for all for lit. w.
These words more*

War

THE TRUTH MUST

5/

Remedies.

A. Pol ✓ Hungary. Rum^r destroyed machine?
Chaos for Paris & lackness.

of kind at Paris.

France. criticize bec internat port removed & control. + I port is gone.

2) Re Col (ie Repair Comⁿ)

a. re available supplies - Advise Col.

b. re shortages (coal) Control.

c. re both - Credit. Paish. Credit.

26 mln go where needed most. Maintain missions.

B. Charity. a drop - but Hoover (moral) symbol of reconcilⁿ + organisⁿ? aim keeping children alive.

What? to save for little is common. but this Catastrophe Danger fit + few know of it.

Obtuse v stupidity v Humanity v Commonsense.
For person Hoover

THE "SAVE THE CHILDREN FUND."

THE TRUTH MUST BE TOLD.

Mr. HOOVER (High Food Commissioner for Europe).

"Yes, I fear that Europe, and the World, is actually in the presence of the gravest danger which has overtaken mankind. It is useless to attempt to disguise this danger. For my part, I am one of those who believe that Truth has in itself a supreme value; that it is useless to varnish it; that the truth must be told however dark and agonising it may be." (Mr. Hoover on the shortage of coal and other necessities. "Le Matin," Paris, August 17, 1919.)

[N.B.—Lack of coal means arrest of production and transport, unemployment, high prices, destitution, closing of hospitals, etc.]

GENERAL SMUTS.

"A new life, a new spirit is imperatively necessary. . . . The Continent which is the motherland of our civilisation lies in ruins . . . with its peoples broken, starving, despairing . . . seeing only red through the blinding mist of tears and fears. . . .

"It is the most awful spectacle in history, and no man with any heart or regard for human destiny can contemplate it without the deepest emotion. No, it is not a case for hatred or bitterness, but for all-embracing pity, for extending the helping hand to late friend and foe alike, and for a mission of rescue work such as the world has never seen. . . ." (Farewell message to the British people,

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

"We cannot exaggerate the importance of the appeal for our immediate help. Let the greatness of the need be realised and the British people will, I am persuaded, do their utmost to stay the scourge. Thousands of homes, millions of children, are already suffering. The Peace Treaty has been signed, the blockade has been lifted. What is required is practical evidence of the pity which fills our hearts." "Canterbury Diocesan Gazette," August, 1919.)

Dr. ARTHUR T. GUTTERY (as Pres. of Nat. Free Church Council.)

"The condition of Central Europe is appalling. The first duty of the new peace is to rescue millions of men, women and children from the threat of starvation . . .

"After a careful study of official evidence, I am convinced that Central Europe is in danger of a famine which may involve all nations in a common ruin. Statesmanship enforces the impulse of charity to save even our enemies from a fatal doom. **The best instincts of our British race will respond** to this cry for help. Our churches will not fail in this crisis. . . .

"The cry of the hungry can never be foreign to the followers of the Son of Man." (Letter to the Press, July, 1919.)

Mr. HOOVER.

"I commend to the efforts of all English-speaking people the starving young children. There are at the present moment more than **three-and-a-half millions in Europe who will die** if they are not provided with milk. This will have to be done by private charities, such as the noble scheme inaugurated in the columns of the "Manchester Guardian." . . .

"The British public is perhaps the most charitable in the world. **As soon as they realise the real position**, I have no doubts about the success of the Fund." (Mr. Hoover's interview with the "Manchester Guardian," September 4, 1919.)

Sir WILLIAM GOODE (Head of official British Relief Missions and member of Supreme Economic Council).

"The real casualty list of the war can only be ascertained if a census be taken in Europe three years from now of adolescent phthisis, infantile and secondary rickets, and other diseases directly attributable

to want of proper food. **Organised voluntary efforts** such as Mr. Hoover's child-feeding scheme and your own project, can only touch the fringe of this mantle of suffering. Nevertheless, they **are invaluable.**

"The one efficacious remedy is to provide all these countries with credits with which they can buy raw materials and thus give work to their population as well as stability and value to their currencies." (Letter to the "Save the Children Fund," September 3, 1919.)

Mr. C. K. BUTLER (Head of British Relief Mission at Vienna).

"From everything I hear, there is still a crying need for help for the children whose condition is alarmingly bad. We want milk and coal very badly indeed, besides lots of cod liver oil and other medical foods. I am sure that the coming winter will bring with it **more distress than the winter of 1918**, despite the better food conditions prevailing in this city. So, all you can allocate to Vienna will be gratefully received and well applied." (Letter to the "Save the Children Fund," September 1919.)

"What you have already done has been and will be of **incalculable benefit to the suffering.**" (Letter to the "Save the Children Fund," July 1919.)

BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

"What private charity can do is very little, **BUT IT OUGHT TO BE DONE**, both for our own sake, since we cannot afford to be callous, and for the sake of those with whom every little supply of help means the knitting of a link of human sympathy. . . . Perhaps the 'Save the Children Fund' . . . may be the best of all ways.

"We have got to think of whole generations of children cut down to perhaps half their number, stunted by want, swept by pneumonia, tuberculosis and rickets, starvelings in body and mind. If people only knew! Truly, **Lazarus is laid at our national gate** full of sores." ("Winchester Diocesan Chronicle," September 1919.)

LORD HENRY BENTINCK, LORD BUCKMASTER, Miss MARY MacARTHUR, Mrs. REGINALD McKENNA.

"This great work is the **first life-saving scheme of international scope**, and it may prove to be the greatest mission that compassionate men have ever embarked upon. It can only succeed if people of all classes, parties and beliefs will unite and ally their efforts with those of the Government." (Letter to the Press on the work of the "Save the Children Fund," August 1919.)

THE POPE AND THE SAVE THE CHILDREN FUND.

"His Holiness accords wholehearted approval to the generous and timely undertaking of which he has been informed, and expresses the most urgent hope that it will meet with universal support. With deep emotion he would recall for this occasion the sublime words of the Saviour, whose love for little children was so great: 'Whoso shall receive one such little child in My Name receiveth Me.' Matthew, Ch. 28, v. 5." (Letter to "Save the Children Fund," Sept. 17, 1919.)

Support "The SAVE THE CHILDREN FUND."

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OCTOBER 2, 1920

OUR TOPPLING EMPIRE

CAN IRELAND BE SAVED?

Mr. Winston Churchill once warned the British people against the advent of a Labour Government because he considered that through incompetence it would "cast away the Empire which British genius had built up." The process of dissolution has already set in in Ireland—under the present Government, of which Mr. Churchill is a member; not under a Labour Government. "Day by day," says *The Times*, "the tidings from Ireland grow worse." What is virtually a state of active warfare exists between the Government in Whitehall and the Irish people, and no man dare predict the unhappy consequences that may ensue. The American colonies were lost to the British Empire as the direct consequence of the lack of sympathy, the obstinacy, and short-sightedness of our governors, and their inability to understand the conditions in America and the psychology of the colonists. It seems almost as though history were about to repeat itself from precisely the same causes, and that a dangerous and complicated situation is to be rendered almost, if not completely, irremediable by the futile and reactionary policy which the Government persists in pursuing.

Not only in Labour circles, but also in quarters that are supposedly animated by the friendliest sentiments towards the present Government, warnings have been uttered regarding the hopelessness and ineffectiveness of official policy, and the very consequences which we read of day by day were foreshadowed as the inevitable results of that policy. No political party which has the welfare and interest of the nation at heart, and no public-spirited and enlightened citizen, would desire such unhappy consequences to arise in order to prove the accuracy of their forecasts, to enable them to say "We told you so." But bad as the present position undoubtedly is, it may be even worse in the near future. The follies of the past are being overshadowed by new follies, especially by the indulgence of some of the military in reprehensible practices which are called "reprisals," of the responsibility for which the Government cannot divest itself.

If the American illustration affords a warning, the case of Canada may be regarded, so far as there is any approximate similarity, as an historical proof of how a dangerous and menacing situation, if properly and sympathetically handled, may be prevented from developing into a humiliating disaster. The settlement of the Canadian rebellion by Lord Durham's scheme of self-government, liberal as it undoubtedly was at that period of Canada's development, saved Britain from a second humiliating reverse, and the Empire from another great territorial, economic and political loss. It exemplified the value of self-government as against imperial dictatorship.

The realities of the situation in Ireland to-day cannot be explained away by ministerial speeches, or official communiques. Nor, on the other hand, is it possible to overstate the seriousness of the position, or to exaggerate the urgency of the need for a genuine offer of self-government. Any proposed solution must be wide and generous in proportion to the urgency of the need and the justice of the Irish demand. It may already be too late to avert disaster; soon it will be too late.

Viscount Grey's proposal is a very substantial advance on anything that the Government has yet offered, though it falls short of the Labour position in certain important points. Briefly, his suggestions are that the British Government should continue to perform the function of government in Ireland during a period not to exceed two years, during which the Irish people themselves should draw up their own scheme of self-government under which they should be as free as the peoples of the great self-governing Dominions to settle for themselves how their country is to be governed; that for Great Britain and Ireland there can be only one foreign policy, one army and one navy, and that in these matters there can be no separation. The Labour Party has already declared for Ireland's right to complete self-determination as against a limited scheme of Dominion Home Rule, and Mr. Arthur Henderson early in the present year pronounced himself in favour of self-determination without any enforced and unagreed restriction. In terms of actual politics, Viscount Grey merely postpones this recognition for a period of two years, since the great self-governing Dominions are part of the British Empire because they choose to be, and not because they are compelled by the military power of Great Britain. That is precisely the demand of the Irish—freedom, not compulsion.

**THE NECESSITY FOR THE
COUNCIL OF ACTION**

It has been suggested in some quarters that there is no longer any need for the Council of Action and that its work is completed. Such a suggestion can only be made in ignorance of the facts of the case. The Council of Action was formed to work for an ending of the state of war with Russia so far as this country was concerned. This object has not yet been achieved. Not only has the full peace demanded not yet been concluded, but the actual sending of military supplies against Russia has not ended. The document received in this country from the Secretary of the International Transport Workers' Federation is of grave importance, and it is impossible not to take a serious view of it. The Secretary "regrets to have to report that in spite of the wonderful solidarity displayed by railwaymen and transport workers in the various countries, great quantities of ammunition and guns continue to reach Poland." He goes on to state that (1) numerous ships laden with munitions have made the passage from the North Sea to the Baltic via the Kiel Canal and thence to Danzig; (2) that at Danzig their cargo has been discharged by Entente soldiery; (3) that "it is evident from this that ships laden with war material are allowed without hindrance to leave the ports of West Europe and Great Britain."

Now, it should be remembered that since August 28th Marshal Pilsudski has openly declared his defiance of the Entente frontier line. There is no longer any question of the independence of Poland or of protecting its independence. It is purely a question of an aggressive war against Russia to destroy the Russian power. Such a war could never be countenanced by the people of this country. The unanimous resolution of the Labour Movement declared for the cessation of all

military intervention, direct or indirect against Russia. So as long as this indirect intervention of supplies and munitions goes on, the work for which the Council of Action was created remains to be completed, and the Labour Movement will not rest until it is completed.

INDUSTRIAL NOTES AND NEWS

WOMEN AND THE SHIFT SYSTEM.

The opposition which labour is showing to the extension of the two-shift system to women and children under the Women, Young Persons and Children (Employment) Bill has been strongly supported by welfare workers. The Welfare Workers' Institute recently made an enquiry among its members, most of whom have had experience of shift work, as to its effect on the health, general morale, efficiency, home life, education and recreation of the workers. The ratio of opinion returned showed 66 per cent. against the system, 27 per cent. for, and 7 per cent. undecided. The opinions expressed by the welfare workers are of particular importance as they come face to face with the evils which the shift system breeds. On the health side, it was contended that digestive and nervous disorders result from the necessity of readjusting mental and physical habits each week, that the worker's physique is undermined by lack of sleep, working by artificial light is detrimental to eyesight, and that working in an atmosphere vitiated by sixteen hours' continuous use is extremely unhealthy. Another very important danger they point out is that employers will tend to take advantage of the shift and employ later in the day those children who have to attend continuation classes in the morning. Too much emphasis cannot be laid on the importance of this danger. Other points raised were that the worker's output is diminished owing to fatigue at night and low vitality in the morning, add burdens to the housewife who has to cook two sets of meals and the tendency for working mothers to employ the day when she should be resting to housework. The main reasons given by supporters of the shift system were that it increased output, offered the benefits of fresh-air exercise in daylight, gave better shopping facilities and gave married women more time to devote to household duties.

THE DEATH OF STABILISATION.

The clause from the Wages (Temporary Regulations) Act of 1918, which stabilised wages and which was included in the Industrial Courts Act, expired on the last day of September. The *Times*, commenting on this, stated that "industries will become as free as they were before the war to adjust wages without external interference." They do not indicate, however, which way they will be adjusted. We have a shrewd suspicion that this event will be hailed by some people as freedom to keep wages down without external interference. But, says the *Times*, there is the Industrial Court, "which has been established as an independent tribunal for the adjudication of disputed claims." Here, again, a number of people will disagree with that organ of the Press. We need only mention the recent engineering demand, which received very short shift from this impartial tribunal. The Engineering Union is now considering the refusal to submit any future wage claims to the Industrial Court. A further statement made by the *Times* is that the Whitley Councils have helped materially in bringing industry through the reconstruction period with relatively little disturbance. And yet hardly a day has passed since the Armistice which has not witnessed a strike or dispute of some kind in the industrial world.

GOVERNMENT ARREARS.

The Government's long-talked of plans for the settlement of ex-soldiers on the land have just been published in a circular which the Ministry of Agriculture has addressed to County Councils in England and Wales. It appears that the Government has acquired since January, 1919, 213,185 acres, of which 101,265 have been let to 6,670 applicants; in addition, 746 men have been settled on land acquired prior to that date. The balance, 111,920 acres, will probably provide holdings for about 7,460 of the 14,350 applicants who have already been approved. Apart from the 6,890 approved applicants who are not provided for, new applications are being received at the rate of about 1,500 a month. Judging from the present achievement they will probably have to wait a long time.

THE DEBT OF HONOUR!

Some people have very short memories. And it was a long time ago when we promised the men who were fighting for liberty that they would return to a land fit for heroes. Of course, it is quite possible that the trawler owners who have been boycotting the ex-service fishermen's scheme to secure employment did not believe this. A Minesweepers' Co-operative Trawling Society has been established, of which Rt. Hon. T. R. Clynes is chairman, to give work to ex-service fishermen. Two hundred steam trawlers were bought from the Admiralty, and a scheme was drawn up on co-operative lines. The trawler owners at North Shields decided, however, that they did not like the idea at all, and planned to institute a boycott and prevent the scheme from working. They have consented, however, to negotiate with the Minesweepers' Co-operative Society, but the terms of the *treaty* are not yet known.

EMPLOYERS AND ACCIDENTS.

