

The Refugee Question (Russians and Armenians) ✓

Notes for Lord Noel-Buxton

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Number of Refugees

The number of refugees in the world is generally estimated at 'about a million'. Enquiry was recently made on behalf of the Nansen Office as to the number in the categories which fall within the competence of the Office (Armenian, Russian, Saar and Assyrian) and a total of about 700,000 was arrived at. These are mainly Russian and Armenian, and the enumeration of those of them who are in the Far East is not regarded as reliable. The Assyrian refugees are, of course, refugees proper and do not include the Assyrians who are being transferred from Iraq, who come under the aegis of the Political Department of the League. The number of Jewish and other refugees from Germany (under the High Commissioner for Refugees from Germany) is estimated to be approximately 100,000 Jews and 15,000 non-Jews.

Save the Children Fund Activity

The work of the S.C.F. in relation to the Armenian and the Russian refugees has been of two kinds. It has provided material assistance for the relief of the suffering of their children and although this <sup>help</sup> has greatly diminished during recent years it is still maintained on a small scale through the Adoption Scheme. (£5 . 5 . 0 a year for providing supplementary help for a specific child.) And it has used its influence and made representations on behalf of the refugees to Governments, to the League and to other bodies national and international, with the aim of improving their lot. During the past year special attention has been concen-



trated on supporting the Nansen Office and urging, in the Press and on the platform and in the appropriate quarters at home and in Geneva, that the Office should not be discontinued, as is proposed, at the end of 1938. The S.C.F. takes the view that if the Nansen Office is closed, it will be necessary to set up some other international body with similar powers, as the problem is not one which can be dealt with satisfactorily by independent national Governments or organisations. The S.C.F. also holds that any extension of, or substitute for the Nansen Office should take within its competence all refugees of whatsoever nationality.

(The situation is discussed at length in the article in the September number of 'The World's Children', attached.)

#### The League.

The result of the recent (fifteenth) Assembly of the League was confirmation of the decision that 'The organisations created by the League of Nations on behalf of refugees will terminate at the end of 1938'. Judge Hansen, President of the Office, made the point that the problem would continue long after that date and that some sort of international protection for refugees must be maintained.

The League budget does not provide funds for the settlement of refugees, but the League is competent to assist in the coordination of the efforts of ~~prx~~ voluntary organisations in the work of settlement and relief.

#### Mr Dams's Report

This report, compiled in the early part of 1935, gives some information as to the condition under which refugees are living in France. (Copy herewith -, please return if possible.)

#### Judge Hansson's English Speeches

Reprint enclosed. Full of useful points.



NOTES ON REFUGEES.

1. Non-German Refugees.

A. The Nansen Office.  
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The Nansen Office is an International Bureau under the auspices of the League. Most of its funds are got by way of the "revolving fund", through the sale of Nansen Passports and repayment of advances by refugees who are settled in jobs and have become self-supporting.

About 1930 it seemed likely that the Nansen Office would complete its work in a few years, and could be wound up by the end of 1938. This estimate was upset by the Economic Crisis which caused countries with their own unemployment problem to be unwilling to allow refugees to work, and by 1935 it appeared

- (1) that the work cannot possibly be wound up by 1938
- (2) that the lot of the refugees is getting worse.

*Since then, Spain has created a fresh supply of refugees.*

B. Assembly of 1936.  
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- (1) granted 200,000 Swiss Francs for settling Saar refugees *in Paraguay*  
(the sum asked for was double this.)
- (2) refused 15,000 Sw.Fr. for sending 2 representatives to the Far East to look after the refugees there. *The Japanese have ruined those settled in Manchuria.*
- (3) recommended Governments to ratify the 1933 Convention
- (4) provided for the liquidation of the Nansen Office by 1st. December 1938.



C. Convention of 1933.  
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- (1) this Convention does not apply to refugees from Germany.
- (2) signatories agree to issue Nansen Passports, valid for one year, allowing ingress, egress and sojourn during that year.
- (3) signatories agree not to expel refugees regularly settled, or refuse them re-entrance. — *except criminals.*
- (4) status of refugees to be covered by country of domicile, or if none, then country of residence.
- (5) Laws for the protection of Labour (i.e. that foreigners must not work) shall not be applied in all their severity to refugees regularly domiciled.

These laws shall further be suspended altogether in the case of certain classes of refugees, namely ---

- (a) those who have resided in the country for 3 years
  - (b) " " married a national of the country
  - (c) " " one or more children of ~~that~~ nationality of the country of residence
  - (d) ex-combatants of the Great War.
- (6) Refugees are to have the rights of welfare, relief, education workmen's compensation, etc., on the same basis as is accorded to the most favoured foreign nationals.
  - (7) Signatories may create national committees to look after the refugees.

This Convention is in force. Britain has not ratified, but has expressed its intention of doing so.



## 2. German Refugees.

### A. The High Commissioner's Office.

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This problem arose in 1933, and at the time of the 1933 Assembly Germany was ~~not~~ still a member of the League, so her refugees were not placed under the Nansen Office, but under a separate High Commissioner.

The first High Commissioner, Mr. Macdonald (American) resigned at the end of 1935. In February 1936, the Council temporarily appointed Sir Neill Malcolm, whose appointment was made permanent by the Assembly in October 1936.

Mr. Macdonald expressed the opinion that an organisation outside the League was not much good, and his office ought to be absorbed into the Nansen Office, especially as Germany is not now a member of the League.

A Committee on the refugee problem, appointed by the 1935 Assembly, recommended that the Commissioner's office should, after the 1936 Assembly, be made part of the Nansen Office; and that the German Refugees Office should be continued as a League department after the Nansen Office is wound up in 1938.

This proposal was turned down by the 1936 Assembly.

Sir Neill Malcolm expressed a different opinion. He thought that if the League gave its support to the High Commissioner, the High Commissioner's separate office could carry on, separately from the Nansen Office (as was done)

He also thought that the High Commissioner's Office should come to an end at the same time as the Nansen Office, in December 1938, and the League could then consider the whole problem afresh.

### B. The 1936 "Provisional Arrangement".

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An Inter-governmental Conference on German Refugees was held at Geneva July 2nd to 4th 1936.

The Conference adopted a "Provisional Arrangement", to which Britain subsequently expressed her willingness to adhere.

German Refugees are defined.

Countries will issue certificates, similar to the Nansen Passport



Refugees who are going to be expelled from a country shall be given time to make the necessary arrangements, and not sent back to Germany ---- unless they refuse to make other arrangements.

Refugees who have retained their nationality shall be treated like other citizens of Germany coming to that country. Those who have lost their nationality to have the status of country of domicile, or failing that, of residence (similar to the 1933 Convention)

Refugees to be allowed free and unhindered access to the Courts.

The Arrangement to come into force 30 days after receipt of TWO ratifications.

Recommendation that it be brought into force as quickly as possible, and those countries which need to submit it to Parliament should immediately put into force any of the provisions which can be enacted as a simple administrative act.

C. General nature of the problem.  
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There are two parts of the problem ----

- (1) legal status of refugees in any country where they are (the Provisional Arrangement" seeks to deal with this.)
  - (2) permanent settlement. High Commissioner to negotiate upon schemes of settlement, and to encourage private enterprise. Also to submit schemes to the Assembly.
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D. Czechoslovakia.  
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The Czechs have been particularly bad on the question of status, and have given rise to a great deal of statelessness.

E. Validity of certificates.  
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Both in regard to Nansen Passports and Certificates for Germans, it has not yet been found possible to get countries to agree to make these documents valid for longer than a year. They do, in fact, give frequent renewals of these certificates, but they



will not pledge themselves in advance. Thus, when unemployment began in France, numbers of refugees who had long been established were uprooted, or prevented from working.

F. Jews and Gentiles.  
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The Jews are much better off, because ----

- (a) very large sums have been subscribed by the Jewish Societies.
- (b) they have got a country to go to, namely Palestine, which has been taking 800 refugees a year, not counting those sent direct from Germany.

Miss White apprehends the danger, if the Government subscribes funds for refugees, irrespective of whether they be Jew or Gentile, that the Jews will get the lot!

The non-Jewish problem is really worse, because of lack of money. There are 2,000 in urgent need of help. Of these only about 800 are fitted for agricultural settlement. About 200 a year are still flowing out of Germany.

In London, there is a Committee for Jews under Sir Herbert Samuel, and one for non-Jews under the Bishop of Chichester. There is an Advisory Committee, co-ordinating the two, under Sir Herbert Samuel.



When does H.M. Govt mean ~~to ratify~~

ask a  
question  
?

(a) <sup>to ratify</sup> the Convention of 1933

(b) <sup>notify its signature of</sup> the Provisional Arrangement of July 1936

& to what extent ~~are~~ are the provisions of these agreements already being <sup>put</sup> practised by the United Kingdom?

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Does H.M. Govt mean to abandon the refugees to their fate in 1938, or will it advocate ~~either~~ the continuance of League machinery for carrying on the task of the Nansen Office & the office of the High Commissioner for German Refugees?

debate next summer

Will HMG give sympathetic consid<sup>n</sup> 'a grant designed 'assist - permanent settlement of German non-Jewish refugees, so as' expedite - permanent liquidation of problem



Will H.M. Govt communicate its intentions  
in connection with \_\_\_\_\_

(a) the ratification of the Refugees Convention of 1933  
(b) the signature of the Provisional Arrangement of July 1936  
and state to what extent the provisions  
of these agreements have already been put  
into operation by H.M. Govt. ?

Whether H.M. Govt will give sympathetic  
consideration to the ~~proposal~~ making of  
a grant ~~designed~~ to assist in the permanent  
settlement of German non-Jewish refugees,  
and ~~to~~ expedite the liquidation of this problem.  
(provided that other Govts take similar action)



TO ASK HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

if they will <sup>state</sup> ~~communicate~~ their intentions in connection with  
(a) the ratification of the Refugees Convention of 1933  
(b) the signature of the Provisional Agreement of July 1936  
in regard to German Refugees;

and will state to what extent the provisions of these two  
agreements have already been put into operation by H.M. Government:

FURTHER,

whether H.M. Government will give sympathetic consideration to the  
making of a grant (provided that other Governments take similar  
action) to assist the permanent settlement of German non-Jewish  
refugees, and so expedite the liquidation of this problem.



Jensik Lehmann

P r a g, 27. Oktober 1936.

M e m o r a n d u m

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der Vereinigung zur Unterstützung deutscher Emigranten.  
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Die Vereinigung zur Unterstützung deutscher Emigranten betreut 15 Kinder. Darunter befinden sich 2 Neugeborene, eins dieser Neugeborenen ist in einer besonders traurigen Lage: es ist mit seiner Mutter ausgewiesen und beide erhalten nicht die Aufenthaltsgenehmigung. Unter diesen schwierigen Umständen kam es zur Welt. Mutter und Kind leben unangemeldet in Pra

Der gesundheitliche Zustand der meisten Kinder ist sehr schlecht. Ein Kind musste wegen seiner körperlichen Schwächen Schulbesuch um ein Jahr verschieben. Ein anderer Junge ist bettlägerig und kann die Schule nicht besuchen.

Die Kinder sind :

1. E g e r, Fred, 6 Jahre alt, emigriert seit Februar 1936, blutarm, Nervenschwäche, Schulbesuch verschoben.
2. Z i m m e r m a n n, Lore, 6 Jahre alt, blutarm, allgemeine Schwäche z.Zt. an Windpocken erkrankt.
3. Z i m m e r m a n n, Senja, 12 Jahre alt, hat sieben eine eitrige Halsentzündung überstanden.
4. Z i m m e r m a n n, Claus, 11 Jahre alt, körperliche Schwäche, der Vater dieser drei Kinder, ein fortschrittlich gesinnter Lehrer musste mit seiner Familie vor einem Jahr aus Deutschland fliehen.
5. R a a s c h, Gerhardt, 13 Jahre alt, emigriert seit August 36, Herzleiden, sehr schwach.
6. K l o s s, Charlotte, 7 Jahre alt, emigriert seit August 1935
7. S t e i n e r, Walter, 10 Jahre alt, emigriert seit Mai 36.
8. K n a p p, Werner, 15 Jahre alt, emigriert seit November 1935, körperliche Schwäche, Nervosität.
9. K n a p p, Gisela, 15 Jahre alt, emigriert seit November 35, Schilddrüsenstörung. Der Vater der beiden Geschwister sitzt in einem deutschen Konzentrationslager.
10. E g e r, Gisela, 9 Jahre alt, emigriert seit Februar 1936.



