# SHANGHAI

## "CITY OF REFUGE"

# JEWISH REFUGEES IN SHANGHAI

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SHANGHAI

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# PREFACE

IT is estimated that practically half of the people of the world have become refugees by force of political events. The picture of long lines of helpless men, women and children fleeing from known and unknown terrors is familiar to all. This booklet describes the plight of only a very small percentage of these world unfortunates—Jewish exiles from Nazidom—some 20,000 in number, who found a temporary refuge under amazing conditions in the complicated and war-conditioned circumstances of Shanghai.

Much of the material in this booklet appeared originally as a series of articles, written by Julius Rudolph, in the pages of *The China Weekly Review*. In revising and bringing the material up to date, I was authorized to use my own discretion in re-arranging the original text and adding fresh facts and verified figures where such were obtainable.

Information relative to the activities of the Shanghai Committees in 1939-1940 were supplied by the heads of these organizations. But the best sources of information were the refugees themselves. This was particularly true of the pictures reproduced herewith.

I owe a debt of gratitude to all who assisted me by supplying information for the booklet. They will share with me the joy that will come from the knowledge that it has received a sympathetic reading.

ANNA GINSBOURG

Shanghai, China,
December, 1940.

# SHANGHAI—CITY OF REFUGE

*FOREWORD*

SHANGHAI, particularly the International Settlement, and to a lesser extent, the French Concession, has always been a city of refuge.

Shortly after the establishment of the foreign settlements nearly a century ago, the Taiping Rebellion in the middle of the past century, sent tens of thousands of Chinese refugees, many of them destitute, into the foreign-administered areas for protection against the civil strife in the surrounding areas. After the warfare had subsided there was an agitation among the foreigners to restore the Settlement and Concession to their original status as places of residence for foreigners exclusively.

But the foreigners, including an early American Consul, raised objection to the expulsion of the Chinese from the foreign sections. The American Consul said that the presence of the Chinese "living side by side with the foreigners" would tend to break down racial prejudice and improve relations between the foreign residents and the Chinese people. The Consul's suggestion prevailed, partly, one might presume, because of the fact that the foreign merchants found it profitable to have thousands of customers at their very doors. Furthermore, foreigners quickly discovered that the thousands of Chinese who had crowded into the Settlements had greatly improved the value of real estate. This was the beginning of the real estate business in Shanghai, still a leading enterprise.

The Boxer Rebellion, which, like the Taiping Rebellion, had started as a patriotic movement, but degenerated, sent still more refugees into the foreign settlements. On this occasion—1900-1901—large numbers of foreigners, particularly missionaries, also entered the foreign settlements for protection.

Although the Boxer uprising was suppressed, the revolutionary developments, culminating in the establishment of the Republic at Nanking in 1911, continued to supply Shanghai with new residents at an astonishing rate. Never did a city grow so rapidly! The so-called "checkerboard" wars of the provincial military chieftains, which

followed the overthrow of the Manchus in 1911, sent further waves of Chinese of all classes, and occasionally large numbers of foreigners to Shanghai and environs, large numbers of whom remained to participate on the prosperity of port.

In 1917 and immediately succeeding years, Shanghai experienced it first great influx of European emigrees—the White Russians—who came to Shanghai by land and sea in such numbers that the housing facilities of the city were taxed to accommodate them. The number of Russian emigrees who fled from the terrors of the Communist Revolution in Russia, to this Far Eastern port, numbered anywhere from 18,000 to 25,000. Foreign and Chinese residents maintained soup-kitchens for many months, but the Russians soon "dug-in" and became a part of the city, such an important part that many streets are largely occupied by Russian shops and residents. The present Russian population chiefly centered in the French Concession is estimated at 25,000,

The Nationalist Revolution which swept the Yangtsze Valley and ultimately all of China in 1926-1927-1928 sent additional waves of refugees, foreigners as well as Chinese into Shanghai and environs, with consequent increases in the value of real estate. It was this crowding of large masses of people into the restricted foreign-administered areas that was responsible for the boom in the construction of apartment buildings which Shanghai has experienced in the past decade.

Then came the Japanese invasion of China, starting in Manchuria in the fall of 1931 and spreading to Peiping in 1937 and ultimately to Shanghai and the entire China coastal and Yangtsze regions. The terror of the Japanese invasion, particularly in the environs of Shanghai and along the Yangtsze, sent more refugees into Shanghai in a shorter period of time than all of the other rebellions and civil wars combined. The population of the foreign settlements, which had been around 900,000, suddenly jumped to possibly 2,000,000, large numbers of whom were entirely destitute due to the suddenness of their evacuation of their native towns and villages which were being subjected to bombing and machine-gunning from the air.

The precedent set by the Japanese in their war of conquest which began in Manchuria in 1931, was followed by the Italian Fascists in Ethiopia in 1934 and by the German Nazis, first in Austria in March, 1938 and followed quickly by the occupation of Czechoslovakia in October of the same year. Then came Poland in September, 1939—and not to be left out of the running, Russia seized the Baltic states and a considerable slice of Finland.

Many of these conquests sent emigrees in varying numbers to Shanghai, or caused citizens of these countries, already in residence here, to be cut off from their home countries, relatives and business connections.