Olympia, the scene of many employers' exhibitions, has just witnessed a "Safety First" Conference convened by benevolent employers in conjunction with the Home Office. Lord Leverhulme was conspicuous in the gathering. Several proposals were put forward which have a direct interest for Labour. The first proposal was that "an efficient organisation must start at the top." Why not at the bottom, when, by the control of the workers, accidents could be eliminated; that is, of course, always supposing that the workers' recommendations were carried out. The second proposal is that there should be one man appointed—apparently by the management—to supervise all safety work in a factory. Labour has experienced welfare workers during the war appointed from above. The results should make them demand that any such "safety supervisors" should be appointed by the workers in the factory. The third proposal is that co-operation by the foremen is essential. This is illusory unless the foremen are appointed by the workers. Why not, you may ask, is the co-operation by the workers not essential? Ask Lord Leverhulme, fresh from his Port Sunlight strike. The fourth proposal is that a safety committee should be established consisting of representatives of the management and the workers. This is all very well, but Labour should demand complete control over its own affairs. This, we suppose, is the result that has emerged from the mass of after-the-war reconstruction and co-operation between Capital and Labour. Even Lord Leverhulme, that most "benevolent" of employers, has discovered it impossible, and so governs all his recommendations with the first principle of capitalist management, "an efficient organisation must start from the top."

side it came. He declared that it was wrong to brand as a traitor everyone who did not see eye to eye with organised Labour. He denied that the International Labour Office under the League of Nations, with which the Confederation was collaborating, meant a coalition of classes. It was a mechanism for international control, the principle of which was to be found in the Soviet Charter. He went on to say that the Trade Union International was working for the modification of the economic clauses of the Peace Treaty. It had sent food trains to Vienna, and if it had not done so to Russia, it was simply that it had not been able to do so. It had fought against the White Terror in Hungary and opposed the sending of munitions to Russia; if it had not been successful in the latter case, it was because the working-class masses did not respond to its appeal. M. Jouhaux added that the candidature of Mr. W. A. Appleton for the Presidency of the Trade Union International had not been proposed by him or by M. Oudegest, but by a delegation of Trade Unions. The concluding passage of his speech was a passionate declaration that society must get out of the poisoned atmosphere which it was breathing. He said that if he had chosen, he could have been a minister, and could be one to-morrow if he liked, but that was not important to him. He wanted to achieve a plan, and believe that the workshop would replace the Government.

After the adoption of the Report, a delegate proposed a manifesto signed by representatives of 100 Trade Unions, protesting against the criticisms levelled at the Secretariat. There was stormy dissent to this from the extreme Left, some of whom declared that they would secede from the Confederation if it were adopted, and the President, M. Barthe, being unable to restore order, left the chair.

TRADE UNION CONTROL IN ITALY.

The Italian metal-workers appear to have won a complete victory. The agreement embodying the principle of Trade Union control in industry, forced upon the employers by the Italian Premier, has been practically accepted by the workers, who are evacuating the factories they seized. Speaking in the Senate in reply to a number of questions on the subject, Giolitti declared that every statesman must bear in mind that the whole world is confronted with a fundamental social transformation. The advent of a fourth estate began in the latter part of last century, and any attempt to check its course was doomed to failure. It was the duty of the Government to maintain vigilant neutrality in industrial disputes, and he had recommended the employers in the metal industry not to declare a lock-out; if they did, they could not look for help to the forces of the State. To have prevented the occupation of the factories by force would have meant that all the available troops would have had to be sent to over 600 factories, and a serious struggle would have followed. What the Government contemplated was an industrial transformation which would enable the workers to become acquainted with the conditions of manufacture, and thus be in a position to decide the justice or otherwise of their claims. The agreement would place the worker in the position of a partner, and not that of an adversary of the manufacturer. He pointed out that the principle of workers' control was admitted by employers in March, 1919, and in December of the same year the Chamber had adopted a resolution in favour of co-operative labour and control of factories. He ended by saying that factories were being evacuated every day, and normal work would soon be resumed.

THE SPANISH LABOUR MOVEMENT.

Recent figures of the Spanish Labour Movement are given in an interview to "l'Humanité" of Señor Fernando de los Rios, who will be remembered by many in this country when he passed through last year along with the Spanish delegation to the Washington Labour Conference. He reports the virtual disappearance of the old Republican (or liberal) party, with the result that the Socialists are now the one organised and powerful Left Wing party. Their numbers have risen from 14,000 three years ago to 52,000 to-day. The General Labour Union (Unione Generale de Trabajadores), which is a confederation covering the greater part of the industrial movement in Spain except for the Barcelona region, has increased by 80,000 members within the last two years and now numbers 220,000. This is excluding the General Confederation of Barcelona which is an extreme revolutionary organisation with anarchist tendencies. The progress of the Socialist movement may be seen in the development of the Socialist vote at the municipal elections last March, where 1,000 Socialists became Municipal Councillors.

THE MOSCOW TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL.

The foundation of a "Red" International Trade Union Council at Moscow in opposition to the Amsterdam Federation is a step which has long been foreshadowed and is now definitely attempted. If it is a step merely intended to bring disunity into the Trade Union movement it will receive a cold welcome on all sides. The principles of the new organisation have been published in the Italian "Battaglie Sindacale," organ of the Italian Confederation of Labour, and run as follows:—

"1. Any attempt likely to lead to the withdrawal of the Left Wing elements from the existing Trade Union organisations is to be condemned. The Left Wing elements should, on the contrary, aim with all their energy at eliminating from the direction of the Trade Union movement the opportunists who collaborated in the War and who continue to serve the interests of capitalist imperialism by participating in the dupery of the League of Nations.

"2. Regular propaganda work should be arranged within the Trade Union organisations of all the world, so as to create in each a Communist nucleus which will strive unceasingly to bring about the triumph of the Communist programme.

"3. A Committee of Action and international struggle should be created, in order to transform the Trade Union movement in the way described. This Committee will function as a Provisional International Council of Labour Unions in agreement with the Executive Committee of the Third International under the conditions fixed by the Congress. This Council will contain representation of all affiliated Labour organisations. A representative of the International Trade Union Council will sit on the Executive of the Third International, and vice versa."

If these rules are to be trusted, the "International Trade Union Council" at Moscow is simply an organ for carrying on a Communist agitation within the International Trade Union movement, which can only lead to disunity and finally to disruption.

No fewer than 515 magistrates (says the Irish "Watchword") have resigned office since last May. In August there were actually 348 resignations!

Waterside workers in New Zealand have ceased work owing to a dispute about payment for time lost during bad weather stoppage. Eighteen vessels have been held up. A general stoppage in the coal mining industry is also threatened.

The tribunal which has been considering the dispute between the Broken Hill miners and coal-owners of Australia has granted a minimum wage of 15s. a day; a 44-hour week for underground workers, and compensation for workers who have contracted disease in their employment.

Over 20,000 returned Australian soldiers are waiting for land, and the New South Wales Legislature has adopted a resolution urging the Government to introduce a Bill to compel owners of large estates to surrender land, retaining only a part of each estate to the value of £20,000.

As a protest against the tax on wages and against the delay of the Senate in dealing with the Eight-Hour Bill, the miners in the central coal district of Belgium called a 24-hour strike.

To meet the housing shortage in Czecho-Slovakia the Government proposes to introduce a Bill requiring building material to be supplied at cost price, making labour like military service, compulsory, and requiring factories and banks to provide houses in proportion to the number of their staffs.

The Independent Socialists in several towns in Saxony have voted in favour of joining the Third International. On the other hand the French Socialist Federal Council of the Seine have rejected a proposal to submit the question of affiliation to a ballot.

CONDITIONS IN GERMANY

BY MRS. C. RODEN BUXTON.

(Specially Contributed.)

In the debate on the Spa Agreement, Mr. Lloyd George stated in the House of Commons that the population of Germany was underfed, and had no means to purchase food. Under such conditions, Germany could not be expected to produce coal. France's need for coal from Germany has, in other words, forced Mr. Lloyd George and his colleagues to a belated recognition of two absolutely basic facts in the present European situation—

(1) That Germany is starving.

(2) That the starvation of Germany involves loss and suffering for her neighbours as well as for herself.

There is one form of economic capital which can never be replaced, and that is the capital locked up in the minds and bodies of the German children—the workers of the future. The following is a brief selection of some typical facts which illustrate the present terrible situation of the German working people, and especially the children.

COST OF LIVING.

While the cost of living is officially computed to have risen 152 per cent. in Great Britain, it has risen at least 1,100 per cent. in Germany, i.e., while the purchasing power of the shilling is under 5d., that of the German shilling inside Germany is less than 1d. (i.e., the mark buys what would have cost 8 or 9 pfennig before the war). The cost of food has risen proportionately even more than other necessities. At Spa, the German Food Minister gave 101 marks as the cost of weekly rations, which 6 years ago would have cost 7.77 marks, or 1/13th as much.

The following are a few typical prices: margarine (in June) 16s. per lb.; frozen meat, 10s. to 12s. per lb.; rice, 7s. to 9s. (13s. 6d. at a slightly earlier date); coffee, 33s.; cocoa, 27s. 6d.; condensed milk, 13s. 6d. to £1 per tin early in the summer, and falling to 7 marks in July; corned beef, 18s. per lb.; a pair of stockings, 35s.; boots for a child of 8, £6; a boy's suit, £25; a yard of shirting or thin print, 30s.; of flannelette, 46s.; a bar of Sunlight soap, 18 marks; etc.

The minimum food necessary for a man engaged in manual labour is scientifically reckoned at 3,300 calories. Miners and others require much more. A woman about 2,600; a child up to 5, 1,600. The German ration has varied between 1,100 calories (less at certain times and places) and 2,000. Last winter and spring it was as low as 1,100 to 1,250. In an interview at San Remo (April 23rd, 1920), Mr. Lloyd George himself stated "In the occupied areas the population is now getting only 1/3rd of the normal food standard." The German Food Minister expects that supplies from the new harvest and such imports as the German Government can afford, will provide for a ration of 1,500 calories, i.e., half the amount needed by a man in sedentary occupation or by a child under 5.

FOUR DOWN AND THREE UP.

It must also be taken into account that these small rations are often of the poorest quality. In the last few months, the bread contained 80 per cent. of substitutes. A prominent Salvation Army worker, who made a point of staying in the homes of the people, instead of in the expensive hotels in which most press correspondents and other foreign visitors form their impressions of life in Germany, describes the food as so "nauseating" as to render the meals absolutely painful, even to someone with a good appetite. Although a healthy man, he found it impossible to get any food to agree with him. "If you bring the food up it is a relief, and if you keep it down, it gives you 'cramps.'" He quoted an American traveller who, making good his escape, declared: "I had seven meals a day in Germany, but it was four down and three up."

All the staple articles of food being rationed in Germany, there is little except vegetables within a possible price; i.e., mainly cabbage, carrot, and turnip, with which to supplement the ration. But the additional calories provided by such food (except in the season for beans and peas) seldom exceed about 300. Dry bread, cabbage, potatoes, and thin soup, made mainly out of turnip, still form the staple diet for millions in Germany, as it has done for four years. (Occasionally a supply of some valuable food, e.g., Quaker Oats, at 2.50 to 3 marks per lb., comes on the market, but its continuance can never be relied on.)

THE SALARIAT.

While wages have risen enormously, the rise does not go far to meet the ten-fold rise in the cost of living. Meanwhile, the salaries of professions have risen far less, and small middle-class people with fixed incomes are finally ruined. In May, 1920, the minimum required by one man for food alone, cost 70 marks per week; for the barest necessities (food included), 179 marks a week; if married and with two small children, 370 marks, or a minimum wage of 61 marks per day would be required. (Berlin Statistical Office, June, 1920.) Meantime the best-paid workers (e.g., miners in the Ruhr district) obtain 35-40 marks a day. Railwaymen get 25-35. Casual labour throughout Germany gets 17-25 marks; in Bavaria the average working-class wage is 20 marks. A clerk gets 30 marks. The salaries of doctors, professors, teachers, work out at 20 or 23 marks per day (teachers sometimes as low as 10). A married man out of work gets 6-10 marks. In general, wages and salaries can at best support a single man, but the case of a married man or widow with dependents is desperate. The weekly income cannot possibly cover anything approaching even the minimum of food. A comparison made last winter of the relative position of a working man in Vienna and in Leipzig, both prices and wages being taken into account, showed the Leipzig man to be in a less favourable position even than the Viennese, whose sufferings (for a long time ignored like the German's) are now so universally recognised.

(We shall publish next week a further article by Mrs. Buxton on the conditions of child life in Germany.)

BOOK REVIEWS

LABOUR POLICY

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald and Mr. Philip Snowden have contributed two very important volumes on Labour Policy to the New Era Series published by Leonard Parsons at 4s. 6d. net each volume. Mr. Macdonald's book is entitled "A Policy for the Labour Party," and in it he explains the origin, composition, and objects of the Labour Party, its conception of society, answers the question "Can Labour Govern," and discusses some of the problems which will have to be faced and indicates how they can be dealt with by a Labour Government. Mr. Philip Snowden's book, which bears the title "Labour and National Finance," is a very comprehensive survey of the field of finance by an acknowledged authority. During his long connection with Parliament, Mr. Snowden was regarded as one of the best-informed and most effective debaters on finance, and his new book is a valuable contribution to the limited library of Labour books which deal authoritatively and expertly with this important branch of public affairs. These two books ought to be in the hands of every close student of Labour policy, for they throw a good deal of light on some aspects of legislation and administration under a prospective Labour Government.

LABOUR AND TEMPERANCE POLICY

Mr. Arthur Greenwood, M.A., who has already established a reputation as one of the younger intellectual leaders of Labour, has issued a new volume on "Public Ownership of the Liquor Trade" (Leonard Parsons, 4s. 6d.) at a moment when it is likely to be of more than usual interest. In Scotland the campaign for "No Licences" is now being conducted, and the policy of local veto, as one method of securing drastic temperance reform, is in the balance. Mr. Greenwood advocates another method, perhaps as an intermediate step, for he says "those who are anxious to suppress the liquor trade entirely are, of course, perfectly entitled to take all possible steps to convince the electorate of the wisdom of this course, but they are not entitled to ask that in the interval no other policy should be adopted." Mr. Greenwood's policy is public ownership.

THE SICK CONTINENT

Mr. H. N. Brailsford's latest book is entitled "After the Peace" (Leonard Parsons, 4s. 6d.), and in it he attempts to survey the condition of Europe as the war, the blockade, and the Peace Treaties have left it. He discusses the various ways in which a sick continent may attempt to find a remedy for the political ills that threaten it—by social revolution, by militarist reaction, by the voluntary revision of the Treaties. Readers will find in it much to support the policy which the Labour Party has pursued since the Armistice in their efforts to secure a just and enlightened settlement of all outstanding international questions.

NATIONAL JOINT COMMITTEE FOR SPANISH RELIEF

Chairman: THE DUCHESS OF ATHOLL, M.P.

Vice-Chairmen: THE EARL OF LISTOWEL, MISS ELEANOR RATHBONE, M.P.

Hon. Secretaries: MR. D. R. GRENFELL, M.P., CAPT. J. R. J. MACNAMARA, M.P., MR. WILFRID ROBERTS, M.P.,
35, Marsham Street, S.W.1. Telephone: Victoria 2168

Organising Secretary: MRS. MARY M. MILLER.

Co-operating Societies: *The Service Council of The Society of Friends, The Save the Children Fund, The Spanish Medical Aid Committee, The Scottish Ambulance Unit, The Spanish Women's Committee for Help to Spain, The Women's Committee against War and Fascism, The Spanish Youth Foodship Committee, The Southern Spanish Relief Committee.*

BULLETIN No. 6.

1ST MAY, 1937.

We have been very much in the public eye of late. Attention has been focussed on Bilbao during the last fortnight, and the inhuman bombardment of villages and towns has outraged public opinion. The action taken by the National Joint Committee and its co-operating societies in sending a foodship to Bilbao has been universally applauded; this has resulted not only in very great press publicity, but in a considerable increase in the measure of financial support. It must not be forgotten, however, that in addition to the need for relief for the Basque population, conditions in other parts of Spain also make it imperative to provide aid with the utmost expediency. Once again, we would appeal to all individuals and organisations to redouble their efforts to raise funds.

OUR CHAIRMAN IN SPAIN

The Duchess of Atholl, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, Miss Ellen Wilkinson and Dame Rachel Crowdy have just returned from a visit to Spain, where they went to investigate the relief work which is being done. They visited Barcelona, Valencia and Madrid and had interviews with various Ministers.