11. H e n s l, Ingeborg, 6 Jahre alt, emigriert seit September 1935.
12. W a l o s z c z y k, Marta, 3 Jahre alt, emigriert seit Dezember 33.
13. K r o n e, Erika, 1 Jahr alt, emigriert seit April 1936.
14. S c h l e i c h, noch ungenannt, 6 Tage alt. Das Kind lebt mit seiner Mutter unangemeldet in Prag, trotz mehrfacher Bemühungen konnte eine Aufenthaltserlaubnis nicht erwirkt werden. Die kommenden Wochen werden für Frau Schleich und ihr Kind besonders schwer werden.
15. S c h u b e r t, Else, 3 Wochen alt,

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Es ist der Vereinigung zur Unterstützung deutscher Emigranten leider unmöglich, den Kindern die notwendige Nahrung zu geben. Selbst bei der Beschaffung einer entsprechenden Unterkunft und bei der Beschaffung von warmer Winterkleidung haben wir die größten Schwierigkeiten. In der letzten Zeit hat sich eine Dame aus Prag bereit erklärt, für die kleinen Kinder einen Kindergarten einzurichten. Doch fehlen auch hierfür vorläufig noch die Gelder für die Fahrten und das Frühstück der Kinder. Die Eltern aller aufgezählten Kinder mussten Deutschland ihrer fortschrittlichen Gesinnung wegen verlassen. Alle Emigrationsfälle wurden von uns eingehend geprüft.

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THE UNION FOR THE PROTECTION OF GERMAN EMIGRANTS

is concerned with 15 children, of which two are new-born. One of these new-born children is in a very sad position. It has been expelled, with its mother, both having failed to obtain permission to remain. In these difficult circumstances it came into the world; the mother and child are living in Prague unannounced.

The condition of health of most of the children is very bad. One child had to stay away from school for a year owing to its bodily illness. Another is bed-ridden, and cannot go to school.

(Here follows a list of the 15 children)

It is unhappily impossible for the Union for the Protection of German Emigrants to give the children the necessary nourishment. We have the greatest difficulty in providing even suitable shelter and warm winter clothing. Just lately, a lady from Pargue has declared herself ready to fit up a kindergarten for the small children; but there is lacking at present even the money for the fares and the breakfasts of the children. The parents of all the children enumerated above had to leave Germany on account of their progressive opinions. The circumstances of the emigration are in every case verified by us.



continually proclaimed the national virtue of persistance. It was expressed in a word which is highly expressive. It was so far practised that endurance was carried dangerously far before the defeat came. The enervation which resulted from prolonged hunger has been further increased by the unexpected blockade ~~in~~ the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles and it would not be unnatural if the French idea that German endurance has gone under were now proved to be correct, but what the merest traveller can see today is that it is not correct. In spite of depression there is obviously a subdued intention and power to carry on. The traveller although he is well fed at the hotels experiences a certain depression from the bad bread, the coffee made of acorns and the repellant concoction which is the only substituted for jam and butter. When he reflects that nearly all the resident population have had no decent meal for years and are really ill from bad food he cannot refrain from a feeling of admiration for the immense fund of courage evinced by this people who refuse to be beaten by conditions that we have never experienced and can hardly imagine that we should survive.

But ~~is it~~ <sup>is</sup> not the case that though not cowed the people are depressed and demoralized. Decidedly there is demoralization and it is worth while to consider its nature. The most profound depression followed the debacle of the armies though victory had long been despaired of. The sudden realization of total failure and unconditional surrender by the military leaders caused a feeling that the cause had been needlessly betrayed of their armies and the



desolating sense that all the bereavements and ruination of the War, bereavements exactly comparable to our own and ruination which we can hardly imagine, were totally in vain.

Demoralization is wide spread in point of crime and it was frankly discussed with us by the Minister of Justice. The conspicuous feature on the kiosks where advertisements appear in the streets is the prevalence of notices of rewards offered for the apprehension of thieves. They reveal the frequent perpetration often by young people of innumerable cases of theft with murder. A striking illustration of the prevalent demoralization came to our notice by chance when we visited a famous university. In the corridor there hung rows of chains like small dog chains which attracted our notice at a distance looking as they did like rows of long sea-weed hung to dry. The professor who conducted us reluctantly explained that these had been issued by the authorities because so many students had lost their overcoats. The chain is passed down one of the sleeves and then padlocked to the peg on which the coat hangs.

Apart from crime the organising faculty for which the country is famous has largely disappeared and class feeling has been intensely embittered. Authority and law are no longer respected and yet even those most inclined to regret this are ready to welcome the change which has occurred in the direction of liberal feeling. One of the great results of the revolution has been the decrease of snobbery and new movements have grown up which could <sup>not</sup> have been conceived under the old regime. One of these is the association known as Wanderwogel which is evidence of the anti-militarist reaction. In all the universities immense numbers of students have formed these Clubs devoted in a manner which we should call sentimental to wanderings in



the country, and to the revival of folk music. They may be seen even in the middle of Berlin with the special white collar worn outside the jacket which forms their badge setting off upon excursions during which they sleep in barns and outhouses or starting out for a picnic many of them carrying guitars.

There is another feature which is relevant to the question of psychological changes. It is the curious absence of War resentment which strikes every traveller as so oddly unlike our own feeling for the subjects of enemy states whether it be passengers in the train, or officials, or hotel servants, or shop keepers or any other class. Englishmen will fail to detect the slightest feeling of hostility or even of recognition that he represents an enemy. Various reasons are given for this. One is that hatred cannot be worked up for more than one state and till the recent exhibitions of French vindictiveness there has been no state on which to concentrate resentment among the many enemies which the German felt surrounding him. Another is that the social upheaval has led to class hatred which obscures the feelings of War. But the most important cause is that the revolution is welcomed by nearly all and behind the sense of bitter injustice towards the Treaty and economic policy of the Allies is a background of satisfaction that the War got rid of the incubus of Prussianism.

The French policy would only ~~succeed~~ were the people either feeble or capable of becoming so. The German mentality is not feeble and therefore the policy is inept.



Turning to superficial evidence of the persistant spirit there are striking things to be seen in the universal prevalence of carefully attended gardens in the little balconies which form part of the architectural arrangement of the modern street even in working class quarters. Considering the poverty of the people the excellence of these gardens with their beautiful petunias and mainly ornamental except for an occasional attempt to grow tomatoes is indeed remarkable. The streets are being mended and on the surface things look normal though the factories are starved for coal, new inventions and economies such as new forms of rubber are setting the revival on foot. Above all the extraordinary qualities of the German house-wife are a factor which French policy forgets. Frocks and shirts are made out of table cloths and I have seen a pair of childs boots made by a Protestant ministers wife for her daughter of twelve which would have passed muster as professional made.



We have been dragged too far in supporting the policy of a power which six years ago was virtually a second class power but which we and America have now placed in the position of the domination of Europe. The refusal of Mr. Lloyd George to support her extreme claims at Spa indicate that he has seen where that policy is aiming. The attempt to impose conditions in regard to coal which could not be fulfilled and would therefore lead to a French occupation of the Ruhr were intended to <sup>lead to</sup> annexations of a sturdy German population. The idea that such population would remain French subjects for long is of course insane but more than this it is especially dangerous for ourselves for if successful it would mean that our position in the iron trade would be threatened.

French policy is a capitalistic policy and there is a grave suspicion in Germany that the great coal owners like Stinnes are in league with France to get their mines incorporated in a country where they will escape the swinging taxation of the German regime. The motive of their fear and of pure militarism is easily permitted by the usual methods of press control. Our own interests is wholly different. We do not want to see France the greatest iron master, we do not want to lose our best customer, we do not want to see epidemics spreading from Europe to our own shores. Thus it was that Von Simons, the German Foreign Secretary, understanding the English as distinct from the French point of view did his best to meet the British delegates wishes at Spa and on his return to Berlin faced the ridicule of the wild nationalists in the Reichstag in order to say nice things about Mr. Lloyd George.



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✓  
IV 4. Endurance (The French) Nation

A famous publicist asked us to explain what can possibly be the object of the vindictive policy of starvation. He could not believe that the French were seriously hoping to keep Germany weaker than France because obviously in twenty years she would be far greater in numbers and in wealth. Yet if ~~no~~ rational motive is to be found for the policy it must lie in the French idea of material domination. One may indeed read in French papers a frank avowal of the plan to deliberately decimate and impoverish Germany with full details of the scheme for uniting the Rhine provinces with France so as to make her a 48,000,000 state.

If this is really the basis of the action into which we are being dragged it deserves more careful examination than the British public is giving it.

The idea assumes that German people can be driven to despair so that their persistence and organising genius will be a thing of the past; (2) that they will not replace any of their material losses by the exercise of the inventive faculty which they have displayed in the past; (3) that they will not continue to be far more reproductive than the French in point of population; (4) it assumes that we ourselves are ready to see French capitalism snatching coal fields and iron fields from the state by whose people they are inhabited and utilising them to make France a successful rival to ourselves in the dominating industries of the world.

If these assumptions are untrue the policy falls to the ground and that they are untrue is self-evident unless German psychology has undergone a complete change. The French view raises the question of that psychology and it is of great interest to consider how far it has been modified by the War. To maintain War feeling the German papers



*John M. ...* (5) *gn*  
The facts which my friends and I ascertained confirming the statements of the "Save the Children Fund", which some have thought sensational, *as* few have seen for themselves, some facts from a eye-witness may be worth giving. The unhealthy appearance of the people in general is so striking that when one leaves the country and enters, for instance, Switzerland, one seems to have gone among a different race so distinct is the change of complexion and mentality although the people are of the same racial stock. One does not see a swarm of beggars in Berlin because the hungriest people drift into hospitals or get out of sight. One does however, although distress naturally hides itself, occasionally see symptoms of the inferno, here and there a man obviously of upper class associations picking up scraps in the street. It was harvest-time and the number of people swarming about the newly cleared stubbles near the great towns was so great that one could hardly believe they were all gleaners for only a handful of ears of wheat or rye could possibly have fallen to each but such was the fact. As we entered Germany from Holland an immense crowd mostly of women swarmed into the train. They had all travelled some as far as twenty miles in order to buy a kilo of cocoa or a litre of oil at a price which was within their reach.

Perhaps the most striking proof of the real instances of the famine is to be seen at those places where charitable foreigners **have** provided an occasional meal for the hungry students, young people naturally of more or less well to do class. There have been many cases of actual deaths from hunger among them. *noticed* We saw with our own eyes that many had no garment under their buttoned up overcoats. Some



of the most healthy that we observed were students who were allowed to serve out the food at the feeding stations for children in return for a bowl of bacon and beans for themselves as the result of prolonged work. These feeding stations maintained by American and other charity in towns which have a population of over 50,000 are the main instruments in the fight with tuberculosis which is carried on. The meals are given to selected cases and are supposed to be accessory to home feeding but it the case that the member of the family which gets upon the list is commonly obliged to leave its share of the home supplies to the other brothers and sisters. Yet the meal given at the feeding stations is quite inadequate, representing commonly about 700 calories only a fraction of the figure which medical authorities declare that children require. At Berlin we saw one of the <sup>two</sup> kitchens at which food is cooked for 75,000 children and at Leipzig we visited seven schools <sup>where</sup> 10,000 children are being kept alive by the organisation so ably conducted by Miss Hobhouse. Few of the children had shoes or stockings and what one noticed <sup>that</sup> in the rare cases ~~were~~ the child looked healthy in the face there was some other sign of malnutrition in the hollow chest and projecting shoulder blades or in the emaciated legs. *so thin that the kneejoint seemed by comparison to bulge like a diseased growth.*

Those who have actually gone under are to be found in the hospitals. Terrible sights may commonly be seen in the childrens hospitals which serve the slum population, but ricketts and other disease had before the War been brought to a low figure in Berlin and it is the case that they are multiplied many times while their intensity



has been horribly increased. We saw wards entirely filled with infants who were the victims of pre-natal malnutrition some of them like corpses. The doctor remarked that they would all die in the year. The most cheerful thing to be heard was they were no longer dependent upon paper sheets because the English "Save the Children Fund" had supplied linen sheets while the napkins had been obtained because the hotels were compelled to give up their stocks of serviettes. None of the children up to eight years of age had ever known what it was to be properly fed.



One notices signs of the general ruin which are not sensational and might easily be overlooked. Machinery of all kinds has fallen into decay and one sees an occasional shop boys tricycle carrier with the tyres gone and the wheels rattling. In old days a great feature in the Thier Garten was a working class family with the father wheeling the pram. This spectacle which used to appear so creditable is all gone now. In the public woods around Berlin you may see in its place the men taking advantage of the permission to dig up the roots of trees which have been felled during the War for timber. If on a rare occasion some private house invites you to a meal you will get no meat but <sup>only</sup> fish, unless <sup>meat</sup> it has been illegally secured at a great price because the weekly ration is only three ounces of meat per head. Even the overworked nurses at the hospitals have not meat except on Sunday. But things are at their best now in summertime, the winter is an object of dread. The coal consumption which used to be a ton for the working class is now reduced to 300 lbs.



