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**Government interventions in: Austria,
Czechoslovakia, Danzig, Poland, and
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Gauzy

DECLARATION DE L'EXECUTIF DE CONGRES JUIF MONDIAL AU SUJET DES
PROBLEMES DE L'EMIGRATION JUIVE SOULEVES PAR LA DELEGATION
POLONAISE A L'ASSEMBLEE DE LA S.D.N..-

Paris, le 12 Octobre 1936. - Le 11 Octobre 1936, l'Exécutif du Congrès juif Mondial s'est réuni en séance, à laquelle, pour la première fois, prenait part le nouveau membre de l'Exécutif, M. Saly MAYER, président de l'union des communautés israélites suisses. Diverses questions d'organisation furent débattues et des décisions prises, entre autres celle de créer un Département de la lutte contre l'antisémitisme. Un sous-comité est chargé d'élaborer le programme des travaux de ce Département et de le soumettre à la prochaine séance de l'Exécutif. D'autre part, un Département de la Jeunesse sera créé dont la Direction sera confiée à M. KUBOWITZKI.

Le Dr. M. KRAEMER a été chargé, en qualité de délégué de l'Exécutif, de réaliser, au cours des mois qui suivront, une série de travaux d'organisation dans plusieurs pays de l'Europe orientale et centrale. Le Dr. NUROCK entreprend un voyage dans le même but dans les pays scandinaves. A la fin du mois, le Dr. GOLDMANN visitera l'Autriche, la Yougoslavie, la Roumanie et la Tchécoslovaquie.

Au cours de la séance du soir, Le Dr. GOLDMANN a fait un rapport détaillé sur l'activité du Bureau Genevois du Congrès Juif Mondial en connexion avec la récente Assemblée de la S.D.N. Il s'est arrêté, en particulier, sur la réorganisation du Haut-Commissariat pour les réfugiés venant d'Allemagne, le problème de la minorité juive à Danzig, ainsi que sur les déclarations du Gouvernement Polonais relatives à de nouveaux pays d'immigration pour les juifs de Pologne. Ce dernier problème a été vivement discuté. Il est entendu que toute tentative de conférer à cette politique d'émigration un caractère préjudiciable à la parité des droits des Juifs de Pologne, garantie par la constitution et le droit international, rencontrera du côté juif l'opposition la plus énergique. Il est inadmissible qu'une pression quelconque soit exercée sur la population juive, en Pologne ou ailleurs, en vue de la forcer à émigrer, ce qui serait contraire à l'égalité de ses droits civiques. Cependant, le Congrès Juif constate qu'en conséquence de la crise économique que subissent les pays de l'Europe Orientale, d'une part, et de la structure sociale de la population juive, d'autre part, un besoin objectif d'émigration se fait sentir pour une partie des masses juives. Considérés sous cet aspect, tous les efforts venant du côté juif ou non-juif, d'ouvrir les portes des pays d'immigration, doivent être accueillis favorablement et soutenus. La tentative de conférer au problème de l'émigration un caractère international et de le soumettre aux organes de la S.D.N., en vue de faciliter les possibilités d'émigration, peut avoir une grande valeur, à condition qu'il soit bien précisé que la parité des droits des citoyens juifs des pays d'émigration ne s'en trouve nullement atteinte, et que l'émigration juive n'est considérée que comme une solution partielle du problème général suscité par l'excès de la population des pays en question. Tel est le principe qui déterminera l'attitude et l'activité de l'Exécutif en ce qui concerne les problèmes énumérés.

J. H. Myers - no
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C.002.

DR. N. GOLDMANN

Dear Foreign Subscribers
Goldsman, Dec 17th 1936

GENÈVE, December 17th, 1936.

95, RUE DE LAUSANNE

TÉL. 27.185

Dr. Stephen S. Wise,
40 W 68th Street,
New York

Dear Wise,

I send you herewith a confidential report about my impressions in Roumania and Poland. You can give naturally the report to Brandeis, Mack or Frankfurter and to the State Department if you want to do so, but it is naturally essential that the Roumanians should not know about it.

The situation both in Roumania and Poland is so serious that something must be done about it. The one thing to do for you is to try to influence your Government to approach both Roumania and Poland about the Jewish situation... Everyone whom I had occasion to see in these countries confirmed me the tremendous moral and political authority which the United States have in all these countries. A word from your country would help very much.

The other thing to do is to have articles published in the press. It is especially important to get the "New York Times" to write an article about these countries, underlining especially the argument that both these countries and chiefly Roumania, would never have got the territories they got after the war, if they would not have accepted the minorities' protection. The Peace-Treaties are undivisible and Roumania cannot ask the world to regard the territorial clauses of the Treaties as sacro-sainted, whereas it violated cynically and brutally the other parts of the treaties concerning the minorities' protection. Such an article published by the New York Times would impress very much Roumania as I was told by very responsible Statesmen there. I am writing to-day to Mr. James MacDonald and I am sending him a copy of the report, asking him, if possible, to write such an article in the New York Times. Please talk with him and try to get him to do it.

I have cabled you to-day about the Upper-Silesian question. Have you had the opportunity to approach the State Department, asking them to get in touch with Poland and to influence them that they should agree to some kind of continuation of the Polish-German Treaty concerning Upper-Silesia? It is very urgent that this should be done, as the time is short and we must make the last effort to bring pressure to bear upon Poland. Please let me know as soon as possible what you have done and what attitude the State Department is taking in this question.

You will get a detailed report about my conversation with Beck in Warsaw from the Paris-Office.

I cannot close this letter without telling you one more that if the American Jewish Congress will not start to pay his full contribution, the work here cannot be done. We have now invited Zuckermann who will come in the middle of January, but this means at the beginning another financial obligation and the whole work is terribly hampered by the financial situation. We cannot start with the Office for fighting Anti-Semitism and many other activities because of the lack of funds.

You have certainly received the two Memoranda which we have submitted to the Council of the League of Nations about Danzig and to the Committee for the reformed of the Covenant about minorities' rights and the

DR. N. GOLDMANN

GENÈVE , December 17th, 1936.

95, RUE DE LAUSANNE

TÉL. 27.186

Dr. Stephen S. Wise, New York.

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question of Jews in Germany. I think that the two Memoranda are a good piece of work and you should make a little publicity about the second Memorandum to the Committee for the Reforme of the Covenant. The Danzig Memorandum is not yet to be published as we are waiting for the consent of our Danzig friends to do so.

Awaiting your reply to all these different questions,

I am

Yours as ever



P.S. I have discussed yesterday with the English delegation here the Upper-Silesian question. They are ready to take contact with Poland about it. It is therefore the more urgent that you should intervene in Washington.

Bericht ueber meine Reiseindruecke in Rumaenien und Polen.

Ich war neun Tage in Rumaenien und drei Tage in Polen.

I. Rumaenien.

A. Die allgemeine Lage. Ich hatte dort Gelegenheit, ausführlich mit den Vertretern aller juedischen Gruppen zu sprechen, daneben auch mit einer Reihe von rumaenischen Politikern und Schriftstellern, darunter auch mit dem Praesidenten der nationalen Bauernpartei, der zweifellos stärksten Partei im Lande, Herrn Jean Niholache. Die allgemeine politische Lage in Rumaenien ist außerordentlich labil. Das demokratische System ist eine Farce, da wohl in keinem Lande Europas die Wahlen derartig gefälscht zu werden pflegen wie in Rumaenien. Jede Regierung, wie stark oder schwach auch ihre Anhaengerschaft im Lande sei, bekommt bei den Wahlen, die sie macht, die Majorität, und da nach dem rumaenischen Wahlgesetz die stärkste Partei eine Praemie von 40% von Mandaten bekommt, so bedeutet das faktisch die uneingeschränkte Majorität einer jeden Regierung im Parlament. Entscheidend fuer die Gestaltung der politischen Lage ist daher nicht die Stimmung des Landes, sondern der Wille des Koenigs, der den Ministerpraesidenten nominiert. Der jetzige Koenig Carol ist ein eigenwilliger Monarch mit diktatorialen Allueren und Neigungen, steht dazu unter dem verhaengnisvollen Einfluss von Frau Lupesco, die die antisemitischen Gruppen im allgemeinen protegiert, um ihre juedische Abstammung vergessen zu lassen, und ist umgeben von einer Clique mit reaktionären und antisemitischen Tendenzen.

Um die Macht im Lande kämpfen drei Gruppen miteinander:

1.) Die jetzt am Ruder befindliche liberale Partei, die im Lande selbst wenig Anhaenger besitzt und sich auf die städtische industrielle und kaufmaenische Bourgeoisie stützt, zudem gespalten ist, da der Chef der Partei, Dinu Bratiano, vom Koenig nicht mit der Regierungsbildung betraut wurde und daher in Opposition steht zum Regierungschef Tata-

resco. Die liberale Partei ist jetzt seit vier Jahren am Ruder; sie gibt sich nach aussen als demokratisch und ist in der Aussenpolitik frankophil und Anhaengerin der Politik der Kleinen Entente, ist aber korrupt und fuerchtet sich, dem rechtsradikalen Terror entgegenzutreten, einmal aus Angst vor Attentaten der Rechtsradikalen und alsdann, um der Bauernpartei gegenueber ein Gegengewicht im Lande zu haben.

2.) Die Nationale Bauernpartei (Nationalzaranisten), die sich in erster Reihe auf die Bauern stuetzt und die weitaus staerkste Partei im Lande darstellt, jedoch vom Koenig nicht zur Regierungsbildung zugelassen wird, weil die staerkste Persoenlichkeit der Partei, Maniu, mit dem Koenig sehr schlecht steht, da er die Versoehnung des Koenigs mit der Koenigin und die Verabschiedung von Madame Eupesce fordert, ferner aber auch, weil der Koenig infolge seiner diktatorialen Neigungen keine allzu starke Partei an die Regierung heranlassen will. Die Partei ist viel demokratischer als die Liberales und in der Aussenpolitik ehrlich frankophil und antideutsch und steht in schaerfstem Kampfe mit den Rechtsparteien.

3.) Die Rechtsparteien, die glwecklicherweise unter sich sehr uneinig sind. Es gibt die Gruppe des alten besessenen Antisemiten Cuza, die Gruppe von Goga, des frueheren Nationalzaranisten Vaida Voda und vor allem die formell aufgeloste, faktisch aber sehr aktive Eisernen Garde unter der Leitung von Codreane. Der letztere ist besondere unter der Jugend außerordentlich populaer, spielt die Rolle eines rumäniischen Hitler und hat fast die gesamte Studentenschaft hinter sich. Die Eisernen Garde arbeitet mit masslosen terroristischen Methoden (ein Eiserner Gardist hat bekanntlich Duca ermordet), und die Popularitaet Codreanoz hat damit begonnen, dass er einen Polizeipraefekten in Jassy erschossen hat und von den Geschworenen freigesprochen wurde und seitdem als nationaler Held gilt. Die Eisernen Garde proklamiert offen die Ermerdung der fuehrenden frankophilen Politiker, insbesondere Titulescos, und predigt gegen die Juden.

voellige Ausrottung. Innenpolitisch will die Eiserne Garde eine Diktatur errichten, aussenpolitisch will sie den Anschluss an Deutschland und Italien. Codreano hat vor kurzem an den Koenig ein Memorandum gerichtet, in welchem er erklärt, dass die Eiserne Garde im Falle eines Krieges, falls Rumänen an der Seite Frankreichs und Russlands kämpfen würde, sämtliche Minister und Kommandanten ermorden würde und auch vor dem Koenig nicht zurueckschrecken würde. Die Furcht vor den terroristischen Akten der Eisernen Garde ist so stark, dass auch auf solche Drohungen an den Koenig nichts seitens der Regierung erfolgt und die studentischen Organisationen in vielen Manifestationen öffentlich sich solidarisch mit dem Memorandum Codreancs erklären konnten. Die rechtaradikale Agitation, die insbesondere die antisemitische Parole in der schamlosesten Weise ausnutzt, wird, wie bereits bemerkt, von der Regierung gefeiert, die auf diese Weise ein Gegengewicht gegen den wachsenden Einfluss der Nationalen Bauernpartei schaffen will.

Da jede Regierungsbildung letzten Endes von dem guten Willen des Koenigs abhaengt, ist die politische Lage im Lande absolut labil und die weitere Entwicklung unvorhersehbar. Es bestand in letzter Zeit mehrfach die Gefahr einer rechtaradikalen Regierungsbildung, doch ist der Koenig stets im letzten Moment davor zurueckgeschreckt, in erster Reihe aus aussenpolitischen Gruenden. Insbesondere hat die bekannte revisionistische Rede von Mussolini in Mailand den frankophilen Kurs wieder verstärkt und die Moeglichkeit einer Rechtaregierung fuer die naechste Zukunft erschwert. Allerdings laeuft die Periode des jetzigen Parlaments im naechsten Jahre ab, und man rechnet nicht damit, dass Tassanico am Ruder bleiben und die neuen Wahlen durchfuehren werde, da auch er schon fuer den Koenig eine zu starke Figur wird. Welche Gruppe zur Regierung berufen wird, ist nicht vorauszusagen; moeglicherweise wird der Koenig eine Gruppe von bekannten gemaessigten Rechtspolitikern und einige Neutrale zur Regierung berufen, doch ist dies, wie gesagt, alles hypothetisch.

B. Die Lage der Juden im Lande ist, wie sich aus dem Vorstehenden ergibt, außerordentlich bedroht. Formell sind sie im Besitze der Gleichberechtigung und der Minoritätsrechte, werden aber von Tag zu Tag mehr ihrer Rechte beraubt. Im Lande herrscht eine massive antisemitische Agitation, die sehr häufig zu Exzessen führt und gegen die Regierung, ebenso im Lande seit Jahren Belagerungszustand und Zensur bestehen, nichts unternimmt. Aufforderungen zum Boykott und zu Terrorakten gegen Juden erscheinen täglich in der weitverzweigten antisemitischen Presse, die zum grossen Teil von Deutschland finanziert wird, während von Seiten Frankreichs kaum eine wirksame Gegenpropaganda gemacht wird. Besonders brutal wird mit Unterstützung der Regierung der Verdrängungsprozess der Juden aus dem Wirtschaftsleben durchgeführt. Die Juden haben in Rumänien fast die gesamte Industrie geschaffen, werden jedoch jetzt von einer Position nach der anderen verdrängt. Alle wirtschaftlichen Betriebe müssen fortlaufend der Regierung Mitteilung machen ueber die ethnische Abstammung ihrer Angestellten, und da die Wirtschaft staatlich reglementiert ist, so ist es den Behörden ein leichtes, die Betriebe zu zwingen, sämtliche jüdischen Angestellten zu entlassen; auch grosse jüdische Industriebetriebe werden dazu genötigt. Auch die Position der Juden in der Advoekatur und in der Aerzteschaft wird immer mehr bedroht, und jüdische Advoekaten beispielsweise in Bukarest müssen sich, wenn sie ins Gericht kommen, manchmal auf physische Angriffe gefasst machen. Die Regierung schützt die Juden in keiner Weise, und auch der Hof gerät immer mehr in antisemitisches Fahrwasser. So z.B. hat der König mehrfache Gesuche des Obersten Juedischen Rates, der die gesamte Juedenheit Rumäniens vertritt, um eine Audienz nicht einmal beantwortet.

Im Falle einer Rechtsregierung kann die Lage der rumänischen Juden ueber Nacht sich geradezu katastrophal gestalten, und die Chance einer nationalsozialistischen Regierung, unter der die Rechte der Juden einigermaßen gesichert wären, sind nicht sehr gross.

Die einzige Möglichkeit einer gewissen Einflussnahme hinsichtlich eines Schutzes der jüdischen Rechte

besteht von aussen her. Es waere vor allem wichtig, in der englischen, franzoesischen und amerikanischen Presse Berichte und Artikel ueber die katastrophale Lage der rumaenischen Juden zu veroeffentlichen, wobei insbesondere ein Argument von besonderer Wirksamkeit auf die rumaenische Regierung und oeffentliche Meinung waere: das Argument, dass Rumaenien seinen ungeheuren Gebietszuwachs nach dem Kriege nur bekommen hat, weil es den Minoritaetschutz akzeptiert hat. Die Friedensvertrage sind ein unteilbares Ganzes. Rumaenien kann nicht verlangen, dass die territorialen Bestimmungen der Friedensvertrage als sakrosankt erkltaert werden, wenn es die anderen Teile der Friedensvertrage, insbesondere den Minoritaetschutz - und zwar nicht nur sowalt Juden, sondern auch sowalt Ungarn und die anderen Minoritaeten betroffen werden - in zynischer Weise unberuecksichtigt lasst.

Notwendig waere auch eine Verstaerkung der Gegenpropaganda gegenueber der deutschen Agitation. Besonders die Fuehrer der Nationalzarenisten beschweren sich bitter ueber die voellige Verstaendnislosigkeit, die Frankreich gegenueber allen Bemuehungen um eine verstaerkte Gegenwirkung gegen die deutsche Propaganda an den Tag legt.

Im allgemeinen muss die Lage in Rumaenien, sowohl gesamtpolitisch gesehen als auch insbesondere vom Standpunkt der juedischen Situation als voellig ungesichert und bedrohlich betrachtet werden. Rumaenien ist vielleicht der schwaechste Punkt der Kleinen Entente, und alle Moeglichkeiten - auch die gefahrlichsten - einer Aenderung sowohl der innerpolitischen als auch der aussenpolitischen Linie der rumaenischen Politik koennen ueber Nacht eintreten.

II. Polen.

A. Die allgemeine Lage: Die innerpolitische Lage in Polen ist auch alles andere als stabil. Die Regierung wird, was ihre Positionen im Lande betrifft, immer schwaecher. Sie stuetzt sich heute auf die Armee und Polizei und hat in der Bevoelkerung nur eine sehr schwache Basis. Ausserdem ist die

Regierungsparcie in sich nicht einheitlich; die Oberstengruppe, die unter Sklawek früher an der Macht war, ist mit der jetzigen Regierung, die sie verdrängt hat, unzufrieden.

Im allgemeinen wachsen die linken Strömungen. In den Städten gewinnt die P.P.S. (Polnische Sozialdemokratie) immer mehr an Anhängern und hat z.B. bei den jüngsten Wahlen in Łódź die Majorität errungen. Auf dem Lande ist die Bauernpartei die weitaus stärkste und bekennst sich immer mehr zu linken sozialisierenden Tendenzen.

Von Seiten der Regierung, insbesondere von Seiten des Nachfolgers von Piłsudski, des Marschalls Rydz-Smigly, werden seit einiger Zeit Versuche gemacht, die Regierungsbasis zu erweitern und Anschluss an die Bauernpartei zu finden. Diese Bemühungen scheiterten bisher daran, dass die Bauernpartei in erster Reihe die Erlaubnis der Rückkehr ihres exilierten Führers Witold verlangt, worauf die Regierung vorläufig noch nicht eingehen will. Statt dessen bereitet sich eine Art front populaire, ^{vor} eine Koalition zwischen Bauernpartei und Sozialdemokratie. Diese Koalition ist noch nicht perfekt, kann aber in nächster Zukunft zustande kommen und bietet in sich eine sehr interessante Perspektive der innerpolitischen Entwicklung Polens. In der Außenpolitik hat Beck unter dem Druck von Rydz-Smigly und anderen Faktoren die Annäherung an Frankreich bekanntlich wieder vornehmen müssen; doch ist Beck nach wie vor deutschfreundlich eingestellt und führt vielfach eine sehr undurchsichtige Außenpolitik. Die Bauernpartei ist antideutsch und frankophil, ebenso auch die Rechtsopposition der Nationaldemokratie, die zwar innerpolitisch Hitler nachahmt, außenpolitisch aber französisch orientiert ist.