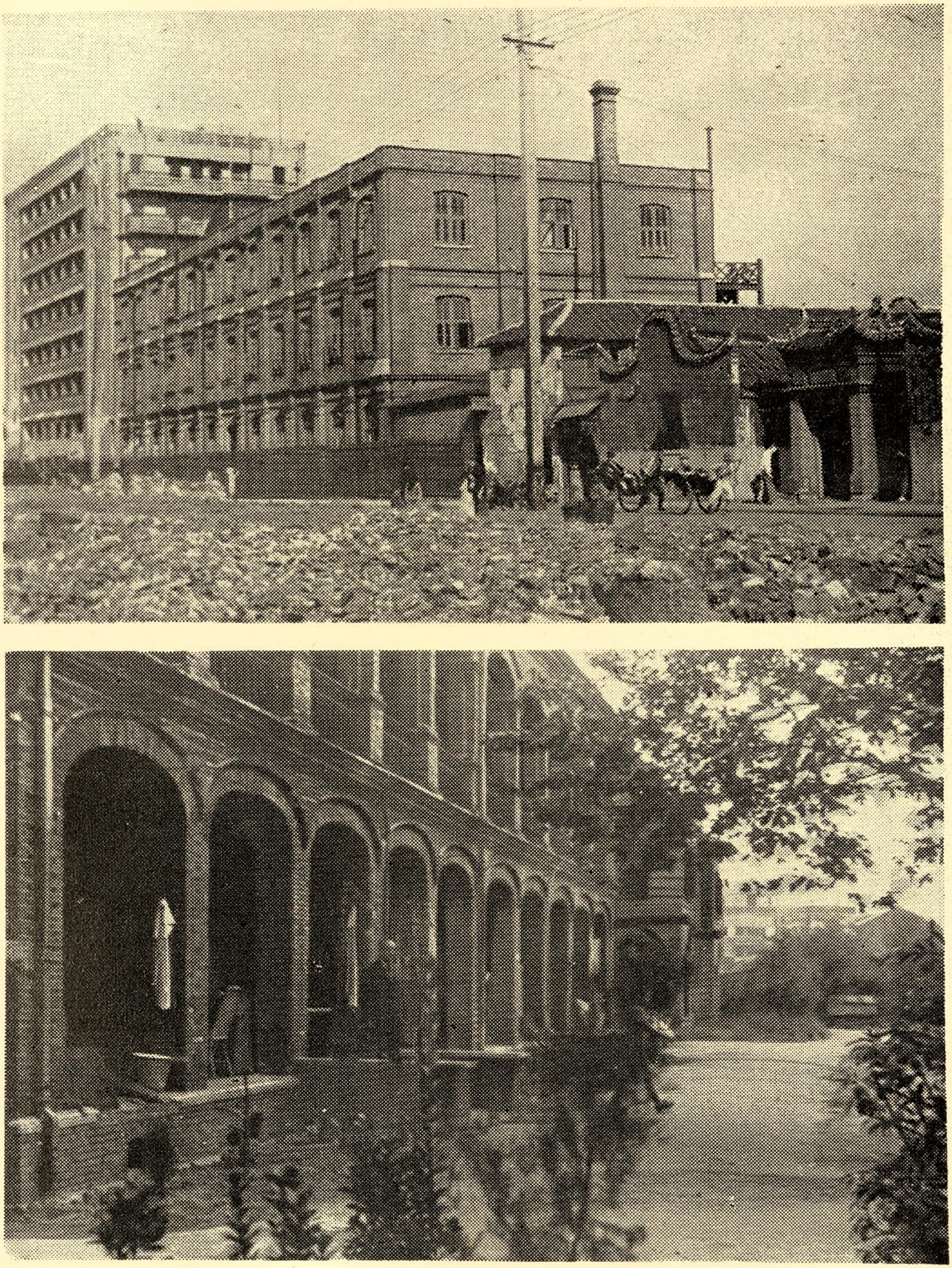
But it was the persecution of the Jews initiated by Hitler and his National Socialists in Germany and Austria and later imitated by Mussolini in Italy which sent the largest group of European refugees to Shanghai. The problem of the Jewish refugees in Shanghai, the status of which has become precarious because of the Sino-Japanese War, constitutes the main theme of this book.

Exclusive of the Russian emigree community which includes many Jews, there probably were 5,000 Jews in Shanghai prior to the arrival of the German and Austrian emigrees. According to an article in the *B'nai B'rith Magazine* by Robert H. Berkov, the Jewish community here is the most cosmopolitan in the world, representing every country of the world and speaking a score of languages. Nowhere, in Mr. Berkov's opinion, had Jews contributed so noticably toward the upbuilding and growth of a great city. This was due, he believed, to the fact that Shanghai, being international, placed complete emphasis on nationality rather than race or religion. Thus, in Shanghai, the British Jew became a Briton, the American Jew an American, the Russian Jew a Russian and even the German Jew remained a German. While Sephardi, or Spanish and Portugese Jews, have practically disappeared from the United States through absorption into the general population, they still maintain their identity in Shanghai and probably constitute half of the city's Jewish population.

The Sephardim of Shanghai came to this city from Bombay, Bagdad and Cairo and a few from London and

Greece. Most of them stick to ancient orthodoxy, speak Hebrew with a Spanish pronounciation and easily rate as the wealthiest non-Chinese in the city. Those who came here from Bombay and Bagdad show the effect of climate and are dark, with coal-black curly hair and piercing eyes, often set in eyeballs which are yellow. In America they probably would be regarded as Mohammedans rather than Semitics. There are no Cohens or Levys in this community, but one hears of the Hardoons, Sassoons, Shamoons, Kadoories, and the Baroukhs. On the other hand those who came from Cairo have Egyptionized surnames, while the small group of fair-skinned and blue-eyed Sephardim from Greece, still have the same Spanish names they had when they fled from Spain at the time of the Inquisition.