5  
Colne Cottage,

C R O M E R.

23rd August 1920.

Sir,

The arguments which you have used so effectively against the policy of the Treaty of Versailles come home to one with vastly increased force when one visits Germany itself.

Although one can realise the ineptitude of the Allies policy from a knowledge of its main features the British press has hardly allowed us to know the worst of its features particularly those which have been added by the influence of **France**. Such as the seizure of **territory entirely German**, the sudden expulsion and consequent ruin of the German element in Alsace, the attempts to make a separate province of the German area west of the Rhine with a view to co-operation in French territory and perhaps worst of all the employment of negro troops with the intolerable accompaniment of provision for their requirements of the most odious kind. We realise in England that the policy is intended to punish and weaken. We do not see what the Germans see that it is an attempt to decimate by starvation and deliberate spoliation nor are we aware that it has an aspect definitely aimed at our own commercial interests through the acquisition by France of such predominate control over the iron industry as would enable her to successfully rival us.

The main facts which emerge in this unparalleled situation are  
(1) that a whole generation is being brought up to permanent ill-  
health (2) that in spite of this the ultimate recovery and commercial  
power of **the German people** is not being successfully destroyed.



(3) that the whole character of the German state which is being still treated as an aggressive and dangerous factor has been changed by the Revolution. Consequently the policy now being pursued is not only criminal because the starvation of the generation of children cannot be justified but it is also ineffective for its purpose and in any case is rendered needless by the transformation of the German outlook.

Take first the moral question of a starvation policy the immediate impression made upon the mind of even the least observant traveller is that the entire population looks out of health. There is hardly a normal complexion to be seen among the general mass of yellowish and greyish faces. Along with endurance there is universal depression and disillusionment. The next impression which the traveller receives rises from the paradox that he finds plenty of food at the hotels and restaurants. The average person as a result adopts the half cynical conclusion that there is no starvation worth troubling about and this perhaps is natural because in order to apprehend the real conditions of life for the German one must be familiar with the homes of people who are not well to do and this is difficult because such people are naturally unable to entertain. And further in order to realise the graver evils arising from hunger one must take considerable trouble in visiting the institutions where in all countries distress and sickness are hidden from the public eye. It was indeed almost a chance that my friends and I did not leave the country without visualizing the appalling conditions. For instance the students who in selected cases and those cases <sup>alone</sup> are enabled to obtain one decent meal per day from foreign charity, the miserable state of the masses of working class children who are being



just kept from break down by the feeding stations mainly American; and worst of all the army of infants who have succumbed to rickets and consumption through their own malnutrition or that of their mothers and who are only to be found through successfully arranged visits both exhausting and depressing to the hospitals.

It is possible for us in England to pass judgment on these results of our policy with the conclusion that the German nation is rightly punished and still to persuade ourselves that we are both honest and decent. Only those who have a vivid imagination or who have been confronted with the sick child itself are able to see that the argument is absolutely untenable. Not even the wildest alien hunter, the most convinced supporter of the dog fight theory could say to himself in the presence of such a child, "This child is rightly starved and its approaching death is part of a just action which I must help to carry out.

(2) The policy is ineffective because it is not succeeding. In spite of general depression the German people are carrying on. The organisation of capitalistic enterprise is even somewhat assisted by the disappearance of militarism in the governing element in the national life. The people are weakened but not cowed. New inventions are being made. As an economic factor the German state happily for the prosperity of the world will not go under. A famous historian asked us to explain to him what the policy of attempted ruination can have behind it. He assumed that the French surely cannot be expecting Germany to be weaker than France in 20 years. Therefore as it appeared to him the policy is only laying up trouble and



(4)

unhappily he was right. There is no rational explanation. It is a matter of short sighted and sentimentality.

(3) The whole thing is needless and beside the mark because Germany is not the Germany of pre-War days. This is another fact which requires ocular evidence to realise. The features of those days were the domination of authority resting on no democratic basis. Big men of the Prussian type ruling irresponsibly in high places even in municipal government, bureaucrats dominating over the popular will, police and soldiers everywhere in evidence and assuming higher rights to those of the civilian, the apparent possibility of revolt or popular control. Above all the worship of the Kaiser; the prestige created by his personal appearances and interventions in public life. Every one of these is gone. To those who knew the former Germany the change even judged by the surface of things alone is hardly believable.

Such being the case the criminality of the hunger policy is completed. Its folly for our own interests is even more regrettable because more avoidable. It is the old story to be read again and again in the history of former wars and their termination where the true reason working as usual as humane decency is outmatched by sloppy war sentiment stimulated by the efforts for capitalistic greed.



Casual observers anxious to find excuse for the policy which is being pursued can easily find some pretext for contending <sup>that</sup> with the arguments of those who appeal for relief work in Germany are not true. The Times has lately given special prominence to these statements of a traveller who found that if he paid a sufficiently exorbitant price he could obtain an excellent dinner in a great German town. But nobody denies that this is the case. The Times correspondent could have saved himself the trouble of his lengthy description of the dinner, for everyone knows that the wealthy traveller can get plenty of luxury in the hotels. The same is even true of the restaurants. What needed to be shown was that decent food was within reach of the general mass of people. If one takes any trouble to investigate it would indeed be hard to believe <sup>how the astonishing fact is</sup> that when travelling in Germany one is living on a scale wholly different to that of all the Germans except the rich. One receives practically no invitations from German friends who in normal times would have been hospitable, because they cannot afford the restaurant prices. My friends and I consequently found ourselves <sup>invariably</sup> inviting those whom we wished to see to meals in public places. On one such occasion we were struck by the singular fact of <sup>that one of our</sup> a lady guest, the wife of a professor with a European reputation, having <sup>had</sup> a normally healthy complexion. It turned out that the professor and his wife had not for 3 years eaten such a meal as we gave them (though it was a very ordinary luncheon of 3 courses) and that the lady whose healthy appearance stood out so remarkably among the general mass of pasty complexions was suffering from frequent fainting attacks through underfeeding. It would appear incredible that such people could be living in hunger while the restaurants were duly feeding the rich if one did not realise two facts not easily borne in mind. One was the



prohibited effect of the rate of exchange which enables the English traveller at small expense to live like the richest German and (2) *fact* that hotels and restaurants obtain their luxuries by illicit trading. The hotels, for instance, get a small quantity of butter not lawfully but because, for instance, the waiter buys it from one of the housemaids who has a friend in the country willing to supply a small quantity at a high price, and risk detection. That the supply of such luxuries is small in total amount and quite immaterial to the available national stores came home to us when we happened upon the following incident at a childrens hospital. Two small girls lately affected with tuberculosis were brought before the doctor who had given them at their previous visit an order for a ration of butter at a municipal food office. As their condition had not improved the Doctor questioned the mother and learnt that the food office had been unable to supply any butter although naturally the department charged with feeding urgent cases of sickness would supply such instances if sufficient stocks were available in the district as a whole.

Another argument used by the cynics who disclaimed deeply against modifying the starvation policy is that the hunger, such as it is, is not our fault. It is true that during the war the rations were cut so low that tuberculosis and rickets began to spread widely but the ravages of disease were vastly increased by our maintenance of the blockade which prevented the relief of hunger just when it was most required and made permanent the injury to the childrens health which might otherwise have been temporary. The provisions of the Treaty of Versailles especially in regard to coal are of course an immense drag



upon the economic recovery which would have taken place and which we have scarcely permitted to begin even after nearly two years of peace. We have of course in addition withheld facilities like the supply of credit which in our own interests as well ~~as~~ those of humanity we ought to have furnished once the War was over, the enemy beaten and the democratic revolution in Germany accomplished.

There are other objectors to charity who while admitting the evils and also our responsibility find that it sticks in their throats to admit out duty to relieve the famine while there are healthy Germans who are not giving what they might. One does indeed instinctively feel the fairness of this argument but it must be remembered that charitable giving is a tradition far less prevalent in countries where the Government is held responsible and where wealth is much less than our own. Even we do not expect the rich as a whole to be charitable and the only remedy would lie in communistic pooling of the available resources but communism is precisely the remedy which the Allies are most concerned to prevent in Germany, Austria and Hungary.

It ought also to be said that the rich have some excuse in the uncertainty of the future arising from our refusal to fix the amount of the indemnity so that nobody knows what he may have left next year; moreover the amount of luxury and wealth even of the profiteers <sup>(the so-called 'schieber')</sup> is vastly exaggerated, in the Adlon Hotel once comparable to the Ritz in London there is so little crowd today that foreign travellers and journalists form the <sup>most</sup> conspicuous element. Private cars are hardly ever seen. Passing down the Linden and motoring to Potsdam on a



Sunday we did not see more than three private cars where before the War they would have swarmed.

Finally the amount of charitable effort has been very creditable indeed. The Sicilian house is a hive of offices of charity largely German and engaged in relief of the famine and its results and the public authorities are doing what they can with the exiguous resources at their disposal to organise school feeding. Taxation is too crushing to attempt either of greater private charity or of greater public relief.



Address on his experiences in Germany by

Y. Ramon McDougal  
Aug 4,

The photographs which I have before me do not represent the worst sights that I have seen myself; these are not, so far as I can judge from my experience, the exceptional cases; they represent no more than a fair sample of what we saw. I remember a child with the legs between the knee and the ankle bent in a half circle, who was lifted up to be shown and lowered on to the table. As soon as the feet touched the table, they gave way and crossed each other. These children - scores of them - seemed to me to be lying <sup>on</sup> the lap of Death, and it seemed to ~~be~~ <sup>me</sup> far too long before she folded them up in her tender arms. If there are any schools for atheists, and they want to show that there is no God above, and never was, let them bring their pupils here and show them the sights that I have seen.

At one of the American feeding centres at Berlin there was one little fellow who stood by my side so that I could measure him. To ~~get~~ <sup>lay</sup> my hand ~~onto~~ <sup>upon</sup> his ~~head~~ <sup>head</sup> I had to stretch my arm to its full extent. And this was a child of ten years old! Another way in which one could test the underfeeding was to feel the shoulder blades. One could do this without appearing to be unduly inquisitive. One could pass one's fingers under the shoulder blade and get quite a firm grip of it. Here was a terrible proof of the condition of the children's bodies.



What of the children of school age? The vast majority were barefoot; among the few who had boots there was no single pair that you would put on your children. There were many with only one garment on. We looked carefully, without trying to be prying, and could see in many cases that there was no underclothing at all. We asked whether it was normal to have bare feet, or whether the scarcity of boots and clothes was due to the hot weather, but we were told it was simply the last degree of poverty. How they enjoyed their meal! We tried it and could vouch for its excellence, and for the efficiency of the arrangements. Those of you who are helping Miss Hobhouse's work in Leipzig may be satisfied that your money is well spent.

Then as to the students - I never saw such a starved hungry lot. One could see that many were ashamed of the way they were clothed. One man came in with his coat buttoned up to the chin. Sitting opposite to him I could see up his sleeve, when he raised his arm, that he hadn't a stitch of underclothing under his coat.

With regard to the professional people whom we saw, it was noticeable that none of these offered us hospitality, though in normal times they would certainly have done so. We were the hosts always. It was very easy to guess the reason. I said to one lady, who appeared to look better than the rest, that I was glad to see her looking so well. " Yes, but I fainted last week;



you know that we have not had a meal like this for three years". The meal was one of very average quality.

On the Dutch frontier we saw crowds of people coming in with bags, tins, bottles, etc., conveying articles which they had bought at cheaper prices across the frontier.

It is not only physical suffering that is there, but people's minds are so darkened, so broken, that they have not the force to seize upon a situation and get things properly done - the energy is not there. People talk of the extra supplies which the hotels and restaurants obtain. It is perfectly true that luxuries can be got there by people who have plenty of money. But it is also true that if every pat of butter or margarine, or every jug of milk that one can obtain in the Kaiserhof or the Hotel Adlon, were distributed among the population it would go nowhere; it would be a mere drop in the bucket. This extra luxury is only a little corner of the tragic stage. The man must be a fool who comes home and makes out that it counts for anything of importance.

To test a social or moral change don't take big things, which are likely to be misrepresented, but take some little thing which generally passes unnoticed but which is indicative of much, and see whether that has changed. Here is an example:-. At a certain University there were notices by the Management recommending students



to provide themselves with chains. Presently we saw what this meant. Outside the class-rooms there were chains hanging from rows of pegs looking, at a distance - so it struck me - like seaweed hung up to dry. One passed the chain through the sleeve of the coat and padlocked it, so that the coat could not be stolen without cutting the sleeve. And this at a University!