They are issuing a report on their visit, copies of which will be sent to readers of the Bulletin. They will make a public statement on their tour at the Queen's Hall meeting, details of which are given below.

PUBLIC MEETING

A meeting will be held at the Queen's Hall on Friday, May 7th, at 8 p.m., in aid of the National Joint Committee. Miss Eleanor Rathbone will take the Chair and the speakers will be The Duchess of Atholl, Miss Ellen Wilkinson, Wilfrid Roberts, The Dean of Chichester, Cuthbert Wigham of the Friends' Service Council, Isabel Brown and Thomas McEwen, part owner of the *Seven Seas Spray*.

Tickets (1/-) can be obtained from the Committee's office at 35, Marsham Street, S.W.1, or from any of the co-operating societies. Organisations working for Spanish relief are invited to send delegates, and should apply to the National Joint Committee for special tickets.

We should welcome any offers of help with circularisation, distribution of leaflets, etc., during the next week, as the time is very short. Any number of leaflets can be obtained from this office.

BILBAO AND SANTANDER

The plight of the civilian population of the province of Vizcaya is desperate. Thousands of defenceless women and children have had their homes destroyed in the most inhuman bombardments known to history and have been pouring into Bilbao. The resources of the capital, which were already severely taxed, are now completely exhausted. We quote below from the report made by Miss Lloyd-Williams, who has just returned from a visit to Basque territory on behalf of the Friends Service Council:

"Vizcaya is sadly changed in these days of civil war. Bilbao, that gay, noisy town of former times, is haunted by an atmosphere of tragedy. Shops are open, but there is nothing to buy, no food, no fruit, no vegetables, while the cafes are full of occupants who sit reading before bare tables, the only drinks obtainable being a camomile-tea infusion or a little bad whisky. Milk is scarce, and not till the last day of our stay did we see bread, which had not been baked for three weeks. The hungry people received it like manna from heaven.

"The sirens sounded constantly, giving warning of air-raids, and the streets became suddenly a seething mass of men, women and children running to the refuges. There is no panic, no disorder, and in spite of the general terror—for the fate of Durango is fresh in their minds—everyone laughs and jokes with apparent unconcern until the whirr of the aeroplanes directly overhead causes a sudden hush followed by a sigh of relief if they pass without dropping any bombs. . . .

"The province of Santander is a little more cheerful. For the last few weeks, following the arrival of foodships, there has been a little bread and even a little meat, while it is possible to get coffee or wine in the cafes and even a few sweets are sold in the streets.

"So far little or no relief has been sent to these places, cut off as they are from the world, attacked by land, sea and air. Yet, while the army fights the authorities of the 'Rearguard' deal with social problems, organising homes and popular dining-rooms for orphans, refugees, old people and the poor and destitute. More food, indeed, is to be seen in these places than in the best hotels, and though it may consist largely of rice or 'garbanzos' (chick-peas) it is served as appetisingly as possible. The children are to be fed whoever else goes hungry, maternity and child-welfare centres are established, and the work of social reform in spite of the war so close to them."

The appalling conditions described in this report have been endorsed by articles by *The Times* correspondent at Bilbao and by the Dean of Canterbury and his party who were eye-witnesses of the Durango raid.

FOOD FOR BILBAO

The steamer *Backworth* sailed from Immingham, near Grimsby, for Bilbao on Saturday, April 24th. Owned by the Dagleish Steamship Company of Newcastle, her captain is Thomas Russell of South Shields. The National Joint Committee for Spanish Relief supplied part of the cargo paid for by contributions from a number of organisations represented on the Committee and others known to be in sympathy with the work and from individuals: Mr. Lloyd George gave £250: the Hon. Miss Gray, £200: and Mr. Thomas McEwen, part owner of the *Seven Seas Spray*, the first ship to run the blockade, gave £25 to be spent on chocolate, to be distributed among the children by the wife of the Minister of Commerce at Bilbao.

The final cargo was worth well over £2,000 and was made up as follows: 84 tons of flour, 150 cases of corned beef, 3 tons of lard, 5 tons of sugar, 5 tons of butter, 188 gallons of cod liver oil, 1,616 lbs. of cod liver oil and malt, 592 cases of baked beans, 6 cases of salt pork, 19 cwts of salt cod. This is excluding the 200 tons of material, mainly flour and coal, contributed by the Trade Unions.

It will be distributed in Bilbao by the representative of the Friends Service Council.

The *Backworth* called at Dover on Sunday night to embark an observation officer under the Non-Intervention Agreement. She had the protection of the British Navy up to the limit of territorial waters. She arrived in Bilbao on Wednesday, 28th April, and we received the following telegram: "Arrived, *Backworth*." Another ship is leaving Immingham this week with two ambulances, one of which is the gift of Mrs. Sykes of Leeds. This is the first medical aid that has gone to the Basque people from England.

BACKWORTH DIARY

So many stories have been going around about the *Backworth* that we think readers might be interested to hear something about the real inner history. The decision to send a foodship was taken very rapidly and we were anxious that there should be no leakage of our plans until we had finally and definitely arranged them.

On Tuesday night (April 20th) Mr. Roberts conferred with Captain Russell and a representative of the Basque Government in the House of Commons. They were joined by Mr. Lloyd George who wished the Captain good luck with the now world-famous words: "I too am a Basque. The Basques and the Welsh are of the same race. I will never let you down." And, as good as his word, he gave £250 towards the fund.

On Wednesday, the decision to send a ship to Bilbao was approved at the full Committee meeting.

On Thursday, Henry Brinton, a member of the Committee and Labour Candidate for Grimsby, went up to Immingham, with authorisation to spend some £2,000 on food. He had consulted with members of the Friends Service Council and with the Basque Delegation as to the most vital things to buy. A statement was given to the Press and it was also announced on the wireless.

On Friday, Mr. Roberts after an all-night sitting in the House, had an all-day sitting at the telephone. The office was a constant procession of journalists, photographers, volunteers for the crew and people bringing in money in quantities ranging from £500 to a few shillings. (Incidentally a Spanish Aid Committee in Branden Colliery, County Durham—a village where the great majority of the people are unemployed—sent us £10 for the ship.) We were in constant telephonic communication with Mr. Brinton and in the evening he told us that Grimsby had been cleared right out of flour and butter and that loading was going full speed ahead. At one stage it was absolutely vital to get in touch with the Captain, but he was not to be found. After a long search, it turned out that he had "gone to the pictures in Grimsby." That night a lorry drove up through the night bringing £300 worth of medical supplies from the Spanish Medical Aid Committee.

The evening papers announced that three more British ships had got through the "blockade" that very day. This, in conjunction with certain obstacles that presented themselves, decided us not after all to send a delegation of busy M.Ps. and others with the ship, if the passage were turning out to be just a "pleasure cruise" in the Bay of Biscay.

By Saturday afternoon the *Backworth* was loaded. A cordon of police was placed at the entry to the docks to prevent the swarm of journalists who tried to crash their way on to the boat, from doing so. A stowaway hunt was called before she sailed. Mr. Roberts and his party came up from London to wish her *Bon Voyage*. They in their turn were delayed by some engine trouble on the way, but arrived in time to accompany the *Backworth* on her voyage—as far as Grimsby, where a tug came out to meet them.

The Captain was quite unperturbed at the prospect of running the blockade—"It would take a warship to stop me," he said—and the crew were equally sceptical of the danger of mines. Russell was amused at the legend that had grown up round his name and remarked that it made him feel like a film star. A group of Basque sailors hanging about on the quayside waved goodbye as the *Backworth* steamed out of the docks, full of disappointment that they were not sailing with her, but we hope that they took comfort in the fact that she was carrying sorely needed food to their families in beleaguered Bilbao.

EVACUATION OF CHILDREN FROM BILBAO

"Can you arrange for our children to get away? We would not have asked this a month ago, we could not have let them go—but now. . . ." This was the appeal made to the Friends' representatives in Bilbao by the Basques.

The evacuation of children from the centre of bombardment is an urgent and imperative task. The National Joint Committee are planning to bring a large number of children from Bilbao to safety in France or England, where they would be accommodated in institutions. We understand that France and Belgium are prepared to assist in this proposal and that the Scandinavian countries and Holland have also promised their co-operation.

As we go to press, an appeal is being arranged, signed by persons representative of widely differing views on many subjects. Funds are urgently needed to make the evacuation of as large a number as possible from Bilbao, and should be sent to 35, Marsham Street, earmarked "Evacuation of Basque children."

CHILDREN'S "HOSTEL"

The scheme for the Hostel for refugee children from Madrid and the South, which was announced in the last Bulletin, is meeting with great success.

Mr. Langdon-Davies received a personal telegram from President Companys, welcoming the idea and promising that the Committee should have every facility for the execution of its plans. Mr. Langdon-Davies is now in Barcelona making the final arrangements and we hope to be able to announce the opening of the Hostel very soon. A unit of workers has been chosen and will probably leave this week. It includes a woman doctor, nurse, teacher and secretary, most of whom speak Spanish. We propose to start with about 50 children and after the first fortnight or so, when they have become acclimatised and some sort of routine has been introduced, to take in another 50, and so on, until the number of 200 has been reached. As soon as the first children have been chosen from out of the many thousands of refugees, they will be allotted to their various foster-parents in England and their photographs will be sent.

The scheme has met with tremendous response from all sections of the community and all types of people. Local Committees are taking it up with enthusiasm—Leeds, for instance, have asked for 500 application forms and they propose getting prominent citizens to become foster-parents and to approach all the churches, schools and trades unions in the town. Many groups of people are combining together to become joint foster-parents. The Cardiff Trades Council and Labour Party Aid Spain Committee are adopting a boy. Girls seem to be more popular than boys and nearly twice as many girls have been asked for as boys!

Applications for children have been received from the Emily Davis Women's Club, the members of the Wolverhampton Peace Pledge Union, a group of 13 pacifist women who meet together to make clothes for Spain, the Women's Group of the Southall Communist Party, the Perth League of Nations Union Youth Group. A group of employees in the engineering department of Messrs. Guest, Keen and Nettlefolds, Birmingham, are adopting a boy. "These men, who have maintained a regular weekly contribution for the relief of distress in Spain can be depended upon to do their part in your scheme." Three young married couples are looking after two children between them. One applicant writes: "I want to suggest to our Headmistress that the school adopt a Spanish child."

Numbers of people are under the impression that it is intended to bring the children to England and have written begging to adopt them permanently. Here are some quotations from some of their letters: "Both me and my wife are agreed that we could assist your effort in trying to find homes for these poor mites. We are just working people and have a comfortable house and plenty of space and we think we could manage one of those children, namely a baby girl if it was possible." "I should be greatly obliged if you will give me further particulars re adopting a little Spanish girl whose photo I enclose marked with a x."

Some of the foster-parents are well-to-do, others are working people; some are representative of the artistic and literary field; many are actuated by their love for Spain. The father of one applicant had been cured of a very severe illness by a Catalan doctor. "We have felt ever since that we owe Spain a deep debt of gratitude."

Two tributes to our scheme are worth quoting. "I am glad that this work is being undertaken. One has heard something of the horror of the homeless children in Russia and it would be ghastly if the same thing happened in Spain"; and "May I just add how greatly I admire your work—nothing is finer or more wanted just now."

MADRID

We have had satisfactory reports on the work of our buses in Spain and the Duchess of Atholl found her conversations with Mr. Garratt extremely valuable. Mr. Lawrence Elder, who has lived for many years in the Badajoz district, has gone out to relieve Mr. Garratt for the time being.

It is urgent that the work of evacuating children from the war areas should be speeded up. We received the following cable from the Duchess: "Mr. Garratt agrees two new coaches urgently needed preferably Fordson or Bedford with double back wheels, good ventilation. Second-hand coaches useless."

The following is a description of conditions in the city, quoted from the Friends' Service Council Bulletin: "It should be remembered that *there is a civil population of nearly one million still in Madrid* and really there is no limit to the need of every one of them. You think you have solved the problem by sending food, but you very soon discover in practice that you are up against the problem of transport. Having overcome that difficulty and got the fuel there you are immediately faced with the impossibility of securing the fuel to cook the food you have brought or even to boil a kettle of water. Many houses which have been abandoned by their original owners are occupied by refugees from the bombardment quarters of the town or from the surrounding country, who most of them have nothing of their own but the clothes they are wearing. For the time being they are enduring their hardships with admirable courage, but unless something is done and done quickly, there is the fear that they will lose patience. One cannot expect them to face starvation for an indefinite period."

ALMERIA AND CORDOVA

The Southern Spanish Relief Committee has issued an appeal for funds to enable it to maintain its relief and medical work in Almeria and Cordova.

At Almeria, two children's hospitals, one convalescent home and a milk distribution centre for children have been established. There is a competent team of English and Spanish workers in charge of these.

At Cordova a hospital has been established behind the front, with one ambulance. Two more ambulances, with a doctor and two nurses, are going out next week with Sir George Young.

FRIENDS' SERVICE COUNCIL AND THE SAVE THE CHILDREN FUND

The Council has received reports from its representatives in Barcelona (Mr. Cuthbert Wigham) and Madrid (Barbara Wood) of the progress of relief work in those cities.

In **Barcelona** distribution of milk is effected at centres in the Sans and Calle Cortes districts. All children are examined by a doctor and there is a trained welfare nurse always in attendance. The daily distribution averages about 450 litres of powdered milk and 100 tins of condensed milk, with 125 packets of $\frac{1}{4}$ kgr. sugar. The prices of foodstuffs have increased very considerably during the last month.

A consignment of flour, sugar and milk has been sent to Guadalajara.

In **Madrid** the dissolution of the Defence Junta led to some temporary disorganisation, but distribution is now running smoothly again. A cable was received to the effect that "Distribution begun Sunday for 1,000 children. Are increasing up to 2,500 in three weeks." Milk has also been given to 51 families, in all 222 children, representing the most urgent cases. We quote a description of visits to some of these people: "One family, with 8 children, evidently with means, who were living in their own house, where they had remained since the outbreak of the war. They were absolutely without food. The ration was given them in the hall, and as the elder sisters called the babies from another room, they came timidly forward one by one and handled with wonder and delight the tins of milk spread on the table. . . . They had not seen so much food at one time in the house for weeks."

The Friends contributed generously towards the *Backworth*.

SPANISH MEDICAL AID COMMITTEE

The heavy fighting on the Madrid front has made increased demands upon the resources of the Committee's hospital at Torrelodones, and this has had its repercussions in London.

During the Jarama battle the hospital dealt with 720 cases, the nature of the wounds generally (artillery) being very serious. Dr. Tudor Hart writes that two very urgent needs are plaster of Paris and an X-ray unit with radiographer.

YOUTH FOODSHIP COMMITTEE

Forty-five Youth Foodship Committees are working in different parts of the country to raise money for a third foodship. A Conference was held last week and it was resolved to make every effort to send food to Bilbao. The Committee contributed £300 towards the *Backworth's* cargo.

Miss Jeger, the Secretary of the Committee, is going out to Spain next week.

LOCAL ACTIVITIES

Local Committees are springing up all over the country and existing Committees are increasing their range of activity. We have received numerous letters asking for affiliation and information from Spanish Aid Committees in a great many towns. We are appointing a District organiser who will travel all over the country, and will be prepared to assist in the formation of new local committees and in the organisation of meetings. It is naturally not so easy to run meetings in the summer, but we would suggest that local Secretaries should undertake the organisation of open air meetings, demonstrations, galas, garden parties, rambles, etc., in order to raise funds.

We would also beg Secretaries to keep us informed as to their activities and their plans, for inclusion in the Bulletin.

At **Rochdale** a joint meeting with the Spanish Medical Aid was held, which was addressed by Mr. William Dobbie, M.P., and Mr. V. S. Pritchett.