There are records of early Jewish colonies in many Chinese cities—Ningpo, Hangchow, Kaifeng—the last mentioned being the most important and significant from a historical standpoint. Ancient records, translated by Jesuits and others indicated that Jews first came to China in the Han Dynasty, probably soon after A. D. 34, as a result of persecutions in Babylon. Early Jewish settlements in Ningpo, Hangchow and elsewhere probably were composed of traders. Explorations conducted at Kaifeng in Honan, in the middle of the past century, indicated the existance there of a once large and prosperous Jewish colony of considerable cultural attainments. The origin of the colony is, however, shrouded in mystery. There were only a few individuals—in 1850—and they were unable to trace their tribal pedigree and were on the point of merging into the "heathendom about them," to quote the words of an investigator from a London society who visited Kaifeng nearby a century ago.



Two typical homes in which European refugees are housed upon arrival in Shanghai. Top photograph is the home at 66 Alcock Road. It accomodates 320 inmates. Below is the home at 680 Choufoong Road. It houses 360 persons.





Refugees at work and at rest. Top is the barber school in the Pingliang Road home. Here young and old try their skill at a new trade. Below, the refugees of the Ward Road home wait in line along a garden path for their turn at dinner served in the matshed at right.

# WANDERING JEWS

Centuries back, at the time of the Pharaohs of Egypt, the first great exodus of Jews from a hostile land took place. Escaping oppression, they fled from the country of the Pyramids in search of the Promised Land.

Today the descendants of these people are again wandering around the globe in search of a new abode. But now there is no Canaan waiting for them and no Moses to show them the way. The land of their Fathers is in alien hands, and most of the countries, even those possessing unoccupied territories, are unwilling to receive thousands of homeless refugees.

The wholesale persecution of Jews began in Germany in 1933, when the Nazis came to power. During the six years that passed from the first pogrom and up to the great exodus of 1939, the Great Powers were unable to offer any solution to the problem of Jewish emigration. With the single exception of the United States, all the countries of the Western hemisphere accepted only a small number of immigrants, notwithstanding the fact that great stretches of arable land remained uncultivated. Their borders were closed and permission to enter was refused. It is true that Great Britain offered the refugees an asylum in the Crown Colony of Guiana, but the equatorial climate of this territory could be endured only by the young and healthy and therefore scarcely answered the requirements of a permanent abode.

It is estimated that even prior to annexation of Austria and Czechoslovakia by Germany more than 500,000 persons were obliged to leave Germany. Most, but not all of them, were Jews; others were persecuted for political and religious beliefs. Aside from those who have already left the country there are thousands of others who will be compelled to leave by force of a signed obligation to do so. These prospective refugees are bound to complicate the problem a thousandfold more, as their number cannot be kept on record. Sometimes the German Nazi authorities grant prolongation of stay in their territory when those who signed the obligation to leave present proof that they are unable to get admission

to any other country. An interesting phase of this "sign and go" affair was secret aid given to the Jews by the agents of Gestapo, the dreaded German Secret Police, who for a financial consideration smuggled refugees across the borders into France, Belgium, Holland and Switzerland.

Since only 10 Reichsmarks were officially allowed every traveller leaving Germany, these smuggled refugees would soon be picked up by the authorities and put in prison. After a term there they would be transported to another border, and the same story would repeat itself. Sometimes the refugees were forced to stay for days in "No Man's Land" without food, or shelter. Unable to endure this, they often went back to the country which had cast them out, only to be found, arrested and again sent to the same border.

Speaking with refugees who were hounded back and forth between so-called democratic countries, one often hears bitter words. Hitler, they said, at least did only what he had sworn he would do—he never prated of democracy, liberty and other meaningless symbols. But Western democracies issued statements, held conferences on refugee problems and after all decided that the best they could do would be to leave things as they were.

Some refugees arriving in Shanghai told a sad story of their wanderings which often lasted a year or more. They had gone to France or Switzerland furnished with genuine passports and visas; sometimes they went there holding a visa for some South American state, merely to await their relatives there or else to collect money for the long journey, They came as *bona fide* travellers, but within a few weeks became refugees, for often either the visas issued by a certain consulate suddenly became invalid, or all visas issued between such-and-such dates were cancelled. The return to Germany, was, of course, impossible, and the permission to stay in France or Switzerland was granted for a few weeks only. To receive an extension of stay for a long time was impossible, so the situation would overnight become hopeless. No wonder that many desperate men and woman became an easy prey of imposters and swindlers

offering new "genuine" visas for sale, the prices of which were high and their utility doubtful.

In the summer of 1939 a few hundred Jews, coming directly from concentration camps in Germany, were waiting in Rumanian ports for a miracle. One cannot call it otherwise because their hope for new opportunities of admittance had been cancelled while they were already on their way. The Danube being an international river offered them free traveling, but they had no idea where they eventually would have to land. The visas of some were cancelled by the very consulates which issued them due to "untoward circumstances," but Cuba even changed its immigration laws while many were lawfully directing their steps there. It is interesting to follow the fate of these emigrants. A few of them landed in Santo Domingo, others were allowed entrance to Holland, some found refuge in Panama, and the rest came to Shanghai.