There are certain things that cannot be done with impunity. I tried deliberately to put myself into the position of seeing all this as a punishment. I said to myself as I looked at a child in its cot - "You deserve it; you are being punished by God for the sins of your fathers". But the thing was too revolting. It froze up and drove away every particle of good in the depth of my being. I felt, as I said it, that I was in hell - as I undoubtedly was.

Well, you who are helping in this matter, through the "Save the Children Fund" or in other ways, are doing a good work. You are casting your bread on the waters. It is going to come back after not many days - not indeed to you but to the children whose sufferings I have been witnessing.



VIENNA

note 1934.

We got a few impressions about the fighting. Bauer is criticised in that he refused to join the coalition last year. He said ten per cent of the Party would leave, but he would have saved the Party from attack.

In spite of muddled plans, the Socialists might have won with good luck, but Vienna would have been quickly starved by the peasant control of Austria.

Shooting from the tenements was the crazy act of men who had lost their heads. They began to erect barricades, but when driven off, and with no orders from their leaders, followed an instinct to defend their homes. <sup>violence ago</sup> ~~If their plans had carried successfully,~~ they might have won, but they refused Bauer's wish for fighting. Dodor thinks this was due to the excessive comfort of the tenements, which made many people feel bourgeois.

The fighting as it was, was a <sup>fiasco</sup> disaster, but it was impossible to <sup>control outbreaks</sup> ~~act reasonably~~ when the provincial governments were dismissed.

Non-Socialists were certainly afraid of sabotage; <sup>they</sup> ~~and~~ based their belief that the Socialists of Austria are nearer the Third than the Second International on the burning of the Ministry of Justice seven years ago, when the firemen did not attempt to put out the fire.

The magnificence of the tenements is very interesting, representing a standard of life which nobody could reasonably want to exceed, oak parquet floors and ideal kitchens, etc., glass garden pavilions, and the rents of the best 4/6 a week, and two good rooms for 1/6.



We were shown a shooting range at Semmering, and a rifle store under the floor.

We came in for an evening party at the Legation, and I was introduced to Fey, Schönburg, who is the leading Royalist, and old Mensdorf, whom I was very glad to see again. He begged me to see the old Countess Hoyos, (sister of Marian Brodrick's husband, Whitehead,) with whom I stayed in 1891, and I lunched with them, hearing Tory views. Schönburg said it was regrettable to act so severely, but ~~we~~ he had to be quick in case of Nazi risings.

The Manchester Guardian and Herald men, and Grenfell, were very useful. The Guardian man, Fodor, was a friend of mine at Budapest in 1919, when I went with Arthur Ponsonby. He had to put up with another Guardian correspondent, Voigt, the noted expert on atrocities, who came from Paris. Riley went with these men to see prisons in provincial towns. I declined, as there is danger of relief work being associated with political work. The Legation was very busy about relief, and also prisons, owing, I think, to the Secretary, Hadow, who was at Harrow, ~~he~~ was helping Miss Cadbury, the Quaker chief, a great deal. He wanted both efforts, but insisted they must be done by different people.

In the provinces the trials were beginning, and sentences were surprisingly light. The explanation was that all the officials in the country are Nazi, and the Nazis are cultivating the Socialists. The monument to Adler had been pulled down. Arrests were still going on while other prisoners were ~~being~~



released. There was much talk of Italian money, and of Dollfuss probably being obliged to obey Italy. The Heimwehr flag flew on the Rathaus, and looked pretty, green and white bands.

The Socialism of Vienna, that is collective ownership, is a great aid to the tyranny of to-day, employment being largely municipal. The whole quarrel is largely religious, and even the opposition to foreign relief is mainly prompted by the desire to get credit for the Church as the only relief agent.

The position of the war victims, for example wives of men killed, disappeared or in gaol, or in danger of arrest, is terrible, but the tension seems to be relaxing, and there is less fear of receiving relief agents.



Vienna Montagspost, 19/3/34.

English Lord helps Vienna Children.

There is at present being got under way in England a great organisation for the help of Austrian children. Twenty thousand pounds is to be collected to help poor Austrian children. This great undertaking has been carried through by the Society of Friends, the Quakers. Children of needy parents are to be taken to England in the summer, and in this way a healthy summer holiday by the sea will be possible for them.

In England £20,000 has been collected.

Lord Buxton is at present in Vienna to make preparations in Austria for this undertaking (Aktion).

Lord Buxton has once before <sup>conducted</sup> ~~started~~ a great undertaking on behalf of Austrian children. When, after the War, a terrible famine prevailed in Austria, to which thousands of children fell victims, it was likewise Lord Buxton who



immediately travelled to Vienna, and laboured indefatigably in the work of rescue. Many Viennese who are engaged in business to-day (? dem Erwerb nachgeht, i.e. are grown up?) remember still what gratitude they owe for this magnanimous action in their time of bitter need.

One of our correspondents had a short interview with Lord Buxton, who explained to him that the means at their disposal, are, for the present, unfortunately very modest, but that he hoped soon to have larger sums to dispose of for this good purpose, and in the meanwhile to be able to give provisional relief to at least the deepest need.



*Children Fund*

*only in Aug.* With the help of Dr. Munro and Dr. Hilda Clark, I was able to visit several hospitals, and also some of the American Child-Feeding Centres, at Vienna. We were afterwards requested by <sup>Mr. Butler,</sup> the head of the British Food Mission at Vienna, to visit Budapest and report upon the needs of the hospitals there. We did so on August 5th and 6th. We then returned to Vienna and I was urged by Mr. Butler (to at once) convey information to Paris, so that I was unable to investigate further the statistical aspect of the relief problem. — — —

(1) VIENNA: Those who had seen Vienna in the spring *were* agreed as to the ~~remarkable~~ improvement in the general appearance of the people to be observed in August, and a casual traveller might conclude that the greater evils arising from hunger had been removed. Distress is always less conspicuous than prosperity, centering as it does in the poorest quarters and ~~in institutional buildings.~~ <sup>But</sup> a visit to the hospitals, such as the Carolinen Hospital in the north of the city, or even to the Clinic at the centre of the town, brought most painfully before us the fearful effects of famine conditions which still exist. In spite of all the work of the Food Missions and of the feeding of 100,000 children daily by the American centres, and of the systematic supply of milk for infants, we found still present in large numbers the pitiable victims whose condition has been brought before the British public by the papers and photographs of the Save the Children Fund. Children apparently about four years old proved to be of eight years; others of



two and a half looked like one year old. Many cases of rickets and of tuberculosis, when stripped at the Clinic, revealed an emaciation not exaggerated by the photographs even at this late hour. Cases of rickets which have been for the time cured are unable to obtain the thorough resuscitation which is needed to maintain normal health in the future when winter weather subjects them to a strain. There is a tendency to develop pneumonia as well as tuberculosis. Many <sup>infants</sup> die (if not breast fed), <sup>because</sup> ~~while~~ the milk brought into Vienna on alternate days is frequently sour, there being no ice available to preserve it. There were pitiable cases. For instance: a child of fourteen months weighing eight pounds, unable properly to feed itself through a rubber teat; another with only two teeth at a year and a half; and, worst of all, a number of children of six and seven years old, - an age which would not normally be subject to rickets at all, - staggering about the ward with legs and feet recalling nursery pictures of frogs walking upright.

Adult invalids have still great difficulty in obtaining eggs or meat.

I attended a meeting of the Committee formed by Dr. Munroe, known as the International Hospital Committee. Vide Reports enclosed. They are now established in a large and central house and promise to be a highly capable body with an active secretary. Dr. Clark, at the time of my leaving, was inclined to think that charity should concentrate on the problem of clothing, and as the food supply, together with hospital equipment, has been undertaken officially, clothing would appear to be a highly suitable object, both because it will otherwise



CHILD FEEDING CENTRES: The children were devouring a concoction of rice and cocoa. Meat is only given once a week, but this is a more liberal ration than that provided by the adult ration book which though nominally indicating meat one day in the week, does not in fact provide meat nearly so often. *It was remarkable to notice how many children asked for a small portion, being too weak to feel equal to more.*

(2) *Buda Pest.*

HOSPITALS AT BUDAPEST: The supplies of necessaries were already reduced to the lowest ebb when the invading Roumanian Army cut off all communication with the country, looted even the farms belonging to the hospitals and actually seized the medical stores sent by the British ~~at~~ <sup>from</sup> Vienna. Apart from this abnormal famine, the situation was very terrible and we telegraphed to Mr. Harmsworth urging that, as it was beyond the means of private charity, the Government should sanction expenditure by the Supreme Economic Council for medical purposes. Operations were being performed with inadequate local anaesthetics; even novocain was exhausted and <sup>the doctors</sup> they were reduced to cocaine. Rubber tubes and sheets were nearly exhausted, bandages were of paper, such linen as remained was torn and dirty, the covering of babies could only be renewed twice a week instead of several times a day, there was no plaster of Paris, hot baths could not be given because the large hot water installations could only be worked with coal which was exhausted. <sup>Bandages and</sup> ~~the~~ clothing <sup>were</sup> ~~was~~ also of paper, and the spectacle revealed when the paper napkin - rather <sup>like</sup> ~~resembling~~ a rough canvas made of string - was removed from a child <sup>whose tiny legs drawn up in</sup> ~~in a state of~~ <sup>was literally unbearable.</sup> ~~extreme emaciation~~ - might be called intolerable to behold.

We sent a telegram to Mr Cecil Harmsworth as follows:



The International Red Cross, through their capable Swiss agent, Mr. Hassius, is doing much to keep alive the <sup>Hungarian</sup> children ~~of Hungarian parents~~ <sup>who were sent to Buda Pest by their parents</sup> retained in Transylvania who took ~~refuge~~ <sup>Transylvania, the parents themselves remaining behind.</sup> when Roumania occupied that ~~country~~. The Roumanian Government now refuses to take them back, desiring to diminish the non-Roumanian population.

The distress in Budapest may be realized from such facts as these. The paper money issued in Budapest being refused by the peasants in the country, goods are only obtained <sup>by barter</sup> ~~in exchange~~. A man of means from Vienna, representing provision stores, obtained a pair of boots in exchange for 25 lbs. of sugar. A suit of clothes secured a pig. The people of Budapest took out linen to the villages in return for fruit.



*F. H. Townsend - A*  
*Insert part from B*

-6-

FIGHT THE FAMINE COUNCIL, VIENNA.

(1) Vienna.

The outlook at Vienna is extremely bad. 160,000 men are said to be living on unemployment doles, while the food which is bought by the recipients is being supplied <sup>to the Food Ministry</sup> nominally on loan, but virtually as a gift by the American and British Governments, and these sources of supply will shortly come to an end. Practically nothing so far has been done towards bringing Vienna back to self-support. One passes an endless succession of idle factory chimneys. Meanwhile the working capacity of the men is becoming less and less and the machinery of the factories is deteriorating, so that both the psychological and the material factors are progressively moving from bad to worse. The financial remedy which alone can set the industrial population on its feet has not yet been applied and it is a question whether it can now be instituted in time to start the industrial machinery before the winter weather has caused a physiological collapse.

In Economic Council circles the proposals most discussed are:

- (1) Loans <sup>to</sup> ~~by~~ Governments;
- (2) State insurance aimed at encouraging the supply by private vendors of coal and material on long credit; ~~and to either governments or firms.~~
- (3) The handing over of the entire business of reconstruction to the Reparation Commission.

It is highly satisfactory that proposal 3 appears to be advancing and likely to bring to an end the paralysis hitherto prevailing in regard to (1) and (2).



War conditions and the subsequent blockade have increased the local defects <sup>other than shortage of supply.</sup> For instance, interchange between town and country at Vienna is hindered ~~both~~ <sup>the lack of public energy required for grappling with</sup> by the vast machinery of bureaucratic control and by the official fixing of prices at a low figure. The result is the prevalence of "Schleich-Handel" (illicit trade) of which evidence is seen in the ~~curious prevalence~~ of the habit of carrying knapsacks. Proclamations by the Government announcing penalties for Schleich-Handel are everywhere, but the practice continues.

The hospitals are without adequate milk because the farmers will not supply at the low price and prefer to give their surplus milk to the pigs. Public energy of all kinds being diminished, the Government dare not dismiss the multitude of officials, themselves greatly impoverished through the fall of the value of the crown from tenpence to twopence, and, - to take another example - the Socialistic Government itself, with its policy of low prices, is apparently maintained in power by the same terrorism of the new military force, ~~the~~ (Volkwehr), of which some regiments are <sup>and anxious to increase discontent</sup> said to be Communist, <sup>deputies, who favour effective prices,</sup> whereas the peasant ~~population of Austria,~~ <sup>are</sup> ~~is~~ excluded from power. <sup>although they are</sup> ~~which is~~ in a majority, ~~is~~ <sup>are</sup> excluded from power.