At **Worthing** during a Peace Week, a special Spain day was held and at an evening meeting in the Town Hall, the Dean of Chichester, Lord Listowel and Mr. Horsfall Carter spoke. Over 500 people were present and a collection of £30 was raised.

At **Edmonton**, a variety show was organised by Miss Nellie Edwards in the Town Hall which brought in £10.

A branch of the Spanish Medical Aid has been started at **Chelsea** and at the inaugural meeting the Duchess of Atholl was in the chair and the speakers included Miss Eleanor Rathbone, The Dean of Chichester and Professor J. B. S. Haldane.

Local branches are being started in **Edinburgh**, where a Spain Week has been planned for the end of May. A public meeting will be held on May 21st at which Mr. Wilfrid Roberts, among others, will speak. **Hull** is forming a Joint Committee, and has the support of leading citizens, who have combined to send a letter to the press. The **Harrogate** branch have issued an appeal for funds and hope to hold a meeting soon after the Coronation. The Liberal Party, League of Nations Union and other organisations are co-operating in this. Interest in Spanish relief has been roused in **Chester** and it is hoped that a Committee may soon be started there. Branches are also being started at **Bangor** and at **Batley**.

Meetings are being held in the near future at **Enfield**, on May 3rd, with Rev. E. O. Iredell and Frank Milton as speakers, **Chesterfield** May 3rd, **Carlisle**, where the Committee is showing *News from Spain* on May 5th, at **Chesham Bois**, Bucks, on May 3rd, where Mrs. Pennyman will speak.

SCANDINAVIAN HOSPITAL IN SPAIN

The Swedish and Norwegian Joint Committee for the Relief of Spain have collected about £56,000 in Sweden and £18,000 in Norway, £20,000 of which have been spent on the creation and maintenance up to next September of a Scandinavian hospital in Spain.

Senator George Branting is on his way to Spain for the inauguration of the hospital, which is to have 1,200 beds. The Spanish Government has offered to allow Scandinavian surgeons to be in charge of the hospital.

The Co-ordinating Committee for Refugees

THE Co-ordinating Committee for Refugees welcomes most warmly the formation of Local Refugee Committees. Without the co-operation of thousands of generous and kindly people in all parts of Britain, it will be quite impossible to relieve even a very small proportion of the terrible suffering now being endured by persons in Central Europe who are being persecuted on account of their race, religion or political opinions.

CO-OPERATING ORGANISATIONS.

Full Members.

- British Committee for Refugees from Czechoslovakia,
5, Mecklenburgh Square, W.C.1.
- Catholic Committee for Refugees from Germany,
120, Victoria Street, S.W.1.
- Church of England Committee for Non-Aryan Christians,
20, Gordon Square, W.C.1.
- Church of Scotland Committee for Refugees,
121, George Street, Edinburgh.
- x German Jewish Aid Committee, Woburn House,
Upper Woburn Place, W.C.1.
- Inter-Aid Committee for Children coming from Germany,
16, Russell Square, W.C.1.
- International Student Service,
49, Gordon Square, London, W.C.1.
- Society of Friends,
Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.
- Society for the Protection of Science and Learning,
6, Gordon Square, W.C.1.
- Trades Union Congress,
Transport House, Smith Square, S.W.1.
- Labour Party, Transport House, Smith Square, S.W.1.

The Trade Union Congress and the Labour Party are members of the Co-ordinating Committee under the name of "International Solidarity Fund".

Co-operating Members (only fund-raising organisations).

- The Christian Council for Refugees,
2, Gordon Square, W.C.1, and
The Council for German Jewry,
Woburn House, Upper Woburn Place, W.C.1.
- x International Hebrew Christian Alliance
Memorial House 19 Draycott Place SW 3

Joint-Committees.

Domestic Bureau, 5, Mecklenburgh Square, W.C.1.
Hospitality Committee, 10, Mecklenburgh Square, W.C.1.
Nursing and Midwifery Committee, 8, Endsleigh Gardens, W.C.1.
Agricultural Sub-Committee, Woburn House, Upper Woburn Place, W.C.1.
Medical and Dental Sub-Committee, Woburn House, Upper Woburn Place, W.C.1.

Permits to enter the United Kingdom.

All these must be obtained from the Home Office through the appropriate organisation.

GENERAL CASES.

Jewish Adults: Applications should be made to the German Jewish Aid Committee, Woburn House, Upper Woburn Place, W.C.1.

Christian Adults: Applications should be made through the Germany Emergency Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, N.W.1.

All adult refugees from *Czechoslovakia* apply through the British Committee for Refugees from Czechoslovakia, 5, Mecklenburgh Square, W.C.1.

All children go through the Inter-Aid Committee at 16, Russell Square, W.C.1.

University teachers and Research workers apply to the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning, 6, Gordon Square, W.C.1.

Students apply through the International Students' Service, 49, Gordon Square, W.C.1.

It should be noted that permits to enter the United Kingdom can only be considered—

(1) If a guarantee of full maintenance is given by a British subject of substance for the period during which it is anticipated that the refugee will be resident in the United Kingdom. In most cases a plan must be made for the further emigration of the refugee and, usually, the guarantor must furnish proof that he is willing and able to provide the costs of emigration. It should be noted that permits to enter the United Kingdom will not be given in future by the Home Office to middle-aged persons (aged 35-60) who were previously doctors or dentists, lawyers, officials of the state, teachers and professors, merchants, traders, shopkeepers, clerks and business men generally, with the exception of those exceptional cases in which definite plans for their future employment or emigration can be made.

(2) Permission to enter the United Kingdom will also be granted in exceptional cases where a work permit can be obtained from the Home Office. Applications for these should again be made through the German Jewish Aid Committee or the Society of Friends or the Committee for Refugees from Czechoslovakia, except in the special categories listed below.

Domestic Workers. All offers of employment and applications for permits to be sent to the Domestic Bureau of the Co-ordinating Committee at 5, Mecklenburgh Square, W.C.1.

Nurses and Midwives.—Applications respecting Nursing and Midwifery training to the Secretary, Nursing and Midwifery Sub-Committee, 8, Endsleigh Gardens, W.C.1.

Agricultural Trainees. All offers should go to The Secretary, Agricultural Training Sub-Committee, Co-ordinating Committee, Woburn House, Upper Woburn Place, W.C.1.

Industrial Trainees. All offers and enquiries should go to The Secretary, Industrial Trainee Sub-Committee, Co-ordinating Committee, 5, Mecklenburgh Square, W.C.1.

Doctors and Dentists. All enquiries to go to The Secretary, Medical and Dental Sub-Committee, Woburn House, Upper Woburn Place, W.C.1.

GENERAL INFORMATION.

Domestic Workers.

Permits are only issued to aliens to take employment in private residential domestic service.

Work permits are issued to women between 18 and 45 years of age and the *minimum* wage paid must be 15/- per week.

In certain cases, permits will be issued to married couples to act as domestic servants, but *never* in London. The minimum wage to married couples must be £104 per annum.

It is very much hoped that local Committees will endeavour to find suitable domestic employment in their localities for refugees and that they will undertake some degree of supervision of the women so placed.

Some local Committees have initiated schemes for training women in domestic work, and there are houses in several parts of the country where refugees will receive training for eight to twelve weeks in English language, customs, money, weights, measures, etc.

Trainees.

It is hoped that all local Committees will endeavour to interest local employers in the problem of training young people preparatory to emigration. Training places are wanted in all branches of engineering, carpentry and building, as well as agriculture.

The essence of a trainee post is that it should be specially granted as a generous gesture to the refugees. The refugee must not displace British labour and he must be paid the usual rate of wages in the particular occupation of the particular industry in which he is to be trained.

N.B.—The Co-ordinating Committee has profited very much by the advice and help of the representatives of the T.U.C., and it is suggested that local Committees should secure the co-operation of the local secretaries of the Unions concerned as well as of the employers.

Hospitality.

It is in the provision of offers of hospitality and grouping them suitably that the local Committees can be of most assistance.

It is hoped that local Committees will encourage sympathisers to offer both short and long periods of hospitality, and the local Committee will group the offers together, so that they can offer a total period of some months for a definite number of refugees.

Shorter term periods are needed for men and women who either need a rest before taking up some occupation, or training in this country, or for refugees who are here in transit before proceeding to the United States or other overseas countries.

The local Committee should state whether the hospitality offered is for men, women, or married couples, or even families, and if working or middle-class people are preferred.

All offers of hospitality, grouped as far as possible, should be sent to the Hospitality Secretary, Co-ordinating Committee, 5, Mecklenburgh Square, W.C.1.

Children.

For children, much longer periods of hospitality are needed, as in many cases they will have to face separation from their parents. In some cases, offers of complete adoption are needed and will be most gratefully received. In other cases, where the children have already been placed in boarding schools in this country, offers of hospitality are needed for the school holidays. All offers of hospitality for children, and all offers of adoption should be sent to The Inter-Aid Committee, 16, Russell Square, W.C.1.

Any general questions with regard to policy should be addressed to the

HON. SECRETARY,

CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE,

5, MECKLENBURGH SQUARE,

LONDON, W.C.1.

HOSPITALITY SUB-COMMITTEE

of the

CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE for REFUGEES.

Chairman :

DR. HILDA CLARK

Secretary :

MISS E. M. BLACK-HAWKINS

Temporary Address :

10 MECKLENBURGH SQUARE,
LONDON, W.C.1

Telephone : TERMINUS 1685

BH/RB

E. M. Black-Hawkins

January 26, 1939

Dear Lord Noel Buxton,

Thank you for your letter. Curiously enough I received a telephone message from Friends House this morning telling me that this family is arriving this Saturday. They were going to communicate with you direct about it.

As they have not been able to get over here as early as expected, it is possible they may not be ready to sail for New Zealand by the end of February, but I will see that other hospitality is arranged for them, so that your cottage will be free at this date.

Thank you very much indeed for your kindness in having them.

Yours sincerely

E. M. Black-Hawkins

Hospitality Secretary.

The Lord Noel Buxton
18 Cowley Street
Westminster
S.W.1.

HOSPITALITY COMMITTEE

of the

CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE for REFUGEES.

Chairman:

DR. HILDA CLARK

Secretary:

MISS E. M. BLACK-HAWKINS

BLOOMSBURY HOUSE,
Room 200,
BLOOMSBURY STREET, W.C.1

Telephone: MUSEUM 2900
Extension 200

CC/RB

*re mind by
study mail
if with mail
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cannot then any!*

March 27, 1939

Dear Lord Noel Buxton,

Thank you so much for letting me know that your cottage is again available for refugees. The people whom we should very much like to send to the cottage are Mr. and Mrs. Britz. He is aged 46, and his wife is 39. They are middle class people, and the husband was a merchant in Koenigsberg. He has been in a concentration camp, from which he has recently been released on condition of his leaving the country. Their plans are to emigrate to the U.S.A., and they will probably have to be in this country some months before they can get permission to go there. They are not yet in this country, and I am not quite certain how soon they can get over here. If there should be any serious delay, we would suggest transferring your kind offer to another family.

With regard to your question about an allowance being fixed for the families you have in the cottage, I am sure that they ought to be told the maximum sum up to which they may spend. You will know the local prices, and how much they would require as these things differ so much in different localities. I think the refugees find it a little difficult to be economical as they are not used to our currency nor to the provisions which they buy in our shops, but quite clearly they ought not to be allowed to spend freely money which does not belong to them, without any curb or limit being put to their expenditure.

I should be most grateful if you will let me know whether you think Mr. and Mrs. Britz would be the kind of couple you would like to have in your cottage.

Yours sincerely

Marion Black-Hawkins

Hospitality Secretary.

NATIONAL JOINT COMMITTEE FOR SPANISH RELIEF

(Co-operating societies - Social Service Council of the Society of Friends, the Save the Children Fund, the Spanish Medical Aid Committee, the Scottish Ambulance Unit, the Spanish Women's Committee for Help to Spain, the Women's Committee against War and Fascism, the Spanish Youth Foodship Committee)

MOTOR CONTINGENT IN SPAIN

Mr. GARRATT, Leader of the first motor contingent sent by the National Joint Committee, decided to leave most of the motor coaches in Barcelona, under the charge of Mr. A. Roberts, as transport was almost non-existent there and there was work for the drivers in distributing food and helping with relief generally. Mr. Garratt went on to Madrid on an experimental bus, provided by the Carlisle Committee. He brought a load of 37 children out of Madrid to the rail-head, a distance of 150 miles, much of it on bad side roads. He said that while there was some petrol in Spain, it could only be obtained for definite purposes, such as evacuating children or bringing food into Madrid and most of the supply is required for military purposes. He spoke of the efficiency of the Spanish Relief Committees and the necessity of co-operation and he praised the work being done by Mr. Jacob and Mr. Park senior in Madrid. Relief organisation was weakest in Valencia.

Mr. Garratt stressed the need for really powerful cars, as new as possible and preferably with Diesel engines. Most of the difficulties had arisen because the reconditioned cars were not strong enough for what was virtually war service. It was more important to have one or two really good cars than a number of old ones, especially as it was impossible to take a whole convoy into Madrid.

The latest news of the Committee's motor convoy is that three of the seven coaches have been sent to the Almeria region to help transport refugees from Malaga. The Carlisle bus is now making its second trip to Albacete, carrying Madrid children out of the war zone.

Second Contingent.

A second convoy of buses is leaving London for Valencia on Saturday 20th February (London readers of the Bulletin who receive it in time are asked to come to the House of Lords at 12 p.m. to give the buses a good send-off). Three buses carrying food, milk, petrol and clothing are equipped with three drivers and a competent interpreter. Two are brand new Bedfords and one is a reconditioned Albion sent by the Carlisle Committee. Their engines are very powerful and they are designed so as to take passengers or goods with equal ease.

REPORTS FROM SPAIN.

1. PROFESSOR CATTLIN went to Spain as a representative of the National Joint Committee to inspect arrangements, and to gather any information which might be useful in order to stimulate an organisation similar to the National Joint Committee in the United States where he is going shortly. During his visit he saw the representatives of various relief organisations, the Secretaries general for evacuation in the Madrid and Valencia areas, and the Ministers for Foreign Affairs, Justice and Health.

Professor Cattlin met Mr. Garratt's convoy in Valencia and reported that one car had proceeded to Madrid, another was going there, but had been temporarily detained in Valencia, while the remaining cars were still in Barcelona. He was able to report that the Scottish Ambulance Unit had arrived safely in Madrid. He understands that it may be advantageous to raise the pocket money of those attached to

the National Committee's convoy from 5 to 10 pesetas a day. Pesetas for payments in respect of the convoy can be purchased much more cheaply outside Spain.

Professor Cattlin emphasised the need for the provision of food, especially wheat and meat for the civilian population in industrial areas. His impression is that the urgency and magnitude of this task is such that it can only be coped with satisfactorily by the establishment of an international commission recognised by Geneva and carrying international collaboration. A later report will be provided on these developments.

Only less important than the need for food is the need for the provision of milk for children; of sugar and powdered chocolate for refugees; and of medical supplies, especially iodine, bicarbonate, and alcohol, and of transport including gasoline for evacuation purposes.

2. Barcelona

MR. JOHN LANGDON-DAVIES who has just been in Barcelona said that the situation there was very grave. The population of the city, normally about 1 million, had been swollen by at least 500,000 and the fall of Malaga has led to a further increase in the stream of refugees. The Catalan government is dealing with the problem as fast as it can, but is experiencing some difficulty owing to the rivalry between anarchist and socialist organisations. The refugees arrive in batches by train or bus and are first of all taken to the Stadium where they are washed, fed and lodged - this will become more tolerable as the weather gets warmer. Then they are either allotted to different houses and families in Barcelona or else sent into the country, which means that the supply of food available from the villages for consumption in the town will be curtailed. Some of the work of evacuation and subsequent care of the children is undertaken by individual Trade Unions.