B. Die Lage der Juden: Die Situation der polnischen Juden wird dauernd schwerer und tragischer. Im Lande herrscht eine masslose antisemitische Propaganda, geführt von der Nationaldemokratie, gestützt von einem grossen Teil des katholischen Klerus und kaum bekämpft, oft sogar geduldet und gefeiert durch die Regierungsparcie, die durch anti-

somitische Parolen sucht teilweise Popularitaet zu schaffen sucht. Die Regierung unterdrueckt die groebsten Exzesse gegen Juden; darueber hinaus tut sie fast nichts. In vielen Staedten und insbesondere auf dem Lande herrscht absoluter Terror gegenueber den Juden, die vielfach ihres Lebens nicht mehr sicher sind. Im ganzen Lande wird eine masslose Boykott-propaganda gefuehrt, und der Prozess des Hineindraengens eines Teils der Bauernjugend in die Staedtchen, in deren sie die juedischen Positionen okkupieren wollen, gibt dieser Propaganda eine objektive Basis. Die Regierung foerdert den Prozess der wirtschaftlichen Depossedierung der Juden, und da auch das polnische Wirtschaftssystem in hohem Masse staatlich reglementiert ist, hat diese Haltung der Regierung die verhaengnisvollsten Konsequenzen. Die Folge ist, dass hunderttausende Juden aus ihren ohnchin schon sehr primitiven und schwachen oekonomischen Positionen verdraengt werden und nicht mehr das minimalste Existenzminimum besitzen. Die oekonomische Lage des vielleicht groesseren Teiles des polnischen Judentums ist unendlich viel aerger heute als sie in der russisch-zaristischen Zeit war. Besonders verzweifelt ist die Lage der Jugend, fuer die saemtliche Berufe versperrt sind. Zu den Universitaeten werden sie nicht zugelassen, in kaufmaennischen Betrieben finden sie keine Stellungen, die Beamtenlaufbahn ist ihnen selbstverstaendlich verschlossen, und so waechst eine juedische Jugend heran, die physisch und moralisch den groessten Gefahren ausgesetzt ist. Die wenigen juedischen Abgeordneten, die im Sejm sind, sind gegen alle diese Tendenzen voellig machtlos, zumal die Regierungspartei die antisemitischen Stroemungen beguenstigt, wenn sie auch offentlich den Standpunkt der juedischen Gleichberechtigung betent. Besonders verhetzt ist, wie in vielen Laendern, die akademische Jugend, und die dauernden antisemitischen Studentenkrawalle an den Universitaeten sind das beste Symptom dafuer. Von der Anerkennung der den Juden zugesicherten Minoritaetenrechte ist keine Rede, und auch die elementare Gleichberechtigung ist vielfach ein leeres Wort geworden. Ein Regierungswechsel der die Bau-

ernpartei zur Herrschaft bringen wuerde, koennte eine Besserung herbeifuehren; doch laesst sich nicht im mindesten voraussehen, ob ein solcher Wechsel in naechster Zukunft bevorsteht. Die Gefahr einer nationaldemokratischen Regierung, die offiziell innenpolitisch, hitleristische Methoden einfuehren wuerde, besteht im Augenblick wohl nicht.

Auf die jetzige Regierung laesst sich durch einen Druck von aussen her bis zu einem gewissen Masse einwirken, wenn auch vielleicht weniger, um Positives zu erreichen, so doch, um noch schlimmere Entwicklungen zu verhindern.

Von allen juedischen Problemen Europas ist das polnisch-juedische zweifellos das schwerste und tragischste; es wird in Zukunft in viel hoherem Masse die juedische Politik und Philantropie beschaeftigen muessen als es in den letzten Jahren der Fall war.

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

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STATEMENT OF THE GRIEVANCESOF THE JEWS AGAINST POLANDRATIFIED BYTHE EMERGENCY CONFERENCE ON POLANDSUMMONED BY THEAMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESSSUNDAY, JANUARY 31st - HOTEL COMMODORE

This Conference of representatives of the Jewish community of Greater New York, gathered to consider the unparalleled misery under which their fellow-Jews are compelled to live in Poland, finds:

I

That although the Jews of Poland are entitled by the terms of the Minority Treaty and under the constitution of Poland, to equality of treatment as individuals and as members of a group recognized as such by law, these rights are systematically being denied them.

In the Minority Treaty, Poland undertook to give "full and complete protection of life and liberty to all the inhabitants of the land, without distinction as to race, birth, religion, nationality or language." In Article VIII of that Treaty, it was provided that "Polish nationals who belong to racial, religious or linguistic minorities, shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as other Polish nationals." Equality of rights, social and political, of all citizens was granted and the new State of Poland agreed in Article XII that the stipulations of Articles II, VI, VII, VIII, IX and X of the Treaty "insofar as they affect persons belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities, constitute obligations of international concern and shall be placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations without possibility of modification, except by the assent of the majority of the Council of the League."

M. Georges Clemenceau, President of the Peace Conference, in presenting the Treaty for signature to Mr. I. J. Paderewski, representative of Poland, wrote on June 20, 1919, that Articles X and XII were intended to deal specifically with the Jewish citizens of Poland, explaining that "the information at the disposal of the principal Allied Associated Powers as to the existing relations between Jews and other Polish citizens, had led them to the conclusion that in view of the historic development of the Jewish question and

the great animosity aroused by it, special protection is necessary for the Jews in Poland."

II

Having developed a policy of denial of Jewish rights as prescribed in the terms of the Minority Treaty and under its constitution, having indicated by legislative enactment and action to the Polish masses that it regards Jews as aliens and superfluous, the government of Poland has inevitably drifted into a situation in which it has given direct and indirect support to a system of economic discrimination, to a vicious organized anti-Semitic movement, to a system of violence and boycott against Jews which has swept through the country unchecked by representatives of government or by the organs of public opinion.

A. It is engaged in systematically eliminating the Jews from the economic life of the country which it has accomplished in the following fashion:

1. Early in its nationhood the Polish Government embarked upon a campaign to eliminate the middle-man from commerce and industry through the establishment of state monopolies and state enterprises and the creation of subsidized Polish cooperatives. As the Jews constituted 74% of the population engaged in trade and commerce, they were the group hardest hit by this action of the Polish Government. Instead of making provision for this displaced section of the Polish population, the government policy has been consistently to exclude Jews from all possibilities of obtaining employment. Of the approximately one million persons employed in the government service, in such state monopolies as salt, tobacco, spirits, matches and lottery, which Jews helped to build up, and such state enterprises as the railroad, postal, telegraph and telephone systems, forests, industrial trading, mining and foundry enterprises, less than 2% are Jewish, although the Jews comprise 9.1% of the population.

2. The law for the mechanization of bakeries adopted on January 21, 1934, is typical of the manner employed by the government to oust Jews from possibilities of livelihood.

The law applies to all bakers. Actually, its effect has been to deprive only Jews of a livelihood. Ninety percent of the Jewish bakers are affected by this law as they are too poor to rebuild their plants. To non-Jewish bakers, the government has extended liberal credit through their cooperatives for the purpose of mechanizing their bakeries; but no such credits are extended to Jewish bakers.

3. On January 1, 1937, there became effective the so-called Schechita Law, the ostensible purpose of which was to humanize the method of slaughtering animals for food. Limited to the consumption needs of the Jewish population, the authority was given to administrative representatives in the provinces and in Warsaw to the municipality to decide the consumption needs of the population. That the law is designed to cut Jews from employment in the meat industry as declared by Jewish representatives in the Parliament, is indicated by the fact that during the first week of January, 1937, between one-half and two-thirds of the applicants for kosher meat licenses, filed by long-established meat dealers, remained unanswered. In the same week, the announced quota of kosher meat to satisfy the consumption needs of 350,000 Jews in Warsaw was cut in half by the municipality. In the province of Lodz, no more than 50% of the demand for kosher meat can be met; and in a number of local towns, Schechita is altogether prohibited on the ground that Jews can import their kosher meat from the cities, although this means paying an increased price.

4. In the field of artisanship, Jewish endeavor to earn a livelihood is also sharply curtailed under the application of the Industrial Law of 1927 and its amendment of February 17, 1936. Under these measures, the number of Jews receiving masters' certificates required by law has been reduced in the city of Warsaw to 7% of the 9,386 Jewish artisans registered there, as against 46% of the non-Jewish artisans receiving a master's card. Since the law permits apprenticeship only under a registered master, it becomes increasingly impossible for Jews to become artisans. The prospective Jewish apprentice, who has virtually no access to employment under a non-Jewish artisan, has to apply to eighteen Jewish artisans before he can find one with the right to use apprentices, according to computations based on the figures of the Warsaw Chamber of Artisans.

5. Further, the Jews are the victims of exorbitant taxation inequitably applied and of merciless tax collectors.

6. The discrimination current against Jews in industry and commerce is also apparent in the field of professional training.

For years, the numerus clausus limiting the enrollment of Jews has been current in academic institutions. Its effects are revealed in the sharp drop in the number of Jewish students enrolled in the universities of the country. Whereas between 1930-1 and 1934-5, the total enrollment of students in Polish academic institutions remained virtually static, the number of Jewish students dropped from 8,923 in 1930-1 to 7,144 in 1934-5.

In the medical schools, the total student enrollment during the same period increased from 3,886 to 4,259, while the number of Jewish students dropped from 719 to 673.

In the law schools, the proportion of Jewish students has decreased 45% since 1932, while the proportion of Polish students rose 31.8%.

In the commercial schools, Jewish students declined 61.8% since 1930-1. And who can doubt that their number has since been further curtailed under the increasing terror and discrimination?

In the professional and trade schools privately owned, there are five times as many Jewish students as in the government-owned professional and trade schools, despite the extreme poverty of the Jews.

Not content with the numerus clausus against Jewish students, the Yiddish and Hebrew schools maintained by Jews themselves, as provided for in the Minority Treaty, are being closed by the government, without justification, under various pretexts.

7. Notwithstanding the exorbitant taxation system imposed upon Jews, the Polish Government discriminates against them where employment and work projects are concerned, where credit grants to Jewish cooperatives and credit societies are involved and with reference to subventions to Jewish communal institutions.

In Warsaw, for example, where Jews comprise 30% of the population, of 4,000 employed on relief projects in December, 1935, only 300 were Jews. In Lodz, Jews comprise 75 of 4,000 such employees. In Piotrkow, Jews were 75 among 700 employed on relief projects.

In 1932, credit grants in the amount of 1,194,000,000 zlotys were available to commerce and industry. Of this sum, Jewish cooperatives and credit societies were granted the use of only 3,000,000 zlotys, which is a decrease of 1,000,000 zlotys over the 1929 grant.

In many villages, cooperative societies are formed which obtain state assistance and credit, for the purpose of eliminating Jewish traders.

Nor do the Jews receive a return in subventions to their institutions as guaranteed under Article IX of the Minority Treaty. Whereas the 1936-7 budget provides the sum of 21,983,000 zlotys for subsidies to religious cults, the Jewish cult received only a mere pittance - 183,000 zlotys. This is the Polish interpretation of the term "equitable share."

Although under the law, the government is compelled to provide subsidies to Jewish schools, ways have been found of evading this responsibility. The situation in Warsaw is typical. Between 1927 and 1934, the subsidy for the

Yiddish schools in Warsaw dropped from 67,000 zlotys to 17,000 zlotys. In 1934-5, the subsidy was entirely withdrawn.

B. The acts of the government in discriminating against the Jews in the economic field have stimulated a growing and violent campaign of propaganda against the Jews, the spread of a boycott of Jews and a general disregard of Jewish rights. Despite the fact that Jewish papers frequently appear with blank spaces indicating items removed by the censor, 54 anti-Semitic publications appear regularly supplemented by hundreds of thousands of leaflets charging the Jews with responsibility for Poland's misfortunes and demanding their ouster from the business and professional life of the land, and even their expulsion from the country.

The campaign against the Jews has been conducted for years by the anti-Semitic opposition parties to the government -- "The National Democratic Party" and the "National Radical Party." The agitation of both these anti-Semitic groups has now been channeled into a nationwide boycott movement against Jewish business. Throughout the land pickets armed with sticks, prevent buying from Jews while government police stand by passively. The disastrous effect upon Jewish business of this boycott movement is such that on January 1, the Manchester Guardian Weekly reported that in 315 municipalities of Western Poland and Pomerania alone, peasants have stopped trading with Jews on market day when the general business of the village is conducted.

Until recently, the opinion prevailed that the boycott movement was solely an undertaking of the anti-Semitic forces and contrary to the desires of the government. That illusion has been dispelled by a public declaration of Premier Skladkowski on June 4, 1936. In an address before the Polish Parliament he declared: "My government considers that nobody in Poland should be injured. An honest host does not allow anybody to be harmed in his house. Economic fight? Owszem! (yes, indeed!)"

C. The Premier has frequently stated that the government opposes physical violence. Despite this and the fact that the government has at its disposal all the forces necessary to suppress violence, physical terror has become a commonplace event throughout Poland.

1. It has manifested itself on the university campuses and in the villages and towns throughout the land. For years the opening of the school term in the universities has been marked by riot and bloodshed engineered by anti-Semitic students. This year the attempts of the anti-Semites to institute so-called ghetto benches for Jews are responsible for riots which brought about the closing of leading universities and technical schools during the Fall semester.

To the extent that the government has refused to institute ghetto benches its attitude is to be condemned. While the Minister of Education announced on January 22, 1937, that "The government considers it impossible to issue instructions for the segregation of Jewish students in universities and colleges," this declaration cannot absolve the government from responsibility for the current situation. Through its toleration for years of the *numerus clausus* in the academic institutions of the country; through its toleration of the boycott movement against Jews in other fields; through its own action in degrading Jews to an inferior status; through its failure to curb anti-Jewish riots in universities in past years; through its weakness in dealing with university rioters and agitators, it has helped to perpetuate the conditions responsible for the present university situation.

2. The violence is not restricted to the universities. The attacks on the Jews have spread to the towns and the villages. From January to December, 1936, according to a conservative estimate of figures published in the censored Polish press, 430 attacks on Jews took place in 179 cities and villages. The Polish Premier himself admitted in Parliament on January 12, 1937, that more than 300 attacks upon Jews occurred in the district of Bialystok alone. At least 800 Jews have been wounded and 69 killed. In 37 cases, Jewish property was bombed and 25 synagogues and cemeteries desecrated.

D. The protestations by the Polish Government of its opposition to the riots might be accepted on their face value were it not for the fact that the riots continue; - the failure of the government to suppress them, except in the most brutal instances; of the courts to punish the rioters and the victimization of Jews on the spurious charge of "insult to the Polish nation."

The government courts have taken to punishing the victims instead of the perpetrators. One of the grossest miscarriages of justice relates to the pogrom in Przytyk, on March 9th, where two Jews were killed, 25 injured and Jewish property destroyed. While the Jews who were haled into court received sentences from six months to eight years, the murderers of the Jews were not apprehended and other non-Jewish defendants received sentences not exceeding one year.

The injustice of the court in this instance impelled a crushed and terrorized population to rise up in a nationwide, one day protest strike.

Polish courts are now finding a new way of terrorizing Jews by sentencing them on the charge of insulting the Polish nation, under a law which makes it a crime punishable by fine or imprisonment.

Reports appearing regularly in the censored Polish press show that any irresponsible person may on any pretext haul a Jew into court on the charge of having insulted the Polish nation. Jews have, accordingly, received prison terms

ranging from seven days to one year.

One Jew in Bialystok was found guilty of having insulted the Polish nation because he closed his store on June 30th, the day of the Jewish protest against the Przytyk pogrom; even a deaf mute was charged with the crime.

The effect of the policies of the government and the campaign of agitation and violence conducted against the Jews is such that while at least 50% of the Jewish population consists of employable elements, three quarters of the Jewish population is without means of livelihood. The majority of the 650,000 Jewish young men and women have little hope of obtaining employment in their native land, under present conditions of discrimination. One-sixth of the Jewish population depends for a livelihood on contributions from relatives abroad. Seventy-five percent of Jewish business-men and traders in the smaller towns have had to seek loans in order to purchase trading licenses. In many towns there are Jews who cannot afford bread for breakfast.

III

Having directly and indirectly created a status for the Jews of Poland which deprives them of the protection of law and denies them economic opportunities to which they are entitled; having, in brief, segregated its Jewish citizens from the economic and political life of the Republic - the government has sought to meet the problem which it has aided in creating by seeking to bring about the expatriation of its Jewish citizens, on the ground that of all the citizens of the Republic, the Jews represent the superfluity. It has thus confessed to its failure to enforce the terms of the Treaty and to abide by its own constitution, and seeks sanction for its violations through action by the League of Nations.

Three times during the Fall of 1936, League cooperation for emigration of the so-called surplus population has been sought by representatives of the Polish Government. The Vice-president of the Polish Parliament, B. Miodzinski, makes it clear, however, that the Polish Government is seeking a means of easing a general economic situation by sacrificing one section of the Polish population for the benefit of another. On January 11, 1937, he declared in the Polish Parliament that the Jews, who have lived on Polish soil for nine centuries, "are an alien population massed in certain territories in artificial fashion" and that "the Polish people as the historic and practical organizer of its own state, has a right to effect a change of relations in that field. It is, therefore, very logical and beneficial for the Polish State, trying to find territories into which

to turn the migration movement, to think first of all of that element whose superfluity on our territory causes very grave economic complications as well as the political conflicts growing out of them. One must not look in this connection for any elements connected with ethics and culture. There is no relation between the two. I personally am very fond of the Danish people but if I had three million of them in Poland, I would pray to Almighty God to take them away as soon as possible. The opposition to them comes first of all from the fact that there are 3,000,000 of them. It is possible that we would prize the Jews very highly if we had only 50,000 of them. I judge that no considerations can stand in the way of the Polish people's changing - of course in the limits and with the help of methods commensurate with its dignity - the abnormal relations in the field of the composition of its population. Working in that direction, the government, as well as the Minister of Foreign Affairs, will have the full understanding and support of the entire population."

The Polish Foreign Minister, Colonel Josef Beck, who followed the Vice-speaker, did not find it necessary to say a single word in refutation of the demands of Mr. Miedzinski.

While this Conference recognizes the difficulties facing the government in the solution of social and economic problems of the land, it repudiates the allegation that Jews are an alien or superfluous element in the Polish population. It declares that Jews are entitled to the same consideration and treatment as their fellow-citizens and that the solution of the problem of Jewish and non-Jewish relations can be found only upon the soil of Poland.

THEREFORE, this Conference calls upon the Polish Government to take immediate steps to restore to the Jews, in fact as in promise, the equal rights which are their due as human beings and as guaranteed them by law.

It appeals to those large sections of the Polish population opposed to anti-Semitism, and to all liberty-loving Poles in America to associate themselves in this undertaking to prevent national dishonor by Poland.

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NEW YORK CITY

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GOVERNORS FROM WHOM MESSAGES OF SYMPATHY
WERE RECEIVED IN CONNECTION WITH POLISH
CONFERENCE - JANUARY 31st, 1937.

Name of Governor	State
Bailey, Carl E.	Arkansas
Blood, Henry H.	Utah
Chandler, Albert Benjamin	Kentucky
Earle, George W.	Pennsylvania
Hoey, Clyde R.	North Carolina
Hoffman, Harold G.	New Jersey
Jenson, Leslie	South Dakota
Miller, Leslie A.	Wyoming
Nice, Harry W.	Maryland
Quinn, Robert E.	Rhode Island
Stark, Lloyd C.	Missouri

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CONGRESSMEN FROM WHOM MESSAGES OF SYMPATHY
WERE RECEIVED IN CONNECTION WITH THE POLISH

CONFERENCE - JANUARY 31, 1937.

Name of Congressman	State
Allen, Robert G.	Pennsylvania
Aleshire, Arthur W.	Ohio
Allen, William F.	Delaware
Anderson, C. Arthur	Missouri
Atkinson, Richard M.	Tennessee
Bernard, John T.	Minnesota
Bigelow, Herbert S.	Ohio
Boykin, Frank W.	Alabama
Brooks, Overton	Louisiana
Buckley, Charles A.	New York
Byrne, William T.	New York
Celler, Emanuel	New York
Chandler, Walter	Tennessee
Church, Ralph E.	Illinois
Citron, William H.	Connecticut
Clark, D. Worth	Idaho
Cluett, E. Harold	New York
Coffee, John M.	Washington
Colden, Charles J.	California
Crowe, Eugene B.	Indiana
Cullen, Thomas H.	New York
Delaney, John J.	Brooklyn, N.Y.
Dickstein, Samuel	New York
Dunn, Matthew A.	Pennsylvania
Eckert, Charles R.	Pennsylvania
Ellenbogen, Henry	Pennsylvania
Ferguson, Phil	Oklahoma
Fish, Hamilton	New York
Ford, Thomas F.	California
Fries, Frank W.	Illinois
Gavagan, Joseph A.	New York
Goldsborough, T. Alan	Maryland

<u>Name of Congressman</u>	<u>State</u>
Green, R. A.	Florida
Hamilton, Norman R.	Utah
Harrington, Vincent F.	Iowa
Healey, Arthur D.	Massachusetts
Hendricks, J.	Florida
Hibbs, Sam	Alabama
Honeyman, Nan Wood	Oregon
Iglesias, Santiago	Puerto Rico
Izac, E. V.	California
Jarrett, B.	Pennsylvania
Jenks, Arthur B.	New Hampshire
Jones, Marvin	Texas
Kennedy, Ambrose J.	Maryland
King, Wilder	Hawaii
Kitchens, Wade	Arkansas
Kniffen, Frank C.	Ohio
Kramer, Charles	California
Lea, Clarence F.	California
Lemke, William	North Dakota
Lewis, Lawrence	Colorado
Ludlow, Louis	Indiana
Luecke, John	Michigan
Magnuson, Warren G.	Washington
McCormack, John W.	Massachusetts
McKeough, Raymond S.	Illinois
McLaughlin, Charles F.	Nebraska
McSweeney, John	Ohio
Michener, Earl C.	Michigan
Millard, Charles D.	New York
Mills, Newt. V.	Louisiana
Norton, Mary T.	New Jersey
O'Connell, Jerry J.	Montana
O'Connell, John M.	Rhode Island
O'Connor, John J.	New York
O'Neal, Emmet	Kentucky
O'Toole, Donald L.	New York
Pace, Stephen	Georgia
Phillips, Alfred N. Jr.	Connecticut
Ramspeck, Robert	Georgia

<u>Name of Congressman</u>	<u>State</u>
Robison, John M.	Kentucky
Sacks, Leon	Pennsylvania
Sanders, Morgan G.	Texas
Scott, Byron N.	California
Shanley, James A.	Connecticut
Sheppard, Harry R.	California
Sutphin, William H.	New Jersey
Smith, Martin F.	Washington
Stack, Michael J.	Pennsylvania
Teigan, Henry G.	Minnesota
Thomas, Albert	Texas
Thompson, Chester	Illinois
Towey, Frank W. Jr.	New Jersey
Wolverton, Chester	New Jersey

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SENATORS FROM WHOM MESSAGES OF SYMPATHY
WERE RECEIVED IN CONNECTION WITH POLISH
CONFERENCE - JANUARY 31st, 1937.