The following is the personal odyssey of Mr. A. He left Germany in 1933 and went to Spain, where he stayed until the civil war drove him out. He then went to Milan, where he began to work, but only for a very short time, for the anti-semitic laws passed there forced him to leave Italy also. He went to Switzerland and received a permit to stay there for four weeks. His further plans were to go to Ecuador, South America, where his relatives lived and he succeeded in getting a visa through an agent in Paris, which was acknowledged as valid by the Ecuadorian Consul in Switzerland. Only after he arrived in Ecuador did he discover that his visa was a fake, and he had to cable relatives for money in order to go all the way back to Europe, for he could not get a visa to another South American state. In Europe there was no place for him to land. Both France and Switzerland refused visas, and all he could do was stay in Italy for two days. He bought there a ticket for Shanghai and arrived here after a trip which had lasted more than 16 weeks and had taken him from the Old to the New World and then to the Orient.

The story of the German liner *St. Louis* is well known. It was chartered to take 944 Jews to Havana. Most of the

emigrants were in possession of American immigration permits and intended to wait in Havana until their turn came in the immigration quotas. But although Cuba had always granted entry permits to those who would eventually enter the United States, the emigrants were refused asylum, hence traveled to Santo Domingo, Panama and then back to Europe. The German captain is said to have done everything he could for his charges, but in spite of repeated radio messages to Washington, London and Paris it was weeks before England, France, Belgium and Holland finally agreed to accept the 944 refugees.



Top photograph shows a dormitory in the Pingliang Road home. Two hundred men sleep in this one big hall. Below, the refugees celebrate their traditional Passover Feast at the Ward Road home.



**Come and get it! Refugees line up for their midday meal at Ward Road home. Below, a study in faces as inmates of the Kinchow Road home are helped to soup.**

## SHANGHAI—THE ONLY PLACE

By the summer of 1939, when thousands of Jews were forced to leave Germany, Shanghai proved to be the only place in the world where they could land without a visa due to conditions created by the Sino-Japanese undeclared war. As a result the main stream of refugees was directed here, and at the end of June there were about 14,500 emigrants in Shanghai, while 5,000 more were expected before the end of the year.

Normally, Greater Shanghai has a population of about 3,000,000 Chinese and 50,000 foreigners, but as a result of Sino-Japanese hostilities more than 1,200,000 Chinese refugees, sought protection in the International Settlement and French Concession. The majority of them were destitute and lived in refugee camps or begged and slept in the streets.

The city itself lost fifty per cent of its commercial resources due to the war and presented a political and economic island, as all the trade with the interior of China was completely cut off. Such were the conditions which awaited the European refugees who were not altogether ignorant of what was in store for them. But nevertheless they found the atmosphere much more tense and strained than expected. The surrounding territory was under the control of the Japanese military, and a large part of the International Settlement, Hongkew, had been taken over by the Japanese, who were continually demanding more influence in the Settlement's administration. Since Shanghai's hinterland was under Japanese control, most means of communication with other inland cities were interrupted, and the refugees were unable to go to work in China as they had hoped. Business in Shanghai was in a precarious state. Many European firms had already moved to Hongkong and Singapore and others were prepared to follow them, as it was doubtful how long the foreign authorities would be able or willing to defend foreign interests in the Settlement. Opportunities for investment were therefore rare. Newcomers who had hoped to establish partnerships with other Shanghai residents, offering their special knowledge as security,

were disappointed when they found that most businessmen were not willing to take any risks.

The position of European refugees thus proved to be slightly if any better than that of the Chinese refugees. It is true that they were better off, financially but they had no relatives in the city and could not speak either Chinese or English. But, curiously, it was not the Chinese with whom they had to compete in their struggle for existence. For the last twenty years a continuous stream of White Russians including large numbers of Russian Jews, has been pouring into Shanghai from Siberia and Manchuria, and they were apprehensive over the influx of European refugees, who could trespass on their small-scale businesses, such as groceries, restaurants, etc., which are the easiest to start on a small capital.

Another serious handicap the emigrants had to face was the fact that in Shanghai, as elsewhere in the Far East, the "white man" normally does not perform manual labour, which remains the domain of coolies and their sole means of livelihood.

Such were the realities the newcomers met with in Shanghai. Some of them came with no desire to establish a permanent home here and regarded Shanghai merely as a stopping place for a few months or years, but others were more hopeful and thought that Shanghai might become a home, as was the case of the Russians who had come as refugees some time before.

Some refugees planned to wait until the American quota fell due, others were looking for means of obtaining legal entrance to Australia and the Philippines, but meanwhile the fate and predicament of all remained mainly the same. From concentration camps, prisons and "exercising rooms" they came to a city, where they are forced to subsist on charity, where they are cut off from the rest of the world and must start life anew. This city, overcrowded as it was, nevertheless provided room for thousands of newcomers who are not starving and not begging in the streets. Here was the only city in the world that offered them welcome and shelter. It is interesting to examine more closely how Shanghai managed this difficult task.

On August 11, 1939 a ban was proclaimed on any further emigrant disembarkation at Shanghai. By that time there were 15,000 residing in Shanghai, and 3,000 more were en route here. Up to August 1940 the total number of emigrants actually living in Shanghai was estimated at 18,000, for very few arrived after the ban was imposed, and those who came traveled via Siberia, their final destination being mostly U.S.A. A few people came from Hongkong and Singapore, being expelled as "aliens" by the British Government for the duration of the European war, but their number could not have exceeded 100.

A great majority of these 18,000 reside in Japanese-controlled Hongkew—"Little Tokyo," as it is sometimes termed, and subsist on support given them by the Shanghai Refugee Committees. The activities of the refugee organizations shall be dealt with in a special chapter, as our immediate concern here is to describe the conditions of life surrounding the Jewish emigrants in Shanghai.