Potatoes not grown -



(2) BUDAPEST: The economic condition at Budapest would naturally be far better than at Vienna because Hungary grows a surplus of food. But, on the other hand, it is being accentuated by the blockade aimed at the Bolshevik regime which prevented the introduction of supplies by England and America and also prevented the issue of a currency which could be accepted by the peasants. Budapest was therefore in a worse plight than Vienna even before the Roumanian army began its systematic looting of the supplies and ~~also of the machinery of the country~~. If the Allies fail to maintain their authority and compel Roumania to withdraw, Hungary will present an even more urgent economic problem than Austria, although normally self-supporting. Budapest itself is being relieved by England and America both in regard to food and to hospital equipment, but the economic problem in general cannot be dealt with while the Roumanian troops occupy the country. When they <sup>are</sup> removed Hungary, with the immense industrial population of Budapest, will have been reduced to a situation comparable to that of Austria and will require very active treatment if reconstruction is to make appreciable headway before the winter.

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The economic paralysis which prevails in Bohemia, Poland, Austria, Hungary and Yugo-Slavia is largely due to the sudden partition of ~~a complicated~~ <sup>the old Austro-Hungarian</sup> economic unit. It is reported that if the distress in Bohemia is not relieved there will be insurrection in favour of re-union with Austria, and that in Slovakia even the temporary occupation by the Hungarian Bolsheviks, with all its harshness, has not destroyed the desire for re-union with Hungary.



In any proposals which the Famine Council urges upon the Government in regard to these countries, it is essential that we should include the encouragement of free trade arrangements between the parts of the old Empire. Economic Council agents are contemptuous of the policy of creating artificial and small sovereign States based on the nationalization<sup>ism</sup> of a fraction of the people. These States are displaying great incompetence and narrowness of view and so much discontent is arising within their borders that British circles in these countries are seriously doubtful whether the new States will survive. It should at all events be part of any sagacious <sup>British</sup> ~~policy~~ policy to encourage economic and ~~physical~~ union, <sup>especially as</sup> ~~and~~ opposition from militaristic circles (<sup>notably</sup> ~~especially~~ in France) will have to be fought.



I had two long conversations with Mr Hoover in Paris. Much of what he said afterwards appeared in a statement published on the 16th August, but he was much more emphatic than appeared in that statement about the alarming prospect which lies before the world. He thinks that 1920 will be serious, but that 1921 may be a year of catastrophe.

I put down some of his opinions in the form of notes.  
American  
America is not, as stated, against international control of prices, but English action has given America serious ground for preferring freedom, prices having been altered without America's agreement.

In regard to the reconstruction of ruined countries, America would object to making loans which might be spent outside America. The best plan is for each State to finance its own trade, e.g., England should finance wool.

Coal. England hitherto supplied the Continent and now supplies nothing. This is the most serious factor contributing to his opinion that Europe may starve in 1921.

Control of prices. He cannot make up his mind. The present speculative prices are due to the narrow margin of supply over needs. If prices are allowed to remain high, they will create unrest; but if they are lowered, production will be killed. On the whole, the importance of encouraging production is paramount, and outweighs the evils of speculative prices.

League of Nations. Financial distress will force the public in each country to support it. The governing question to candidates at elections will soon be the question whether the candidate is loyal to the League.

Charity. He is greatly impressed with the danger of paralysing the capacity of the distressed countries for organising themselves, and intent on bringing relief work to an end. But charity has a moral value which he thinks of first class importance, and he will continue to collect funds for the extension of child feeding work at all events for some months.



I also saw Sir William Goode, Mr Wise and others at the British section of the Supreme Economic Council. Their views did not differ materially from Mr Hoover's. They cordially supported the idea that hospital supplies should be dealt with out of government funds, on the same lines as food and railway material. This was arranged in the case of Vienna and Buda-Pest as indicated in the following telegram sent me from Vienna by Mr Butler, who had supported my appeal to Mr Harmsworth and Mr Balfour in favour of official action:

Copy.

American Relief Administration  
Outgoing Dispatch

From Monfries Paris  
To Butler Vienna

Date August 11.

Number 227 Army Medical Corps London are instructing their representative in Italy to forward immediately approximately seventy pounds ether two hundred pounds chloroform approximately four thousand yards rubber tubing some gauze and some semi-waterproof sheeting by passenger train consigned to you at Vienna. These appear to be total supplies available in Italy. We are endeavouring to arrange similar supplies from American Red Cross and further supplies might if necessary be despatched from the United Kingdom. Please state needs more definitely.

Monfries.



C O P Y .

LAW OFFICES OF  
PETER GLICK  
DAVID GLICK  
Park Building  
PITTSBURGH, PENNA.

April 9, 1937

Bishop of Chichester  
Chichester, England.

My Lord:

Thanks ever so much for your recent letters. You will be very happy to know that the American Committee for Christian Refugees in Germany has finally adopted resolutions which I think will be very effective. I spoke to a small group of the Committee about three weeks ago and was asked at the close of the meeting to speak at a meeting of the Full Committee which met in New York on Monday, April 5th. At this meeting I had the opportunity of giving a vivid and detailed description of the condition of non-Aryan Christians in Germany.

*add  
advise  
vick*

The Committee, as you know, is made up of the leading Christians in America. I must modestly say that the listeners were deeply moved and stirred by what I told them and a Resolution was adopted that four or five Christian laymen be sent to Germany for a period of four or five months to study at first hand the needs of the non-Aryan Christians in Germany. A smaller committee was then appointed to meet on Wednesday, April 7th, to begin a selection of names of those who might be available for the European trip, and I can assure you that they are attempting to get the most important men in America.

This, of course, is good news to me and will, I know, give you much joy. I hope that your Committee might undertake and do the same thing. A committee of American Christians and a committee of Christians from England in Germany I think would have tremendous moral effect on the present Nazi regime. I am still a believer in moral force, and with the moral power generated by these two committees, great things can be done.

At the insistent request of Jewish leaders in Germany and America, I am again returning to the benighted land. I feel like a deserter and their call could not go unheeded. I am sailing on the Normandie April 14th, and will go directly to Paris, and from there into Germany. If there is any communication you would like to send me, or if there is any information that I can give you with reference to the attitude of the American Committee for Christian Refugees in Germany, write to me at the following



- 2 -

address: 19 Rue de Teheran, Paris, France - c/o The American  
Joint Distribution Committee.

It was a fortunate day that brought me to you and the  
train of events that have followed since that meeting I think  
will be the cause of great happiness to believers in morals and  
ethics.

With kind regards to your wife and to yourself,

I remain

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed)            DAVID GLICK.

DG/AL



OBLIGATION TO USE STATE MONEY FOR RELIEF AND SETTLEMENT OF REFUGEES  
))))-----

1. The plight of the refugees is due to political reasons, for some of which this country bears at least a share of responsibility. e.g.:---
  - a. the disaster which has befallen the Czechs is due to our having asked them to yield, without warning them of this intention in time to enable them to make terms.
  - b. some people say our (and the French) post-war policy is responsible for the rise of Hitler; alternatively, that our not stopping Hitler earlier is the cause of our present troubles. If either of these arguments is correct, that gives us a share in responsibility.
  
2. In the case of the Czechs the Government acknowledged that they had been hardly done by, and promised them ten millions, much of which was to have been spent on evacuation and settlement of refugees. This sum, insofar as it is still in our possession, ought to be treated by us as money in Trust, to be spent on these refugees from Czechoslovakia. It is perfectly open to H.M.G. either to use the money for a governmental plan for evacuating these people and transferring them ~~xxx~~ to the Dominions, who will accept them if they have financial backing; or to entrust some society with this task.



3. The desire to help these refugees is very wide-spread. Some people do not want them to settle permanently here, or to work here, because they have an erroneous impression that this will diminish the work available for our own people. But everyone wants them rescued, if possible, looked after temporarily, and eventually settled where they are wanted.

This desire, shared by nearly all, cannot be given full expression unless the State contributes, because what can be raised by voluntary contributions is insufficient, and comes from a comparatively small class of well-to-do and charitable persons.

4. If the State takes a hand, it will be able to secure that the whole business is much more efficiently managed, and much unnecessary suffering avoided.
5. Only the State is in a position to make the necessary arrangements with the Dominion and other Governments where the refugees will eventually go, for their financing, settling, assistance and supervision.



18 COWLEY STREET  
WESTMINSTER.

9th. November 1938.

Dear Sir,

Thank you for your letter of 9th  
November, telling me of your difficult position.  
I do not find it possible to help personally  
the many people in distress who appeal to me,  
especially as I have no means of making  
enquiries about them. I have written, however,  
to the International Student Service, so that  
if they think there is an opportunity to do  
something useful for your benefit, I may perhaps  
have an opportunity of helping you through  
them. I shall no doubt hear from them in a  
few days.



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Ref es.

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~~Unanswerable case of the Govt help.~~

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~~Opinion of Lord Chief Justice  
of the High Court is a guide.  
Those in control of help should - -  
Opinion of outside world  
be disregarded.~~



TELEPHONES:  
EDGWARE 1417  
(DAY & NIGHT)  
EDGWARE 1783  
EDGWARE 3511

TELEGRAMS:  
"LEXPERT.  
EDGWARE"

# J. R. CONSTANCE

FAIRVIEW WAY · EDGWARE · MIDDLESEX

The Rt. Hon.  
The Lord NOEL-BUXTON,  
18 Cowley Street, S.W.1.

Dec.  
19th  
1938.

With J.R.CONSTANCE'S  
Compliments.

Encl.: 1 Copy of THINKER DIARY for 1939.



Refers Col.  
Hobbsimtown

1) Concension re empt.

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DOSSIER OF ARGUMENTS REGARDING REFUGEES.

The thesis sought to be argued, with arguments for and against, involves three propositions:

- A. that this country itself should admit for settlement here large numbers of refugees
  - B. that this country should give temporary asylum to a practically unlimited extent, and should take an active part in promoting permanent settlement overseas
  - C. that H.M.G. should expend public money on this work, and not leave it to be financed by private charity.
- 

1. Moral responsibility.

Whether the Munich settlement was rightly or wrongly adopted by this country, the fact remains that in this matter H.M.G.'s view of what was best was forced upon the Czechs and others. Therefore we enjoy (?) peace for which others are paying a heavy price of suffering. We may argue that they would have suffered worse in the event of war; neither the refugees nor the Czechs think so, and most of them would have preferred to ~~fix~~ die as free men than to live as vassals of Germany. Anyhow, our judgment was forced upon them ~~for~~ in our interests; we ought to do something real for the sufferers.

The above applies mainly to the refugees in Czechoslovakia,



but it should not be forgotten than millions of, Democrats (as well as Jews ) were anticipating the recovery of their freedom through the overthrow of the Nazis, had Hitler not been permitted to win at Munich. Whether they are right or not, they feel that their continued misfortunes are to that extent our fault.

2. Responsibility of the State, as such.

1) G<sup>a</sup>  
2) H<sup>t</sup> v  
aH  
It is not fair that the State should make the Munich settlement on behalf of the whole body of our people, and then leave specifically to a limited class of charitable and well-to-do people the task of standing up to the moral consequences.

3. Magnitude of the problem.

It appears there are about a million refugees or would-be refugees in the German Reich and other countries which have recently adopted similar anti-Jewish or totalitarian policies. The number of Jews who ought to be got out of Germany is put by H.M.G. at 600,000.

To settle these people overseas, @ £500 per family of four, would cost £75,000,000. Seventy-five millions cannot be raised by public subscription, but only by the use of State Funds. It is useless for H.M.G. to pretend to be tackling this problem, if they will not spend public money on doing it.



4. Population and economics.

Reliable statistical experts predict a great diminution of the population of these islands. In a century the population is expected to be down to half its present size, or possibly much less. In a few decades the decline will have been sufficiently drastic to entail:-----

- A. a shifting of the proportion between age and youth, so that fewer and fewer working tax-payers support more and more (proportionately) old-age-pensioners.
- B. great decline in the internal market for all industries.
- C. immense increase in the per capita burden of overheads of all kinds, including practically every item of the national budget.

These serious economic consequences can only be diminished by preventing or neutralising the decline, and the importation of a very large number of foreigners is a good way of doing it.

5. Probably many of the refugees will return to Germany in a few years, when the present devilish regime has been overthrown. Thus, temporary asylum is an important factor.

The more shocking Hitler's tyranny, the more certain that it cannot last for ever.

THERE ARE CERTAIN COUNTERVAILING ARGUMENTS TO BE DISPOSED OF:



6. Why should we do all the paying and the sacrifice?

There are several answers:

A. Moral responsibility (see Argument 1.)

B. "To whom much is given, from him much shall be expected."

We have more territory, more wealth, more freedom, more civilisation than the other possible helpers. Therefore we must bear the greatest share of the burden.