Name of Senator	State
Austin, Warren R.	Vermont
Bone, Homer T.	Washington
Brown, Prentiss M.	Michigan
Capper, Arthur	Kansas
Davis, James J.	Pennsylvania
Guffey, Joseph F.	Pennsylvania
Herring, Clyde L.	Iowa
Johnson, Edwin C.	Colorado
Lewis, Hamilton	Chicago
Lodge, Henry Cabot, Jr.	Massachusetts
Logan, M.M.	Kentucky
Lonergan, Augustine	Connecticut
Lundeen, Ernest	Minnesota
Maloney, Francis	Connecticut
McAdoo, William Gibbs	California
Minton, Sherman	Indiana
Pepper, Claude	Florida
Pittman, Key	Nevada
Radcliffe, George L.	Maryland
Schwartz, H. H.	Wyoming
Sheppard, Morris	Texas
Thomas, Elbert D.	Utah
Truman, Harry S.	Maryland

1 copy mailed

to London 11/20/64

AMERICAN JEWISH
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N Goldmann's letter to Anthony Eden
Re: Anti-Jewish Legislation in Danzig



Copy

Geneva, April 6, 1937.

Excellency:

Our Executive Committee received the information that the Senate of the Free City of Danzig is seriously contemplating the promulgation of an "Aryan" legislation for Danzig along the lines of the German Nuremberg laws and to create thereby a fait accompli before the international authorities could intervene. We are also informed that in order to satisfy the Polish Government, assurance has been given that the Jews in Danzig who are Polish citizens would not be affected by these laws. I need not underline the seriousness of the situation which would be created by such an anti-Jewish legislation in Danzig in open violation of the constitution guaranteed by the League of Nations.

Our Executive Committee feels obliged to inform about it the Members of the Danzig Committee of the Council of the League of Nations and also the Secretariat of the League of Nations and the High Commissioner.

We are convinced that through an efficient intervention by the Committee of Three and the High Commissioner the promulgation of these laws could be prevented.

I have the honour to be, Excellency,

Your obedient servant

(S) Dr. N. Goldmann

The Rt. Hon. Anthony Eden, M.C., M.P.
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs
Foreign Office
London

MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS
TO THE COMMITTEE OF THREE

Appointed by the Council of the League of Nations to examine the petitions regarding the situation of Romanian Jewry.

The Executive Committee of the World Jewish Congress has the honor of calling the attention of the members of the Committee of Three, appointed by the Council of the League of Nations, to examine the petitions regarding the situation of the Jews in Romania, to the aggravation of the plight of the Jewish population of Romania during recent months, and to offer the following facts for their information:

1. The revision of the citizenship of Romanian Jews ordered by the decree-law of January 21, 1938, which has been the subject of petitions and communications, which the Executive Committee has had the honor of submitting to the Committee of Three, has been proceeding despite the numerous demarches and negotiations devoted to this matter. This revision is being applied in a more and more rigorous fashion. The Executive Committee of the World Jewish Congress has repeatedly had occasion to indicate to the members of the Committee of Three that the decree-law regarding the revision of Romanian citizenship, issued in violation of the Minorities Treaty of December 9, 1919, by virtue of the procedure for its execution adopted by the administrative and judicial authorities, is depriving tens of thousands of loyal Romanian Jewish citizens of their citizenship rights which have been guaranteed by international treaties. The Executive Committee has had the honor of submitting to you the partial results of the procedure of revision which prove that a very large number of the Romanian Jewish population, comprising thousands of families residing on the present-day territory of Romania for centuries, will have shortly been reduced to the level of stateless persons. The results which have been determined since then confirm and even surpass the apprehensions of the Executive Committee. Despite the promises made by the Romanian delegation at Geneva, the judicial authorities have persisted in enforcing the provisions of the decree in

question in the most rigid and most merciless fashion. According to our information, it seems quite certain that the revision of Romanian citizenship will deprive at least 300,000 Romanian Jewish citizens of their citizenship rights.

2. By the decrees of September 15 and of December 2, 1938, the Romanian government has promptly defined the future status of the denationalized citizens. It has decreed that all those who have lost their citizenship rights in consequence of the revision of citizenship, shall be treated as foreigners, and that they shall be required to obtain a certificate of identity, which is equivalent to a residence permit renewable every year. This certificate is to be granted on payment of an annual tax, ranging from 500 to 10,000 lei.

Thus the denationalized Jews find themselves already excluded from all occupations reserved for Romanian nationals. They find themselves deprived of licences and permits, which may be held only by Romanian citizens. They see themselves eliminated from professional careers, and unable to continue in commerce and industry. In the industrial and commercial enterprises they have been relegated to the quota of employees reserved for foreigners, and the majority of them have thereby lost their positions. It should be noted that in very many cases the effects of these decrees strike the Jews even before the procedure of revision has been terminated, that is, as soon as the sentence of the court of first instance has been pronounced.

3. Moreover, the action of the Romanian authorities has not been limited to the denationalization of a large part of the Jewish population. The authorities are methodically pursuing their goal, which is the progressive elimination from the social and economic life of the country of those Jews who have been able to retain their citizenship rights. In order to achieve this goal, the Romanian authorities have taken numerous administrative measures.

(a) In a large number of local bar associations, the Jewish lawyers who had been suspended at the beginning of 1938 have not since been admitted to the

exercise of their profession. In many cities, the bar associations have excluded Jewish lawyers on worthless pretexts, even when their citizenship rights had been officially recognized.

(b) As far as physicians are concerned, those who have earned their diplomas abroad must again pass examinations in order to continue the exercise of their profession. In the majority of cases the authorities have succeeded by means of an arbitrary procedure in excluding applicants from their professions.

(c) In economic life, the authorities have taken arbitrary measures in order to reduce the number of Jewish enterprises, measures which have had the effect of ruining the livelihood of thousands. Thus, on worthless pretexts, licenses for the sale of monopoly products and of alcoholic drinks have been taken from Jews.

On December 19, 1938, 766 licenses for the sale of monopoly products and 376 licenses for the sale of alcoholic drinks were revoked in the Province of Bucovina. All the Jewish holders of licenses for the sale of tobacco, which have been revoked, are persons ruined or widowed because of the war. On January 4, 1939, 250 licenses for the sale of alcoholic drinks held by Jews, were taken away from Jewish restaurants, bars and cafes, in Bucharest, which were required to close their doors by February 15, 1939.

Similar measures have been announced for Jewish pharmacists, owners of motion picture houses, etc. In industrial and commercial enterprises the quota of employees reserved for Romanians is invariably interpreted in such a way as to exclude the Jews. By considering as Romanian persons of ethnic Romanian origin exclusively, thousands of Jewish workers have already been discharged, and it will be impossible for them to find other positions.

From another side, a serious menace confronts the owners of Jewish enterprises, by virtue of the fact that the new Unity Party of Rumania does not admit Jewish members. The members of this Party are the only ones entitled to name re-

representatives to the professional chambers, which in turn are authorized to exclude persons from membership. It is to be feared that because of this fact many Jewish proprietors will shortly find themselves deprived of authorization to engage in commerce. Until the present, the Chambers of Commerce and Industry have not authorized the registration of a single new Jewish enterprise.

(d) In certain provinces, measures of a particularly serious character have been taken. On December 1, 1938, the Royal Resident of the Province of Bucovina forbade the Jews to use any language other than Rumanian, whether in any establishment, office, bank, public building, or on the street, under penalty of fine and of denationalization. This measure tends chiefly to make the Jewish shops lose their customers, inasmuch as a large part of the population of this Province does not speak Rumanian fluently. On December 7, 1938, moreover, the Royal Resident of the Province of Bucovina decreed that the Jewish establishments should close on Sunday and should be open on Saturday and Jewish holidays. Jewish proprietors who do not wish to work on Saturday for religious reasons, will, therefore, be forced to employ non-Jewish help. This measure also to "Aryanize" Jewish establishments. These two decrees constitute a flagrant violation of the new Rumanian Constitution of February 27, 1923, of the Minorities Statute of August 1, and 3, 1938, and of the law regarding religions prevailing in Rumania.

(e) As far as the Rumanian Jews residing abroad are concerned, who are in possession of passports issued by Rumanian consular authorities, they are systematically denied authorization to reenter Rumania. One can easily imagine the consequences of this measure for the thousands of Rumanian Jews residing in Germany and Austria, who find it absolutely impossible to leave these countries.

4. It should be noted that the measures discussed under "3" refer only to persons whose Rumanian citizenship has been recognized by the Rumanian authorities. The action of the authorities proceeds at an increasing tempo, and it is to be feared

that it may cause the utter ruin of the vast majority of the Jewish population. This is particularly grave because in consequence of these measures, the Romanian Jews who have retained their citizenship will no longer be in a position to come to the aid of their unfortunate co-religionists who have lost their status. Should the action of the government continue, one must foresee in the near future the general impoverishment of Romanian Jewry, which will not be slow to cause the gravest difficulties not only for the Romanian Jews but for the entire Romanian population.

6. The Romanian authorities believe that they are offering a solution to the Jewish problem in Romania by pressing the Jewish population to emigrate. Indeed, the Romanian authorities have declared that 50,000 Jews will have to leave the country each year for the next three years. However, it is certain that at the present time no country is inclined to receive such a large number of Romanian Jews. No Jewish organizations both in Romania and elsewhere would be ready to cooperate with regard to the emigration of a limited number to Palestine; such action, however, would be based on the expectation that the Romanian government would discontinue its anti-Semitic campaign against the Jewish population, which must remain in the country.

6. In submitting these facts to the members of the Committee of Three, the Executive Committee requests them to take measures immediately in order to re-establish the Romanian Jews in the plenitude of their rights. It requests particularly that all those who, by the enforcement of an unjust decree, have been illegally stricken from the rolls of Romanian citizens, should be restored to their rights, and that the Romanian government should be urged to abolish all the discriminatory measures taken against the Jewish population in conformity with the spirit and the letter of the Minorities Treaty which it has signed, and with the Minorities Statute which it has itself promulgated.

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS,
Executive Committee

AMERICAN JEWISH
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Report
Re:
Danzig
Poland
S
Romania

1937

Copy

CONFIDENTIAL

R E P O R T

For the members of the Executive
of the C.I.M.

On April 13th, 1937, Mr. Jarblum had, at the Quai d'Orsay, a conversation of about an hour with Mr. Fouques-Beparc.

DANZIG. Mr. F.-D. has read the letter directed by the W.J.C. to M. Delbos to inform him about the intention of the Danzig Senate to introduce Aryan legislation. The opinion of M.F.-D. is - and this is the opinion of the Quai d'Orsay - that it is not probable that under the present political conditions, the Senate will proceed with this matter. Germany is not prepared to make any gesture in flagrant contradiction with the constitution of Danzig which, for changes as radical as this one, requires the consent of two thirds of the Parliament ("Volksstag"), as well as the consent of the League of Nations. Thus the Senate would have to violate the constitution and the treaties, and Germany is not inclined to do this.

However, it is possible, said M.F.-D., that, under some pretext or another, Danzig institutions will in fact apply the "Aryan paragraph" and turn out Jews from their offices and positions.

Of course, if at the next elections, the Senate will get two thirds of the votes, they could try to "Aryanize" Danzig, but then the question would have to come before the Committee of Three and the Council of the League of Nations.

For the moment it is sufficient to watch the events carefully.

UPPER SILESIA: M.F.-D. thinks that for this question the best procedure would consist in a direct discussion between the W.J.C. and the Polish government. Possibly, under favourable circumstances, but not in an official way, the foreign liberal countries might support the Jews by trying to influence Poland, but Poland only. The essential point is to make the Poles realize that it is up to them to ask the Reich, in case the treaty is extended under a bilateral form, not to introduce any alteration in the aryan sense. M.F.-D. thinks the Polish government would be prepared to do so, as it would cost them nothing and they have done so before, i.e. on the occasion of their declaration in favour of Jewish immigration to Palestine. Thus they would - at least to a certain extent - gain the favour of world public opinion and the opinion of the Jews at no expense.

M.F.-D. hopes shortly to have an opportunity to suggest this point of view to the Poles in the course of forthcoming personal conversations. But he thinks that an official intervention of the League of Nations or of the liberal countries would be absolutely inexpedient, the latter being able to support only discussions initiated by the Jews themselves.

Besides M.F.-D. thinks that as things are today, the Jewish problem in Danzig and Upper Silesia is a mere detail, and what really matters is the situation in Poland.

POLAND: M.F.-D. is fully aware of the tragic situation of the Jews in Poland. He is thoroughly informed about Polish anti-Semitism which he considers to be an enormous error and of tremendous damage for the country, the more so as the Poles cannot even claim - as it may be claimed in other countries - that the Jews of their country had laid their hands upon entire sections of the economic and intellectual life of the nation. M.F.-D. realizes however that the Polish government will not jeopardize its position for the sake of the Jewish question, out of which they try to get as much profit as possible. These tactics are detrimental for Poland both from the economic and the Political point of view. On the other hand, an intervention of the liberal countries, if attempted at all, would have to be proceeded with the greatest caution, for Poland has become very sensitive regarding interventions. M.F.-D. will put the matter before M. Delbos, but he emphasized that no exaggerated hopes should be attached to the possible results of an intervention at this time.

M. Jarblum declared to M.F.-D. that the W.J.C. had expected more from an intervention of the liberal countries, and that such a pessimism was disarming. The W.J.C. had expected interventions of a more tangible and concrete kind from Paris, London and New York; especially as the liberal countries are ~~ZION~~ by no means prepared to receive the vast Jewish emigration which the adoption of anti-Jewish measures by Poland would make inevitable. The liberal countries who support a collective policy should then open their doors for this emigration or make every effort to create in Poland conditions which would render such emigration unnecessary.

M.F.-D. repeated that he fully realized the tragic situation. It was not for lack of good-will that the liberal countries could not intervene with the same energy as before, but they had to reckon with the real facts, the limits of their influence and the reactions of the countries where those interventions would have to be made.

M.F.-D. promised to arrange an interview of M. Jarblum with M. Delbos to go over all the available possibilities. To sum up, M.F.-D. insists on direct conversations of the W.J.C. with the Polish government, supported, when necessary and in a discreet and unofficial way, by the liberal countries, for instance by an intervention of their ambassadors.

28.6.1957

Sehr geehrter Herr Doktor Goldmann,

Ich beziehe mich auf die telefonische Unterredung, die ich mit Ihnen heute gehabt habe, und erlaube mir, auf einige Punkte dieser Unterredung zurückzukommen.

Wie ich Ihnen mitgeteilt habe, sind die Wahlen für die Advokaten-Union, vor allem in Bukarest, von besonderer politischen Bedeutung. Der Advokaten-Kongress, der eine gesetzlich befugte Körperschaft ist, hat am 9. Mai die bekannte Resolution angenommen, wonach zwecks "totaler Romanisierung" des Advokatenberufes nur Autochthe (keine Juden) im Advokatenberuf verbleiben können. Der Beschluss wurde unter Ausschluss der Juden und der demokratischen und legalistischen Anwälte genommen. Die Folge war die Organisierung einer Protestdemonstration, bei der alle Minoritäten teilgenommen haben, und die Gründung der solidarischen Advokatenvereinigung, die den Kampf gegen die Kongressresolution führt. An der Spitze dieser Vereinigung sind ein paar rumänische Anwälte (der frühere Präsident der Union Dobrescu, jetziger Vizepräsident der Union Georgeanu und noch ein paar demokratische Anwälte. Diese sind mit grosser Mühe in die Bewegung eingetreten, da sie bedroht sind und Angst haben. Die ganze Sache ist natürlich in den Kulissen von einem jüd. Advokatenkomitee in Scène gesetzt mit Unterstützung der politischen Organisationen. Ich vertrete die Jüdische Partei in diesem Komitee. Nun geht in diesem Monat zufällig die Amtszeit des Generalrates der Union (bestehend aus ca. 80 Menschen, je ein Vertreter jeder Advokatenkammer, wobei 12 Advokatenkammern der 12 Appellationsgerichte je 3 Vertreter schicken, Bukarest hat 7 Vertreter) zu Ende. In diesem Monat sind neue Wahlen im Gange, und es ist die Aufgabe des neu gewählten Generalrates, aus dem ein geschäftsführender Ausschuss von 17 Menschen bestimmt wird (jeder Appellationskreis je einen und Bukarest 6), die Kongressresolution durchzuführen. Die Tatsache, dass diese Resolution nicht konstitutionell und legal ist, hat keine Bedeutung, es ist eine faktische Möglichkeit zu finden, ihre Durchführung zu sichern, übrigens ist die Union autonom, ihre Beschlüsse sind vollstreckbar und die Berufung gegen jede Massnahme des Advokaten-

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kammer wird vor beruflichen Instanzen vorgebracht. Uebrigens kann die Union nach dem Gesetz ihre beschlisse dem betreffenden Advokatenkammern, die nicht einverstanden sind, aufzwingen.

Unser Objektiv war in erster Linie, den Wahlsektor zu beeinflussen und in die Union eine Majorität gegen die Kongressresolution zu schicken. Es haben schon in einigen Städten Wahlen stattgefunden, in anderen finden sie diese Woche statt. Das Resultat ist nicht besonders gut. Es ist nicht vorauszusehen, dass wir die Majorität bekommen. Das Gegenteil ist beinahe sicher. Die wichtigste Wahl ist die von Bukarest. Hier kandidiert an der Spitze der Clausisten Micescu, der heutige Dekan, der Held der Prozesse vom 8. Dezember 1935. Einen sicheren Sieg hätten diese Leute nur durch Terror erreicht. Wenn alle Juden ihre Stimmen abgeben, ist dieser Sieg zweifelhaft. Da am 23. Juni, als die Wahlen stattfinden sollten, die Gegenkandidaten der demokratischen Opposition voraussehen konnten, dass durch Terror und Prügeleien Juden und Opposition von der Teilnahme an den Wahlen gehindert werden, übten sie auf die Regierung einen Druck aus und erhielten deren Unterstützung. Das Justizpalais wurde mit Militär besetzt. Es bestand keine Möglichkeit zu Exzessen. Darauf beschloss die Leitung der Advokatenkammer (mit Micescu an der Spitze), die Wahlen zu verschieben auf den 11. Juli. Seitdem gehen allerlei Bedrohungen herum, es fanden im Justizpalais in den letzten Tagen ^{Wehe} Exzesse gegen jüdische Anwälte statt, ~~wie~~ den Juden und der Opposition, wenn sie am 11. Juli zu stimmen gedenken. Es wurde ein Disziplinverfahren gegen die Kandidaten eröffnet, um sie zu entmutigen. Wir sind also in vollem Kampf, der ein politischer geworden ist dadurch, dass die nationalsozialistische Partei, zu der die meisten Oppositionskandidaten gehören, wenn nicht offiziell, aber indirekt im Kampf engagiert ist. Die Regierung verspricht zwar auch diesmal, Massnahmen zu treffen, aber es liegen Gründe vor, dass sie es in Wirklichkeit nicht tun wird. Es ist schwer zu glauben, dass sie diesen Kampf, der zu einer grossen politischen Komplikation, verbunden mit blutigen Strassenkämpfen, führen kann, dulden wird. Meiner Meinung nach wird diesmal die Sache wie am 8. Dezember 1935

vor sich gehen. Um die Regierung einzuschüchtern und sie zu zwingen, Massnahmen zu treffen, damit die Demokraten und die Juden stimmen können, d.h. für Sicherheit der Ordnung zu sorgen, was zum Fall der Micescu-Liste führen konnte, sind wir auf den Gedanken gekommen, je eine führende politische Persönlichkeit aus Frankreich und England zu bestimmen, welche sich "zufällig" am 10. und 11. Juli in Bukarest befinden. Es ist nicht schwer, je einen Vortrag dieser Persönlichkeiten im Rahmen der bestehenden rum.-französ. Gesellschaft "Louis Barthou" oder im Rahmen der englisch-rum. Gesellschaft zu organisieren. Wir müssen nur die betreffenden Persönlichkeiten finden und sie bewegen, die Einladungen anzunehmen.