Several streets in Hongkew have taken on the appearance of a European "ghetto," for many emigrant merchants have opened shops, restaurants and cafes there. From an economic point of view the Japanese approved since many of the refugees, influenced perhaps, by the neighbourhood in which they lived, preferred to buy Japanese goods. These goods were cheaper than others, which was important. Japanese materials also have made it possible for the refugees to start small factories in which they use Japanese machines. One such factory placed a new radio on the Shanghai market, which was 75 per cent cheaper than the lowest-priced imported radio in this city. The tubes and most other materials were purchased locally or in Japan.

Rents in Hongkew are much lower than in the rest of the Settlement and French Concession. Sometimes the difference is as much as 75%. While rentals continue to increase in the residential districts, there are still plenty of vacant houses and flats in Hongkew. Most of the buildings are not very comfortable, and it might be depressing to live in the midst of so many war-damaged houses and bare streets, but Hongkew answers two main requirements—it offers cheap residence and cheap food.

Hongkew market prices are lower than in the Settlement, due in great part to the Japanese anti-Settlement policy. The low cost of living compensates for the inconveniences of living "north of the Creek," and except for those who work in restaurants and night-clubs it is no serious inconvenience that the bridges which link Hongkew with the Settlement are closed to all traffic after 2 a.m. Under these circumstances it is clear that the refugees living in Hongkew have no desire to be mixed up in any political quarrels with the Japanese, for, although the police force of Hongkew is a part of the Shanghai Municipal Police, the real authority lies in the hands of the Japanese military.

Sometimes foreigners question the advisability of Hongkew as a place for the refugees from Germany, as Japan is Germany's partner in the Axis. But living in Hongkew is absolutely necessity for the refugees. Even those who live outside the refugee camps must still depend on these institutions in the matter of food as the camps are all located in Hongkew. It would be impossible for them to live in the Settlement or in the Concession because of the higher cost of living there. Moreover, many landlords in these two districts are unwilling to admit refugees. The writer investigated ten advertisements for rooms "not let to refugees". Of these ten only two were inserted by German landlords who could not have admitted refugees even if they had wanted to; among the remaining eight five were Russians, two British and one Italian.

At first the Japanese authorities offered no objection to the Jewish "ghetto" in Hongkew, and only in May 1939 did the Japanese papers begin printing articles which expressed apprehension that Jewish merchants would gradually become a threat to Japanese business in Hongkew. They were countered by other writers and even some Japanese officials, who asserted that the refugees were a boon to Hongkew, and pointed out that most Japanese enterprises were small and unimportant, while the refugees rebuilt demolished houses to found a new business center in the hitherto almost deserted streets of Hongkew.

Many Shanghai people are doubtful whether the "German invasion" has brought any benefit to the city itself, and more often than not the question is answered in the negative.

The writer begs to disagree. The so-called "German invasion" brought plenty of work and offered lots of opportunities to this city. Those who told us that an "army of beggars" would be unable to enrich the city made a double error.

In the first place, the refugees did not represent an army of beggars. Some of them arrived in Shanghai with considerable money, and there were others who, after being here some time, received money from relatives in America and Europe. In April, 1939 a Shanghai journalist estimated the collective fortune of 18,000 refugees at approximately $1,000,000 Chinese currency or US$50,000. This estimate may be too low. The minimum amount imported by about 20,000 directly or indirectly, possibly reached the figure of Ch.$2,500,000, most of which was spent here.

The storekeepers bought at least 60 per cent of their goods on the Shanghai market; local tailors, shoemakers and merchants profited by the trade of the newcomers; Chinese waiters found jobs in the restaurants and coffee houses opened by the refugees; even the food offered by the Committee in the refugee camps was bought on the Shanghai market.

# RELIEF FROM NAZI PERSECUTION

With few exceptions, German refugees are unwilling to tell of their sad experiences. The reasons are obvious: almost all have friends and relatives still in Germany, and the fear of Gestapo has impressed itself deeply upon their minds. However, a few authentic stories, with names concealed, are worth relating here.

Here is the case of Mr. B. who had formerly owned a prosperous factory in Austria. He was sent to a concentration camp in March, 1938 and stayed there for 14 months. Only 46 years of age, he left it a broken man. His brother had been killed on the famous November 10th, 1938, together with hundreds of other Jews in Greater Germany, when thousands were put in prison. While he was in camp his wife died. She tried twice to commit suicide and went completely insane. Mr. B's mill was "sold," but he never received a cent from this transaction. Fortunately enough, being born in a town now belonging to Poland, he got a "foreign passport," but for a long time was unable to receive a visa for any foreign country. An extension of time was granted him, but when after five days he was still unable to obtain a visa he had either to leave immediately or go back to the camp. He reached the French border and was aided by Storm Troopers to cross the frontier during the night. In return for his last few marks they gave him a map showing the best route to follow. At a French town nearby Mr. B. begged for food and was helped by some Jewish families. They gave him a little money and a ticket to Paris, where he appealed to "Hicem," the International Refugee Committee. The Committee could not help him, however, for he had entered the country secretly and without a visa. But they gave him a letter to the Prefecture, where he received permission to stay for two weeks in France. After the end of this period he was arrested. One arrest followed another, and he was expelled from France, but had no place to go. The judge himself admitted that this man's "crime" presented an insoluble problem so long as he could not get a visa. At last he was able to get a passage to Shanghai on board a French steamer. This man, who up to



The kitchens of the Ward Road home. Their chimneys look as impressive as factory smoke-stacks in the top view. Below is another unit housed in a shed made of bamboo.