There is acute shortage of transport facilities, of petrol, oil and coal; bread and sugar are growing scarce, but by far the most pressing need is for dried and condensed milk. Mr. Langdon-Davies spoke highly of Mr. Jacob's efficient distribution of supplies. He had not seen signs of epidemics, though a type of influenza was raging, but the dangers would increase with the arrival of fresh refugees and the continued shortage of necessities. Another vital problem, to which little attention has been paid in this country, is how to provide occupation for the refugees and in particular education and physical training for the children.

3. Churchmen's Visit to Valencia & Madrid

The report of the six Anglican and Free Church Ministers who went to Spain on the invitation of the Republican government from Jan.29th-Feb.9th has been reviewed in the press. It is hoped that a fuller report will be published shortly and circulated with the next issue of the Bulletin. The delegates were deeply impressed with the courage of the Spanish people and appalled at the magnitude of the suffering wrought by the Civil War. They conclude their report with the following appeal: "We would recognise with thankfulness the investigations made in November into war-emergency problems by a group of members of the British House of Commons, and would urge increased public support for the ameliorative efforts which they have promoted in regard to the treatment of prisoners, evacuation of refugees, and measures to deal with the lamentable shortage of food supplies and medical aid."

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SPANISH MEDICAL AID.

The latest convoy of four ambulances sent by the Spanish Medical Aid Committee, left England on February 9th with sixteen men, drivers, stretcher-bearers and hospital orderlies. The ambulances are camouflaged to evade detection and bombing and have been specially built to meet exceptionally rough conditions; each ambulance carries a load of spare stretchers, surgical instruments, medical supplies, food and clothing for Spanish Medical Aid hospitals. The total cost of the convoy is £3,000.

The Spanish Medical Aid Committee is preparing to send out a 3-ton lorry, a small run-about van, both filled with further supplies, another surgeon, and five more nurses, to serve in their field hospitals.

In London, Birmingham and Manchester, local Committees are organising campaigns for the purchase of ambulances for Spanish Medical Aid.

The Holborn Committee has raised £1,125, and has equipped a Gas Ambulance which has left for Madrid.

The Wandsworth, Battersea and East London Committees have each pledged themselves to provide an ambulance. Committees in Birmingham, Manchester, Croydon and Kingston, are all active, and their meetings have been so successful that they have promised further ambulances.

The Spanish Medical Aid Committee has been asked for 100 ambulances, altogether costing approximately £500 each.

To Save the Children Fund and the Society of Friends.

These two organisations, working through the Save the Children International Union are in close co-operation with the existing Spanish Social Services and Relief Committees.

Cocoa and milk canteens are being organised at stations such as Barcelona, Tartosa, Alcasar and Valencia for mothers and children after the journey from Madrid, and it is hoped to extend this work.

Distributing centres must be established for childrens hospitals, refugee colonies and individual refugees. Food products such as dried or condensed milk, flour, and farinaceous food stuffs, biscuits, rusks and cod-liver oil are urgently needed to stock these centres.

In Northern Spain where the rebels are in control, lack of clothing is greater than in other parts of the country. The Society of Friends and the Save the Children Fund have already sent bales of clothing and money to Burgos and Irun but there is still an urgent demand for coats, dresses, under wear, shoes and stockings.

In Catalonia and the east coast towns refugees are arriving in the only clothes they possess, and the mothers are anxious for material and knitting wool to make clothes for themselves and their children.

MILK FOR THE NORTH OF SPAIN.

The Milk Fund Sub-Committee has sent out its appeal for dried and condensed milk for Northern Spain, to all womens' organisations, and 117 cases of milk will be sent off to Bilbao this week end. The Sub-Committee hopes to despatch another £100s worth of milk shortly.

UNIVERSITY AMBULANCE UNIT.

An Ambulance Unit organised by Sir George Young and sponsored by distinguished representatives of the Universities has just left London for the Malaga front, where the need for hospital and medical equip-

ment has become immediate and imperative. The Unit is fully equipped with an ambulance, nurses, drivers and an interpreter. The equipment has been specially chosen by a doctor from the Spanish Medical Aid Committee. It is hoped that an auxiliary hospital will be established at Sir George Young's house at Torremolinos if this is still possible. Subscriptions or the offer of services of trained nurses and doctors, should be addressed to Viscount Churchill, 19 Southampton Buildings, Chancery Lane, E.C.4.

Lady Young and a representative of the Save the Children Fund have left to organise the relief in southern Spain. Arrangements have been made by the National Joint Committee with the Admiralty to forward supplies of food for Almeria via Gibraltar by a British destroyer.

YOUTH FOODSHIP COMMITTEE

The Spanish Youth Foodship Committee are intensifying their campaign for the next foodship, for which it is estimated at least £2000 are needed. Money and gifts of food are pouring in from all over the country and the Committee is making a special effort to obtain milk, beans, flour and potatoes, for which the need is most pressing.

SPANISH EXHIBITION COMMITTEE

The Spanish Exhibition Committee has organised an exhibition of posters, photographs and pictures of the war, which will be open from 20th Feb. to 20th March at 36 Ludgate Hill, E.C.4, from 11 a.m. to 9 p.m.

SPANISH WOMEN'S COMMITTEE

The Spanish Women's Committee are organising a Concert of Spanish Music and Dancing on Saturday afternoon, March 6th. at the Scala Theatre, Charlotte Street, W.C.1.

HOMES FOR REFUGEE CHILDREN

The greatest number of children has been received by France. 432 children have recently been settled in the Western Pyrenees, 50 boys in Grenoble and 190 boys and girls in the Loire district. In the Ile d'Oleron the co-operative youth movement is preparing accommodation for 400 refugee children.

Of the other European countries, Holland have agreed to take 288 and Belgium 300 children, while 50 have just been sent to Sweden. The Committee are arranging that only the most robust children shall be sent north. It is hoped that Switzerland, England and America will shortly have sufficient funds to do the same.

At the moment, 350 children are on the point of leaving Barcelona and a further convoy of 1700 is waiting to leave Bilbao.

From l'Oeuvre. Feb. 15th.

Future Issues of the Bulletin.

It is hoped that the Bulletin will be issued weekly. Copies can be obtained from:-

7, Victoria Street, S.W.1. Tele: Abbey 4192.

German (first summary)

I.M.72
29.1.36

THE LEAGUE AND THE GERMAN REFUGEES

The Jews in Germany

Jews have inhabited Germany since very early times and since communities existed in Cologne, etc., when these were Roman cities, before the arrival of the Germans themselves. In the Middle Ages they were very numerous, but the persecutions of the Crusading age thinned their ranks and drove large numbers of them to take refuge in Poland and Lithuania, where they were hospitably received. As Russia, in those days, refused to admit any Jews, the Jewish flood, driven eastward by persecutions in Western Europe, gradually piled itself up in Greater Poland (including Lithuania and the Polish Ukraine), where the Jews came to constitute almost the entire urban class.

The Jews left in Germany were far less numerous, but they formed important communities in Frankfurt and other towns and were at times very influential. They were subjected to various restrictions: forced to live in ghettos, to wear distinctive dress, etc., and prohibited from engaging in many occupations. They were emancipated only in the Nineteenth Century. A split then occurred in the ranks of the Jews themselves. Some remained "orthodox" but many accepted Christianity, and a majority, while retaining their religion, merged themselves as far as possible in the life of the country, becoming, so far as they were allowed, "good Germans". Before the War, it was commonly alleged by enemies of both races, for example, during the Dreyfus case in France, that the Germans and the Jews were in an unholy alliance. In Germany itself, however, there was still much prejudice against the Jews. They were excluded almost entirely from the army, navy and civil service. Most of them, therefore, engaged in commerce, industry and banking, or became doctors or lawyers, forming a relatively high percentage of these two professions. The German census of 1910 gave 615,021 Jews (mostly in Prussia) out of a total German population of 63,051,979.

When Poland was partitioned, some Polish Jews became German citizens, and these were, for the most part, assimilated. Most of Poland fell to Russia, which maintained the anti-Jewish restrictions. Austria emancipated her Jews, but the swarming masses of Galicia were too numerous to be assimilated and many of the Jews who migrated thence to Vienna retained their old oriental appearance and habits. The Christian Social Party founded some years before the War in Vienna, was largely directed against the Jews who, it was alleged, were squeezing the small Christian shop-keepers and industrials out of existence. The Austrian Jews were far more prominent in the commercial and intellectual life of their country than were their German colleagues.

During the War, Germany occupied most of Poland, and General Ludendorff issued a proclamation beginning "to my dear Jews," promising them equal rights (in Poland) and urging them not to let themselves "as several times in the past, be duped by flattering promises". A considerable number of these "Eastern

- 2 -

Jews" migrated to Berlin, although only about 12,500 of them became German citizens. It is relevant to remark that the census of 1925 gave 564,379 Jews in Germany out of a total population of 62,419,619 - a lower proportion than before the War. There were also 76,387 Jewish non-citizens. The War, however, like every crisis in most countries where Jews are at all numerous, increased anti-Semitism. The Jews were accused, although falsely, of evading service at the front, and of profiteering.

The "Great Betrayal"

An important factor in the position is that the Jews were numerous among the leaders of the Socialist and Communist parties in Germany. The fact that Karl Marx, the spiritual author of the form of Socialism accepted by the Second and Third Internationals, was a Jew (although not a devout one) made more plausible the argument addressed by the prejudiced to the credulous that Socialism was a Jewish World Conspiracy for the establishment of their own hegemony. At the end of the War, after the defeat of the Germany armies, the Socialists condemned imperialism, which had led Germany into the War, and urged a peace by understanding. They were accused by their enemies of undermining the German morale. The revolution at the end of the War brought the Socialists into power. As such, they were obliged, under great duress, to sign and ratify the Treaty of Versailles. One of President Wilson's avowed War aims had been the destruction of arbitrary and militarist autocracies. The Left, who had overthrown the military clique in Germany, hoped that the Allies would recognise a new and regenerate spirit in Germany. Unfortunately the terms of the Treaty were as harsh as could have been imposed on the old Germany, and colour was thereby lent to the allegation that the Socialists had left Germany helpless for her enemies to trample on her. The anti-Semites blamed the Jews for this.

The position of the Jews in Germany certainly improved under the Republic. More of them were allowed to enter the public services, although in 1932 Jews only numbered 0.32 of all officials in Prussia, and the old Civil Service was left practically intact. The disturbed financial conditions, however, allowed the more agile Jews to strengthen their position in commerce, industry and the free professions, while the old German middle classes were largely ruined by the depreciation of the currency.

The Nazi Movement

The National Socialist Movement was founded, characteristically, by an Austrian, Adolf Hitler, a man of great moral fervour and of an exceptional power of generalising from the particular. He had passed his youth in Vienna, where he was shocked by the appearance and manners of the less reputable Jews, and was ill-used by the Socialists. He also read and believed the works of Houston Stewart Chamberlain, who believed in the existence of a pure "Aryan" Germanic race, to which he ascribed all the virtues. This became the cardinal point in Hitler's creed. He believed that the existence of the Jews was a menace to the German stock, that through Socialism they had

invented a diabolic instrument for overthrowing the German and establishing their own rules; and, in particular, that through the Socialist party they had brought Germany to shame and ruin in 1918, fastening upon her the "Shame-Treaty" of Versailles.

The elimination of Jewish influence is thus not incidental to his party programme, but the central part of it. His doctrines were eagerly absorbed by the youthful members of the ruined middle classes, who had suffered from the narrow and exclusive attitude of organised German Labour, and by the peasants who were being forced to pay exceedingly high rates on their mortgages. A campaign of hatred against the Jews was preached for years by the Nazis. It was the more effective because it appealed both to the lower instincts of greed and envy, and to the higher emotions of patriotism and pride.

The Anti-Jewish Campaign

The anti-Jewish measures taken by the Nazis since they came into power on January 30th, 1933, can only be described briefly here. A considerable number of outrages and acts of terrorism, including acts of private revenge, took place during the first weeks, with the connivance of those in power. On March 10th Captain Goring told his followers:

"We have been saying to the people for years that they might settle accounts with the traitors. We stand by our word: accounts are being settled".

Hitler, however, ordered the Storm Troops to cease acts of political terror.

At the end of March, concentration camps were set up for persons disagreeable to the Government, including Jews. An agitation against the Jews having arisen outside Germany, the "Nazi Movement" announced that it would take "the most drastic legal counter-measures" and an anti-Jewish boycott was started, which, however, lasted only a few days. The main legal measures which have been introduced are as follows:

Civil Service: officials of non-Aryan descent to be dismissed. To be non-Aryan, it is sufficient to have one "non-Aryan" parent or grandparent, especially if he or she is a Jew, or married to a Jew. Persons who held office on or before August 1, 1914, who fought at the front in the War, or whose fathers or sons fell in the War, are exempted. Officials may also be dismissed if they seem politically (nationally) unreliable, or demoted if they lack requisite education and training.

This Act applies not only to established officials, but to workers and salaried employees in the service of the Government, State, or local authorities, public corporations, etc.,

Under a later Order, its scope was extended to the judicature, solicitors, the teaching profession, including the staff of Universities and higher schools (except Jewish Schools), the police and national militia, and persons holding honorary posts.

Doctors and dentists not of Aryan descent may not be employed on the panel of sickness insurance funds, and by a private arrangement they are also excluded from the subsidiary funds.

The competent organs of the judicature are authorised to expel from the bar all "non-Aryans", and to refuse admission to non-Aryans in the future. This order has been extended to apply to licensed patent agents, taxation experts and customs agents.

By a private arrangement, non-Aryans are excluded from all work connected with films.

Non-Aryan students are only admitted to secondary and higher schools in a proportion of 1.5 per cent. of the total admissions. For those whose education is already in progress a figure of 5 per cent is allowed.

Only "Aryans" are to be admitted to the Commercial Employees' Organisation.

Further, selected lists of persons (about 100 in all) to be deprived of German nationality were published from time to time. These included such distinguished names as the physicist Einstein, the novelists Mann and Feuchtwanger, etc., etc. The second stage in the systematic anti-Jewish campaign was not reached until September 1935, when the so-called "Nuremberg Laws" were passed. These are two in number, and are based on principles clearly enunciated in Hitler's book "Mein Kampf". The first, the "Reichsbürgergesetz" or law on citizenship, divides German nationals into two classes, citizens (Bürger) and nationals (Staatsangehörige). All German Nationals whose fathers were also nationals continue as "Staatsangehörige" and enjoy the protection of the State; but citizenship is obtained by appointment only, and only German nationals of German or kindred blood are eligible for it. All Jews, including persons of mixed blood, are thus automatically excluded, while even "Aryans" are not certain of becoming citizens. Anti-Nazis, physical weaklings and women (until they marry citizens or otherwise prove their worth) are excluded.

The second law "for the protection of the German blood and German honour" is specifically directed against the Jews, against whom it revives some of the legislation of the mediæval church. It lays down four general principles: (1) marriage between Jews and German subjects of German or kindred blood is prohibited, and invalid if concluded in spite of the law, even abroad; (2) Extra-matrimonial relations between the above parties are prohibited, under pain, in the man's case, of prison or even penal servitude; (3) Jews may not keep in their households female employees of German or similar blood and under the age of 45; (4) Jews may not hoist the German flag. The scope of this law is confined at present to full Jews.

Meanwhile, although according to Herr Hitler, a Jew has nothing to fear so long as he behaves as a Jew and does not try to mix with Germans, yet the boycott of Jews and the campaign of calumny and persecution

conducted against them by Herr Streicher, in particular, was revived with renewed vigour after a short lull, and seemed in 1935 to be more fierce than ever.