Ich habe heute zwei Briefe an Lambert (Paris) und Laski (London), von Filderman geschrieben, expediert. Im Einverständnis mit diesen Herren, die derartige Kombinationen schon gemacht haben, ersuche ich Sie, das Nötige zu veranlassen im Sinne unseres telefonischen Gespräches. Ich wiederhole, dass wir ~~noch~~ nur an Persönlichkeiten ersten Ranges denken müssen, sonst wird es der rumänischen Regierung nicht imponieren. Nur die Anwesenheit einer solchen Persönlichkeit, vor der sie sich bestimmt schämen würde, kann einen anderen Verlauf für die Wahlen am 11. Juli ermöglichen. Die Sache ist sehr wichtig und ernst. Wenn es den Advokaten gelingt, die Juden total auszuschalten und faktisch eine politische Diskriminierung herbeizuführen, geht es bestimmt zu den anderen Kämpfen über, und alles ist verloren.

Somit komme ich zu einer kurzen Betrachtung der allgemeinen politischen Lage. Dieselbe finde ich wiederum verschlechtert. Zwar ist man mit der Veröffentlichung des Gesetzes für den "Schutz der nationalen Arbeit" noch nicht gekommen, jedoch sind die Chancen der Rechten empfindlich gewachsen. Man spricht andauernd von einer Vaida-Kombination. Die jetzige Regierung und noch höher stehende Faktoren unterstützen eine solche Kombination. Sie halten es für eine Kanalisierung der extremen (christlich-nationalen...Cusa... und gardistischen) Strömungen. Für uns kann eine solche Lösung ebenso gefährlich sein. Jedenfalls scheint es, dass die national-tarnescistist. Lösung (Mihalache) ziemlich weit entfernt von der Wirklichkeit ist. Man will die

Extremen nicht auffordern. Dies ist aus der Depression des linken Flügels (Dr. Lupu) der nat.tar. Partei zu ersehen.(Dieser Flügel kämpft als Opposition bei den Advokatenwahlen.) Es ist zu erwarten, dass Vaida sein Ministerium mit dem rechten Flügel der nat.-tar. Partei, der die Partei brechen wird, bildet.

Jedoch kann man die Sachen nicht genau beurteilen, Ueberraschungen in der rum. Politik können immer eintreten, und von heut auf morgen kann sich alles ändern.

In der innerjüdischen Politik hat der Kongress der jüd.Partei gewisse Klärungen mit sich gebracht. Der Zentralrat, der nichts besonderes geleistet hat, vor allem wegen der bekannten "Methoden" Fildermanns, ist kolossal geschwächt. Zwar hat ihn der Kongress nicht ganz aufgegeben, wenn aber neue Arbeitsmethoden geschaffen werden, wird er als aufgelöst zu betrachten sein. Es sind noch Verhandlungen im Gang zwischen uns und U.E.R.

Zum Schluss möchte ich Sie bitten, an Paris die Disposition zu geben, die politischen Berichte des Büros, wo vor allem von Interventionen bezüglich Rumänien die Rede ist, in geschlossenen Kuverts und ohne entête zu senden. Unsere Korrespondenz wird gelesen (deshalb musste ich für 24 Stunden nach Budapest fahren), und nach unseren Gesetzen ist diese Verbindung mit dem Ausland gegen den eigenen Staat gefährlich und strafbar.

Wir erwarten das Ergebnis Ihrer Intervention. Die Mitteilung werden Sie in der Form machen, die Sie für am g wenigsten gefährlich halten, sei es mir, sei es an Fildermann.

Ich wiederhole die heute früh genannten Namen: Flandin, Moro-Giafferi, Paul Reynaud, Beranger, Mistler, Paul Bastid, Jean Giraudoux, Basdevant. Es kann auch ein anderer sein vom selben Kaliber. Für England kann ich niemanden nennen - Herrn Laski oder Herrn Rev. Perlzweig - oder Sie werden den geeignetsten finden.

Ich danke Ihnen bestens und begrüsse Sie aufs wärmste.

gez. Misrachi

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS
BRITISH SECTION

London, May 13, 1937

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

To the Executive.

From the Rev. M. PERLOWIN

Note on World Jewish Congress matters in the British House of Commons.

It may be of interest to the members of the Executive to know that established contact with a number of members of the House of Commons, particularly Colonel Wedgwood, whom I have kept informed on the development of our work and who has throughout shown the greatest understanding and helpfulness.

A number of members, notably Major Hopkins, have even gone so far as to make public statements to the effect that the help is at our disposal. Colonel Wedgwood has already in addition given much time and thorough work. He has been especially helpful in three directions; (1) the preparation for the Polish Conference, (2) liaison, (3) formation of a pro-Jewish group in Parliament.

1. It was through his good offices that I was able to obtain messages from Lloyd George and Sir Archibald Sinclair. I asked him to speak to these gentlemen as well as Winston Churchill on our behalf. After some question, I drafted messages which would be suitable to these three men to sign, and I did my best to do so in a way which would be representative of the style and thought of each of them but in a form which would serve our purpose. Lloyd George appended his signature without any words of appeal addressed to the Jewish Community; (Minster Chancery was not to be persuaded. I append copies of notes addressed by Churchill and Sinclair to Colonel Wedgwood; they must be treated with the strictest confidence.)
2. Wedgwood had undertaken to see Eden, whom he has of course seen recently as a Member of the Privy Council. He will present our point of view about Silesia and seek intervention of the British Foreign Office in the sense we desire, reserving to himself the right to raise the question on the floor of the House if the answer is not satisfactory. I am providing for him a brief memorandum on Silesia in the kind of form which could appeal to the Foreign Office and he will leave this with the Foreign Secretary.
3. Wedgwood suggested that a meeting should be held at the House of Commons to which all members would be invited, and at which I should make a statement on the Jewish position and the World Jewish Congress. Invitations to the meeting would be sent by representatives of all the great parties and who would be responsible for the technical details, for the meeting would be held in a committee room of the house itself. I made one stipulation and that was that the Jewish members, one or two accepted

should not be invited as they might op see the establishment of a committee to watch the course of events on our behalf. I have some opposition to the whole scheme to overcome, surprisingly enough within our own ranks, but I do not propose to allow this to impede our progress.

In general it may be said that there is no difficulty in securing the asking of questions by members drawn from various parties of the House of Silesia or Silesia or any other topic of Jewish interest.

A point which should not be overlooked in connection with our Polish conference is that we received messages, not only from Lloyd George, who ranks as first among the older statesmen, but from the leader of every party in the House outside of the Government - Attlee, Leader of Opposition and the natural head of the next Labour Government, Dr. Dalton Chairman of the Labour Party organization in the country, Sir Archibald Sinclair, leader of the Liberal Party and Mr. James Maxton, leader of the small Independent Labour Party.

~~SECRET~~

24th March, 1937

From Sir Archibald Sinclair,

Dear Joe,

Thank you for your letter of the 23rd March. I did not know that the situation in Poland was so bad as you make out. I thought that the Polish Government was resisting to some extent the anti-Semitic agitation, although I have seen in the newspapers that the situation on the Jewish students in the Universities is bad. Accordingly I do not think that I have sufficient information to justify my signing a declaration quite so clear and definite as that which you have so kindly drafted for me. I therefore enclose, duly signed, a revised form. I am afraid you will think it rather wishy-washy, but I hope it will do. I note that the Bishop of Durham in his letter brackets Poland with Germany in the treatment of the Jews. Surely this is an exaggeration?

Yours ever,

A.S.
(Signed)

H. Hon. J. G. Wedgwood, D.S.O., M.P.
House of Commons
S.W.1.

COPY

carwell

WENTWORTH

KENT.

21st March, 1937

From Winston Churchill.

Private

My dear Jas,

I am reluctant to take up a position antagonistic to Poland at this time when our dangers are so great, and we have to pick our steps so carefully. We do not want these people, as well as Italy, to go into the Nazi camp. If only we had not neglected our defenses we might indeed play a more spacious role, I say therefore ~~advice~~ no.

Yours sincerely,

Winston Churchill
(Signed)

The Rt. Hon. J. C. Wedgwood, D.S.O., M.P.

Communication to members of the Executive Committee of the Comintern

In connection with his forthcoming visit to Poland at the end of November, Dr. Goldmann, Minister of Justice (which he became also early in December), the chairman of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, Dr. Grotewohl and K. Radek, have arranged through Dr. Grotewohl to interview Mr. Szyllerowicz, an expert on the foreign policy of Poland in order to have an accurate picture of the situation at present. Since it is the Comintern which is invited, the interview will be arranged for Saturday, November 18th at 6:30 P.M. This will give enough time for Dr. Goldmann to return from Warsaw to London with the World Jewish Congress where he is meeting with Dr. Weiss, the Comintern's O.M.C. of Germany, who is returning to Berlin on the 19th. In his report, Dr. Goldmann described the situation as the following: the general political situation in Poland. He emphasized in particular that the danger of a fascist "oup d'etat" is not to be reckoned with for the time being. The democratic tendencies of the country having revealed themselves to be too strong. Now is the time, pointed out Dr. Goldmann, when an intervention of France with a view to strengthening the democratic tendency is to be sought against such a possibility increasing. Dr. Goldmann stated further that the Russo question has become in Poland the crystallized point between the Right and the democratic forces and that for this general political trend alone, apart from any other consideration, it is in the interest of France to combat the anti-Semitic policy of the present government which really savagely persecutes the Jewish people.

Dr. Goldmann then described the situation in Romania which is similar to conditions prevailing in Poland except for the fact that unfortunately no democratic tendency is as yet perceptible in Romania. Dr. Goldmann declared that if the position in Romania were similar to Poland along the present lines, the Romanian Jews would be compelled to petition the League of Nations. Although the Jews are aware that they longer in Poland to do much, the petition will at least serve to draw the attention of world public opinion to the anti-Semitic treatment of the minorities, and in particular of the Jewish minority in Poland. Such a petition would naturally be made with the support of the League of Nations and of the French policy. It might lead Romania to follow the example of Poland and reject the influence of the League of Nations in minority questions. For this reason it is in the interest of France to use its influence with a view to inducing Romania to allow a hearing with regard to the Jews as far as giving them the same rights as

M. Roubet listened with great interest to these developments which Dr. Goldmann compiled on several points, and particularly the results of the end of the interview that he was very pleased to hear that the International Union of Comintern and M. Impruneta gave him veracity for his statement and promised to report the result of the interview to Minister Dulles. He added that both he and the Minister would study the situation and would certainly try to distract the matter with the Polish and Romanian governments.

Dr. Goldmann and Dr. Paulin have the impression that they will meet it and, since M. Roubet is accompanying M. Goldmann to Poland and Romania, it may be expected that he will keep the matter in the Minister's mind.

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

Paris, 83, Ave de la Grande Armée

PLENARY SESSION OF THE EXECUTIVE OF THE WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS IN PARIS.
Following a searching discussion of the situation in Poland, the Executive decides to act with energy and appeals to the Jewish People to struggle for the rights of Polish Jews. The Administrative Committee of the World Jewish Congress will meet in Cracow on February 21st 1937.

Paris, February 1st 1937.

The Executive of the World Jewish Congress met in plenary session in Paris on January 31st 1937. The meeting was attended by: Dr. N. Goldmann (Geneva), Prof. G. Bernhard (Paris), M. H. Davis (London), M. Jarblum (Paris), Mr L. Kubowitzki (Brussels), Saly Mayer (St. Gallen), I. Naiditch (Paris). Dr. M. Nurock (Riga), Rev. M.L. Perlzweig (London) and B. Zuckermann.

At the beginning of the meeting Mr. Baruch Zuckermann was coopted as member of the Executive.

The meeting then dealt with organisational problems. It was decided that Messrs. Zuckermann, Dr. N. Goldmann and Dr. Nurock will take charge of the organisation and propaganda work of the Congress. A series of measures designed for the purpose of organising the Jewry, and in particular the Jewish masses of central and eastern European countries, within the framework of the World Jewish Congress were then decided upon. Messrs B. Zuckermann and Dr. Nurock will conduct this work in various countries on behalf of the Congress within the coming months.

It was decided that a meeting of the Administrative Committee of the World Jewish Congress will be convened in Cracow on February 21st 1937.

A discussion then took place on the work among youth, and it was decided to create a Youth Section in charge of Mr. M. Jarblum.

Following the adoption of Prof. Bernhard's report on the activities of the Economic Section, the Executive established the program of work of this Section for the coming months.

A searching discussion then followed concerning a series of political issues, in particular the activities of the World Jewish Congress for the maintenance of Jewish rights in Danzig, Roumania and a number of other European States where the situation of the Jews is rapidly deteriorating. A series of actions designed to consolidate the imperilled Jewish positions in these countries were agreed upon.

Particular attention was devoted to the situation of Jews in Poland. On the basis of comprehensive reports, the Executive noted the rapid deterioration of both the economic and the political situation of Polish Jewry. The antisemitic campaign in Poland is assuming increasingly aggressive forms. Anti-Jewish excesses are of almost daily occurrence, particularly in the provinces, while the boycott agitation against the Jews is conducted with constantly growing violence in the whole country. Despite its repeated declarations that excesses would be repressed with energy, the government has so far failed to take measures calculated to bring to an end the pogrom and boycott agitation - conducted not only by the national-democrat opposition but also by important sections of the government parties and the catholic clergy - in flagrant violation of the equality of rights guaranteed by the Polish Constitution.

Antisemitic attacks of the leading members of the Sejm, especially those claiming compulsory emigration of Polish Jews strengthen the anti-Jewish agitation prevailing in the country. The fundamental rights of Polish Jewry, guaranteed alike by the Polish Constitution and by the Peace Treaties, are consequently seriously menaced. The legal status of Polish Jews as citizens enjoying equal rights within their country, and as an internationally recognised minority is undermined. The economic consequences of this policy, supported by legislative measures of economic nature, are the steady deterioration of the economic status of Polish Jews and the reduction of hundreds of thousands, if not millions of Polish Jews to a state of utter destitution. So far from endeavouring to improve the economic position of the Jewish citizens as it does that of the Polish majority, the Polish authorities are acquiescing in the campaign for the destruction of the economic life of Polish Jewry.

Reverend Perlzweig and Prof. Georg Bernhard reported on the intervention with the Spanish authorities on behalf of the Jewish refugees from Germany residing in Spain. The Spanish Government is willing to do everything in order to regularise the position of these refugees. It is to be noted that the Spanish Government has signed the Geneva Convention for Refugees from Germany.

In the course of a debate on emigration problems, the Executive of the World Jewish Congress, acknowledged the liberal and humane intention of the French government favourably to consider the possibilities of Jewish immigration to French colonies. The Executive, however, deems it its duty to warn the parties concerned against any unjustified hopes and expectations in this respect, in particular those deliberately fostered by the Polish anti-Jewish agitators.

Authoritative information enables the Executive to state that in any case such immigration possibilities are very limited, and their realisation will require considerable preliminary investigation and preparation.

The Executive of the World Jewish Congress feels in duty bound to call the attention of the Jewish people and of the world public opinion to the tragic character of the Jewish problem in Poland, and earnestly appeals to the Jewish people to unite in its determination to defend the imperilled rights of Polish Jewry. The Executive of the World Jewish Congress is convinced that it may depend upon the support of all sections of the Jewish people in its struggle for the maintenance of the political rights and the economic rehabilitation of Polish Jewry.

A REVIEW OF FOUR YEARS OF BOYCOTT

by DR. JOSEPH TENENBAUM,

Chairman of the Joint Boycott Council
Comprised of the American Jewish
Congress and the Jewish Labor
Committee.

Four years' anti-Nazi Boycott has proved its great moral and material value. Morally, the Boycott has rallied the democratic, liberty-loving peoples from one end of the world to the other and given them a sense of strength and satisfaction that springs from the desire and ability to fight and win against the dark forces of reaction and oppression. The Anti-Nazi Boycott is not a local movement. It is not the concern of one people or one nation, but an almost universal force bent on the destruction of the Nazi doctrine of life and government and the ultimate triumph of the eternal values of humanity. The Boycott is not solely a Jewish movement - as the struggle is not solely a Jewish issue, but the concern of all who have a life's interest in contemporary civilization.

FACTS AND FIGURES

And now as to its material value.

When this Boycott movement started, the wise and "practical" people predicted its ultimate collapse within a few months - of its own inertia. This time, too, the "visionaries" anticipated the future far better than those who deal in ponderables. Today, on the fourth anniversary of Hitler, the Boycott movement is stronger than ever. There are Boycott cells and Boycott Committees in the most distant countries, and in the United States the Boycott has never been as popular with the masses and as successful with the houses of commerce and trade as today. The consumer has proved his strength to his own satisfaction. There are large department stores which formerly were stocked up with German merchandise to the value of tens of millions of dollars, whose shelves are empty today of anything German. You simply cannot buy German merchandise at any price in those stores. Others have limited their German purchases to a minimum requirement and feel compelled to discard even this minimal quantity. The powers in Nazi Germany which live on the double standards of fraud and bluff, while filling the German papers with lamentations on the damage done to German commerce by the "Jewish" Boycott, at the same time pooh-pooh its significance in the statements given out for foreign consumption. Let figures talk - figures taken from German sources and the publications of the League of Nations.

In the year 1932, the pre-Hitler era and the height of the depression within and outside Germany, the monthly average of German imports was 389.9 million marks and 473.1 million marks in exports, and in 1936 the figures for imports were 353.5 and 375.0 million marks monthly export average. In other words, though nearly every other country has shown a sharp increase in foreign trade, Germany's export trade remained below the 1932-1933 level and has remained so up-to-date. This, despite the unprecedented robberies, confiscation, barter treaties, subsidies, and an unprecedented credit inflation. The sum total of German exports in 1932 amounted to 5.74 billion gold marks, and in 1935 all Germany could realize on her exports were 4.27 billion manipulated Hitler marks.

Dr. Schacht has finally realized that the policy of selling cheap and buying dear cannot be continued any longer. He has renounced barter which meant dumping at any cost, compensated by default and repudiation of contracted obligations, and which became the Nemesis of any country which tried to do business with Germany. The four-year plan of Ersatz manufacture, barely started four or five months ago is about to be scrapped for the sake of increasing export trade. But all this will accomplish little. Germany must buy the most important raw materials to keep her industries going and must export at least one-third of its industrial products in order to import food for its people. But this is a seller's market and the scramble for raw materials is such that Germany can never hope to compete successfully in the world market even were she to depress the wage level of her slave-workers below the present coolie wages. This and the Boycott are sufficient guarantees that no matter what tricks Hitler's economic wizards may adopt - Nazi Germany is doomed economically and therefore bound for disaster politically.

NAZI EXPORTS INTO THE UNITED STATES

Taking our own country into consideration, the economic loss of Germany becomes still more obvious. A comparison of the ten most important countries which maintain an active trade balance with the United States shows that while the imports of all countries gained considerably in the year 1935 as compared with the year 1932 - some like Belgium rising up to 51% in value and Great Britain 35% - Germany alone registered a loss of 4%. In the year 1936 there was an increase of world imports into the United States from 1,322,774,000 in 1932 to 2,419,229,000 in 1936, i.e., 83%. Belgium has profited by 168%, Holland 123%, Canada 115%, Great Britain 168%, China 184%, and even the U.S.S.R. had a 123% increase. In view of this tremendous influx of foreign goods into the United States, all Germany can claim is an 8% increase, an increase which, when deflated

of the Aski-mark bubble - which now sells some 40% of its former value - and squeezed out of the script flood, tourist mark lubricant and stripped of some of the other ingenuities of indirect subsidies, will leave little to balance the unbalanced.

Perhaps I should mention in passing that the anti-Nazi Boycott has been a boon for our own industries, that hundreds of new plants and factories sprang up in the United States to manufacture German substitutes and that an inquiry in the larger department stores in the country has revealed the fact that at least 60% of the products formerly imported from Germany are now being manufactured in the United States. This is best illustrated in a few specific industries. Germany imported into the United States (in Reich marks):

	1932	1935	Decrease
Raw and Floss Silk	1,288,000	38,000	97%
Cotton Textiles	25,254,000	6,315,000	75%
Leather Goods	13,226,000	1,886,000	86%
Cutlery	2,202,000	1,162,000	47%

To a large extent, the home industries took up the supply of the demand created by the Boycott as evidenced in the following figures:

The value of cutlery goods manufactured in the United States in 1933 amounted to \$37,209,238. It rose to \$49,057,463 in 1935. In the hardware industry, there was a similar rise from \$61,957,927 in 1933 to \$135,023,502 in 1935 - an increase of more than 75%.

Apparently, there is no better slogan for "Buy American" than the anti-Nazi Boycott.