C. By all means let others help, and urge them to do so; but whether they help or not, we are the keepers of our conscience.

7. Immigration means unemployment.

It doesn't! Mrs. Dugdale quoted at L.N.U. General Council a specific piece of foreign immigration which had set 15,000 British people at work.

New skill and new industries will greatly advantage us.

If skilful foreign doctors are allowed to practice here, some of our less competent men may be turned out of work, but more people will be cured! The interests of the patients (i.e. the whole community) outweigh those of the medical profession.

8. What about our own unemployed?

There are several answers to this question:



A. It isn't necessary, in regard to our own unemployed,

- (i) to save their lives
- (ii) to deliver them from deliberate brutality
- (iii) to restore them to a life of liberty

because our own unemployed, with all their ~~Horrows~~, enjoy safety for their lives, freedom from outrages, and democratic liberty already. The plight of Jews and other refugees is immeasurably worse than that of the hungriest unemployed Englishman.

B. If British unemployed wish to emigrate, facilities should be granted to them by the State, under at least as good terms as to foreign refugees: BUT---

- (i) in view of the decline of population, we want our Englishmen here (see Argument 4)
- (ii) most Englishmen prefer civilisation to colonisation, and would find life in the Dominions excessively uncongenial. "Better twenty years in Europe than a cycle in Cathay!"

Broadly, the proper reply in regard to our unemployed, in relation to the spending of public money, is not: "we neglect our unemployed, therefore we are in honour bound to neglect the refugees"; but rather:--- "This ought ye to do, and not leave the other undone."



Resol<sup>n</sup>. V.R.

TO DRAW THE ATTENTION OF HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

- (1) to the prediction by competent sociologists of a drastic decline within the next few decades in the population of this Kingdom, with grave economic consequences; and the desirability of minimising this decline by obtaining new subjects for His Majesty from among the refugees of European stock and high civilisation who desire to live under free institutions ;
- (2) to the overwhelming desire of the entire British people, as well from religious and humane as from political motives, to save from death and persecution the innocent victims of totalitarianism, by extending the hospitality of this fortunate Kingdom to many thousands of our less happy brothers ;
- (3) to the inability of a limited number of charitable and a financial well-to-do persons to bear ~~an economic~~ burden which the nation as a whole ~~has both the capacity~~ is able and willing to shoulder; ~~and in the fitness~~
- (4) to the moral and political desirability of that H.M.G. should forthwith organise at the public expense the immigration of at least fifty thousand refugees, as a beginning into this country, the places of any who may emigrate overseas being taken by fresh arrivals from Europe;

AND TO MOVE FOR PAPERS.



NOTES on the attached draft resolution:

"New subjects for His Majesty" is a bit revolutionary, but much more inspiring for that, and quite convincing.

"European stock". Possibly this should be deleted, or "suitable stock" substituted.

"the overwhelming desire of the entire British people" I think this is overwhelmingly true.

"this fortunate Kingdom" ---- a fine loyalist sentiment

"our less happy brothers". No member of either House of Parliament, however he may backbite his neighbour or oppress his tenants, will dare to repudiate the "brotherhood of man".

"at least fifty thousand" --- 50,000 is Sir J. Hope-Simpson's proposal. But there are more than half a million Jews in Germany; so we ought not to stop at 50,000.

"AND TO MOVE FOR PAPERS" ---- and ~~if~~ defeat the Government, as you undoubtedly will, if H.M.G. resist you, and you divide!

Some people may argue: "why should we look after all these foreigners, when our own people are not properly looked after; our own unfortunates first!" The answer is --- that is a nice remark, if it comes from Tories; why aren't our own poor looked after? In any case: "THIS OUGHT YE TO DO, AND NOT LEAVE THE OTHER UNDONE"



Notes on Palestine  
& Egypt.

Chapman

S.S. "MONGOLIA"

Dec 1930

3. 12. 30.

A short tour through Palestine and Egypt afforded some opportunities of observation, and as requested by Mr Golden I enquired,

- (1) as to conditions of Child Life and the existence of Child Welfare Work.
- (2) as to the possible formation of Child Welfare Groups affiliated to the international S.C.F.

(1) PALESTINE

Very great interest in the subject seems to be taken, both in official and missionary circles. No one can be indifferent to the terrible prevalence of disease. Much medical work is being done. At the Jewish University special research work is proceeding into Infant Paralysis caused by the Sandfly, especially <sup>disease of the eye and</sup> ~~of the~~ <sup>eyes,</sup> and these are most noticeable, because most pathetic, in children. They are attributed to ignorance of the value of washing, to the absence of the water supply and to the superstition. The Arab mothers are said to think that the washing of a child under 1 year old is dangerous; to fear that cleanliness will bring praise of the child and therefore ~~incur~~ <sup>incur</sup> the evil eye; and the practice of disastrous treatment such as squeezing onion juice into the infants eyes. There can be little hope of a general improvement except through the influence of primary schools; leading to medical inspection and ultimately to hygienic ideas. <sup>Mr Bowman Director</sup> The ~~education~~ <sup>director</sup> instructs school masters of ~~many~~ <sup>many</sup> schools to have every child treated with eye drops every day. Meanwhile direct effort in teaching the care of infants is of untold value.

seriously common

Banning

of Education

We saw welfare centres at Jerusalem, Jaffa, and Haifa and in each case we learnt that even the Moslem women are showing an increasing desire to take advantage of the centres.

The government is setting up centres of its own, but in view of the expense, and the shortage of revenue it encourages private efforts by providing part of the cost or by friendly supervision, exercised by ~~him~~ <sup>Mr Nixon</sup>, head of the welfare work section.

Heron's plan

Col Heron, the director of the Public Health department is an enthusiast for the work. He showed us the Jerusalem centre which is attached to a hospital.

The Jaffa centre is private and is especially interesting as a case of effort by natives, mostly Arab ladies but led by a Greek.

✓ machine

We were shown over it <sup>by</sup> Miss Nixon the Government Welfare Worker, who is most anxious that <sup>the</sup> Arab interest should be encouraged by aid from abroad and suggests provision of a European nurse.

At Haifa the work is done by a British Committee and depends on the voluntary ~~activity~~ <sup>activity</sup> of a lady <sup>doctor</sup> Mrs Catchings. It is limited by want of funds to two days a week, and here is a case which I hope the S.C.F. will seriously consider. Conditions in Haifa are disastrous. A large population in festering slums.

(lives)

Golden



where groups of children of every age may be seen with suppurating eyes, the flies feeding in swarms upon them. A revolution in health might grow from this child centre, in the course of a generation.

*if its operations are sufficiently enlarged to influence public opinion.*

I enclose an appeal which Mrs Cotching begged me to forward. <sup>the</sup> possibility of perfect health is shown by the superb appearance of the Jewish children in the Zionist agricultural colonies. An additional reason for selecting Haifa, if any relief can be given, is that the town <sup>the</sup> will shortly be the greatest centre in Palestine, with influence on <sup>the</sup> whole country.

If any further help is possible it would <sup>be</sup> worth while to enquire of Miss Nixon <sup>as to</sup> the best way to encourage a Native committee for Jaffa or for the country as a whole.

*Mac? + Heron*

EGYPT

The prevalence of ill health in Egypt is if possible even more conspicuous than in Palestine. The wall-eye, cataract, <sup>trachoma</sup> and suppurating ophthalmia are in evidence at every turn. The British <sup>doctor</sup> in charge of the ophthalmic research laboratory illustrated the situation by telling one of a large village, where, when the whole population was examined, every child over one year old was affected with trachoma and 75% <sup>of the people</sup> suffered from bilharzia. The Government is doing more than might be expected of Orientals. Forty-five travelling eye hospitals are at work, of which we saw a very fine example at Luxor. <sup>It</sup> is claimed that in twenty-six years blindness ( of one or both eyes ) has been reduced from 25% to 7%. <sup>As to</sup> their need of foreign aid in Egypt however we must remember to balance the claim against that of poorer countries. Egypt has wealth, and is learning to exercise its powers of self government.

(2) AFFILIATION TO THE S.C.F.

Palestine. We urged on Mrs McInnes and Miss Nixon the value of child work in Palestine of participation in an international movement. as to practical work British residents are probably doing more than the average and Palestine is incongruously crowded with philanthropic institutions already- both <sup>Christian and</sup> Jewish. The field for <sup>only new</sup> practical work would be among Arabs, and this is in embryo. *a child welfare society which covers the greater part of the work done.*



*discrimination of welfare*      *direct*  
If it is a group formed for Child Subjects and not for action,  
it appears that the S.C.F. desires to see, *the object seems to be attained*  
~~by the same Society~~ that a Society of the kind  
~~already exists. It is known to the S.C.F. through Mrs de Hussein~~  
report. It is affiliated to the British National Council of  
women but it would appear well fitted to be also an affiliated member  
of the International S.C.F.

EGYPT

I had two discussions at Cairo with Mr Morrison, convenor  
of the group dealing with the African Child questionnaire.

He should be an able guide in the matter of affiliation  
also, he would be very ready to *summon* collect an conference, including  
the above named group, but specially giving prominence to Egyptian  
workers, so as to preserve the National aspect and develop native  
responsibility.

0 [ I thought it well to sound him as to the kind of request  
from the S.C.F. which would enable him to call such a meeting,  
and I think that the opportunity of using his help offers a most  
valuable opening. *and I enclose a rough draft of this such a letter.*



The hoarding demand for gold was smaller at the fixing, when the reduced amount of £326,000 was sold and the price at 140s. 8½d. per ounce and the premium at 5½d. were both 1d. lower. In the subsequent dealings, however, demand increased, and the price recovered. (p. 23)

The British Oxygen Company is issuing 1,000,000 Five per Cent. Cumulative Second Preference shares of £1 at 22s. 6d. a share. (p. 22)

The Midland, National Provincial, and Westminster Banks are paying interim dividends at the same rates as a year ago. (p. 22)

The Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Company is distributing 15 per cent., against 20 per cent. for each of the preceding four years. (p. 22)

It is proposed to capitalize reserves of the Petroleum Storage and Finance Corporation amounting to £375,000 and to distribute them as to 40 per cent. to the Ordinary shareholders and 60 per cent. to the Deferred shareholders. (p. 22)

Cash lists for the £1,000,000 Three-and-a-Quarter per Cent. Bournemouth loan will be opened and closed to-morrow. (p. 22)

## THE REFUGEES

It is fitting that the Conference called to deal with the problem of Jewish refugees should meet in France, for France has excelled all other countries in offering hospitality to the racial, political, and religious fugitives of the post-War period. Revolutions and a civil war have driven their victims across her north-eastern, south-eastern, and southern frontiers, and both officially and privately France has responded nobly to the calls made upon her feelings of humanity and hospitality. In the years immediately following the War she replenished her depleted man-power by welcoming a voluntary influx of Italian, Polish, and other labour; but long after she had as many workers as she required she has taken in thousands of Jews, Liberals, Socialists, easterners, Italians, Russians, Saarlanders, and Spaniards. Now her capacity to absorb is exhausted; but the experience she has gained will no doubt be placed by the French delegation at the service of the Evian Committee, whose immediate concern is the fate of German and Austrian Jews.

The British delegation is headed by LORD WINTERTON, and altogether about thirty countries are represented. It is somewhat singular that the official who has hitherto had most experience of this international problem—the League of Nations' High Commissioner for refugees from Germany—should not have received a formal invitation to attend the Conference. SIR NEILL MALCOLM and his assistant Commissioner, LORD DUNCANNON, are nevertheless on their way to Evian, and it is understood that they are likely to be invited to take part in the proceedings. When the British Government agreed to the excellent suggestion of the United States Government that this meeting should be convened, they made a special reference to the work already being done by SIR NEILL MALCOLM; and his knowledge and experience should obviously be of the utmost value to the Committee. There has in fact been cooperation between him and the American and British authorities in preparing the Conference, and no doubt the cooperation will be continued at Evian in the same friendly spirit.