**The refugees find freedom of worship in Shanghai. Top photograph shows a service in the Ward Road home Synagogue. Below is the dining-room of the Kinchow Road home decorated for the Passover feast.**

March 1938 was a wealthy mill-owner, arrived here without property and money and without family. He was able to substantiate his story, but it was only under the greatest persuasion that he agreed to talk at all.

Mr. C. once was an eloquent lawyer. Today he will not say a word. He is not insane, but lives in constant fear. His story was learned from Mr. and Mrs. D. whose lawyer he had been for more than ten years. Mr. C. was confined in a concentration camp for 21 months, where an ex-criminal, once convicted by virtue of an action brought against him by Mr. B., was one of the chief officials.

Mr. D's father was burned alive on November 10, 1938 and he himself was put into a camp, where he remained until March, 1939. Mr. D. has a strange manner of speaking, and from time to time he covers his eyes with his hands. Awake or asleep, he is always haunted by the vision of his father in the burning house. Mr. D. arrived in Shanghai with only three Chinese dollars in his pocket, but after he had been here only a short time, an opportunity came for him to go to America. Relatives in South America sent him passage money to Havana, where he was to wait until other relatives would take him to the United States. The day Mr. D left Shanghai, he heard that his brother had just died in a concentration camp in Germany. Mr. D. never reached Havana; he committed suicide by jumping off the ship.

Mr. E. and Mr. F., who were inmates of the same concentration camp, told us the same stories at different times. However, as they have relatives in Germany as hostages, they are unwilling to disclose their names or have any description of their lives written down. Their bodies still bear the marks of the whips, with which they were lashed, but these were not the worst of the cruelties they suffered. When they left the camp, they were forced to immediately embark upon an Italian ship without having a chance to visit their families.

Some refugees told us that they were not so badly treated in the camps, and some of them even told amusing tales of their experiences. Five of the persons we interviewed expressed themselves as content with their treatment in the concentration camps, but two of these were criminals.

Judging from the stories of the refugees, the treatment of Jews in the former Austrian territory was worse than in Germany. Many of the German officers there were young members of the Party, and these youths took great pleasure in "exercising" the people waiting for passports. Most people entered the passport offices early in the morning after having waited some hours in the streets. To keep those waiting from becoming too stiff, the officers would order some "nice" exercises, especially preferring old men and young girls. Such treatment, however, is remembered with indifference, sometimes even with amusement.

Mrs. G. and her husband intended to come to Shanghai. The latter left the concentration camp at the end of 1938, and they booked passage on the Italian steamer *Conte Rosso* when the husband was again arrested. He wrote to her later that he would be freed if he could present proof that he could leave the country. Although the Shanghai authorities did not ask for visas, Mrs. G. went to the Chinese Consulate and received a visa and also received a letter from the shipping company confirming the fact of booking their passage. These documents she sent to her husband by registered mail. There was no answer. She wrote again, and after some time had passed, received a letter by which she was ordered to visit the camp's office. There she was given a small box, and an official announcement: "You are hereby asked to take over the ashes of your husband, Mr. G." Mrs. G. came to Shanghai alone. Here she met a man who had been confined together with her husband. He told her that Mr. G's death was caused by wounds he received when he was taken back to the camp. Mrs. G. found a job in Shanghai, but lost it in a few days, as her employer found her to be not quite sane.

Some refugees arrived in Shanghai by the so-called "cape ships." The first of them, the German steamer "Usaramo," brought 369 refugees. In order to save the Suez Canal tolls this vessel had been sent around the Cape of Good Hope, requiring 72 days. The fares were very high, food was more than modest, and the treatment, naturally, more than disagreeable. Several of the stewards were agents of the Gestapo. During

the 72 days the passengers were only once allowed to land. Many among them came directly from the concentration camps, and included in the passenger list were several criminals. Their fares were paid by the Gestapo out of the confiscated Jewish fortunes being administered by the Nazi authorities.

These stories of personal experiences were told to the writer personally, although the Committee in Shanghai strictly forbade the refugees to talk with writers and newspapermen. But sometimes the desire to speak proves too strong, especially when there is so much personal feeling involved.

The refugees have started newspapers and magazines of their own, and although the style and quality of these publications differ, their editors are unanimous with regard to the policy of absolute neutrality towards the Nazi regime, as well as political questions in East Asia. Those foreigners who are surprised at the neutral tone of the publications must understand that the refugee editors would have no protection if they became involved in the political controversies prevalent here or in international issues likely to involve the relations of Orient and Occident. This does not mean, however, that the Jewish emigrees from Germany are oblivious of the political controversies and issues of East Asia.

# THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE NEWCOMERS

Speaking with refugees now residents of Shanghai, one is surprised to realize that not more than 10 per cent are desirous of establishing a permanent home here. To understand their attitude an insight into their psychology is helpful.

The conditions which greeted the refugees in Shanghai were not favourable, and many of them after a stay of a year or more are still without work. As a result, they are nervous and irritable, and friction among them often arises. They even remember old grievances: Austrians and Germans are not on good terms even in Shanghai.

An interesting question has been asked regarding their attitude towards nationality. With whom do they class themselves?