BOYCOTT A GUARANTEE OF PEACE AND A VICTORY FOR DEMOCRACY

Naziland is one huge armament factory, and Germany is one huge drill ground. Children in their cradles are being poisoned with war-hero-worship. There is no doubt that all German life is being reconditioned for the dies irae - der Tag. Nothing can stop Hitler - not even the increased British armament race. Yet there is one thing that will stop Hitler in his mad attempt to drown civilization in a pool of blood and fire. The Boycott can and will do it. Germany may be armed to the teeth and regimented to the last man - but no country in the world can wage a modern war without cash and food - neither of which Germany can accumulate if the anti-Nazi Boycott will be any way successful. Neither the might of Great Britain, nor the arms of France can prevent war. A successful economic Boycott is the only possible guarantee of world peace. The more painful and at the same time the more ludicrous must appear the attempt of the great democratic powers to help the Hitler regime in Germany at a time when

Hitlerism is about to be destroyed by its own madness. Economic concessions, colonies, loans and barter agreements are being showered on Hitler, literally begging the sulking neurotic in the Bavarian mountain retreat to accept their proffered aid. Any concession to Germany at this crucial moment will only serve to whet the insatiable appetite of the Nazi matadors, and a loan to Germany in any form whatsoever means a breach in the solid anti-Nazi front and a war loan to the German revenge obsession. The tendency to trade the fate of the Jews, the freedom of religion and conscience, and the rights of labor for a treaty with Hitler, will be a blot on the conscience of mankind even were Hitler willing or capable of abiding by his signature. A treaty of betrayal born in the incest of shame and slander is stillborn before it can be executed. Treaty or no treaty, the Boycott will not stop until Hitler will be stopped. Hitler will and must die an economic death.

THE BEGINNING OF THE DEBACLE

Fortunately, there are visible signs that Hitler's economic pyramid is toppling over. Poverty is stalking through the Reich with an appalling toll in hunger and privation. There is open grumbling among the masses and smouldering revolt among the sailors and workers. The German ship of state is floundering from one extreme measure to the other. Every day brings more "regulations", more restrictions, more robberies, more bludgeoning of the harassed people. It is no more cannons versus butter; it is the knout and the axe for the hungry and the desperate. It is at such times that the Boycott must be enforced if we want to hasten the day of the delivery of mankind from the Nazi nightmare.

No people, no nation is safe as long as Hitler is permitted to poison the world with his maniacal dreams of grandeur. Democracy is not safe even in our own country where German millions are being spent - \$40,000,000 in the year 1935 - to undermine our most cherished spiritual possession, our doctrine of liberty and equal opportunities. We must mobilize public opinion to become aware of this world menace and for this purpose we are calling for March 15th a huge anti-Nazi Demonstration in Madison Square Garden with the participation of representatives of Labor throughout the world, of the lovers of peace and the friends of Democracy. The conscience of the world will be mobilized in this fight against the Nazi menace, and the groundwork will be laid for the intensification of the Anti-Nazi Boycott - fully compatible with its great task. We - Democracy at large - must win this fight or perish. We choose to win.

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

Dr. N. Goldmann's & Dr. M. Perlberg's
interviews with Government
Representatives re:

Roumania, Czechoslovakia
& the Refugee Problem.

1938

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS CONGRÈS JUIF MONDIAL
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE COMITÉ EXÉCUTIF

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Paris, October 15th, 1938

Dear Sir:

Below you will find a report on the work of the Executive Committee of the World Jewish Congress covering the period from September 15th to October 15th 1938.

The XIX Assembly of the League of Nations which met in Geneva, September 12th to 30th, was overshadowed by political developments centering around Czechoslovakia. The interest taken by the delegations in the problems on the agenda of the Assembly was thus considerably weakened.

Nevertheless, the members of the political department of the World Jewish Congress, Dr. Goldmann and Rev. Perlzweig had a number of conversations concerning the effects of the Roumanian denationalization law, the Czechoslovak question, and the refugee problem.

Roumania

On the opening day of the Assembly, Dr. Goldmann and Rev. Perlzweig had an interview with Mr. A. R. Butler, British Under-Secretary of State, to whom they set forth the situation created as a result of the Roumanian law on revision of Jewish citizenship and the first effects of the law. They requested Mr. Butler to approach the competent Roumanian circles with a view to obtaining their assent to convening the Committee of Three. This Committee, comprising representatives of Great Britain, France and Iran, has been authorized by the League to report on the petition regarding Roumanian Jewry submitted by the World Jewish Congress. Specific remedies for the injustice done to denationalized Jews have been outlined in a Note of the World Jewish Congress submitted to Mr. Butler.

During the Assembly Sessions Dr. Goldmann had further a number of interviews with Mr. Cretziano, permanent delegate of Roumania accredited to the League of Nations, and Mr. Comnen, Roumanian Foreign Minister, who admitted that the law on the revision of citizenship contained unjustified hardships which they will try to eliminate.

Upon the recommendation of Mr. Comnen, Dr. Goldmann also had two interviews with Prof. S. Dragomir, Director of the Roumanian Minorities Office. Prof. Dragomir promised to carry into effect as far as possible the wishes of the World Jewish Congress concerning the extension of time for those who so far have been unable to produce the necessary documents and to consider favorably the appeals of Jews denationalized by courts of the first instance. There is therefore some hope that the courts of appeal may cancel a number of denationalizations. This concerns in particular the verdicts ascribable to such technical defects as variations in the spelling of names, etc. Prof. Dragomir was of the opinion that in this way some 50% of the denationalization verdicts might be cancelled. He further declared that the denationalization proceedings would continue for about a year and a half and that before their end no expulsions would take place.

The spokesman of the World Jewish Congress also made representations concerning the immediate carrying into effect of the verdicts of the courts of first instance. Dr. Goldmann pointed out that under paragraph 146 of the law on the revision of citizenship, the decisions of the courts of first instance went into effect at once. He cited a number of cases in which, following the decision of the court, the parties concerned were prevented from practicing their profession. Prof. Dragomir promised to examine these cases.

In an interview with Mr. Cretziano which took place after Prof. Dragomir had left Geneva, Dr. Goldmann complained, on the basis of fresh information, that the Roumanian consulates abroad refuse to renew the passports of Jewish citizens before the revision has been carried out, thus preventing them from returning to Roumania, which is contrary to the law. Dr. Goldmann further pointed out that a number of Roumanian consulates abroad refuse visas for Roumania to Jews, and in some cases request foreigners who ask for visas for Roumania, to produce evidence that they are 'Aryans'. Mr. Cretziano stated he had not heard of such instructions having been issued to the consulates and promised to make inquiries in Bucharest.

Refugee problems

A session of the Liaison Committee of the High Commissioner for Refugees Coming from Germany (and Austria) took place in Geneva on September 14th, 1938.

The session was attended by representatives of 20 Jewish and non-Jewish organizations and the High Commissioner, Sir Neill Malcolm. M. Aubert of the Swiss Central Office for Refugee Relief was honorary president, while Dr. Goldmann, representative of the World Jewish Congress, conducted the proceedings.

At the request of the World Jewish Congress, the question of transit emigration to countries bordering on Germany was placed on the agenda of the session. The Central Office of the World Jewish Congress had sent a questionnaire to the National Committees of the World Jewish Congress in the countries bordering on Germany, requesting them to report in detail on the refugees who have sought shelter in their respective countries. On the basis of material thus secured the representative of the World Jewish Congress explained his proposal. Following a searching discussion, a sub-committee was charged to draft a resolution which was unanimously adopted. The resolution reads as follows:

"The Liaison Committee of the High Commissioner, in accord with the report of the High Commissioner presented to the XIXth session of the Assembly, considering that there exist profound differences between refugees coming from Germany and Austria and those dealt with by the Nansen Office,

"That the future High Commissioner would get in touch with the organizations representing the different groups of refugees, each of which has its own characteristics,

"That a solution which would be suitable for one of these groups might not be suitable for others,

"Is of the opinion that there should be created for the refugees coming from Germany and Austria a Liaison Committee or an organ of coordination of the private organizations dealing with these refugees.

"In order to avoid any interruption between the activity of this Committee and that of the new Committee above suggested, it is desirable that the new Committee should be formed as soon as possible after the High Commissioner is nominated."

Although this resolution does not include all the suggestions of the representative of the World Jewish Congress, the fact that through the channel of the High Commissioner for Refugees Coming from Germany (and Austria) the Intergovernmental Committee has been requested to take in hand without delay the important problem of transit emigration to countries bordering on Germany is of considerable significance. The resolution further recommends that the negotiations be conducted with all the countries bordering on Germany. This is important in view of the fact that a number of countries bordering on Germany, whither most of the refugees have fled from Austria, had not been invited to participate in the Evian Conference.

It was decided that the High Commissioner should submit to the Assembly of the League of Nations then in session a detailed report on the present position of the refugees in the countries bordering on Germany. Thanks to the reports received by the World Jewish Congress, we were able to place at the disposal of the High Commissioner detailed information from countries which were not directly represented at the Liaison Committee session through representatives of their national relief committees.

The session further considered the important question of the composition of the Nansen Office and the High Commissariat for Refugees Coming from Germany (and Austria) inscribed on the agenda of the XIXth Assembly.

According to the decision passed by the Council of the League of Nations in May 1938, the High Commissariat for Refugees Coming from Germany (and Austria) and the Nansen Office are to be merged in a single Refugee Office at the end of the current year. The Liaison Committee adopted a resolution expressing the wish that the new Refugee Office should set up two separate committees comprising representatives of the organizations interested in the respective refugee problems. The resolution reads as follows:

"Resolved that the Secretariat, on the basis of the reports now in course of preparation for the High Commissioner, concerning the present position of the refugees in the various countries bordering on Germany and Austria, shall prepare a digest of these reports for transmission through the High Commissioner to the London Intergovernmental Committee,

and resolved further, that the Liaison Committee respectfully requests the High Commissioner

to call to the attention of the Intergovernmental Committee the urgent and tragic conditions therein portrayed, and

to suggest to the Intergovernmental Committee that it shall, without awaiting the outcome of its intended negotiations with the German Government, immediately commence efforts to obtain immigration outlets for such refugees, having in mind especially that the finding of such outlets will improve the possibilities for later refugees from Germany to obtain at least a temporary right of refuge in the said countries."

As the session held on September 14th was probably the last to be held by the Liaison Committee before the liquidation of the High Commission for Refugees Coming from Germany (and Austria), it was decided not to accept the applications of a number of organizations which would require a modification of the statutes of the Liaison Committee. The High Commissioner was however requested to mention in his report to the High Commissioner of the new Refugee Office the requests for admission of new member organizations submitted to the last session of the Liaison Committee.

Intervention with Lord Duncannon concerning refugees in Czechoslovakia

On September 22nd, the delegates of the Czechoslovak National Committee for the World Jewish Congress called on Lord Duncannon, the Assistant of the High Commissioner for Refugees Coming from Germany (and Austria), to insist on the necessity of rapidly facilitating the emigration of refugees who have sought shelter in Czechoslovakia. The representative of the World Jewish Congress requested Lord Duncannon to draw the attention of the Intergovernmental Committee in London and the international relief organizations to the critical position of refugees in Czechoslovakia and the necessity of taking immediate steps with the governments of the States where the refugees might be allowed to emigrate, if only for a limited time, to persuade them to instruct their consulates in Prague to grant visas to the refugees thus enabling them to leave Czechoslovakia within the shortest possible time. Lord Duncannon showed full understanding of the urgency of the matter and promised to take appropriate steps.

Decisions of the XIX Assembly concerning refugee problem

The refugee problem was on the agenda of the XIX Assembly of the League of Nations. It was decided to discontinue the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees Coming from Germany and the Nansen International Office for Refugees as from December 31st, 1938, and to set up a new Refugee Office of the League of Nations to deal with refugees hitherto coming under the Nansen Office and the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees coming from Germany. The duties of the new High Commissioner will be as follows:

to provide for the political and legal protection of refugees, to superintend the entry into force and the application of the legal status of refugees as defined more particularly in the Conventions of October 28th, 1933 and February 10th, 1938;

to facilitate the coordination of humanitarian assistance;

to assist the governments and private organizations in their efforts to promote emigration and permanent settlement;

to report to the Assembly annually on his work;

to keep in close touch with the governments concerned and the competent official bodies, and to maintain relations with the Intergovernmental Committee in London;

to consult the governments of the principal countries of refuge as to the need for appointing representatives therein. Should they agree, the High Commissioner may appoint to those countries representatives approved by them.

The cost of maintaining the new refugee organization is to be borne by the League of Nations. No part of the appropriation may be used for direct relief and settlement purposes. The High Commissioner is, however, authorized to accept funds from governments or private sources; he shall not himself directly provide assistance to refugees, but shall allot the aforesaid funds among such organizations and such official bodies as he may consider best qualified to administer such assistance.

The Office of the High Commissioner will be headquartered in London. The High Commissioner will be appointed for a period of five years, as from January 1st, 1939.

Sir Herbert Emerson has been appointed High Commissioner of the League of Nations for Refugees.

The High Commissioner, Sir Neill Malcolm, announced on October 5th that the Convention of February 10th, 1938 concerning the status of refugees coming from Germany was ratified by the British Government on September 26th.

In view of the fact that the Belgian Government deposited its instrument of ratification at the League Secretariat on September 1st, 1938, the Convention has now been ratified by two states, and will therefore come into force on October 27th, 1938.

The Final Act of the Conference which concluded this Convention was signed by Belgium, the United Kingdom, Cuba, Denmark, Spain, France, Norway, the Netherlands, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland and Czechoslovakia. Representatives of the United States of America attended the Conference as observers, likewise representatives of Finland and Yugoslavia.

A number of other countries, including the United States, have informed the High Commissioner that, despite their inability formally to adhere to the Convention, they are applying in practice its underlying principles.

The Convention entitles German refugees to the right to sojourn and reside in the countries of refuge, and also provides for the issue of a travel document to refugees sojourning lawfully in the territories to which the Convention applies. This document is solely intended to take place of a passport. In addition certain administrative measures were adopted which restrict the rights of Governments to expel refugees and reconduct them to the German frontier. Certain social and economic rights are laid down relating to labor conditions, industrial accidents, welfare and relief, education, vocational training with a view to emigration, and taxation.

The reservations made by Governments to this Convention are in most cases similar to those made in connection with the Convention of 1933 for the Russian refugees and the Provisional Arrangements of 1936 concerning the Germans.

An additional Protocol to be adopted by Governments in the near future will extend the benefits of this Convention to refugees coming from the territory which formerly constituted Austria.

Czechoslovakia

The developments in the Czechoslovak situation during the months of August and September caused greatest concern regarding the fate of the Jewish minority in that country, in particular in the Sudeten German districts. The representatives of the World Jewish Congress did their best to ensure protection of the menaced rights of the Jews in Czechoslovakia. During the first days of the Assembly, Dr. Goldmann, accompanied by Dr. Barber, delegate of the Czechoslovak National Committee of the World Jewish Congress, called on Dr. Heidrich, Minister of Czechoslovakia, and expressed the sympathy of world Jewry as a whole for the Czechoslovak democracy. Dr. Goldmann emphasized the confidence felt by the Jews that amidst all their difficulties, the Czechoslovak government will respect the rights of the Jewish minority in any settlement of the nationalities problem. Minister Heidrich confirmed in his reply that Czechoslovakia was determined to maintain the principle of minorities protection in all parts of the Republic, and that the rights of the Jewish minority will be safeguarded.

In the meantime the Czechoslovak crisis became increasingly acute. In connection with the London meeting of French and British statesmen which preceded Mr. Chamberlain's visit in Berchtesgaden, the Executive Committee of the World Jewish Congress sent a telegraphic appeal to the British and French Prime Ministers, urging them not to disregard the rights of the menaced Jewish minority in their negotiations.

The further course of the Czechoslovak tragedy is well known. When the loss of a large part of Czechoslovak territory was consummated through the acceptance of the Prague Government of the London proposals and the population of Czechoslovakia gave itself up to profound despair, the following message was sent to Czechoslovak Jewry on the eve of Rosh Hashanah by Dr. Wise, as President of the Executive Committee of the World Jewish Congress:

"Dear Brothers in Czechoslovakia,

"In this fateful hour I feel I must send you a message of fraternal solidarity. We shared with you the anxious suspense of the critical hours and the bitterness of the cruel fact that the world has once more yielded to the pressure of violence and imposed on your country a most painful sacrifice. We realize your sorrow; not only of those who may be compelled to leave their homes where their ancestors have lived for centuries, but of all those who as loyal citizens of the Czechoslovak Republic share the inexpressible plight which has struck its entire population.

"In this painful hour we urge you not to despair and not to let your courage sink. The history of the Jewish people is full of trials inflicted upon our forefathers. They lasted through, as you will do. In the long run justice is stronger than injustice, and liberty stronger than oppression. He who does not renounce his faith in the victory of justice, will triumph over the worshippers of violence and tyranny.

"Do not forget that you have enjoyed twenty years of peace and tranquillity. Do not forget that during that time the Jewish people has built up young and living forces in the national reconstruction of the land of our fathers Erez Israel, and has laid down the foundations of a work which is the greatest hope and promise of a better future for our people, while it also is a guarantee of the survival of Jewry in your country.

"The close ties of deep friendship which links you with the free and peace-loving population of Czechoslovakia do not seem to us fortuitous. They have their origin in the profound kinship which unites the two peoples, both of whom are numerically small and both devoted to great ethical causes. It is a fact of deep significance that the greatest son of the Czechoslovak nation, Thomas Garrigue Masaryk, should be a historical figure cherished and admired by the Jewish people.

"We are at the threshhold of a new year. However dark its prospects, we yet wish and trust that it may be for you, dear brothers, and all the peoples of Czechoslovakia, a year of life and peace.

"More than ever we are with you and send you our brotherly greetings."

Intervention in Paris and London

The lightning changes in the Czechoslovak situation made it extremely difficult for the representatives of the World Jewish Congress to intervene, especially in view of the fact that the final settlement was not a clear-cut one, most of the fundamental decisions being left to the Berlin Conference of ambassadors. The only thing that was certain was that the provisions regulating the Saar plebiscite were to be applied in Czechoslovakia. The activities of the World Jewish Congress confined themselves to the protection of the interests of the Jewish population in the Sudeten German and other territories claimed by Germany. The representatives of the World Jewish Congress had in this connection a number of interviews at the Foreign Office in London and the Quai d'Orsay in Paris where they submitted a series of definite suggestions together with statistics and other relevant material. The competent authorities showed complete understanding and the representatives of the World Jewish Congress received assurances that the gist of the interviews and the proposals of the World Jewish Congress will be conveyed to representatives of France and Britain in Berlin.

On October 11th, the Delegate of the Czechoslovak National Committee of the World Jewish Congress called on M. Georges Coulon, who in the absence of Senator Henry Berenger represents France on the Intergovernmental Committee. M. Coulon was informed of the critical situation of the Jewish refugees from Germany and Austria in Czechoslovakia and of the plight of Jewish refugees from the Sudeten German districts. Definite proposals and documentary material were submitted to M. Coulon who promised to communicate them to Mr. Rublee, Director of the Permanent Bureau of the Intergovernmental Committee in London, as well as to the diplomatic representatives of France in Berlin.

Cooperation with other organizations

The Board of Deputies of British Jews invited the Jewish communities of Belgium, Holland and Switzerland, the American Jewish Committee, the Jewish Agency, the Agudas Israel World Organization, the B'nai B'rith and the World Jewish Congress to participate in a consultation on the present position to take place in London on October 15th. At this meeting the World Jewish Congress was represented by Dr. N. Goldmann, Rev. M. L. Perlzweig, members of the Executive of the World Jewish Congress, and Mr. Jacob Fishman, member of the Administrative Committee of the American Jewish Congress and the World Jewish Congress.

Publications

In continuation of the survey issued in June by the Central Office of the World Jewish Congress on "The organization of Germans Abroad" further chapters (II and III) have been issued in September under the titles "The German economic drive in South America" and "The creation of artificial German minorities in South America." These chapters are based on official Spanish and Portuguese documents (verbatim reports of parliamentary debates in Argentina and Brazil, reports of school inspectors, etc.). The survey is available in English also, and may be secured from the National Office of the American Jewish Congress. Further chapters of the survey, the general title of which is "Les Effectifs du Pan-germanisme" (Pan-German efforts to conquer the world) will be issued in the coming weeks.

The Economic Department of the World Jewish Congress has issued a survey entitled "Die wirtschaftliche Lage der Juden im Jahre 1938" (The economic situation of the Jews in 1938).

Faithfully yours,

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

Re Romania / Re Saarif für

Bericht über die Unterhaltung von Dr. Goldmann
in Genf am 17. und 18. Januar 1939,
während der Ratstagung des VB.

Druckblatt

Ich konnte nur 1 1/2 Tage in Genf bleiben und konzentrierte
meine verschiedenen Besprechungen auf die Danzig-Frage, die Ru-
mänien-Frage und das Flüchtlingsproblem.

In der Danzig-Sache sah ich die Mitglieder des Dreiercomit's
die Herren Sandler (schwedischer Aussenminister), Wakins (das en-
gische Mitglied); mit dem französischen Mitglied hatte ich ein aus-
führliches Telephonespräch.

Ich sah außerdem den Hohen Kommissar für Danzig, Prof. Burek-
hardt.