In addition to the League's High Commissioner there are several private or semi-private organizations which have already alleviated the lot of many thousands of refugees, and one of the questions with which the new Committee will have to deal will be its own relations with these voluntary bodies. It will surprise many people to learn that over 100,000 Jews from the German Reich alone have been settled in other lands since 1933, their chief benefactors being their richer co-religionists. But there are still about 350,000 who would like to leave Germany if they could, and there are probably 200,000 more in Austria. It is reckoned that approximately 1,500 a month are actually getting out of Austria, and that very few of them have so far been placed. To these unplaced and often destitute fugitives must be added the 40,000 or 50,000 Jews from Germany who are still without work or regular means of sustenance. The problem is all the more difficult because it follows the immense dislocation of the immediate post-War period, when Greeks, Turks, Bulgarians, Armenians, Assyrians, and Russians were uprooted. Some of the best work which the League of Nations has done was to organize the exchange of populations in the Near East and to help to get the Balkans settled on a sounder ethnical basis than ever before. Over 700,000 Russians fled before the onslaught of the Bolshevists, and the majority had actually been absorbed in neighbouring countries, east and west—notably China and Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia—though the Japanese invasion has now made many thousands of them become fugitives a second time. The resettlement of Russian refugees in 1922 will always be associated with the name of the great Norwegian explorer, DR. NANSEN, whose name still connotes the passport of the Stateless. Until this special identification pass was invented the unfortunate outcasts were unable to move about from one country to another. Another question which the Evian Committee will be considering is a system of documentation for the new army of Stateless Jews.

The treatment of Jews by the Nazi authorities is altogether unworthy of the German people, and is one of the most formidable obstacles to a better understanding with other nations. It may be admitted that the presence of large numbers of Jews within the State presents difficult problems in certain countries, especially when they achieve an importance out of proportion to their numbers. But this is no sort of reason for a country with the intellectual and cultural standards of Germany to treat Jews with a callous brutality which drives even some of the most strong-minded to suicide and which for the vast majority makes life a mere hopeless misery. Thousands are deprived of their capital, are prevented from earning their living, and simply face starvation. In the earlier years of the Nazi régime Jews who emigrated might take with them 75 per cent. of their fortunes. Now the amount has been reduced to 10 per cent. The remainder is held by the Reich authorities in non-transferable funds in Germany, which seem—as a Correspondent writes in the article on another page—to be effectively lost to their owners even if they remain in Germany, and which they have of course no prospect of ever seeing again if they quit the country. The "flight tax," as our Correspondent calls it, brought the German Government nearly £7,000,000 in 1937. In other words, the Nazis take the bulk of the Jewish fortunes into their custody—"protective" custody, no doubt—and

seek to fling their own impoverished subjects—for until now they have had German nationality—on the benevolence of other countries. It is an offence not only against the Jewish race but against the community of nations. Not Jews alone, of course, but many of the most independent-minded and honourable members of the German race itself are the victims of the intolerance of Nazism. These, and Jews in absorbable numbers, will be made welcome in countries where more humane standards prevail and where openings can be made for them; but the principle should emphatically be upheld that each country is responsible for the proper treatment of its own Jewish population.



# THE EVIAN CONFERENCE

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,—There will be general agreement among all those who have had personal experience of the work of the voluntary organizations who are struggling to assist refugees from Germany and Austria, with one of the contentions of Sir Robert Waley Cohen's letter which you published on June 29. It is that the Powers can translate their gestures of good will into practice and reality "by providing a substantial fund and entrusting it to a central staff to study, inaugurate, and develop schemes for . . . emigration and settlement." This is the *sine qua non* of any planned migration from the Reich into other countries. It is sheer moonshine to pretend that the private organizations, however intelligently they may pool their efforts—as we Catholics, Jews, Protestants, and trade unionists are now doing—can find the means of accommodating more than the pathetic little dribble of hard cases with which they are now coping. Only a tiny number of these exiles can be accommodated in this country and in the other thickly populated countries of Europe.

Were the relief organizations to concentrate upon the selection and training of young persons who have no future under present conditions in Germany and Austria, a supply of good settlers prepared for pioneer work in certain parts of South America and of the British Empire could be maintained. But it is quite beyond the means of these committees to meet the expense, not only of training suitable subjects, but of their transport and initial settlement oversea without assistance from public funds. If some international revolving fund were available to meet the expenses of transport and part at least of the cost of clearing land, erecting huts, and furnishing the settlers with implements, seeds, or livestock, it would be much easier to raise money from private sources to complete the cost of well-planned group settlements. These might eventually grow into villages and gradually absorb a certain number of refugees of the professional class, teachers, doctors, clergy, chemists, engineers, &c. The experience of the Greek Settlement Commission and of the Nansen Office in settling Armenian refugees in Syria and Erivan, as well as in assisting Russian refugees to set up small businesses, all points to the conclusion that loans to the refugees are more satisfactory from every point of view than gifts of money; and it has been proved that in the majority of cases, provided the settlement scheme has been carefully planned, the instalments are paid back in due course. By this system the self-respect of the refugees is maintained and fresh advances can be made for new settlements.

It is devoutly to be hoped that the Evian Conference will profit from this experience and at the same time make it perfectly clear to the German Government that the Powers represented will refuse to accept any considerable number of ex-German nationals, arbitrarily deprived of their property, unless and until satisfactory financial and diplomatic measures have been taken, with the concurrence, if possible, of the German Government, for their settlement in other lands.

Yours faithfully,

JOHN EPPSTEIN.

Hon. Secretary, Catholic Committee for  
Refugees from Germany, 120, Victoria  
Street, S.W.1.



## THE OUTCASTS

### EVIAN AND ITS CHALLENGE

The conference called by President Roosevelt to discuss the plight of the German and Austrian refugees meets at Evian to-day.

#### From Our Central European Correspondent

The outcome of the Evian Conference will be anxiously awaited by thousands of people all over Europe. They fall into two main groups. The first is the people who would emigrate if they could but cannot. The second is those who have and now vegetate, in idleness or even in hiding, in neighbouring countries, unable either to take legitimate employment there or to make their way to countries overseas.

If they are without money these people are welcome nowhere and can at the best hope for a limited residential permit, conditioned by a ban on the acceptance of employment. If they have no passport, and passports are becoming rarer, their very presence is illegal and detection by the police means expulsion. There are many non-Jewish refugees, exiles because they were once known as pacifists or Socialists, and their lot is not less worthy of compassion than that of the Jewish fugitive. They are not all desirable citizens, but the good suffer with the bad.

The chief problem is the German Jews, who numbered about 600,000 in the Reich at the coming of Hitlerism and about 200,000 in Austria at the Anschluss. Of the Reich German Jews about 115,000 left Germany between 1933 and 1937. Many succeeded, through their connexions abroad, in establishing themselves in other countries. Many were able to take with them sufficient funds to make a new start. Of the 21,000 who left Germany in 1936 5,192, at the estimate of the Jewish Relief Organization in Germany, were in need of relief. Until the Anschluss it seemed that the bulk of the German Jews might yet remain in the Reich.

Those who left were mainly of the intellectual classes—lawyers, doctors, dentists, actors, teachers, writers. These could not work in the Hitlerist Reich. But 80 per cent. of the German Jews were engaged in trade and commerce. They hoped, and for some time seemed likely, to be left in relative peace, apart from those connected with the big banking houses and multiple stores. These hopes received a setback after the Anschluss.

#### FLIGHT FROM AUSTRIA

Nearly all the Jews in Austria lived in Vienna, whereas Berlin never had more than a third of the Reich Jewish population. The Anschluss was bound to produce an acute crisis. There was again a movement of Jews to Berlin and an immediate reaction in the Reich followed; intensified anti-Jewish measures culminated in the decree that all Jewish property over 5,000 marks must be declared and in the powers given to Field-Marshal Göring to take the necessary measures to ensure that this property, if need be, should be harnessed in some form to the Four-Year Plan of German military and economic rearmament.

All these things have turned Jewish thoughts to emigration again and opened up the question—which still remains to be answered—whether the rigorous measures taken in the past against Jewish intellectuals are now to be extended to the Jewish trading and commercial community and whether this must now prepare to leave Germany.

Finance is the main problem before the Evian Conference. In 1933 migrating Jews could still take with them 75 per cent. of their money, but this has been reduced to about 10 per cent., the remainder being held in non-transferable funds in Germany which seem to be effectively lost to their owners. This is presumably the reason that Jewish emigration from Germany in the past has not been greater. The use to which these blocked funds are put is not known. It has been hoped that the German Government—which in 1937 netted nearly £7,000,000 in flight tax on the property which it allowed Jewish and non-Jewish emigrants to take abroad with them—would use them to finance the future emigration of poorer Jews, but no proposals have been made public.

#### MIGRATION FROM EUROPE

Next to finance the main question is where the refugees are to go, and it is not much easier to answer. France and Czechoslovakia have in the past given most liberal treatment to the refugees, but their capacity is exhausted. They cannot go in any numbers to eastern or south-eastern Europe, for these countries have Jewish problems of their own and an intensification, rather than a relaxation, of restrictive measures against the Jews already seems likely, even if a further advance of National Socialism down the Danube valley does not lead to a violent anti-Semitic wave. There remains, as potential outlets, the overseas and colonial countries. The second main task of the Evian Conference will be to consider what possibilities exist there for settling emigrants. The most useful immediate contribution which the Evian Conference could make would apparently be to organize emigration for those refugees who, from lack of money, ill luck, or insufficient strength of will, have as yet been unable to overcome difficulties and make their way to some place where they can live and work.

The majority of the emigrants do, somehow, contrive to break through. The residue, thousands of Jews and Gentiles, needs help. Many have German or Austrian passports now no longer valid, so that they encounter constant difficulties in moving about, but even these, having some piece of paper to show who they are or who they were, are in better condition than others, the most unfortunate of all, who have had their passports taken from them before being put across the frontier, and now have no legal existence anywhere.

Some kind of document with which they can travel is essential for such men. Some organized body needs to take the whole problem in hand. Different countries demand different certificates and no country can be expected to give unrestricted entry to all emigrants. But the question remains, Where are these men to go? The Evian Conference has to try to answer it.

## 31 STATES TAKING PART

### FINANCE A BIG PROBLEM

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

EVIAN, JULY 5

M. Henri Béranger, the French delegate, a Senator and former Ambassador to the United States, will preside at the first meeting of the Conference here to-morrow. Mr. Myron Taylor the United States representative, will probably preside at subsequent sittings. Thirty-one States are taking a direct part in the Conference, and South Africa is sending an observer.

Invitations were sent only to those States which could be classed as "receiving States," that is to say, those which are confronted with the problem of refugees who have sought asylum within their frontiers. Consequently the Central European Powers are not included. Besides a strong British delegation the Governments of Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and Eire are represented. The Italian Government invited on the basis of a suggestion that Abyssinia might form a colonizing ground for refugees, declined for diplomatic reasons.

#### LEAGUE'S ASSISTANCE

Although the League of Nations as such has no part in the Conference it has undertaken to perform the secretarial and documentary work and to provide interpreters. It is expected that the Conference will last from 10 days to a fortnight. Nothing so ambitious as an international convention will be attempted, but rather specific recommendations for dealing with the movements of refugees and alleviating their hardships.

The administrative aspect arises from the fact that the United States was one of the earliest countries to feel the pressure of the stream of refugees, and seeks to know the views of other countries subject to the same pressure. A humanitarian aspect arises from the present situation of those unfortunate refugees who, deprived of their nationality, passport, and means by the country from which they have fled, are unable to find a permanent home in any country and are being constantly turned back by police or immigration authorities.

#### PERMITS TO WORK

It has been proposed that States represented should undertake to accept refugees in a certain proportion; that each refugee should have the right to an international passport and that he should be granted not only the *permis de séjour* but also the *permis de travail*. The World Jewish Congress has suggested that the immigration authorities, notably those on the other side of the Atlantic, should open their doors to refugees and practise as humane an immigration policy as possible, and that the Conference should request Great Britain to take measures to enable from 80,000 to 100,000 Jews to settle permanently in Palestine every year.

The Conference will also have before it the still more difficult problem of finance. It is becoming plain that the funds of the international benevolent organizations are feeling the strain, and will soon be unable to continue to shoulder all the cost of the ever-increasing migrations.

#### LEAGUE COMMISSIONER TO ATTEND

General Sir Neill Malcolm, League High Commissioner for refugees from Germany (including Austria), left London yesterday for Paris on his way to Evian. The Assistant Commissioner, Lord Duncannon, is going to Evian to-day by air.

Officially the High Commissioner is not a member of the Conference, which is inter-Governmental, but he has been in touch with the preparations made for it in London and Geneva, and it is expected that he will be invited to take part.



Draft.

I  
28.1.46.

To the Editor of the Times.

Sir,

Having been unable to attend the debate (in the House of Lords) on the expulsion of Germans from the parts of Eastern Europe now occupied by the Allies, I beg leave to add a word to the points made in the debate.