An American lady told us recently that the two largest foreign groups in Shanghai at present are German and Russian emigres. She classed the refugees with other German residents in view of the fact that most of them retained German passports. When the Nazis lose power, she said, the refugees would immediately become real Germans. The lady was wrong. We asked 24 refugees of different professions how they felt about Germany. Eleven declared that they would never return to Germany; six stated that they had always been Germans, and neither in wish nor in fact could they become anything else. "Our education was German" one of them told the author. "Whatever happens we cannot change our feelings." Another of the group explained: "I fought in the army from 1914 to 1917. I was wounded and decorated. How can you ask me whether or not I feel as a German? Others have told me that I am no longer a German, but mere words cannot change facts." Others stated that they would return to Germany if another regime came into power, but three maintained that they would willingly fight against a country where they and their relatives had been so cruelly maltreated. It is clear from the above that, although opinions differ,





**The refugees are well cared for physically. Top, the isolation hospital at the Choufoong Road home. It has room for 96 patients. Below is the laboratory of the hospital. The equipment is not elaborate but is adequate.**





**The patient-room of the Emigrants' Hospital which has a capacity of 120 beds. All nurses, like the young woman at the window, come from the ranks of the refugees. Below, a group of refugees is being vaccinated against small-pox. Such vaccination is compulsory.**

the majority of refugees would not be willing to return to Germany.

Once the writer had an opportunity to overhear an interesting conversation between two German refugees. The subject under discussion was a booklet published in London by the German Jewish Relief Committee. The mainspring of the argument was furnished by one paragraph, which read: "Refrain from speaking German in the streets and in public conveyances and in public places, such as restaurants. Talk halting English rather than fluent German and do not talk in loud voice. Do not read German newspapers in public." The argument hinged on whether the Relief Committee was within its rights in advising refugees not to use their own language. The lady held that this provision was foolish. The man declared that since the Third Reich refused to acknowledge the refugees as citizens, the refugees, whatever they might be, could no longer call themselves Germans.

The lady's emotional appeal to her German ancestors was countered by the more masculine logic of her companion. The real question, he explained, was this: the English, or the people of any nation who offer the refugees asylum must know how the emigrees feel about the Reich. For example, they must realize how the refugees feel in the face of the war situation. Would they be adversaries of the Reich? Would they feel that they have a political mission or would they be willing to settle down as loyal citizens of the state protecting them?

In Shanghai there is more ground for the refugees' desire to cling to their own language. This is an international city in which everybody speaks his own language. Refugees in England know that they owe their safety to Britain and should speak English. Those who are fortunate enough to gain entrance to America know that their children will grow up as Americans. But what of Shanghai? Who is their protector here? Is it China or the Municipal Council of the International Settlement, is it the Japanese who control that part of the city in which the camps are located, or is it the authorities of the Settlement? Those who do not know English will undoubtedly learn it as quickly as possible, if only for purposes of trade, but it is not at all certain

that it will ever replace German, and the language a man speaks always is a powerful tie holding him to his own country.

Among 18,000 individuals there are, obviously, persons of different inclinations and character. The irresponsible ones find the life based on charity quite pleasant and seem quite satisfied being provided with food, shelter and a few dollars for cigarettes.

Another group of men are anxious to "get rich quick." Having heard that Shanghai's business morals are not of the best, they are sure that they can find here plenty of opportunities to make a lot of money. These people do not waste time looking for jobs. They spend time and effort trying to make contacts with the "right" people.

But the number of idlers and swindlers is small. The overwhelming majority of the newcomers are in earnest search of work. Unfortunately, many of those who suffered in Germany find difficulty in making a new start. They lost their self-confidence and are suffering from an inferiority complex. When coming to Shanghai they were sure that another concentration camp was waiting for them here. When they saw Hongkew and the destroyed parts of Shanghai and learned of the Japanese military, they did not doubt that in a short time they would come under the control of a government which was an ally of the country they had just left.

Some of the refugees were prone to give way to self-pity, and moan that their present standard of living was the lowest they ever had. But the funds of the Committees are limited, and some people who could help themselves are exploiting the facilities offered them. They sleep in the camps when they might afford rooms elsewhere, they accept the food and add their own delicacies, while their poorer neighbours are not getting enough to eat.

It is difficult to understand the psychology of the people preferring to stay in the refugee camps when they could afford to live outside. In the camps 30, 40, and 50 persons sleep in the same room. There is no privacy for writing a letter or reading a book. There is no chance for family discussions and exchange of opinions

as to important questions of this ne life—how tow educate children or look for work.

Some of the camps are better than others, but all must of necessity conform to the same standard. The committees' problem is how to feed and shelter the inmates as cheaply as possible. This low standard must, in time, become dangerous. It can never bring back the self-confidence of those who have lost it, and many of those now living in the camps shall never be able to adjust themselves in future to normal ideas and normal conceptions of life.