Ich protestierte allen gegenüber auf das schärfste gegen die
schweigende Duldung seitens der Völkerbundinstanzen der Danziger
arischen Gesetzgebung und der faktischen Vertreibung der Juden. Ich
sagte den Herren, dass wir verstehn, dass der Völkerbundsrat effek-
tiv an der Lage nichts ändern könne, da er ~~ermächtigt~~ sei. Aber zu-
mindest müsse er alles tun, um zu verhindern, dass seine passive
Haltung als stillschweigende Duldung ausgelegt werde, wodurch er den
antisemitischen Regierungen Osteuropas ein gefährliches Beispiel ge-
be.

Konkret verlangte ich, dass der Völkerbund seine Garantie für
die Konstitution der Freien Stadt Danzig ~~außilliere~~ und den Hohen
Kommissar als Garanten der Konstitution aus Danzig zurückberufe.

Die Mitglieder des Dreier-Comités, wie auch Prof. Burckhardt hatten für diese Argumentation weitgehendes Verständnis. Insbesondere Herr Sandler und Prof. Burckhardt erklärten freimütig, dass auch sie die jetzige Situation für unhaltbar erachteten und durchaus verstehen, dass die Garantie für die Konstitution Danzigs nicht mehr lange aufrecht erhalten werden könnte. Als ich nach Genf kam, hatten die Mitglieder des Danzig-Comités in Aussicht genommen, eine juristisches Comité einzusetzen, welches prüfen solle, ob die Nürnberger Gesetzgebung in Danzig eine Verletzung der Konstitution darstelle. Ich protestierte auf das schärfste gegen diese Farce, wonach erst ein juristisches Gutachten notwendig sei, um festzustellen, dass die Nürnberger Gesetzgebung eine flagante Verletzung der demokratischen Konstitution Danzigs sei. Der Gedanke des juristischen Comités wurde dann fallen gelassen, doch konnte sich das Dreier-comité, wie es scheint, besonders unter englischem Einfluss, nicht dazu entschliessen, schon jetzt die Annulierung der Garantie für die Konstitution und die Rückberufung des Hohen Kommissars zu beschliessen, da Polen und Deutschland scheinbar den Zusatz ausgedrückt haben, dass der Hohe Kommissar, der ja auch die Aufgabe hat, zwischen Deutschland und Polen in Danziger Sachen zu vermitteln, vorläufig bleibe, zumindest bis bei dem Besuch Ribbentrops in Warschau am 26. Januar die Danzig-Frage zwischen beiden Staaten geregelt würde. Es kommt hinzu, dass in wenigen Wochen in Danzig eine Neuwahl des Volks-tags (des Danziger Parlaments) stattfinden wird, woraufhin die Danziger Nazis die Konstitution in totalitarem Sinne ändern wollen.

Das Dreiercomité war der Ansicht, dass dies erst der richtige Moment sein würde, um die Garantie des Völkerbundes zurückzuziehen, da natürlich der Völkerbund keine totalitäre Konstitution approbieren und garantieren könne.

Das Communiqué, welches das Dreier-Comité für Danzig schließlich veröffentlichte, stellt daher einen Kompromiss dar zwischen unseren Forderungen und den ursprünglichen Absichten, nichts weiter in diesem Moment zu unternehmen. Das Communiqué begibt, dass Verletzungen der Konstitution in Danzig vorgenommen seien (ohne dass spezifiziert wird, dass es sich dabei um die Arier-Gesetzgebung handelt) dass das Dreier-Comité die Entwicklung der Situation weiter verfolge und demnächst eine neue Sitzung haben werde (gemeint ist der Moment nach der erfolgten Änderung der Konstitution durch den Danziger Volkstag), und dass der Hohe Kommissar vorläufig einen Urlaub antreten und nicht nach Danzig zurückfahren werde. Dieses Communiqué stellt einen teilweisen Erfolg unserer Bemühungen dar, ist aber nicht befriedigend, und wir haben daher an die Mitglieder des Dreier-Comités einen erneuten Brief gerichtet, in dem wir unserer Enttäuschung über diesen Beschluss Ausdruck geben. Wir haben jedenfalls erreicht, dass die Frage überhaupt aufgeworfen wurde. Vermutlich wird in wenigen Wochen die Annullierung der Völkerbundsgarantie erfolgen.

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Bezüglich der rumanischen Frage hatte ich eine längere Unterredung vor allem mit dem englischen Mitglied des Comités für Rumänien beim Völkerbund, Sir William Walkin, dem Juriskonsulenten des Foreign Office, nachdem ich den Kabinettschef von Herrn Bonnet bereits vorher in Paris gesehen hatte (zusammen mit M. Jarblum). Mit Sir William Walkin war die Unterredung sehr ausführlich. Ich legte ihm die Situation dar und wies darauf hin, dass die situation sich keinesfalls gebessert, sondern eher verschlechtert habe, und verlangte eine neue Intervention Englands in Bukarest. Er selbst schien damit einverstanden, erklärte aber, dass natürlich Lord Halifax darüber entscheiden müsse. Wir werden also die Bemühungen in London weiter fortsetzen.

Herr Bressy verprach uns, den Bericht über die Lage, den wir ihm gegeben hatten, an den französischen Gesandten in Bukarest zu senden, damit auch er eventuell interveniere. Das Dreier-Comité für Rumänien hatte eine Sitzung infolge unserer Demarchen und hat bestimmt mit dem rumänischen Vertreter in Genf den ganzen Fragenkomplex besprochen.

Ich sah ferner Sir Herbert Emerson, den neuen Völkerbundskommissar für Flüchtlinge, mit dem ich über die Reorganisation des Liaison-Comités, die Frage der deutschen Flüchtlinge in der Tschechoslowakei und den Mangel an Kooperation zwischen dem Intergouvernementalen Comité und den jüdischen Organisationen sprach.

DR. GOLDMANN'S INTERVIEWS IN GENEVA

January 17 - 18, 1939

During the Session of the League Council.

I. DANZIG: I saw the members of the Committee of Three: Swedish Foreign Minister Sandler; The English member, Makins. I had a long telephone conversation with the French member, and I also saw the High Commissioner Burckhardt. To all of them I protested most vigorously against the silence of the League with regard to the racist legislation, and the expulsion of the Jews. I told these gentlemen that we understand that the Council cannot change the situation, but that it must at least do things in order to hinder the Nazis, because its passive attitude was setting a dangerous example for the anti-Semitic governments of Eastern Europe. Concretely, I demanded that the Council cancel its guarantee of the Constitution of Danzig and recall the High Commissioner. The members of the Committee, as well as Burckhardt, showed considerable understanding of this argument, and agreed that the present situation was intolerable. The members of the Danzig Committee had intended to establish a Juridical Committee to determine whether the Nuremberg Laws in Danzig violate the Constitution. But I protested strenuously against such a farce. This idea was dropped, but the Committee of Three, apparently under English influence, could not decide to cancel the guarantee of the Constitution and to recall the High Commissioner. Apparently Poland and Germany had expressed the wish that the High Commissioner remain in Danzig, at least until Ribbentrop's visit to Warsaw on January 26. In addition, there is to be an election in Danzig in a few weeks, and the Nazis will then change the Constitution. The Committee of Three was of the opinion that this would be the right time to withdraw the guarantee. Thus, the press release which the Committee of Three finally issued was a compromise between our demands and their original plans to do nothing at present.

The release stated that violations of the Danzig Constitution had occurred without specifically referring to the racist legislation; that the Committee of Three would continue to follow the situation; would have another meeting (referring to the time when the Constitution would be changed); and that the High Commissioner was on leave and would not return to Danzig. Although this release constituted a partial victory to us, it is not satisfactory. We have, therefore, written again to the members of the Committee, expressing our disappointment.

II. ROUMANIA: I had a long talk with the British member of the Committee for Roumania of the League, Sir William Malkin. After having conferred with Bressy, secretary to M. Bonnet, in Paris, I explained the situation to Malkin, indicating that it had become worse, and asked for further intervention by England in Bucarest. He seemed to agree, but stated that it would have to be decided by Lord Halifax. M. Bressy promised to transmit our report regarding the situation to the French Ambassador in Bucarest. The Committee of Three on Roumania met following our talks, and agreed to discuss the matter with the Roumanian representative in Geneva.

III. REFUGEES: I saw Sir Herbert Emerson, the new High Commissioner for Refugees, with whom I discussed the reorganization of the Liaison Committee, the question of German refugees in Czechoslovakia, and the lack of cooperation between the Intergovernmental Committee and the Jewish organizations.

DR. GOLDMANN'S INTERVIEW WITH
POLISH AMBASSADOR TO PARIS

January 19, 1939

Dr. Goldmann discussed the emigration problem and informed the Ambassador of the resolution of the Administrative Committee. Dr. Goldmann emphasized the importance of the Polish-Jewish question, and the connection between Polish Jewry and world Jewry, particularly in America. Dr. Goldmann told the Ambassador that he had just come from New York, and that it was the wish of world Jewry to cooperate with the Polish Government whenever possible. World Jewry must insist that the emigration problem in Poland not be viewed as a purely Jewish matter, that there must be no discrimination against the Jews in the country, and no pressure to make them emigrate. Only under such conditions is world Jewry ready to cooperate.

There is no point in referring to the Constitution, because no one takes it seriously in Poland. On the other hand, Dr. Goldmann showed what economic advantages the Polish Government may obtain, particularly the aid of American Jewry for exports. He gave as an example Czechoslovakia, which obtained orders in America on condition that no anti-Jewish laws or measures would be issued. The Ambassador urged Dr. Goldmann to go again to Warsaw to discuss the matter with Bock, but Dr. Goldmann declined. He requested the Ambassador to lay the matter before Bock, who is shortly to deliver an important speech on the Jewish question. This would give Dr. Goldmann an excellent opportunity to make clear the standpoint of the Polish Government. If in this speech he would heed the ideas expressed by Dr. Goldmann, then there would be no need for any discussion. If the Polish Government cannot agree to issue an official declaration regarding the maintenance of the equality of the Jews at the same time as the discussion of the emigration problem, then the Jews would, if necessary, be forced to fight. The Ambassador told Dr. Goldmann that he had heard that many anti-Jewish bills had been presented in the Sejm, but that the Government was opposed to them, particularly Bock, who well understands the danger of such a policy from the standpoint of foreign affairs. But there are other minorities who see only the internal economic situation and party relationships, and, therefore, exercise pressure on the Government. Bock also knows that if he wishes to have an organized emigration, he must not be anti-Jewish. The events in Germany have made the situation of the Jews in Poland worse. Those events have served as a stimulation to do as Germany, since many politicians have been telling the Polish Government that only by such brutal means can the Jewish question be solved. Bock was against any such outlook.

The Ambassador asked Dr. Goldmann if he thought that world Jewry could offer any aid, seeing that nothing had come of Madagascar. Dr. Goldmann replied that this was on the contrary an example of what happens when there is no cooperation with the Jews. Dr. Goldmann reminded the Ambassador that the World Jewish Congress had at that time asked the Polish Government for an assurance of the equal rights of Jews. Since this assurance was not given, world Jewry could not send a representative with the delegation to Madagascar. When the Ambassador asked whether anything would have happened if such assurance had been given and cooperation with the Polish Government had been arranged, Dr. Goldmann answered that perhaps something would have been accomplished.

Dr. Goldmann summarized as follows: There are two problems: (1) the furthering of exports from Poland, (2) emigration.

Dr. Goldmann informed the Ambassador that the World Jewish Congress wished to call an emigration conference. Whereupon the Ambassador asked whether Dr. Goldmann believed something would come out of it. Dr. Goldmann told him that heretofore conferences had been called to collect money, but we wish to handle the problem more broadly because we understand that the emigration problem involves more than the German Jews, that the Polish Jewish problem was a greater one. The Ambassador repeated that the Constitution had not yet been changed. Dr. Goldmann replied that if in his forthcoming speech Bock would invoke the Constitution and emphasize the maintenance of Jewish equal rights, this would have a great impression on world Jewry.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

DR. GOLDMANN'S INTERVIEW IN GENEVA
DURING SESSIONS OF LEAGUE OF NATIONS

January 17-18, 1939

I. DANZIG: I saw the members of the Committee of Three: Swedish Foreign Minister Sandler; The English member, Makius. I had a long telephone conversation with the French member, and I also saw the High Commissioner Burckhardt. To all of them I protested most vigorously against the silence of the League with regard to the racist legislation, and the expulsion of the Jews. I told these gentlemen that we understand that the Council cannot change the situation, but that it must at least do things in order to hinder the Nazis, because its passive attitude was setting a dangerous example for the anti-Semitic governments of Eastern Europe. Concretely, I demanded that the Council cancel its guarantee of the Constitution of Danzig and recall the High Commissioner. The members of the Committee, as well as Burckhardt, showed considerable understanding of this argument, and agreed that the present situation was intolerable. The members of the Danzig Committee had intended to establish a Juridical Committee to determine whether the Nuremberg Laws in Danzig violate the Constitution. But I protested strenuously against such a farce. This idea was dropped, but the Committee of Three, apparently under English influence, could not decide to cancel the guarantee of the Constitution and to recall the High Commissioner. Apparently Poland and Germany had expressed the wish that the High Commissioner remain in Danzig, at least until Ribbentrop's visit to Warsaw on January 26. In addition, there is to be an election in Danzig in a few weeks, and the Nazis will then change the Constitution. The Committee of Three was of the opinion that this would be the right time to withdraw the guarantee. Thus, the press release which the Committee of Three finally issued was a compromise between our demands and their original plans to do nothing at present. The release stated that violations of the Danzig Constitution had occurred without specifically referring to the racist legislation; that the Committee of Three would continue to follow the situation; would have another meeting (referring to the time when the Constitution would be changed); and that the High Commissioner was on leave and would not return to Danzig. Although this release constituted a partial victory for us, it is not satisfactory. We have, therefore, written again to the members of the Committee, expressing our disappointment.

II. ROUMANIA: I had a long talk with the British member of the Committee for Roumania of the League, Sir William Malkin. After having conferred with Brossy, secretary to M. Bonnot, in Paris, I explained the situation to Malkin, indicating that it had become worse, and asked for further intervention by England in Bucharest. He seemed to agree, but stated that it would have to be decided by Lord Halifax. M. Brossy promised to transmit our report regarding the situation to the French Ambassador in Bucharest. The Committee of Three on Roumania met following our talks, and agreed to discuss the matter with the Romanian representative in Geneva.

III. REFUGEES: I saw Sir Herbert Emerson, the new High Commissioner for Refugees, with whom I discussed the reorganization of the Liaison Committee, the question of German refugees in Czechoslovakia, and the lack of cooperation between the Intergovernmental Committee and the Jewish organizations.

Re Danzig

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

February 27, 1939

Communication Addressed to Committee of Three by
World Jewish Congress re Danzig



Geneva - January 19, 1939

Addressed to: RICHARD SANDLER - Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sweden
GEORGES BONNET - " " " " , France
LORD HALIFAX - Secretary" " " , England

* * * * *

Excellency:

The Executive Committee of the World Jewish Congress has taken cognizance of the communique issued following the deliberations of the Committee of Three, charged by the Council with following the Danzig situation. It has taken particular note of the fact that in the opinion of the Committee, certain important provisions of the decrees which the Senate of the Free City has just promulgated are contrary to the Constitution. It has noted, on the other hand, that the Committee has deemed it well to postpone its definitive consideration of the situation.

The Executive Committee sees itself obliged to express its profound disappointment that the Committee of Three did not believe it should declare openly and unequivocally that the introduction of the racist legislation, the organization of anti-Jewish pogroms, and the expulsion of the entire Jewish population of the Free City, constitute flagrant violations of the Danzig Constitution, guaranteed by the League of Nations, and incompatible with the international status of the Free City, and the fundamental principles of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

Considering the extreme gravity of the situation of the Danzig Jews, who are menaced by imminent expulsion from the Free City, the Executive Committee strongly opposes the postponement of the consideration of a question all the elements of which are known and the urgency of which is obvious.

The Executive Committee holds that it is the duty of the League of Nations and of its organs to condemn without delay and publicly, the anti-Semitic measures taken in the Free City, and not to tolerate the enforcement of racist legislation in a territory subject to its protection and its control.

Permit us, Excellency, to assure you of our highest consideration.

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS
Executive Committee

1939

not used

DANZIG

The Congress has been negotiating with regard to the various efforts to reduce the Jews of this city to the same level as in the Third Reich, since the latter part of 1936. Petitions were submitted to the League on December 9, 1936, and on January 20, 1937. The following April, the Danzig Senate was on the verge of introducing the Nuremberg Laws, but the intervention of the Congress, which requested the Foreign Minister of Great Britain, France and Sweden, as the Committee of Three for Danzig, to take action, prompted the Danzig authorities to deny their intention and to drop the project for the time being.

Following the pogrom beginning on October 20, 1937, the Congress made representations to the League on October 31, and its memorandum submitted on November 5, brought proof of the charges made against the Danzig regime. Following the issuance of a regulation by the Senate on March 5, 1938, introducing the "Aryan Paragraph" into public hospitals and welfare institutions, the Congress protested to the Committee of Three, to the High Commissioner of Danzig, and the General Secretary of the League.

The Nuremberg Laws were officially proclaimed in Danzig on November 24, 1938, and beginning the following December 20, mass expulsions of Jews by the authorities were initiated. The presence of the High Commissioner, representing the League as the guarantor of the Danzig Constitution, gave the situation a dangerous international aspect. The League's failure to take action and its intention to refer the problem to a committee of jurists for study, which was reported by the press on January 16, 1939, stimulated the Roumanian, Polish and other Governments, to argue that they had an equal right to violate their international obligations toward the Jewish minority. Representatives of the Congress, in their discussions with the Swedish, British, and French, Foreign Ministers, demanded that the League Council repudiate the racist measures in Danzig as a violation of the Constitution, and recall the High Commissioner. Only

because of the efforts of the Congress, was the farce of a jurists' committee avoided, and the League Commissioner, technically on leave, has not returned to Danzig, lest his presence be viewed as an endorsement of the new regime. On January 20, the Congress, in a communication to the Committee of Three, criticized the League for not denouncing the Danzig racist measures, and protested vigorously against their failure to act on behalf of the Jews in Danzig, who were faced with imminent expulsion.

REFUGEES

1. Liaison Committee of the High Commissioner for German refugees.

The Congress has participated actively in the Committee's work, together with the representatives of all the important Jewish and non-Jewish interested organizations. The recent achievements include a Convention concerning the status of refugees, which has been adopted officially or unofficially by all the chief countries of refuge. This convention, which embodies proposals made by the Congress, extends the right of asylum to refugees who were hitherto unprotected because of technicalities, provides freedom of residence, and pledges receiving countries not to deport refugees to Germany.

The last session of the Liaison Committee met in Paris on December 19, 1938, and took the following steps: It persuaded the League Council to extend the competence of the High Commissioner to include Sudeten refugees. It decided to request American Consulates in Germany and Austria to provide statements to those who have affidavits to immigrate to the United States in the next 2 or 3 years, in order that countries bordering on Germany may arrange a temporary asylum for these refugees. The new High Commissioner, Sir Herbert Emerson, is also the new Director of the Permanent Refugee Bureau in London, thereby providing the kind of cooperation with the movement started by the Evian Conference, which the Congress has urged since its inception.

2. Intergovernmental Committee.

On the first day of the Evian meeting, July 6, 1938, the Congress presented an extensive memorandum to the Conference, urging the following practical measures: Extension of scope to include refugees from countries other than Germany; Negotiations with the German Government to facilitate emigration and transfer of property; Arrangements with countries bordering on Germany for temporary asylum.

3. The Congress was the first group to propose the Permanent Bureau established by the Evian Conference recognize a Consultative Committee, comprising representatives of important refugee aid organizations. With the appointment of Emerson as head of the London Bureau, it should not be long before this step is taken, and a voice given to representative Jewish and other bodies.

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES



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AMERICAN JEWISH
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Jan.-Sept. 1938

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J.S.
2/7/30MEMORANDUM TO THE COMMITTEE OF THREE

Appointed by the Council of the League of Nations
to examine the petitions regarding the situation
of Roumanian Jewry.

The Executive Committee of the World Jewish Congress has the honor
of calling the attention of the members of the Committee of Three, appointed by
the Council of the League of Nations, to examine the petitions regarding the
situation of the Jews in Roumania, /the aggravation of the plight of the Jewish
population of Roumania during recent months, and to offer the following facts
for their information:

1. The revision of the citizenship of Roumanian Jews ordered by the
decree-law of January 21, 1928, which has been the subject of petitions and com-
munications, which the Executive Committee has had the honor of submitting to the
Committee of Three, has been proceeding despite the numerous demarches and nego-
tiations devoted to this matter. This revision is being applied in more and more
rigorous fashion. The Executive Committee of the World Jewish Congress has repeat-
edly had occasion to indicate to the members of the Committee of Three that the
decree-law regarding the revision of Roumanian citizenship, issued in violation of
the Minorities Treaty of December 9, 1919, by virtue of the procedure for its execu-
tion adopted by the administrative and judicial authorities, is depriving tens of
thousands of loyal Roumanian Jewish citizens of their citizenship rights which have
been guaranteed by international treaties. The Executive Committee has had the
honor of submitting to you the partial results of the procedure of revision which
proves that a very large number of the Roumanian Jewish population, comprising
thousands of families residing on the present-day territory of Roumania for centuries,
will have shortly been reduced to the level of stateless persons. The results which

have been determined since then confirm and even surpass the apprehensions of the Executive Committee. Despite the promises made by the Romanian delegation at Geneva, The judicial authorities have persisted in enforcing the provisions of the decree in question in the most rigid and most merciless fashion. According to our information, it seems quite certain that the revision of Romanian citizenship will deprive at least 300,000 Romanian Jewish citizens of their citizenship rights.