As a result of this persecution, incurred or threatened, many refugees fled across the German frontiers, creating a serious problem particularly in the countries bordering on Germany, where they were naturally most numerous. An early estimate of the refugees in December, 1933, was as follows:

France, 25,000; Palestine, 6,500; Poland, 6,000; Czechoslovakia, 5,000; Holland, 5,000; United Kingdom, 3,000; Belgium, 2,500; Switzerland, 2,500; Scandinavia, 1,500; Austria, 800; Saar and Luxemburg, 500; other countries, 1,000. Later (end of 1933) the number of refugees was estimated at 80,000. About 80 per cent. of the refugees were Jews, and a very high proportion belonged to the educated classes, many being very distinguished savants, doctors, etc. About 600 are academic, 1,500 are students, and more than 5,000 are professional workers.

League Action

It was difficult for the League to take any action in Germany itself, as, except for Upper Silesia, Germany itself is not bound by any minority obligations, such as were imposed on many States in 1919, largely with the aim of enforcing tolerance towards their Jewish populations. An appeal against the anti-Jewish ordinances, in so far as they applied to Upper Silesia, was made in May under the Upper Silesian Convention, by Mr. Bernheim, a Jew. After stubborn argument, the German Government declared that it held itself bound by its international engagements and would repeal any legislation contrary to the Convention. The anti-Jewish laws were, in fact, repealed, in so far as they applied to Upper Silesia; but the unofficial boycott continued, so that the legal changes were of small effect.

At the XVth Assembly (September 1933) there were almost universal expressions of disapproval at Germany's policy towards the Jews. These were expressed particularly frankly by Mr. Ormsby-Gore, speaking for Great Britain. After prolonged discussion the Assembly adopted a resolution re-affirming its resolution of 1922, in which it called upon States not bound by Minority Treaties to observe in the treatment of their minorities at least as high a standard of justice and toleration as is required by any of the treaties. Although everyone knew that this resolution was aimed at the Germans, the latter accepted it, because they took up the view that the Jews in Germany were not a minority but a social and economic problem. The German delegate voted against a second paragraph declaring that no interpretation of the Treaty, or of the above recommendation, could be accepted as valid which excluded certain categories of citizens from its scope. The single adverse (German) vote prevented the Assembly from adopting this resolution. The moral effect of the discussion is, however, just as great as if the resolution had been adopted. In the absence of Treaties, moral pressure is the only weapon which the League can use in this case.

There seemed, however, a possibility that the League might take action to help the refugees, and the Dutch delegate suggested that the Nansen Organisation should take charge also of the German refugees. A difficulty arose, since the Nansen Office reports to the League Council, and Germany, who was then still a member of the Council, objected. Finally a compromise was arranged as follows:

The Council appointed a High Commissioner to negotiate and direct collaboration between the States containing refugees, Jewish or other, and particularly to try and find work for the refugees. It was to report, not to the League, but to a Governing Body, composed of representatives of the countries interested and of the main charitable societies, which forwarded the reports to the countries interested.

The Council appointed as Commissioner Mr. James G. MacDonald, of New York, formerly Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Foreign Policy Association of the U.S.A.

The countries invited to send representatives to the Governing Body were Netherlands, France, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Switzerland, Denmark, Italy, United Kingdom, Sweden, Spain, U.S.A., Argentine, Brazil and Uruguay. Lord Cecil was elected Chairman.

The League's Nansen Office advanced the new organisation a small sum for initial expenses.

The High Commissioner's organisation did not undertake the direct work of relief, but concentrated on the co-ordination of existing relief and settlement work, negotiations with Governments for travelling facilities, etc. The relief was carried out in the different countries by bodies formed in most of them. In England, for example, the Academic Committee, the International Student Service, the Save The Children Fund, the Friends' Service Council, etc., and the various charitable societies have all been at work in their different fields. The Jewish Societies distributed funds to all refugees from Germany impartially, and raised 95 per cent. of the funds, although only 80 per cent. of the refugees are Jewish. The Central British Fund and the American Joint Distribution Committee, in conjunction with the American Palestine Campaign, pressed their efforts to raise £200,000 and \$3,000,000 to set the work on a sound financial footing. The Student Service gave scholarships to the more promising refugee children. Re-education camps were started in Sweden, Holland, France, and England, to give refugees training either in handicrafts or, more particularly, in agriculture (in order to fit them for later settlement in Palestine and elsewhere). A "Corporation for Refugee Rehabilitation" was set up in New York, which advanced funds to refugees on an investment basis.

Governments were induced to postpone or soften administrative regulations which would have made the lot of the refugees more difficult. Many Governments are now issuing the identity documents recommended by the League in 1927 for other categories of refugees. Some countries of potential permanent settlement consented to lessen the restrictions on immigration, and gave

Czechs & statelessness

permits to refugees with special qualifications, or organised in co-operative groups, to establish themselves. In some cases these refugees started important new industries which have given employment to the workers of the countries receiving them. Some doctors, teachers, etc., were found posts in overseas countries, while a number of refugee doctors were admitted to English and Scottish Universities to enable them to obtain a medical qualification to practice later in parts of the British Empire. The Academic Assistance Council, which received generous support both from Jewish and other organisations, did admirable work in the placing of teachers and research scholars. In March 1935 it was reported by Universities, hospitals, etc., that out of 650 scholars who had left Germany, 248 had already been re-established in permanent positions, including 40 in the University of Istanbul and 18 in the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Selected applicants for such positions were being temporarily subsidised by the relief organisations. The Governing Body has recommended Governments to allow a reasonable number of refugees to be apprenticed to industrial enterprises, or admitted to technical schools. More than 100 have been apprenticed in technical workshops and trades in England. Most of the refugees who are still young enough for retraining have now been prepared, or are being prepared for new vocations.

Another difficulty has lain in the fact that many of the refugees do not possess valid documents of identity. Some few, as was said, were denationalised by the German Government; others are unable to renew their passports when their validity expired. The Governing Body recommended States to adopt the system devised by the League in 1927 for travelling and identity documents for persons of no nationality or doubtful nationality, and the High Commissioner did a great deal to facilitate the travel and emigration of the refugees. A Central Information Bureau on Emigration was set up in London. In this way emigration was organised to Palestine (in particular), the U.S.A. and other countries, and the worst congestion in a few centres was relieved. The numbers in November 1934 were estimated as follows:

62,000
France, 21,000; Palestine, 10,000; Poland, 8,000; Czechoslovakia, 3,500; Holland, 2,500; United Kingdom, 2,000; Belgium, 2,300; Switzerland, 2,500; Scandinavia, 2,500; Austria, 800; Saar and Luxemburg, 1,000; Spain, 1,000; Italy, 800; U.S.A., 2,500; other countries, 2,000. Later, the emigration to Palestine was greatly intensified.

In December 1935 it was estimated that of the 80,000 refugees who had then left Germany about three-quarters had found homes - more than half in Palestine - or had been repatriated to their country of origin. Some 15,000 then remained unplaced.

It should be added that much valuable work for Jews is being done in Germany itself. There is a Reich Executive and a Central Committee for Relief and Reconstruction, the latter consisting of three main branches. Of these, the Repatriation Department in 1933 arranged for the return to their countries of origin of 18,649 Jews, including 8,804 to Poland, 2,200 to Hungary and 2,000 to Czechoslovakia. These emigrants do not come

within the purview of the League organisation; but the constancy of the stream of emigration - between April and September, 1933, alone, 30,000 persons applied to this section for advice about settlement abroad -- shows that this problem is not going to be quickly solved. The Central Office of Jewish Economic Relief gives credit to Jewish shop-keepers, etc., and trains workers for new posts. At present over 3,000 dismissed clerks, stenographers, etc., are being trained in handicrafts, and nearly as many on the land. The Cultural Department is organising and maintaining Jewish schools, theatres, concerts., etc.,

In the spring of 1935 the numbers under the charge of the Office were again slightly increased when the Saar was handed over to Germany. A number of refugees from the Saar then entered France, some being Saarlander, while a few hundreds were refugees from Germany who had fled to the Saar and were now moving on. The former were given Nansen Passports and taken over by the Nansen Office, but the latter category were put under Mr. McDonald's organisation.

At the end of 1935 Mr. McDonald resigned. In a lengthy memorandum explaining his action, he enumerated the various anti-Jewish acts and laws of the German Government which, he declared, made it inevitable that a still larger emigration must take place in the near future. He urged that since any organisation outside the League was comparatively ineffectual, and the reasons for maintaining such an organisation no longer existed since Germany had left the League, the League (besides making a solemn appeal to Germany to alter her policy) ought to make a combined and sustained effort to solve the whole problem.

At the previous (1935) Assembly, a special League Committee had been set up to consider the whole refugee problem, including that of the Nansen Office, and to report to the Council. A few days after Mr. McDonald's resignation, this Committee published its report. It seemed to suppose that the problem of the Russian, Armenian, etc., refugees was in fact growing less serious, but agreed with Mr. McDonald that the Jewish emigration from Germany was likely to continue, and perhaps even to increase. It therefore recommended appointing, as a temporary measure, a "personality" to carry on the High Commissioner's work, prepare an inter-governmental Conference with a view to establishing a general system of legal protection for refugees from Germany and possibly all refugees; work out a programme of overseas settlement; and report on the situation to the next Assembly. After that Assembly, the German service was to be attached to the Nansen Office as "an additional but separate service", and when the Office was wound up -- which the Committee wanted to be done in 1938 -- the German service should be continued as an autonomous body placed under the auspices of the League.

The Council decided to refer to the 1936 Assembly the permanent part of these recommendations. As regards the temporary measures a small sub-committee was appointed, which authorised the President of the Council to appoint a successor to Mr. McDonald. He was (1) to organise an inter-Governmental Conference with a view to arranging a system of legal protection for refugees coming from Germany; (2) to consult with Governments on finding employment and homes for them; (3) to establish liaison with the private associations.

Jan 29 = "More manly"
+ big (below)

CREDITS FOR DISTRESSED COUNTRIES.

At the 25th ordinary general meeting of Barclays Bank Ltd, at Cannon Street Hotel, E.C. Mr. F.C. Goodenough the Chairman in the course of his speech said in relation to credits for distressed countries:-

Many proposals are put forward for granting credits to the distressed countries of Europe, in order that they may purchase the necessaries of life, raw materials with which to re-start their manufactures and trades, and rolling stock and railway material to enable them to bring down their natural products to the ports, and thus provide themselves with a basis of exchange. There are great difficulties in carrying these proposals into effect so long as the currency conditions of these countries are unsound, because of the interval of time between the granting of the credit and the date of its maturity. So long as currency can be increased at will, without any relation to real value, the economic condition of a country may rapidly change for the worse before the due date of a credit, and if payment for goods is accepted in currency, its value as a medium of exchange has no stable basis. Until, therefore, the currency conditions of the distressed countries of Europe have been satisfactorily dealt with, the rehabilitation of these countries seems to be almost impossible. Each case would probably differ according to the circumstances and the conditions which prevail. In some cases it may not be possible to make a beginning except by demonetising the existing note issues and scrapping them, or by adding their total upon certain terms to the funded debt of the country. The country concerned could then make a fresh start with a new currency, based on value in a ratio of gold borrowed for the purpose, and governed by a system that is capable of expansion and contraction. The credit scheme provided by our Government for facilitating trade with the distressed countries of Europe has not been successful, probably because those desirous of making use of it have to accept a stake in the unstable currency of the country concerned. Any assistance that we could give would be better employed in helping the countries concerned to establish a sound currency system. All these distressed countries form an integral part of the world's economic system, in addition to Germany and Austria, and it is a fact that we cannot afford to exclude either Germany or Austria, with their great populations, from the right to participate in the world's trade. Their markets are as essential to us (and to America) as are the markets of America and our markets to them. The complete collapse of Germany, through her inability to trade, would not only prove a calamity to the neutral countries, but would render remote the possibility of payment of any portion of her indemnity, and these two facts would probably precipitate a crisis throughout Europe, in which the whole world might become involved. (Daily Telegraph, 29th January, 1920.)

Fight the Famine Council,
103. Premier House,
Southampton Row, London, W.C.

Non-German (first summary)

I.M.18a.
16.10.35.

THE RELIEF OF REFUGEES

Revolutions and wars create another class of victim, whose fate is, in the long run, often even worse than that of the prisoner of war. The prisoner has a home awaiting him, if he can return to it; the refugee has had to abandon all he possessed, and flee for dear life. He has to remake his whole future.

After the Russian revolution, and the fighting that followed it, hundreds of thousands of people, probably at least 1,500,000, who had been connected with the old regime fled into the neighbouring countries, from Poland to China. The different countries were looking after them as best they could, sheltering them in concentration camps, giving them odd jobs of work, feeding some of them through charitable agencies. But the countries which contained the most refugees were precisely those whose own plight was most difficult. Funds were running out, and no provision was being made for settling the refugees permanently.

There were one or two centres in which the problem was quite particularly urgent. In November, 1920, General Wrangel, who had been fighting the Bolsheviki in South Russia, evacuated the Crimea and arrived in Constantinople with about 135,000 persons, about 100,000 of which were soldiers. The British and French Governments and the American and other charities spent enormous sums on relieving distress among these people; but even so, conditions were so bad that refugees were found dead of starvation in the streets.

In February, 1921, the great charitable organisations asked the League to appoint "a super-national political authority" to supervise and co-ordinate their work, organise employment for the refugees and define their legal position. The League thereupon (August, 1921) appointed Dr. Nansen as High Commissioner.

Dr. Nansen's duties were administrative only and he was not appointed to give direct relief, for which, indeed, no funds were subscribed; but in view of the very particular circumstances in Constantinople, he was empowered to grant relief there, as a special measure. The bulk of the funds were, however, subscribed by the Governments interested, headed by the British and the French.

Emergency measures were taken at once in Constantinople. Arrangements were made for feeding and clothing the refugees, and an urgent appeal was issued to various countries to enable the refugees to disperse. Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and other countries took large numbers, and by the time the work was finished, refugees had been sent to no less than forty-four countries, including the U.S.A., Palestine, Canada and the Far East. Repeated interventions prevailed on the Turks not to expel the remainder until homes had been found for them, and most of the few who remained were eventually nationalised.

P.T.O.

The larger task consisted in dispersing the refugees from the centres in Eastern Europe, where they were crowded together, and finding them new homes and work wherever they could profitably be employed. This involved not only placing them within the economic system, but also providing them with a legal status. Most of the refugees had lost all the identity papers which they had ever possessed. They were entirely without protection, since the Bolshevik Government disowned them, and having no papers, they could not obtain passports to travel. Moreover, many countries were unwilling on principle to accept the unfortunate Russians, both because of the state of their own labour markets, where unemployment was rife, and because they feared that the refugees would turn out to be Bolshevik agitators.

One of Dr. Nansen's most important and most difficult tasks was to provide the refugees with a legal status. He succeeded in persuading practically all the Governments concerned to adopt and recognise the so-called "Nansen certificates", papers which served the refugees in the place of passports. At first the Governments were only willing to give these papers to refugees living in their territory or wishing to leave it, but afterwards, under a series of "Inter-Governmental Arrangements", they allowed return visas to be given on the certificates, and agreed to the appointment of representatives in each country which contained many refugees. These people acted as consuls for the refugees; certified their identity, signatures, etc., intervened with the authorities, where necessary, and helped them in other ways.

The certificates enabled the refugees to move away from the congested centres. The further problem was to find them work, and to make them self-supporting. The ideal solution would have been repatriation, but there were political difficulties in the way of this. Dr. Nansen arranged, however, for a certain number of volunteers to return to Russia, and was able to assure himself afterwards that they were well treated.