1. The impression made on those responsible for the expulsions has not been sufficient to prevent the disregard of the injunction to cease the deportations, which was made at Potsdam. *has been disregarded + the problem is to increase its influence.* And this although the statements made in Parliament were as marked as could be. *It has been endorsed by utterances of the greatest possible weight* Mr. Churchill, on August 20, spoke of the enormous number expelled and said: "It is not impossible that tragedy on a prodigious scale is unfolding itself behind the iron curtain which at the moment divides Europe in twain."  
*The mouthpiece of*  
The British Government (through the Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs on October 10) made even more direct protest, using such expressions as, "His Majesty's Government remonstrated directly with the Polish Government"; *in the Ho of C* (The Government had appealed to the governments of the U.S.S.R, France and U.S.A. through the Foreign Secretary to make) the "strongest approaches to the Polish Government"; (The Government was "gravely concerned" in this matter. It had made) "strong and repeated remonstrances"

This is  
the salient  
fact.



*But these writings have not pronounced  
of deliberate support a reason.  
It is that to*

on the subject". Observers abroad (may have felt that these  
~~expulsions~~ expressions were not supported by signs of public  
concern in the British Press. I suggest that this comparative  
silence has been due for desire to avoid criticism of the states  
most responsible. This consideration accords with a general  
desire to back the Foreign Secretary in his difficult task of  
influencing those in control of the area in question.

*Why has  
impression  
not been  
made?*

Public utterance is also restrained by a sense that we  
ourselves must share the blame for what is happening. It was  
in London that the plan of allowing Poland to annex German provinces  
was first announced. It was debated in the House of Lords, and  
the proposal was widely approved. Some of us pointed to the  
objections to it, both on grounds of humanity, and as an incentive to  
future war. (But) no one foresaw that it would take the form of

expulsions with crude violence. *But those who condemn that violence  
are restrained from speech by their previous approval of expulsion.*

The Bishop of Chichester's motion showed the statesmanship  
of long views. Perhaps the most important consideration is that  
of peace in the future, when *distant* Europe is united again by a Council of  
equal states. *military occupation ceases.* It will be essential that neither Germany nor

any other state should be moved by a sense of unforgivable wrong.  
Many humiliations may in time fade from memory, but the deprivation  
of historic national lands in circumstances of inhumanity may form  
ground for ideals of revenge which nothing can remove. The harm *already*  
done can *at best* only be mitigated, and the Foreign Secretary deserves all  
possible public support in a policy which aims at the education,



so far as it can be effected, in the British zone) <sup>at education</sup> of German  
rather than punishment  
feeling, and <sup>at</sup> avoiding the bitter memories which would arise  
from permitting starvation.



When During the war the <sup>future</sup> treatment of Germany, (after victory had been secured,) was (very much) discussed, No ~~better~~ greater wisdom was applied to the question than that <sup>of</sup> which was expressed by Archbishop Temple when he said that the menace of German aggression must be removed, yet we must not lend ourselves in a mood of vengefulness <sup>to</sup> ~~by~~ breaches of basic human rights, or to punitive measures which would be repudiated as unjust by later generations, and would permanently frustrate the hopes of peace and unity in Europe. These must be the first aim, and <sup>the</sup> settlement would achieve that aim which did not set out as one of its goals the eventual reintegration of the German people into the European family.

The administration of the British zone in Germany has in general pursued these aims, and Mr. Bevin deserves the most vigorous support in urging their adoption in the zones controlled by other ~~of~~ powers.



House of Lords,

S.W.1.

29.1.46.

To The Editor of "The Times".

Sir,

Having been unable to attend the debate on the expulsion of Germans from the parts of Eastern Europe now occupied by the Allies, I beg leave to add a word to the points made in the debate.

The injunction to cease the deportations, which was made at Potsdam, has been disregarded and the problem is to increase its influence. It has been supported by utterances of the greatest possible weight. Mr. Churchill, on August 20, spoke of the enormous number expelled and said: "It is not impossible that tragedy on a prodigious scale is unfolding itself behind the iron curtain which at the moment divides Europe in twain".

The mouthpiece of the British Government made even more direct protest, using such expressions as, "His Majesty's Government remonstrated directly with the Polish Government"; "the strongest approaches to the Polish Government"; "strong and repeated remonstrances". But these warnings have not prevailed, and I desire to suggest a reason. It is to observers abroad they did not appear to be supported by signs of public opinion.



The British press has carried too far the desire to avoid criticism of the states most responsible. The press should express in addition the desire to back the Foreign Secretary in his difficult task of influencing those in control of the areas in question.

Public utterance is also restrained by a sense that we ourselves must share the blame for what is happening. It was in London that the plan of allowing Poland to annex German provinces was first announced. It was debated in the House of Lords, and the proposal was widely approved. No one foresaw that it would take the form of expulsions with crude violence, though some of us pointed to the objections to it, as involving useless suffering, and as an incentive to future war. Yet those who condemn that violence are restrained from speech by their previous approval of expulsion.

The Bishop of Chichester's motion showed the statesmanship of long views. The most important consideration is that of peace in the distant future when military occupation ceases. It will be essential that neither Germany nor any other state should be moved by a sense of unforgivable wrong. Many humiliations may in time fade from memory, but the deprivation of historic national lands in circumstances of inhumanity may form ground for ideals of revenge which nothing can remove.

The harm already done can at best be mitigated, and the



Foreign Secretary deserves all possible public support in a policy which aims at education rather than punishment, and avoiding the bitter memories which would arise from permitting starvation.

When during the war the future treatment of Germany was discussed, no greater wisdom was applied to the question than that of Archbishop Temple when he said: " The treatment of Germany presents for Christians a moral issue of exceptional difficulty. It must be such as to remove once and for all the menace of German aggression, and secure full atonement for the appalling sufferings inflicted by Nazi Germany upon the peoples of Europe. Yet we must not lend ourselves in a mood of vengefulness to breaches of basic human rights, or to punitive measures against the entire German people which will be repudiated as unjust by later generations, or will permanently frustrate the hopes of peace and unity in Europe. The future public safety and well-being of Europe must be the first aim of the peace in Europe; and no settlement will achieve that aim which does not set out as one of its goals the eventual reintegration of the German people into the European family of nations."

The administration of the British zone in Germany has in general pursued these aims, and Mr. Bevin deserves the most vigorous support in urging their adoption in the zones controlled by other Powers.



House of Lords,

S.W.1.

30.1.46.

To the Editor of "The Times".

Sir,

Having been unable to attend the debate (in the House of Lords) on the expulsion of Germans from the parts of Eastern Europe now occupied by the Allies, I beg leave to add a word to the points made in the debate. *on Jan 30*

*shall be grateful if you allow me to*  
*I desire to suggest a reason*  
*why #* The injunction to cease the deportations, which was made at Potsdam, *as to* *were largely disregarded. The injunctions were* has been supported by utterances of the greatest possible weight. Mr. Churchill, on ~~August 20~~, spoke of the enormous number expelled, and said: "It is not impossible that tragedy on a prodigious scale is unfolding itself behind the iron curtain which at the moment divides Europe in twain". *then the words were*

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~~responsible~~ has been carried too far. *fact that all parties with* The general

to back the Foreign Secretary in his difficult task of influencing those *responsible* in control of the expulsions ought to be made clear.

*episode of violent expulsion is it*  
 The expulsions are deplorable above all for *their* influence on the maintenance of peace in the distant future when military occupation will have ceased. It will be essential that neither Germany nor any other state should be moved by a sense of unforgivable wrong. Many humiliations may in time fade from memory, but the deprivation of historic national lands in circumstances of inhumanity may form ground for ideals of revenge which nothing can remove.

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 The harm already done can at best be mitigated; and ~~the~~ Foreign Secretary deserves all possible public support in a policy which aims at *education rather than punishment*, and at avoiding the bitter memories which would arise from permitting starvation.



Times Jan 31

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(O re)  
too far West



11, Wilton Place,

S.W.1.

5,8,46,

To the Editor of the Times.

Sir,

In recent debates in the House of Lords the Government has forcibly resisted several proposals which represented short-sighted policy in regard to the treatment of Germany. The same far-sighted wisdom will be welcomed when applied to the question of the German prisoners. It is to be feared that the delay in repatriation is counteracting the admirable efforts made in the British Zone towards encouraging <sup>a</sup> "good neighbour" spirit <sub>^</sub> in the Germany of the future. Men who would have gone home keen to work in that direction are coming to doubt our humanity and to despise our claim to Christianity. They hear of relations and friends in grave distress, but may neither go home to them nor send them gifts from their own rations or earnings.

Even those prisoners who are classed by the War Office as "white" (that is anti-Nazi) are treated as pariahs, who may not fraternise with British subjects. Yet an "over-patriotic" British subject may jeer at them (or give them cigarettes) without breaking any regulations at all, or <sup>may</sup> <sub>^</sub> even incite them to break the anti-fraternisation rule, so as to get them into trouble. Happily such malicious action is rare, but it has been known to occur.



COPY

10 Lowndes Square,

S. W.1.

14.8.45

Sloane 9542

My dear Minister,

Many thanks for your note.

I am most anxious to avoid troubling you, especially when you have additional great matters on your hands. But please (because of its extreme urgency) excuse my sending a note on the expulsion of Germans by Poland, contrary to your decisions at the Potsdam Conference.

You are, no doubt, much more fully informed than those of us who get the facts from "The Times" correspondent at Berlin, but it is clear that the facts given by him (in spite of his natural desire to avoid offending Polish feeling) were an understatement of the extent to which the Polish Government has disregarded the exhortation to act in an "orderly and humane" manner and to suspend expulsion.

I know well that you would wish British influence to be used to discourage disorderly action leading to needless suffering, but I want to urge that there is a greater problem involved, namely the problem of peace in the distant future. Both the manner and the extent of Polish annexations affect the question whether Germany will in the distant future accept the situation and become, as Churchill adumbrated, a "good neighbour" state in the European Council. Therefore it seems evident that any moderating influence which can be



exercised by the British Government is extremely worth while.

When Churchill proclaimed a policy of compensating Poland for loss of territory in the East by acquisitions in the North and West, the policy was debated in the Lords. (I had put down a motion urging the danger of creating incentives to German revenge in the distant future.) The loss of Pomeranian land, where the population is so solidly German and which is an ancient part of Germany, will be an incentive to revenge least likely to be forgotten by the Germans in the future, especially as it is clearly contrary to the Atlantic Charter.

Churchill's proposal was supported on the assumption that the deportation which must follow annexation would be carried out in an orderly way, comparable to that of the deportations arranged between Greece and Turkey. Nobody imagined that they might mean the kind of thing recently reported, such as people dying of starvation by the roadside. On the purely humane side of the matter perhaps something could be done by way of relief work, and I venture to ask you to see that enquiries are made as to the possibility (through the agency of UNRRA which is operating Poland) of preventing starvation in the districts where the Poles are removing the German population, though requested at Potsdam to "suspend further expulsion, pending the examination by the Governments concerned, of the report of their representatives on the Control Council"



HOUSE OF LORDS.

September 21st, 1945

To the Editor of the 'News Chronicle'

Sir,

I should like to thank you for the service you have rendered in calling attention to the expulsion of Germans by Poland and Czechoslovakia. You have helped to save the reputation of the British public for humanity and statesmanship.

Mr. Churchill gave a warning in his speech in Parliament on August 20th, which ought to have aroused the utmost concern. He spoke of the enormous numbers expelled and said, " .... It is not impossible that tragedy on a prodigious scale is unfolding itself behind the iron curtain which at the moment divides Europe in twain."

The reluctance of the press to emphasise the question may be partly due to regard for the feelings of the states most responsible, but that is a consideration rather for the Foreign Office, and Mr. Bevin deserves more backing than he has received in his difficult task of influencing those in direct control of the area in question.

Nor can we put all the blame on the Eastern allies. The history of the matter goes back to the early days of 1944.



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Nor can we put all the blame on the Eastern allies. The history of the matter goes back to the early days of 1944.



Although the problem belongs mainly to Russia, it was in England that the plan of allowing Poland to annex German provinces was first announced. The subject was debated in the House of Lords and the proposal was widely accepted. Deportation of the inhabitants was defended as necessary and was justified by comparison with the deportation of Greeks from Turkey after the 1914-18 war. Some of us pointed to the inevitable suffering involved in deportation, however orderly. But no one foresaw that it would take the form, as it has done, of expulsion with crude violence.

If Britain and America have not equal responsibility with Russia, it is at least their duty, as well as their interest, to exert the utmost influence possible. The Allies fought to defeat the cult of ruthless and punitive inhumanity.

And there is another consideration, possibly even more important, namely the cause of peace in the far future. When Europe is led once again by a council of equal States, as Mr. Churchill has more than once forecast, it will be essential that neither Germany, nor any other state, should be removed by a sense of unforgiveable wrong. Many humiliations may in time fade from memory, but the deprivation of historic national lands, in circumstances of inhumanity, would form ground for ideals of revenge which history shows cannot be forgotten.



Is it not time to name a date before which the "white" and "grey" prisoners will be sent home ?



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