3. By the decree of September 15 and of December 1, 1938, the Romanian government has promptly defined the future status of the denationalized citizens. It has decreed that all those who have lost their citizenship rights in consequence of the revision of citizenship, shall be treated as foreigners, and that they shall be required to obtain a certificate of identity, which is equivalent to a residence permit renewable every year. This certificate is to be granted on payment of an annual tax, ranging from 200 to 10,000 lei.

Thus the denationalized Jews find themselves ~~already~~ excluded from all occupations reserved for Romanian nationals. They find themselves deprived of licenses and permits, which may be held only by Romanian citizens. They see themselves eliminated from professional chambers, and unable to continue in commerce and industry. In the industrial and commercial enterprises they have been relegated to the quota of employees reserved for foreigners, and the majority of them have thereby lost their positions. It should be noted that in very many cases the effects of these decrees strike the Jews even before the procedure of revision has been terminated, that is as soon as the sentence of the court of first instance has been pronounced.

3. Moreover, the action of the Romanian authorities has not been limited to the denationalization of a large part of the Jewish population. The authorities are methodically pursuing their goal, which is the ~~aggression~~ progressive

elimination from the social and economic life of the country those of the Jews who have been able to retain their citizenship rights. In order to achieve this goal, the Roumanian authorities have taken numerous administrative measures.

(a) In a large number of local bar associations, the Jewish lawyers who had been suspended at the beginning of 1938 have not since been admitted to the exercise of their profession. In many cities, the bar associations have excluded Jewish lawyers on worthless pretexts, even when their citizenship rights had been officially recognized.

(b) As far as physicians are concerned, those who have earned their diplomas abroad must again pass examinations in order to continue the exercise of their profession. In the majority of cases the authorities have succeeded by means of an arbitrary procedure in excluding applicants from their professions.

(c) In economic life, the authorities have taken arbitrary measures in order to reduce the number of Jewish enterprises, measures which have had the effect of ruining the livelihood of thousands. Thus, on worthless pretexts, licenses for the sale of monopoly products and of alcoholic drinks have been taken from Jews. On December 19, 1938, 765 licenses for the sale of monopoly products and 375 licenses for the sale of alcoholic drinks were revoked in the province of Suceava. All the Jewish holders of licenses for the sale of tobacco, which have been revoked, are persons married or widowed because of the War. On January 4, 1939, 280 licenses for the sale of alcoholic drinks held by Jews, were taken away from Jewish restaurants, bars and cafes, in Bucharest, which were required to close their doors by February 15, 1939.

Similar measures have been announced for Jewish pharmacists, owners of motion picture houses, etc. In industrial and commercial enterprises the quota of employees reserved for Roumanians is invariably interpreted in such a way as to exclude the Jews. By considering as Roumanian persons of ethnic Roumanian origin exclusively, thousands of Jewish workers have already been discharged, and it will be impossible for them to find other positions.

From another side, a serious menace confronts the owners of Jewish enterprises, by virtue of the fact that the new Unity Party of Roumania does not admit Jewish members. The members of this party are the only ones entitled to name representatives to the professional chambers, which in turn are authorized to exclude persons from membership. It is to be feared that because of this fact many Jewish proprietors will shortly find themselves deprived of authorization to engage in commerce. Until the present, the Chambers of Commerce and Industry have not authorized the registration of a single new Jewish enterprise.

(d) In certain provinces, measures of a particularly serious character have been taken. On December 1, 1938, the Royal Resident of the Province of Suceava forbade the Jews to use any language other than the Roumanian, whether in any establishment, office, bank, in public buildings, or on the street, under penalty of fine and of denationalization. This measure tends chiefly to make the Jewish shops lose their customers, inasmuch as a large part of the population of this province does not speak Roumanian fluently. On December 7, 1938, moreover, the Royal Resident of the Province of Suceava decreed that the Jewish establishments should close on Sunday and should be open on Saturday and Jewish holidays. Jewish proprietors who do not wish to work on Saturday for religious reasons, will, therefore, be forced to employ non-Jewish help. This measure aims to "Aryanize" Jewish establishments. These two decrees constitute a flagrant violation of the new Roumanian Constitution of February 27, 1938, of the Minorities Statute of August 1, and 3, 1938, and of the Law regarding religions prevailing in Roumania.

(e) As far as the Roumanian Jews residing abroad are concerned, who are in possession of passports issued by Roumanian consular authorities, they are systematically denied authorization to reenter Roumania. One can easily imagine the consequences of this measure for the thousands of Roumanian Jews residing in Germany and Austria, who find it absolutely impossible to leave these countries.

4. It should be noted that the measures discussed under "3" referred only to persons whose Romanian citizenship has been recognized by the Romanian authorities. The action of the authorities proceeds at an increasing tempo, and it is to be feared that it may cause the utter ruin of the vast majority of the Jewish population. This is particularly grave because in consequence of these measures, the Romanian Jews who have retained their citizenship will no longer be in a position to come to the aid of their unfortunate co-religionists who have lost their status. Should the action of the government continue, one must foresee in the near future the general impoverishment of Romanian Jewry, which will not be slow to cause the gravest difficulties not only for the Romanian Jews but for the entire Romanian population.

5. The Romanian authorities believe that they are offering a solution to the Jewish problem in Romania by pressing the Jewish population to emigrate. Indeed, the Romanian authorities have declared that 50,000 Jews will have to leave the country each year for the next 3 years. However, it is certain that at the present time no country is inclined to receive such a large number of Romanian Jews. The Jewish organizations both in Romania and elsewhere would be ready to cooperate with regard to the emigration of a limited number to Palestine; such action, however, would be based on the expectation that the Romanian government should discontinue its anti-Semitic campaign against the Jewish population, which must remain in the country.

6. In submitting these facts to the members of the Committee of Three, the Executive Committee requests them to take measures immediately in order to re-establish the Romanian Jews in the plenitude of their rights. It requests particularly that all those who, by the enforcement of an unjust decree, have been illegally stricken from the rolls of Romanian citizens, should be restored to their rights, and that the Romanian government should be urged to abolish all the discriminatory measures

taken against the Jewish population in conformity with the spirit ^{and} of the letter of the Minorities Treaty which it has signed, and with the Minorities Statute which it has itself promulgated.

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS
Executive Committee

Geneva - January 16, 1939



Transcript

Document No. 17.13.13

MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS
TO THE COMMITTEE OF THREE

Appointed by the Council of the League of Nations to examine the petitions regarding the situation of Romanian Jewry.

The Executive Committee of the World Jewish Congress has the honor of calling the attention of the members of the Committee of Three, appointed by the Council of the League of Nations, to examine the petitions regarding the situation of the Jews in Romania, to the aggravation of the plight of the Jewish population of Romania during recent months, and to offer the following facts for their information:

1. The revision of the citizenship of Romanian Jews ordered by the decree-law of January 21, 1938, which has been the subject of petitions and communications, which the Executive Committee has had the honor of submitting to the Committee of Three, has been proceeding despite the numerous denunciations and negotiations devoted to this matter. This revision is being applied in a more and more rigorous fashion. The Executive Committee of the World Jewish Congress has repeatedly had occasion to indicate to the members of the Committee of Three that the decree-law regarding the revision of Romanian citizenship, issued in violation of the Minorities Treaty of December 9, 1919, by virtue of the procedure for its execution adopted by the administrative and judicial authorities, is depriving tens of thousands of loyal Romanian Jewish citizens of their citizenship rights which have been guaranteed by international treaties. The Executive Committee has had the honor of submitting to you the partial results of the procedure of revision which prove that a very large number of the Romanian Jewish population, comprising thousands of families residing on the present-day territory of Romania for centuries, will have shortly been reduced to the level of stateless persons. The results which have been determined since then confirm and even surpass the apprehensions of the Executive Committee. Despite the promises made by the Romanian delegation at Geneva, the judicial authorities have persisted in enforcing the provisions of the decree in

question in the most rigid and most merciless fashion. According to our information, it seems quite certain that the revision of Romanian citizenship will deprive at least 300,000 Romanian Jewish citizens of their citizenship rights.

2. By the decrees of September 16 and of December 2, 1938, the Romanian government has promptly defined the future status of the denationalized citizens. It has decreed that all those who have lost their citizenship rights in consequence of the revision of citizenship, shall be treated as foreigners, and that they shall be required to obtain a certificate of identity, which is equivalent to a residence permit renewable every year. This certificate is to be granted on payment of an annual tax, ranging from 500 to 10,000 lei.

Thus the denationalized Jews find themselves already excluded from all occupations reserved for Romanian nationals. They find themselves deprived of licenses and permits, which may be held only by Romania citizens. They see themselves eliminated from professional chambers, and unable to continue in commerce and industry. In the industrial and commercial enterprises they have been relegated to the quota of employees reserved for foreigners, and the majority of them have thereby lost their positions. It should be noted that in very many cases the effects of these decrees strike the Jews even before the procedure of revision has been terminated, that is, as soon as the sentence of the court of first instance has been pronounced.

3. Moreover, the action of the Romanian authorities has not been limited to the denationalization of a large part of the Jewish population. The authorities are methodically pursuing their goal, which is the progressive elimination from the social and economic life of the country of those Jews who have been able to retain their citizenship rights. In order to achieve this goal, the Romanian authorities have taken numerous administrative measures.

(a) In a large number of local bar associations, the Jewish lawyers who had been suspended at the beginning of 1938 have not since been admitted to the

exercise of their profession. In many cities, the bar associations have excluded Jewish lawyers on worthless pretexts, even when their citizenship rights had been officially recognized.

(b) As far as physicians are concerned, those who have earned their diplomas abroad must again pass examinations in order to continue the exercise of their profession. In the majority of cases the authorities have succeeded by means of an arbitrary procedure in excluding applicants from their professions.

(c) In economic life, the authorities have taken arbitrary measures in order to reduce the number of Jewish enterprises, measures which have had the effect of ruining the livelihood of thousands. Thus, on worthless pretexts, licences for the sale of monopoly products and of alcoholic drinks have been taken from Jews. On December 19, 1938, 788 licences for the sale of monopoly products and 375 licences for the sale of alcoholic drinks were revoked in the Province of Bucovina. All the Jewish holders of licences for the sale of tobacco, which have been revoked, are persons named or widowed because of the war. On January 4, 1939, 280 licences for the sale of alcoholic drinks held by Jews, were taken away from Jewish restaurants, bars and cafes, in Bucarest, which were required to close their doors by February 15, 1939.

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From another side, a serious menace confronts the owners of Jewish enterprises, by virtue of the fact that the new Unity Party of Romania does not admit Jewish members. The members of this Party are the only ones entitled to name rep-

representatives to the professional chambers, which in turn are authorized to exclude persons from membership. It is to be feared that because of this fact many Jewish proprietors will shortly find themselves deprived of authorization to engage in commerce. Until the present, the Chambers of Commerce and Industry have not authorized the registration of a single new Jewish enterprise.

(c) In certain provinces, measures of a particularly serious character have been taken. On December 1, 1938, the Royal Resident of the Province of Suceava forbade the Jews to use any language other than Romanian, whether in any establishment, office, bank, public building, or on the street, under penalty of fine and of denationalization. This measure tends chiefly to make the Jewish shops lose their customers, inasmuch as a large part of the population ~~in~~ of this Province does not speak Romanian fluently. On December 7, 1938, moreover, the Royal Resident of the Province of Suceava decreed that the Jewish establishments should close on Sunday and should be open on Saturday and Jewish holidays. Jewish proprietors who do not wish to work on Saturday for religious reasons, will, therefore, be forced to employ non-Jewish help. This measure aims to "Aryanize" Jewish establishments. These two decrees constitute a flagrant violation of the new Romanian Constitution of February 27, 1928, of the Minorities Statute of August 1, and 3, 1938, and of the Law regarding religions prevailing in Romania.

(d) As far as the Romanian Jews residing abroad are concerned, who are in possession of passports issued by Romanian consular authorities, they are systematically denied authorization to enter Romania. One can easily imagine the consequences of this measure for the thousands of Romanian Jews residing in Germany and Austria, who find it absolutely impossible to leave those countries.

4. It should be noted that the measures discussed under "3" refer only to persons whose Romanian citizenship has been recognized by the Romanian authorities. The action of the authorities proceeds at an increasing tempo, and it is to be feared

that it may cause the utter ruin of the vast majority of the Jewish population. This is particularly grave because in consequence of these measures, the Romanian Jews who have retained their citizenship will no longer be in a position to come to the aid of their unfortunate coreligionists who have lost their status. Should the action of the government continue, one must foresee in the near future the general impoverishment of Romanian Jewry, which will not be slow to cause the gravest difficulties not only for the Romanian Jews but for the entire Romanian population.

5. The Romanian authorities believe that they are offering a solution to the Jewish problem in Romania by pressing the Jewish population to emigrate. Indeed, the Romanian authorities have declared that 50,000 Jews will have to leave the country each year for the next three years. However, it is certain that at the present time no country is inclined to receive such a large number of Romanian Jews. The Jewish organizations both in Romania and elsewhere would be ready to cooperate with regard to the emigration of a limited number to Palestine; such action, however, would be based on the expectation that the Romanian government would discontinue its anti-Semitic campaign against the Jewish population, which must remain in the country.

6. In submitting these facts to the members of the Committee of Three, the Executive Committee requests them to take measures immediately in order to re-establish the Romanian Jews in the plenitude of their rights. It requests particularly that all those who, by the enforcement of an unjust decree, have been illegally stricken from the rolls of Romanian citizens, should be restored to their rights, and that the Romanian government should be urged to abolish all the discriminatory measures taken against the Jewish population in conformity with the spirit and the letter of the Minorities Treaty which it has signed, and with the Minorities Statute which it has itself promulgated.

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS
Executive Committee

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Dr. Kramer's
Report on Rumania

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SUR LAISSE DER JUDES IN RUMAINE

Die Lage hat sich in den letzten Monaten sehr verschlechtert, sowohl in politischer als in ökonomischer Beziehung. Die ökonomische Lage droht in kurzer Zeit katastrophal zu werden.

Die Revision des Staatsbürgerrrechts hat eigentlich ein Unglück für eine grosse Zahl rechtmässig gewesener Bürger verursacht. Es sind Abertausende Juden ausgebürgert worden, häufig gegen die Bestimmungen des Gesetzes. So sind viele Kriegsinvaliden, Kriegsgefangene, Kriegsdekorierte und andere Teilnehmer am Kriege definitiv ausgebürgert worden. Ferner sind viele alteingesessene Familien, die schon seit Generationen im Lande sind und vor dem Kriege bereits als rumänische Untertanen betrachtet wurden, und die sich vor dem Kriege aller bürgerlichen Rechte erfreuten und seit Generationen kein anderes Vaterland hatten und immer im Besitz rumänischer Pässe waren, ebenfalls ausgebürgert worden. Das Unglück besteht darin, dass all diese Leute nach einem neuen Gesetze, das vor einigen Wochen erschienen ist, als Fremde betrachtet werden und man ihnen das Recht auf Arbeit und Erwerb entzieht. Man kann noch nicht bestimmen, wie gross die Zahl dieser Ausgebürgerten ist, aber sie wird sich auf viele zehntausende Familien erstrecken, sicherlich auf ca. 300 000 Personen, wie offiziell angegeben wird. Man hat schon angefangen, diesen Leuten das Recht auf Arbeit zu entziehen. Man hat bereits angefangen, Schneidern, Waschern, Friseuren und anderen Handwerkern die Handwerks- und Arbeitspapiere zu entziehen. Man hat angefangen, in den Fabriken und Werkstätten viele Arbeiter, die ausgebürgert worden sind, zu entlassen. Andere Handwerker, die bei sich zu Hause ihr Handwerk ausüben, lassen die Polizei jetzt nicht mehr arbeiten. Die Handelskammern des Landes revidieren die handelsrechtlich eingetragenen Firmen, und denen, deren Inhaber das Bürgerrecht verloren haben, wird die Autorisation entzogen. So hat die Handelskammer des Bezirks Bannic Sarat 33 jüdischen Firmeninhabern, die ausgebürgert sind, die Firmen annulliert. Weiter verzögern jetzt die Handelskammern jüden die Autorisation, neue Firmen zu gründen, und verweigern die Eintragung. In allgemeinen werden jetzt die ausgebürgerten Juden, auch die alteingesessenen, viel schlimmer behandelt als die Fremden.

In den letzten 6 Wochen hat man im Norden des Landes, in Cernanti, Suceava, Dorohoi, Hotin u.a. Städten und Dörfern an 360 Juden die Lizenzen als Gastwirte entzogen und ebenfalls 760 jüdischen Tabakträgern die Lizenzen entzogen unter der fadenscheinigen Begründung, dass dort sie die öffentliche Ordnung gefährdet wird. Nahezu sind wieder hunderte Schanklizenzen in der Bukowina entzogen worden. Die Hälfte der entzogenen Tabaklizenzen gehörte Kriegsinvaliden und Invaliden. Vor 12 Tagen ist dasselbe geschehen mit den Juden in der Hauptstadt Bukarest, wo man allen 280 jüdischen Wirtshäusern und Cafes die Schanklizenz entzogen hat; sie müssen bis zum 15. Februar liquidieren. Viele Millionen jüdischen Kapitals werden in diesem Falle ruiniert.

Von den 54 000 Wirtshäusern im ganzen Lande sind etwa 11 000 jüdische. Da man den Wirtshäusern von Bukarest die Lizenzen entzogen hat, wird natürlich dasselbe mit den Wirtshäusern im ganzen Lande geschehen; sodass mindestens 11 000 jüdische Familien - mit Angestellten und Mitarbeitern zusammen 40-50 000 jüdische Seelen - in einigen Monaten gänzlich ruiniert sein werden.

Jetzt wird davon gesprochen - moeglicherweise ist es schon geschehen - dass ein neues Gesetz erscheinen wird, wonach die Experten nur dann ihren Beruf ausueben koennen, wenn sie in dem einzigen Expertverein als Mitglied zugelassen sind. Dadurch sind alle juedischen Experten in ihrer Existenz bedroht, da sie in den Verein keine Aufnahme finden werden.

Jetzt hat in den antisemitischen Zeitungen die Propaganda gegen die Drogiisten und Apotheker angefangen, damit man auch ihnen die Konzession entzieht. Und wie gesagt, handelt es sich nicht um frende oder ausgebuergerte Juden, sondern um Juden, denen nach der Revision des rumänischen Bürgerrecht wiederum zuerkannt wurde. Daan sollen die Kinos, Buchhandlungen, Lebensmittelhaendler usw. drankommen!

Die ganze Politik in Rumänien hat ihre Basis in dem Antisemitismus auf allen Gebieten, da man die Juden politisch erniedrigen und aus dem Lande schaffen, auf oekonomischen Wegen ganz ruinieren und zur Auswanderung zwingen will. Man sagt es ganz offen. Die offiziellen Zeitungen schreiben es. Jetzt ist ein neuer Minister des Ausseren ernannt worden, Herr Gafencu, der auch jetzt noch Inhaber von zwei grossen Zeitungen ist, der sehr demokatisch gesehen war; aber sein erster Akt als Aussenminister war eine lange Radiosprache, in der er ueber die ganze internationale Politik Rumäniens sprach und in seiner Ansprache auch ein Kapitel den Minoritaeten widmete. Er hat von den Minoritaeten und all ihren Rechten sehr schoen gesprochen, hat ein Eldorado versprochen mit einer einzigen Bemerkung, dass es im Lande eine einzige Minorität gäbe, die numerisch zu gross ist und die trachten müsse, in ihrem eigenen Interesse und im Interesse der nationalen Oekonomie in einer grossen Zahl auszuwandern. Die Regierung, so hat der Minister am Radio erklärt, wird mit den anderen Mächten verhandeln, um diese Emigration zu ermöglichen, und zwar in beschleunigtem Tempo. Die Wahrheit ist, dass von den drei grossen Minoritäten Rumäniens die juedische numerisch die kleinste ist. Die Deutschen sind ueber 600.000, die Ungarn sind ueber 1.400.000, die Juden sind weniger als 800.000, naemlich ca. 750.000. Wenn schon der Aussenminister am Radio so gegen die Juden spricht, kann man sich leicht vorstellen, wie die Propaganda in den Zeitungen, die fast alle antisemitisch sind - und unter Zensur stehen - sich gestaltet.