The rest had to be dispersed in various countries. Fortunately, some countries, notably France, were in need of labour. The work of Nansen's office consisted in finding the posts and arranging for the transport. A thousand and one details had to be arranged; the job and the worker brought together, the labour permit and visa obtained, the fare advanced - perhaps a country en route would grant a reduction - a small sum provided for a start. An ingenious arrangement was devised. The state issuing or renewing a permis de sejour affixed to it a "Nansen stamp" for 5 gold francs, paid by the refugee. Thus a "revolving fund" was created, out of which the first advances were paid. These were repaid as the refugees became established.

As the work was so closely connected with the labour market, it was for a time taken over by the International Labour Office, but transferred back to Dr. Nansen when it was seen that the real difficulties were political rather than economic. Meanwhile, the scope of the service was extended to cover some other kinds of refugees. Above all, there were the Armenians. This unfortunate people had been most cruelly persecuted by the Turks. Practically half the entire nation had perished, the survivors taking refuge in Greece, Bulgaria, Syria, etc. There were a few other smaller groups, the largest of which were the Assyrians. This ancient Christian people had taken the side of the Allies in the War against the Turks, under whom they had formerly been living, and had been obliged to flee from Turkey. They were stranded in Iraq, the Caucasus and other places, including Russia and France. The other groups taken under Dr. Nansen's protection were the Assyro-Chaldaeans and a few Turks.

Most of the Russians were settled as individuals, or in quite small groups. A few went overseas to Brazil or Canada; but more often, they found work in mines or factories, or on farms in Europe. Bulgaria and Yugoslavia took considerable numbers of the educated classes into their Government services. These two countries, with France and Czechoslovakia, did excellent work in a field in which Dr. Nansen always took special interest — the provision of scholarships and other facilities to enable scholars and students to complete their education. Some of the older generation, with made reputations, had been welcomed to English, French or American universities; but for those whose studies had been incomplete when the catastrophe overtook them, it was much harder, and but for this care, an immense amount of valuable human brains would have been wasted on coarse manual labour. Many refugees were advanced small sums to set up in little businesses as tabacconists, dealers in antiques, etc.

The difficulties proved, however, very great. As late as 1934 the Assembly was shocked to learn the plight of several thousand Russian women in Harbin and other ports of the Far East, who were being driven to a life of vice by their destitution and that of their menfolk. No funds were available at Geneva, so that the Assembly could only initiate a thorough enquiry, draw the attention of the local authorities, and arrange for a welfare worker to act in the League's name in rescuing and rehabilitating these unhappy women.

The Armenians were in rather different case, as there were no great political difficulties against repatriating many of them to the Armenian Soviet Republic of Erivan, in the Caucasus. Erivan was willing to take all the Armenians whom it could accommodate; but before any large number could be settled, it wanted to irrigate some semi-desert lands, and for this purpose, to raise a loan. The money was more than the Armenians themselves could raise unaided, and although experts sent by the League reported that the scheme

was "technically sound and commercially possible", Governments were unwilling to accept the security offered by the Soviets, and after years of negotiation, and in spite of repeated and moving appeals by Dr. Nansen, the scheme eventually fell through. Later, however, Erivan took several thousands of Armenians, in smaller batches.

A larger settlement scheme was carried through in Syria, where many Armenians had taken refuge. For years they remained rotting in refugee camps outside the great towns — dreadful congeries built of twigs, rubbish and empty tins, decimated by malaria from the marshes near by, and by other diseases. Then the I.L.O. and the French Government between them organised the settlement of this clever and industrious people, some in villages on the land, others in new industrial quarters in the towns. Gradually the camps were cleared and about 30,000 people restored to self-respect.

It was expected to complete the clearance of the camps by 1933, but after 1930 the rate of settlement slowed down greatly owing to the economic crisis. The camps are thus not yet empty; but it is hoped to complete the settlement in another year or two.

The two biggest pieces of work were, however, carried out in Greece and Bulgaria. In the autumn of 1922, after Greeks and Turks had been fighting in Asia Minor, the Turkish army advanced down to the western coast, where numbers of Greeks had lived since time immemorial, finally taking and burning the great Greek city of Smyrna. The devastation was indescribable. In Constantinople, 150,000 Greeks and Armenians arrived, bringing every kind of disease in their train. General Harrington, the British Commander-in-Chief, has told of smallpox cases shipped in open boats and allowed to land. One boat had 70 cases on board, of which 24 died before help could be given. Things were far worse still in Smyrna. It was one of the most horrible scenes of modern times. The Turkish soldiers pursued the refugees to the very quays, shooting men and carrying away girls. The British ships could only take off a few.

From Anatolia and Thrace hundreds of thousands of refugees fled into Greece. Nearly half a million were evacuated from Smyrna and the neighbouring parts in a few days alone. The total number, counting those who came in later, was probably over 1,200,000.

Dr. Nansen was empowered to deal with the situation. He hurried to the spot, arranged for the supply of food and medical stores, and for the speedy evacuation of the homeless refugees. His hurriedly-organised medical service stopped the outbreak of severe epidemics, and thousands were saved from death by starvation. Then the work of re-settlement began systematically. The Greeks and Turks who could no longer live in one another's countries were exchanged. Thus a quantity of land was left vacant, mainly

in northern Greece and on this the refugees were settled, each family receiving a few acres -- pasture, arable land, tobacco-field or market garden, according to their needs and abilities. An international loan was raised, and with the proceeds houses were built, wells sunk, rivers regulated, marshes drained. Whole new villages arose in waste and unpeopled areas. Live-stock was imported -- mules, oxen, buffaloes for ploughing, sheep and poultry. Vine stocks were brought from California. Mulberry trees, tobacco and roses were planted for the famous attar. By this means the majority of the refugees were settled on the land, given a start, and turned into decent, self-supporting farmers. To-day they form one of the most contented and valued sections of the population of Greece. Other refugees were townsmen. They settled in Athens and other Greek towns, where whole new suburbs sprang up. The famous Smyrna carpet industry has now moved bodily, with the men who used to practice it, from Smyrna to the Piraeus.

All this work was in charge of a League Commission. At the end of 1930 the Commission handed over its work, which was nearly completed, to the Greek Government. It had received from loans, receipts, etc., nearly £15,000,000 of which it had spent about £10,500,000 on rural settlement, over £2,000,000 on urban settlement, £12,320 on arts and crafts and £100,000 on the carpet industry. It has built over 50,000 agricultural houses and nearly 30,000 urban houses. It had established about 170,000 agricultural and 25,000 urban families, and maintained them through their subsequent difficulties at a cost which worked out at £1.4s.0d. per head per annum. It had found some of the most hideous misery of modern years; it left behind it peace, industry and the beginnings of a sound and lasting prosperity.

A similar settlement scheme, on rather more modest lines, was carried out in Bulgaria. Here the influx of refugees was not so sudden as in Greece; but during the Balkan Wars and during and after the World War, about 220,000 refugees had come in, of whom about half were homeless and landless, and constituted an economic, social and political danger. The Greek plan was taken as a model; an international loan was raised, and the refugees settled, largely in districts of eastern Bulgaria which had formerly been arid plain or malarial marsh, but were now made habitable by irrigation and drainage. Like the Greeks, the Bulgarian refugees proved sterling material and amply justified the confidence placed in them.

Dr. Nansen died suddenly in 1930. Thereafter, his work was carried on by the "Nansen International Office for Refugees", an "International Bureau" under the auspices of the League, which grants it a small subsidy. It was hoped to wind up the work by the end of 1938.

The Office set to work bravely, continued the task of dispersing and settling the refugees, and carried through useful work in other fields also, notably by the preparation

in 1933 of a Convention putting refugees in the same position as nationals of the countries harbouring them as regards labour laws, admission to hospitals and similar matters, and laying down the principle that refugees should not be expelled from any country unless they had another place to go to.

Before 1938,^{3?} however, much had happened.

In the first place, fresh categories of refugees appeared on the scene. Firstly, there were the Assyrians. This people of mountaineers and warriors had taken up arms against Turkey in the World War, left their homes in Turkey, and after much wandering settled in Iraq, then under British mandate, serving in part as British levies. The frontier between Iraq and Turkey, when drawn, unfortunately left to Turkey the old homes of the Assyrians, so that they could not return. The mountains were, moreover, occupied by Kurds and religious hatreds embittered the relations between the Christian Assyrians and the Moslem Arabs and Kurds. In 1933, after Iraq had become independent, fighting broke out. Many Assyrian men, women and children were massacred, while some of the survivors took refuge in Syria. The League stepped in, and secured the safety and maintenance of the survivors. After a long and disheartening search, in which the possibilities of Brazil, British Guiana and many other places were canvassed, it accepted an offer to settle those Assyrians who wished to leave Iraq in the Ghab area of the French mandated territory of the Levant. The cost will be about £600,00, of which Great Britain and Iraq are to subscribe about £250,000 each, while the League Assembly in 1935 agreed to vote the remaining sum required.

In 1933 the League took charge of one further category of refugee. The behaviour of the "Nazi" Government in Germany had forced thousands of Jews, Socialists and other persons to flee from Germany. There were probably quite 25,000 such refugees in France alone, and many more in the other countries neighbouring on Germany, and in Palestine. The total number of refugees from Germany was estimated in September, 1935, as high as 80,000. Germany objected to the Nansen Office taking charge of these refugees, because the Office reports to the League Council, so a compromise was arranged. The Council appointed a High Commissioner (Mr. J.G. MacDonald, an American) to direct collaboration between the states containing refugees, and to find work for them. He reports to, and is helped by, a Governing Body consisting of representatives of the Governments interested, and of the great charitable organisations.

On the other hand, when a fresh influx — much smaller, it is true; it numbered only 3,000 to 4,000 — entered France from the Saar, after the plebiscite early in 1935, the Nansen Office was able to assume control. Most of the refugees were actually placed in France.

The problem of the refugees from Germany was very different from that of, say, the Bulgarians. A very high proportion of the former were intellectuals, in some cases men of world repute. Some of these found new posts where their attainments could be exercised; others had to be retrained for agricultural and industrial work.

About 25,000 refugees from Germany migrated straight overseas, to the U.S.A. or to Palestine, which was fortunately able to receive a large number of Jews. Within two years, nearly half the total had settled overseas. Perhaps half of the rest had been repatriated in Central or Eastern Europe, or had found niches for themselves, but some 25,000 remained unsettled. Here, as everywhere, there was a grave lack of funds, although the Jewish and other charitable organisations had been extremely generous.

By 1935 it had become quite clear that the refugee problem was not going to be wound up in three more years. The report to the 1935 Assembly said that of the refugees under the Nansen Office alone, and not counting America and some European countries which did not keep statistics, there were still 737,303 Russians, 224,538 Armenians, 6,990 Assyrians and Assyro-Chaldeans, 60 Turks and 3,300 Saarlanders. Of these 92,844 were unemployed (not counting the unemployed in France, Poland and Latvia, for whom no figures exist) although able to work; 20,000 in the Harbin region were in complete destitution; 31,131 were aged or infirm and 16,379 young children.

737,303
224,538
6,990
60
3,300

972,191

Apart from these, there were the 25,000 unsettled refugees from Germany and very many other groups of whom no official cognisance has been taken; refugees from Hungary, Austria, Italy, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and other countries, besides at least 100,000 persons left without nationalities through the inconsistency of the various Peace Treaties of Central Europe.

The lot of these refugees is on the whole getting not better but worse. With the advent of the great depression every country has tightened up its labour laws, and many refugees who had been established for years have become unemployed. Moreover, for the most trivial offences, or merely for their poverty, refugees are served with expulsion orders, and as they have no country to which to go they are imprisoned for disobeying them. Their mere existence becomes criminal. So far only three states — Norway, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia — have ratified the 1933 Convention, and that with reservations.

There is a strong feeling that the League's original programme of winding up the Nansen Office in 1938 cannot possibly stand; that on the contrary, a great new effort, with a co-ordination of all the League's forces, is needed. The 1935 Assembly debated the point, and a Committee was set up to report to the Council. Meanwhile, the Nansen Office and the High Commissioner are actively continuing their efforts to find for the refugees final settlement and absorption.

WORK TOWARDS THE LIQUIDATION AND SETTLEMENT
OF REFUGEE PROBLEMS 1935-6

I. THE SAAR

Almost all the refugees from the Saar, numbering approximately 3,300, went to France. There they were at first concentrated in camps, but have since scattered throughout the various departments. The French Government has helped with generous grants to the amount of 9 to 10 million francs, and a large number of refugees have been absorbed in employment. But about 200 families remain who have failed to settle down and find employment, and a policy of transporting them overseas is considered the best solution of their problem. To this end a favourable arrangement was made with the Paraguayan Government, but unfortunately the organisation of the emigration of the refugees has been held up by lack of the necessary funds. Two small shiploads of 42 people have already been despatched, and the League was asked to give a credit of 400,000 Swiss francs necessary for the despatch of the remainder, which it is claimed will effect the final liquidation of the Saar refugee problem.

II. THE ARMENIANS

(a) Settlement in Syria

Considerable progress has been made in clearing the pest-ridden Armenian refugee camps, and 4,500 houses for 30,000 Armenians have been built with the help of 11,500,000 French francs and contributions made by the Armenians themselves. But there are still 71,500 families living at Aleppo and Beirut in tumbledown hutments whose existence is a menace to public health. The Nansen Office is combating this evil by continuing its efforts, hitherto so successful, and predicts the final liquidation of the problem in the near future.

(b) Settlement in the Armenian Soviet Republic of Erivan

With the consent and encouragement of U.S.S.R. the Nansen Office has continued the transportation of refugees to Erivan. On May 9th, 1,300 refugees were transferred from France, the cost being borne partly by the French Government, partly by the Nansen Office, and partly by the Armenian Refugees Organisation in France.

Enthusiastic accounts have been received from the Greek and Bulgarian refugees who were sent earlier:

"Beautiful buildings are gradually rising from the sands. Five years ago the ground was a useless steppe; now nearly 2,000 people live in their own properties endowed with all conveniences..... "It is a happy and

thriving community. The children who five years ago were hopelessly wandering in the streets of the Piraeus are now a healthy and enthusiastic set of pupils at learning and gymnastics. Their parents work in factories and institutions. In the mellow and bracing air of Haieston in the spring you hear songs and music from every house."

The report of the Nansen Office's representative in Greece writes of the Armenians there: "The state of these refugees is desperate" is a striking contrast.

The Erivan republic announces its willingness to receive from 10,000 to 15,000 more refugees, though it will be unable to provide the housing accommodation which it has hitherto done, for the new arrivals. Eventually when the whole plain of Sardarabad has been irrigated, it will doubtless be willing to absorb the whole of the Armenian refugees, who cannot number more than 30,000, who desire to dwell there. If the necessary capital can be found for transportation and housing of refugees in Erivan, this seems to offer the ideal solution of their problem.

III. THE RUSSIANS

(a) In Turkey.

The final liquidation of the refugee problem is in sight as the result of an agreement between Turkey and the Nansen Office whereby Turkey undertook to naturalised 1,800 Russian refugees, and so enable them to resume their occupations, if the Office would evacuate the remaining 550. This had been done, and the majority of those evacuated have been settled in Belgium, Greece, Norway and Yugoslavia.

(b) In China and Manchukuo.

It is estimated that there are about 130,000 refugees in the Far East whom the Nansen Office is practically powerless to help owing to the lack of funds available to pay a permanent supervisory representative on the spot. Such terrible reports have been received of the state of the refugees there, especially of the women who have been driven to vice and prostitution to keep themselves and their families, that the office has issued an urgent appeal to the League to grant the comparatively small sum of money which would enable two representatives to examine the problem on the spot, and suggest reforms.