Das einzige Glueck in diesem Unglück der rumänischen Juden ist noch, dass nach unserem Wissen und der Kenntnis der politischen Lage die rumänische Regierung sich aus internationalen Gründen nicht erlauben kann, was sich andere Völker bis jetzt gegen die Juden erlaubt haben. Der Aussenminister, der Ministerpräsident Patriarch Nyren Chrișteas und alle Minister, wenn sie öffentlich sprechen und den Zeitungen Communiques geben, weisen immer darauf hin, dass alles auf legalen und auch civilisierten Wege geschehen wird. "Civilisiert" heisst, dass keine Pogrome veranstaltet werden, und legal, dass alle Massnahmen gegen die Juden auf administrativen Wege ergriffen werden. So wurde es mit den Tabaktrafiken gemacht, so mit den Wirtshaesern im Norden des Landes und in Bucarest, so geschieht es jetzt mit den ausgebuergerten Arbeitern und Handwerkern und auch mit den Kaufleuten, die von jetzt an in Massen ruiniert sein werden. Wir glauben, dass der Juedische Weltkongress in dieser Sache unbedingt eingreifen muss, sonst kommt fuer die Juden in Rumänien eine oekonomische Katastrophe. Der Handel hat schon angefangen, still zu stehen. Die Leute sind verzweifelt, und da man von Auswanderungsmoeglichkeiten und einer Organisation der Auswanderung in den Zeitungen spricht, haben die Leute schon angefangen herumzulaufen, um Erkundigungen einzuholen, wer auswandern kann, wohin und wie er auswandern kann. Auch wenn es

in einem Wald waere oder wenn es in der Wueste die Moeglichkeit gäbe, Frau und Kinder zu ernähren, wollen wir hingehen, so rufen diese Leute in ihrer grossen Verzweiflung. Wenn man Rumänien darauf aufmerksam machen wird, dass es Verpflichtungen hat gegen alle Minoritäten, nicht nur gegen die Bulgaren, Ungarn und Deutschen, sondern dass es auch gegenüber der jüdischen Minorität dieselben Verpflichtungen zu respektieren hat, dann kann man hoffen, dass es im Falle einer diplomatischen Intervention die rumänische Regierung es sich überlegen wird, ob es nicht in ihrem eigenen politischen Interesse besser ist, ihre antisemitische Politik nach Moeglichkeit einzustellen. Das soll in dieser schweren Zeit die Mission des Jüdischen Weltkongresses sein. Dann die Lage ist so, dass Rumänien gegen eine solche Intervention gesetzlich, rechtlich und in Anbetracht seiner internationalen Verpflichtungen nichts dagegen wird einwenden können. Die ganze antijüdische Politik der rumänischen Regierung zielt darauf hin, eine grosse Auswanderung zu erwirken. In diesem Sinne heisst es, dass die Regierung geneigt waere, die Auswanderung auch materiell zu unterstützen. In einem kleinen Maßstab natürlich, aber sie will es tun, und man könnte vielleicht von ihr Konzessionen erreichen fuer die rechtliche Lage derjenigen, die im Lande bleiben, und dann waere es vielleicht von großer Wichtigkeit, dass der Weltkongress die Situation auch von diesem Standpunkt aus betrachtet.

Eines ist noch zu bemerken, das das betrachten wir als sehr wichtig: dass man die rumänischen Juden gewöhnlich vom politischen Leben ausschalten will. Es ist ein Gesetz erschienen, wonach in Rumänien nur eine einzige politische Partei existieren wird, die natürlich auch die Regierungs-Partei sein wird. Diese Partei heisst "Frontal Românierei natională" (Partei der nationalen Wiedergeburt). In dieser Partei werden Juden nicht aufgenommen. Und da dem Gesetz nach nur diese Partei berechtigt ist, Kandidaten fuer die Wahlen in alle politischen und Berufskörperschaften aufzustellen, so werden die Juden gewöhnlich vom politischen und sozialen Leben ausgeschaltet, als Paria moralisch erniedrigt und in eine noch schlechtere politische Lage kommen, als es diejenige war, in welcher die Juden vor dem Krieg und vor Erlangung der Bürgerrechte gewesen sind. Die ökonomische und politische Lage betrachtend, ist auch diese neue Situation, die den Juden bereitet wird, von schwerwiegenden ungunstigen Konsequenzen.

A 2

VERTRAULICH

Januar 1939

ZUM LAGE DER JUDEN IN RUMÄNIEN

In Ergänzung des unter A 1 angeschlossenen Berichtes sei noch folgendes hinzugefügt:

Die von der Regierung eingeleitete Liquidierung des rumänischen Judentums ist in vollen Gange. Durch alle möglichen Mittel, im Wege von Dekretgesetzen und der Administration, wird den Juden das Leben unmöglich gemacht. Bezeichnend ist z.B. die Sprachverordnung des Residenten der Statthalterei Suceava, vorunter die Bukowina und noch 3 Bezirke verstanden sind. Nur die Juden müssen rumänisch sprechen, öffentlich, im Geschäftseleben und sogar in den privaten Büros, während die anderen Minoritäten ihre Sprache benutzen dürfen und oft die Juden

dadurch provozieren und der Gefahr der Anzeige aussetzen. Täglich werden Leute auf die Polizei geschleppt; es wird ihnen Geld angeblich als Spende erpresst, ansonsten sie mit Arrest und Überstellung an das Kriegsgericht bedroht werden. Die Juden zahlen, und da sie weder ein Pretekoll noch irgend etwas schriftlich bekommen, besteht auch keine Möglichkeit, dagegen bei Gericht wegen Unmöglichkeit der Verordnung einzuschreiten. Die Kaufleute können nichts verkaufen, da die Kunden nicht rumänisch sprechen können. Das ist auch der Hauptzweck der Verordnung und die Absicht, die Juden zu demütigen. Man geht auf der Straße und sitzt in den Lokalen und unterhält sich nur flüsternd. Aus Verstecken stürzen Ordnungshüter auf die Leute und schleppen sie zur Polizei. In der vom selben Residenten erlassenen Sabbatverordnung, in der er alle Bürger auffordert, die Juden zu denunzieren, wenn sie nicht rumänisch sprechen, wird verfügt, dass die jüdischen Geschäfte an Samstagen und allen jüdischen Feiertagen offen halten müssen und dass diejenigen, denen die Religion das verbietet, christliche Angestellte einzusetzen müssen. Das ist wohl der Hauptzweck der Verordnung. So halten die meisten Juden Samstag offen, nur wenige wagen es in Cernowitz, ihre Geschäfte geschlossen zu halten. Bisher ist noch keine Bestrafung erfolgt, was den Nachteil hat, dass die Verordnung im Gerichtsweg nicht angefochten werden konnte. In der Provinz zwinge die Polizei, gesperrte Geschäfte sofort zu öffnen; die Juden fürchten aber, Schritte dagegen einzuleiten, da keine Behörde sie hören will. Der Resident weigert sich auch, die Gemeindevertreter zu empfangen.

Die Jüdenenschaft fühlte sich vogelfrei, da eine so oft angestrebte jüdische Repräsentanz bisher nicht bewilligt wurde. Dr. Bildermann und Dr. Fischer intervenieren zwar in dieser Frage, bisher aber ohne Erfolg.

Bezeichnend ist es, dass Dr. Bildermann Ende Dezember genecktigt war, dem Innenminister mündlich und schriftlich die Lage zu schildern und auf die katastrophale Wendung auch für die rumänische Wirtschaft hinzuweisen, die durch den Antisemitismus bevorsteht. Der Innenminister war aber zu keiner Konession zu bewegen und betonte, dass ca. 300 000 Juden, welche entbürgert werden, und damit zu Ausländern werden und auswandern müssen. Bis das möglich sein wird, werden die anderen Juden diese "Ausländer", welchen das Recht auf Arbeit und Existenz genommen wird, erhalten müssen. Der Hinweis darauf, dass auch die als Bürger verbleibenden Juden täglich mehr und mehr entzweit werden und ebenfalls verarmen müssen, blieb unberücksichtigt.

Charakteristisch für die rapide Entwicklung des von uns so oft angekündigten faschistischen, ja sogar nazistischen Systems ist die Schaffung der einzigen Partei "Front der nationalen Wiedergeburt", in welche jetzt scharfweise die früheren Legionäre Gedreanus eintreten, die nunmehr auch aus den Zwangslagern entlassen werden und publizieren, dass sie die jetzigen Massnahmen der Regierung als den Beginn der Verwirklichung ihres Programmes ansiehen und nunmehr mit der Regierung mitarbeiten wollen. Als Angehörige intellektueller Berufe und des Priesterstandes tüchtig geschult, werden sie, da die früheren Politiker meist ausgeschaltet sind, die Hauptleiter der Partei werden, welche auch Uniform bekommen und den rumänischen Gruss benutzen und so auf "zivilisiertem" Wege das Programm: die Vernichtung der Juden, zu verwirklichen beginnen.

Bezeichnend ist auch die Parole, dass 150 000 Juden in 3 Jahren auswandern müssen. Natürlich weiß die Regierung, dass dies unmöglich ist, aber man verspricht es den Rumänen, und es ist klar, dass, wenn es sich als Utopie herausstellt, es auch der Regierung schwer gelingen wird, Ausschreitungen zu verhüten.

Unter diesem Druck hat sich ein vom juedischen Finanzier Aristide BLANK geleitetes Comite gebildet; die sionistischen Vertreter und die politisch geschulten Teilnehmer hatten alle Muhe, die Sache in das richtige Fahrwasser zu bringen. Das Comite wird der Regierung einen Plan vorlegen, wonach vorlaufig ca. 9000 Juden jahrlich nach Palæstina emigrieren koennen, wobei die Regierung eine versprochene Geldsubvention und Reisebegrenztigungen geben soll, wozu die Juden des Inlandes und des Auslandes beitragen sollen. Dieser Plan muss von der Jewish Agency auf seine Realisierbarkeit gepruft werden. Natuerlich wird der Weltkongress helfen muessen, dass schon jetzt die rumänischen Juden Anschluss an die internationalen Aktionen (Avian-Comite, Wolf-Aktion etc.) finden. Das Gelingen dieses Planes duerfte erstens eine gewisse Entspannung in Rumäniens bringen, zweitens von moralischer Bedeutung auch fuer andere Laender sein, indem gezeigt wuerde, dass eine geregelte Emigration mit Regierungshilfe moeglich ist. Es ist selbstverständlich, dass das gesamte Comite in der Adresse an die Regierung sich nur zur Mithilfe bei freiwilliger Emigration bereit erklart und alle Rechtsverwahrungen bezueglich der Stellung der rumänischen Juden macht.

Da Genf derzeit machtlos ist, bleibt der einzige Weg der Beeinflussung der rumänischen Regierung nur die direkte Intervention der demokratischen Regierungen, wobei auf den Kontakt mit den Führern der rumänischen Jüdischaft Bedacht genommen werden muss.

Als dringlich erscheint auch schon jetzt, wo Tausende existenzlos geworden sind, das Eingreifen der grossen Hilfsgesellschaften. Die schon erwähnte Fuer-sorgezentrale ist auf dem Wege der Verwirklichung und koennte das geeignete Instrument fuer eine zentrale Hilfsarbeit sein. Auch der weitere Kampf um die Rettung der Staatsburgerschaft von vielen Tausenden, besonders in der Bukowina, erfordert grosse Mittel, welche im Lande selbst nicht aufgebracht werden koennen.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

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Activities of the World Jewish Congress
During Sessions of League of Nations

January 24, 1939

On the occasion of the recent session of the League Council, two problems were discussed with the Statesmen gathered in Geneva: (1) Danzig; (2) The extension of the competence of the League Commissioner for Refugees to include those from Sudetenland. In that connection, the representatives of the World Jewish Congress held a series of conferences in which they dealt with the entire refugee problem, as well as the situation of Eastern European Jewry, particularly in Roumania.

1. DANZIG: Before the session opened, there was a series of conversations with the governments represented in the Committee of Three in the presence of the League Commissioner, Prof. Burckhardt. These conversations were based on a report of the High Commissioner, which, among other things, declared the anti-Jewish laws recently issued by the Danzig Senate unconstitutional, and raised the problem of the future attitude of the League with regard to its guarantee of the Constitution. On January 16, there appeared in the press reports stating that the members of the Committee desired to refer the question of the constitutionality to a juridical committee, whose work would require considerable time. The Geneva secretariat of the World Jewish Congress therupon addressed an urgent message to the Committee in which it protested against the appointment of a jurists' committee on the ground that it was superfluous because of the absolutely clear legal situation. In this letter, it was pointed out that the results of the jurists' committee would be worthless because the expulsion of the entire Jewish population would be an accomplished fact before the conclusion of its deliberations. This letter, therefore, requested an immediate interview with the members of the Committee of Three.

On January 17, Dr. Goldmann was received by the President of the Council, a member of the Committee, the Swedish Foreign Minister Sandler, to whom he presented the Jewish standpoint regarding the violation of the Danzig Constitution. On January 18, Dr. Goldmann had discussions with Mr. Makins, a member of the British delegation, and a telephone conversation with Arnal, a member of the French delegation. In these conversations, it was emphasized that it would be intolerable for the Jews to have the League Council adjourn without pronouncing the Constitution violated, and that the appointment of a jurists' committee was only making the matter worse. It is the duty of the League authorities to make clear the incompatibility of the racist legislation with the Danzig Constitution and with the principles of the League Covenant. Otherwise, there is a danger that, following the example of Danzig, other states would take similar measures against the Jews. In Roumania, Poland, and elsewhere, this argument has already been advanced.

If the retention of the League Commissioner is necessary in order to regulate German-Polish relations, then the League must withdraw its guarantee of the Constitution while pronouncing in the clearest terms the unconstitutionality of the racist laws. From the Jewish standpoint, the retention of a League Commissioner who would continue to guarantee the Constitution was incomprehensible.

These arguments met with deep understanding on the part of the various statesmen. The plan of a jurists' committee was subsequently dropped, and it was promised that in any event the violation of the Constitution would be stated.

On January 18, Dr. Goldmann and Dr. Riogner were received by Burckhardt, to whom they again presented their viewpoint. Burckhardt showed himself entirely in agreement with the Jewish standpoint, and agreed that it was indispensable to withdraw the guarantee of the Constitution. He, nevertheless, pointed out certain difficulties involved in the question, in particular the forthcoming elections to the Danzig Parliament. After the elections a new Constitution with "Aryan" paragraphs would be promulgated. Certain governments desire that the decision regarding the future handling of the Danzig situation should wait until that time. Burckhardt declared that he had been able to defer the introduction of the "Aryan" legislation only with the greatest efforts. After the November pogrom, the decrees were issued during a night in which he had journeyed

to Berlin in order to make a last effort to prevent the introduction of these measures. He informed us that a statement regarding the violation of the Constitution would in any event be issued. The Committee of Three would meet to decide regarding the retention of the High Commissioner, and would come to a decision in a meeting scheduled to be held in London during February. At that time, the guarantee of the Constitution would very likely be withdrawn. At that time, the question of whether a League Commissioner would participate in the German-Polish relations would be decided. For his own part, he believed that a League Commissioner under a Nazi regime, and a Constitution containing "Aryan" paragraphs, would be untenable, and he was not willing to continue in office under such circumstances.

Burckhardt stated that he would not return to Danzig. Only his secretary would be there, and it would be useful if this secretary could obtain information for his future activity from the office of the World Jewish Congress.

On January 19, the secretary to the High Commissioner Lambert visited the office in order to obtain the news received regarding the state of affairs in Danzig and details regarding the possibilities for arranging for the Jewish refugees from Danzig. In the course of this detailed discussion, he asked for statistics regarding the age, the occupations, and the emigration of the Danzig Jews, in order to have the necessary data for handling the emigration. He was promised that he would receive this information from the Danzig Jews in a short time. Dr. Riegnor warned him especially against the forced evacuation of Danzig Jews who do not hold visas, and asked him to do everything to avoid such compulsory expulsions. He pointed out that in the Danzig question the governments had not only a moral, but a legal responsibility with regard to the Jews. For this reason it must be arranged that the granting of visas for Danzig Jews should be liberalized. In no other instance is there so strong an argument on behalf of the Jewish refugees.

Lambert requested the World Jewish Congress particularly, through the American and Canadian sections, to make representations to their governments in order to obtain liberal visa arrangements. With regard to America, there is a special quota for Danzig. Recently 100 American visas had been granted which were shortly to expire. He urged intervention with the United States State Department for a new group of certificates, and to attempt to raise the Danzig quota.

On the evening of January 19, the League secretariat issued a communique regarding the negotiations of the Committee of Three in the Danzig question. As was expected, the document constituted a compromise with the demand for an immediate recall of the High Commissioner or a session to deal with the question. It was first stated that a series of decrees not specified were in violation of the Danzig Constitution, and that an irregular situation had thereby been created. Indicating that the consequences of this situation were the subject of various negotiations in progress, the decision as to the consequences which the League would draw regarding this guarantee of the Constitution was postponed for a session of the Committee of Three, to take place before the next meeting of the Council. It was also announced that the Commissioner was taking a regular leave.

The Geneva secretariat immediately communicated with the officers of the League and with Burckhardt regarding the meaning of the passage dealing with the current negotiations evoked by the issuance of the decrees. Burckhardt answered that this had nothing to do with the negotiations between the Danzig Government and the local Jews, nor with the German-Polish negotiations, but only with certain decrees regarding the recruiting of the police, the cancellation of citizenship, and the swearing in of customs officials, which are being discussed at present by the Polish and League Commissioners, and the Danzig Senate. He also pointed out that all the ordinances including the race laws were valid for only three months, and that they would lapse with the expiration of the legislative term. Many statesmen with whom he did not agree believed that in the interim it would be possible to prevent an expulsion.

On January 20, the Executive Committee of the World Jewish Congress addressed another communication to the Committee of Three, expressing deep disappointment because of the fact that the Committee had not unequivocally pronounced the Danzig race legislation unconstitutional, and that it had not declared the pogroms and the mass expulsions incompatible with the International Status of the Free City and the fundamental principles of the League Covenant. With regard

to
/the imminent expulsion of the Danzig Jews, the Executive Committee protested vigorously against the postponement of a question all the elements of which are known, and the urgency of which was beyond question. An extract of this communication was given to the press the same day, and was widely printed.

2. ROUMANIA: At the beginning of the Session of the League Council, the Executive Committee of the World Jewish Congress presented to the Committee of Three, together with the petition of the Roumanian Jews, a new memorandum which presented in detail the present plight of the Jewish minority in Roumania; the consequences of the denationalization; and the measures taken against those Jews who had not lost their citizenship. The representatives of the World Jewish Congress took advantage of the presence of the various statesmen in Geneva to intervene again on behalf of the Roumanian Jews. In particular, Dr. Goldmann on January 17 had a long interview with the Foreign Office Expert Sir William Malkin, whom he requested to arrange for another British intervention with the Roumanian King, in order to alleviate the Jewish situation. Dr. Goldmann and Dr. Riegnor then had another interview with the Director of the Minorities Section Skylstad, on January 18, in which they likewise described the present plight of the Jews in Roumania, and requested the Committee of Three to undertake intervention in Bucharest. The Roumanian Jews themselves did not wish the question to be discussed before the League Council, which made the necessity for renewed pressure on the Roumanian Government so much greater.

3. REFUGEE PROBLEMS: In the session of January 17, the Council decided to authorize the High Commissioner for Refugees to deal with those from Sudetenland who enjoy the protection neither of the German nor of the Czech Government, until the next regular meeting of the League Assembly. This decision is particularly important for those Jewish refugees who had adopted German nationality in 1930, and who are not permitted by the Czech authorities to choose Czech citizenship.

Dr. Goldmann took occasion in his interview with the President of the Council Sandler, to open this question. Then on January 17, he had an interview with the Belgian Premier Speek, which was devoted almost exclusively to informing him regarding the present situation of the refugee problem. On January 18, Dr. Goldmann and Dr. Riegnor were received by the new High Commissioner Sir Herbert Emerson. Sir Herbert informed them that he had just returned from Prague, where he had dealt with the problem of German and Austrian refugees in that country. He asserted that the news regarding the expulsion of 5,000 refugees from Czechoslovakia was not correct, although the situation was tense and subject to change any day. He further urged the Jewish agencies to increase their aid to these refugees. During this interview, Dr. Goldmann informed Sir Herbert regarding the activities of the World Jewish Congress, and of the Jewish Agency, and asked for closer cooperation on the part of the High Commissioner and the Inter-governmental Committee in London.

4. PRESS CONFERENCES: On January 18, a press conference took place in the offices of the World Jewish Congress, which was attended by a large number of journalists including representatives of all the important news agencies. Dr. Goldmann depicted the present situation of the Jews in the world, stressing particularly Roumania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Danzig. He laid stress on the attitude of the Jewish organizations with regard to the German refugee problem, and the general problem of emigration, and severely criticized the negotiations between Rublee and Schacht. He announced the decision of the Administrative Committee of the World Jewish Congress, which rejected the proposed settlement of Jews in Abyssinia, and declared that only Palestine today could be considered open for immediate colonization. The emigration problem in general can be solved only on an international plane, and with the recognition of the equal rights of Jews. This could only be brought about by a large international loan, to which the Jews would in time contribute by underwriting or by guaranteeing the payment of interest.