The Russian refugee problem is still the most difficult to deal with, not only because of their numbers but because there are a large number of intellectuals who are more sensitive to environment and less easily absorbed in a new country as labourers and artisans. For these naturalisation and absorption in their adopted countries as has happened in Turkey and Esthonia, seems the best solution.

M. Hannson, acting President of the Governing Body of the Nansen Office writes:- "I incline more and more to the belief that the most effective means of solving the Russian problem is, generally speaking to assist young people, and children in particular, so that from a material and intellectual standpoint, they may as soon as possible become useful members of the community in which they have grown up".

On the other hand, others, such as the Cossacks wish to be transferred overseas, and possess the qualities necessary for success in such countries. The Nansen Office has been advised to consider means to this end.

THE FUTURE OF REFUGEE WORK

The Sixth Committee which reported to the 17th Assembly on the future of international refugee organisation, unanimously supported the Assembly's previous decision to liquidate the Nansen Office at the end of 1938. At the same time there was strong feeling that the refugees will need effective international protection for some time to come, though opinions differed on the degree of the protection, that should be granted. On the one hand are those who would restrict international activity to the ensuring of an effective legal status for the refugees, the provision of the necessary administrative services for the purpose and the co-ordination of the work of private organisations for their relief and settlement. On the other hand were those who think that besides doing this the League, or some international organisation, should, if necessary, help provide for the relief and settlement of refugees when no other funds are available, as for example in the case of the Saar refugees.

Opinion was, however, unanimous in advocating the necessity for an effective juridical status of refugees which will put an end to their present uncertainty and fear that they and their children may be subjected to arbitrary administrative measures. To secure this end, governments were urged to ratify the 1933 Convention without reservations which undermine its effect. Six Governments have now ratified it, viz. Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Norway, Denmark, Italy and France. Great Britain has announced her intention of ratifying it.

No definite suggestion as to the form of a future organisation to replace the Nansen Office when it is liquidated in 1938 has been put forward. But the number^x of refugees, the fact that no special measures are at the moment contemplated by the majority of governments to deal with them and the probability of new refugee problems in the future, e.g. Spain, indicate that they will for some time be an international problem which can only be dealt with internationally. To dispense with international organisation and protection at this juncture would lead to misery and chaos.

^x estimated at 700,000.

SUMMARY OF THE ASSEMBLY'S RESOLUTIONS

- but not a /*
- (1) It approved the grant of 200,000 Swiss francs (instead of 400,000 as asked) for the transfer of Saar refugees residing in France and South America, and the grant of 15,000 Swiss francs for the sending of a mission of 2 representatives of the Nansen Office to the Far East.
 - (2) It recommended governments concerned to adopt the 1933 Convention relating to the International status of refugees, and to apply the principles of the Franco-Belgian Agreement of 1928 relating to the certification and identification of refugees.
 - (3) It recommended the adoption and absorption of refugees in the countries where they have long been resident.
 - (4) It made the following proposals concerning the future of the Nansen Office:
 - (a) that it be liquidated by December 31st, 1938.
 - (b) that Judge Hanson be appointed President of the Governing Body till December, 1938.
 - (c) that he shall draw up the plans for its liquidation and make recommendations for the best method of allocating its tasks when it is liquidated.

N.B. Information on German and Assyrian Refugees will be found in separate memoranda.

German (up-to-date)

Supplement to I.M. 72
10.11.36.

GERMAN REFUGEES

In February 1936, General Sir Neill Malcolm was appointed temporarily to fill the place of Mr. Macdonald.

WORK ACCOMPLISHED 1935-36

I. Inter-Governmental Conference for the adoption of a legal status for German refugees. This was held on July 2nd, 1936. Representatives from Belgium, United Kingdom, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ecuador, France, Irish Free State, Latvia, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Roumania, Sweden, Switzerland, and Uruguay took part; U.S.A. and Finland were represented as observers. The outcome of the conference was a Draft Arrangement which defined the term "refugee coming from Germany", and provided for the issue by governments of identity certificates similar to the Nansen passports. Six governments signed this Arrangement: Belgium, Denmark, France, the Netherlands, Norway, and Switzerland. Although governments took a sympathetic interest in the question of ensuring the social and economic rights of refugees, it was generally felt that a Convention to this end would at the moment be impracticable owing to the uncertain economic conditions in the countries concerned. At the 17th Assembly the British representative announced that his Government was ready to adhere to the Arrangement.

II. Consultations with Governments concerning the Placing of Refugees. There are two possibilities for the placing of refugees: their absorption in Europe, and their transportation overseas. The first is largely handicapped by the economic effects of the World Depression in European countries, especially those bordering Germany. Some governments have even stated that it is impossible for them to absorb any more refugees. The second is more promising, though the numbers that are qualified to settle overseas are essentially limited. The Latin-American and Dominion governments have agreed to consider proposals, and negotiations are already in train with the Columbian Government concerning a colonisation scheme for non-Jew refugees, whose position, owing to lack of funds is always more difficult.

The overseas colonisation of German Jews has made considerable progress. Approximately 800 Jews a year are settled in Palestine, not inclusive of those going there direct from Germany, and competent authorities estimate that Palestine should be able to absorb a similar number each year, unless political events upset the calculation. In addition to Palestine nearly 200 Jewish refugees are leaving Europe each month to settle overseas.

P.T.O.

III. LIAISON WITH PRIVATE ASSOCIATIONS

Liaison has been established between Jewish organisations through Sir Herbert Samuel, Chairman of the Council for German Jewry; between non-Jewish organisations through the Bishop of Chichester, Chairman of the International Christian Committee for Refugees from Germany. An Advisory Committee, co-ordinating these two has been set up in London under the chairmanship of Sir Herbert Samuel.

IV. THE FUTURE

It is hoped that Jewish refugees will be settled permanently in the fairly near future. The fate of the non-Jewish refugees is more precarious owing to lack of funds. There are approximately 2,000 in urgent need of help, and of them not more than 800 are qualified for overseas settlement in agricultural colonies. Unless there is an appreciable change in the present situation it is estimated that the number of new refugees each month will be about 200.

As to the future of the League administration dealing with German refugees, Sir Neill Malcolm considered the present system with its limited organisation and moderate budget sufficient, provided the High Commissioner was invested with the authority of the League and the use of its technical organisation. He strongly advocated that the liquidation of this administration should coincide with the liquidation of the Nansen Office in 1938. The League could then reconsider all refugee problems as a whole.

The Assembly passed the following resolutions, based on Sir Neill Malcolm's report which had been adopted by its Sixth Committee:-

- (1) That a High Commissioner be appointed till December, 1938 for the purpose of liquidating as far as possible the problems of refugees coming from Germany.
- (2) That the High Commissioner's duties would include particularly the following:-
 - (a) As regards improving the legal status of refugees; to encourage governments to sign the Provisional Arrangement of 1936 and to prepare an inter-governmental Conference for the adoption of an international convention on the status of refugees.
 - (b) As regards questions of emigration and final settlement; to encourage initiative on the part of private organisations; to support such initiative by negotiations with the

Governments of the countries of refuge;
and if necessary to have definite plans for
colonisation and emigration studied on the
spot in agreement with the government con-
cerned.

- (c) To maintain contact with private
organisations and in particular through the
Advisory Committee.
- (d) To submit reports to the Assembly, and
proposals in regard to the future of German
Refugee work.

The League Council appointed Sir Neill Malcolm
as High Commissioner.

Int. Gov. Conf. Refugees

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

INFORMATION SECTION

No. 7845

6th July 1936.

The Intergovernmental Conference to establish the legal status of refugees coming from Germany, which has been sitting at Geneva from July 2nd to 4th, has adopted a provisional arrangement.

Fifteen countries took part in this Conference: Belgium, United Kingdom, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ecuador, France, Irish Free State, Latvia, Norway, Netherlands, Poland, Rumania, Sweden, Switzerland and Uruguay. The United States of America and Finland sent observers.

The arrangement adopted by the Conference contains at the outset the definition of a refugee coming from Germany, which states that a person is to be deemed a refugee coming from Germany if he has been settled in that country and possesses no other nationality than German nationality and if it be proved that in law and in fact he does not enjoy the protection of the Government of the Reich.

The arrangement then deals with the delivery and renewal of the identity certificate, and with its effects. Contracting Governments will deliver to refugees who come from Germany and are regularly staying in their territory an identity certificate in conformity with the model adopted or some other document serving the same purpose. Provisionally, this certificate may be delivered to refugees who are not regularly staying at the date of the coming into force of the arrangement, provided they have reported themselves within a time-limit to be fixed by the Government concerned.

The delivery of the certificate is subject to certain conditions. It will hold good for one year from the date of delivery and may be renewed or extended by the State which delivered it until the holder has been able to secure delivery of another certificate.

The holder of a certificate will be entitled to travel in the territory of the country delivering the certificate, subject however to the right of the State to regulate the right of residence. He may leave the country which has delivered the certificate and may return thereto during the period of its validity. The competent authority of the country to which the refugee desires to go shall visa his identity certificate if it is willing to admit him. Intermediary countries undertake to facilitate the delivery of a transit visa to a refugee who has obtained the visa of the country to which he is travelling.

The arrangement then provides that in all cases in which a refugee has to leave the territory of one of the contracting States, a reasonable time shall be allowed him to make the necessary arrangements. Subject to internal regulations, refugees who have been authorised to stay in a country may not be subjected to expulsion or refused admittance unless such measures are due to considerations of national safety or public order. Even in this case, Governments undertake not to send refugees back to the Reich without due warning and unless they have refused to take the necessary steps to go to another country or to avail themselves of arrangements made for them with that purpose. Identity certificates may in that case be cancelled or withdrawn.

No. 7845

On the subject of the legal situation of refugees, the arrangement provides that the personal status of those who have retained their nationality of origin shall be determined in accordance with the rules applicable in each country to foreigners possessing a nationality. Refugees of no nationality shall be dealt with in accordance with the laws of their domicile or, in the absence of domicile, by those of their residence, failing a prior convention to the contrary.

In countries in which such questions fall to be determined by the national law of the Parties, rights acquired under the former national law of the refugees - particularly in respect of marriage, such as matrimonial status, legal capacity of married women, etc., shall be respected, subject to the fulfilment of the forms prescribed by the law of their domicile or, in default of domicile, by that of their residence if necessary.

In the territories of States Parties to the present arrangement, refugees will have free and unhindered access to the courts. They will be entitled to legal assistance and exempted from the cautio judicatum solvi in the country of their domicile or regular residence.

Finally, the arrangement contains a number of formal clauses, providing inter alia that it shall be drawn up in French and in English and may be signed on behalf of the Government of any Member of the League or non-Member State to which the Council shall have forwarded a copy for the purpose. It shall come into force thirty days after the Secretary-General shall have received the signatures of at least two Governments. As concerns each Member subsequently signing the Convention, it shall also come into force thirty days after the deposit of signature. It may be denounced at any time.

Denunciation shall be effected by written notification addressed to the Secretary-General, who will inform the States Parties. It shall have effect forty-five days after receipt of notification.

The Protocolary clauses contain lastly a number of provisions relating to colonies, protectorates, overseas territories etc., to which the arrangement shall or shall not apply according to the intention of the signatory.

After reaching an agreement on the arrangement concerning the status of German refugees, the Conference expressed a recommendation, thinking it would be very desirable for the régime provided in the arrangement to come into force as soon as possible. It, therefore, recommended that Governments which might require parliamentary approval for certain parts of the arrangement should none the less bring into force without delay those parts of it for which a simple administrative decision was sufficient.

Tel. Address:—"UTCHAY, PORT HARCOURT."

Telephone— No. 79.

EDUCATION MISSIONARY SOCIETY

Sub-Office:—
120 Cameron Road
P. O. Box 29, Aba, Nigeria.

Head Office:—39, Accra street,
P. O. Box 26,
PORT HARCOURT
Nigeria W.C. Africa.

Your Ref:

Date: 28th June 1948.

Our Ref:

Lady Noel-Buxton, M.P.
House of Commons,
London, S.W.1.

Madam, I saw your name in the Colonial Parliamentary Bulletin, and noticed that you are interested in the welfare of the African peoples; and had raised a question on 3rd July 1946 (-1946) on the alienation of land at Enugu Ngwo. I have a difficult problem about the seven schools of the Education Missionary Society, founded by me which were now closed, by the order of the Governor as from ~~the~~ January 1947. Since then, the officials concerned for recommending the closing have not been able to give one definite and legitimate reason why they made the recommendation. The reason given for the closing was that, I as the Proprietor, (according to section 18 of the Education Missionary Society's constitution), was an UNSUITABLE PERSON. I was tried by a Sub-Committee of the Board of Education on the reason given, and I defended myself successfully. After the trial, the official withdrew the first reason gradually and later on substituted a new reason why I was unsuitable. This new reason was that Education Officers had found defects in these schools when they were functioning. I ~~have~~ have asked to be told what these defects were, so that I might send in my plea and defence on the new charge, but the Director of Education who is responsible to give these particulars kept silent, after the schools had been closed. After my repeated request for the list of defects was not attended to, I sent a petition to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, asking him to help by asking the Director to supply the required facts. The petition to the Colonial Office was sent in the month of February 1948, and I am still waiting for the reply.

3. My H. D. Hughes, M.P. raised the question of these schools in the House of Commons in February 18th 1948 (Hansard Column 227). There are some other members of Parliament who support Mr. Huges. My reason for writing to you is to seek for your help in the matter. I laboured for 25 years since the year 1923, while I was yet a boy towards the realisation of the one ideal of founding schools for the African children. After working against many handicaps and obstructions for ten years, I opened the first of these schools in 1933. In 1943, twenty years later, the Society was founded on a more solid ground, and we celebrated what we called, "TWENTY YEARS OF HUNGER." The School and the Society made remarkable progress. Although throughout these years, I had never been helped from the public fund to run any of the schools, as has been the case with schools by European Missionaries, but three officials of the Education Department co-operated to see

ask you may speak to Mr. Huges about the matter.

that these schools were closed, and they succeeded to do so. From evidence on hand, it can be proved that the reason why these officials acted in the way they did was to prevent the schools from receiving their merited share of part of the Development Fund voted by Parliament for the development work in the colonies. For many years conditions after conditions were set for us to fulfil before we could be granted money from public fund to conduct the schools as is the case with other mission schools. We were never granted any thing - for new conditions was always set after we had satisfied the first they had set. Now we had satisfied all the conditions and applied to Governor for our merited grant for the schools. The result was for these officials to recommend the closing, and they set out to open schools of their own control, though Government Officials. They would be ~~give~~ receiving the grant for their own schools. - not Government or Native Authority Schools - but schools by these officials. - *rather strange here!*

4. I appeal to you for help. I have strong faith in women. My father died when I was barely three months old: I was brought up by a woman. When I stood trial in 1946, before a Sub-Committee of the Board, one member of the Sub-Committee was a woman. I saw bitterness, envy and hate in ~~eye~~ every face of the members, except in the face of one of them - The Mother of Man. As I stood up to defend myself, I drew my inspiration ~~from~~ and courage from her presence and her open minded attitude. The first school I ever opened was named after a woman. I have other instances.

5. I am sending by surface mail the following booklets:- Education Mission Constitution; Missionary. Phots Nos. 1 & 2; MY PETITION TO LONDON. On my hearing from you, I hope to send you more information and papers. Letters sent by surface mail take from three to eight weeks to arrive. Air mail is quicker, taking only a few days. May I receive your early reply. I remain; Madam, Yours Obediently, *T.K. Utchay* T.K. Utchay.

Sender's name and address:-

T. K. Utchay,
P.O. Box 26,
PORT HARCOURT,
Nigeria.

BY AIR MAIL
AIR LETTER
R No. **550**
ABA

*Lady Noel-Buxton, M.P.
House of Commons,
London, S.W.1.*