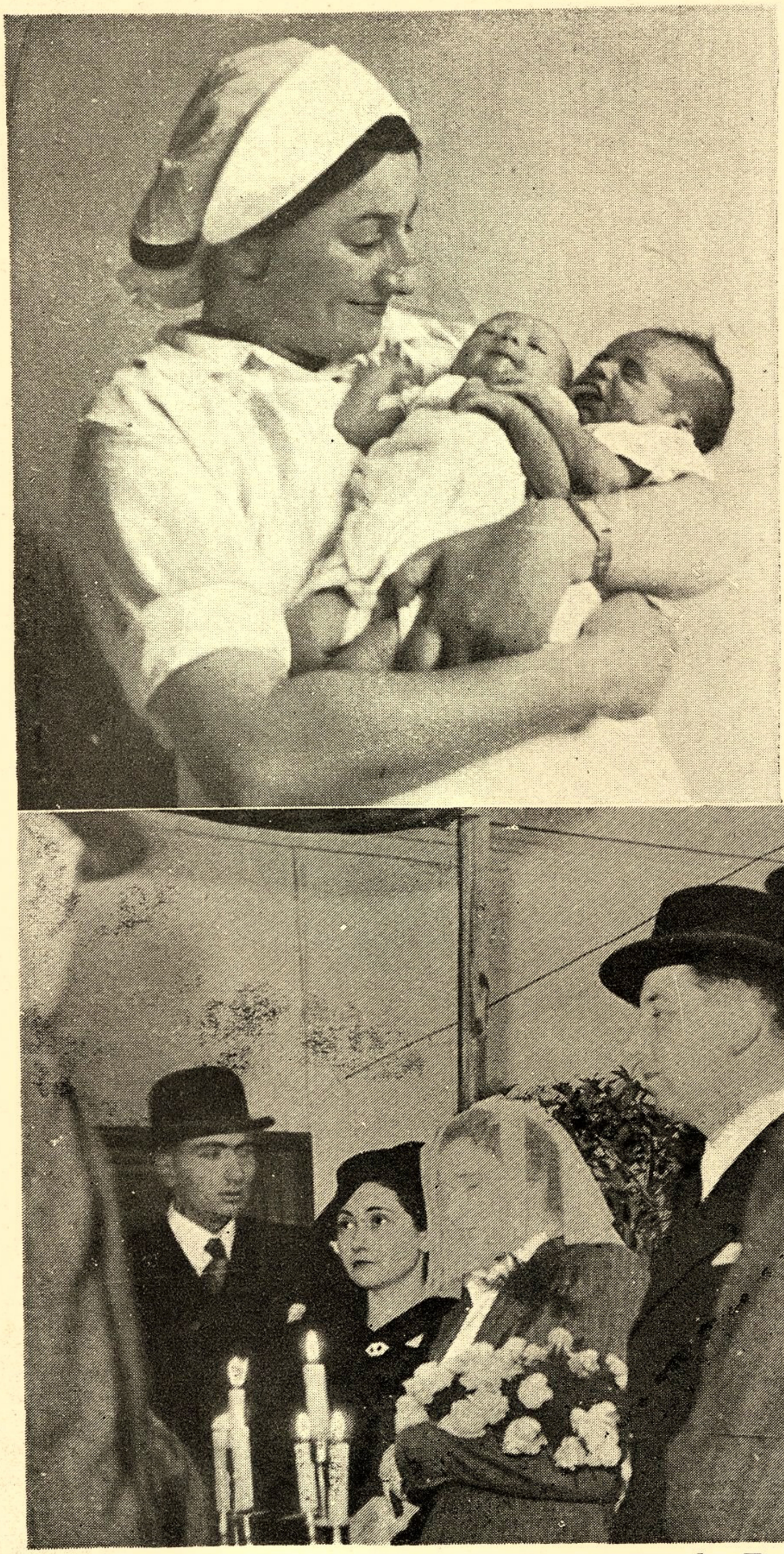
It is not astonishing that the refugees often became involved in quarrels among themselves even before they reached Shanghai. Many of them had never taken a longer trip than a few hours' journey to a modest health resort. And now they traveled for weeks in search of a new life. Officers on board ship misunderstood them and occasionally fights and brawls were the order of the day, and other passengers or ship's officers were forced to intervene.

The journey to Shanghai even for those traveling first class was not always pleasant. The first class passengers had no suitable clothing and no money to spend on board ship. Consequently they were snubbed by the other passengers who complained that these first class refugees should be traveling in the steerage. But it was not the fault of the refugees. Many of those who left the concentration camps did not even receive the ten marks that most of the emigrants are allowed to take from Germany. They were furnished with first class tickets simply because their families were unable to buy them cheaper passage. From January, 1939 all tickets on the Italian ships, except the first class ones were reserved. Smart agents had bought dozens of tickets and sold them at a good profit. Families expecting to leave Germany booked their passages months ahead and at the last moment were obliged to sell their tickets.

Prisoners of the Gestapo or inmates of concentration camps would accept any ticket they could get and only with clothes that they wore and perhaps a few extra shirts boarded the luxury liners. Sometimes camp officials escorted them to the German border or

to the Italian port; sometimes they arrived at the dock still prisoners. There was no difference between a poorest workman and an ex-judge, just as there had been no difference between them all the time they had spent in prison. Their suits had not seen the ironing board for months, their shoes were worn, their hats were dirty, and the only first class thing they owned was the ticket they had received from their families or the committees. It is no wonder that when they at last arrived on board the steamer they either went into their cabins and broke down or else were in such a strained state of mind that they became hysterical. Some of them requested second and third class passengers to exchange tickets with them, but in most cases the steamship companies refused the right of transfer.

The people who came to Shanghai directly from prisons and concentration camps were most grateful and happy to do any sort of work. But there are others, who found pleasure in talking about their past and wanted to do nothing for their future. Many of them were also liars, and exercised their imaginations in a kind of self-defense.



**The pendulum swings back towards normal. Two new-born babies in the maternity ward of the Emigrants' Hospital and below a young couple is wed in the tradition of their fathers.**





**Recreation is discovered in the amateur Jewish theater where old Jewish plays are re-enacted. Below the refugee home at 150 Wayside. It houses 250 persons.**

# SHANGHAI COMMITTEES AND THEIR MANIFOLD ACTIVITIES

The stream of Jewish refugees from Germany and Austria to Shanghai reached its floodtide in the autumn of 1938 when German and Italian ships particularly dumped thousands of homeless and practically helpless people on the Shanghai Bund. Even now, late in 1940 smaller groups continue to arrive, chiefly by way of Russia and the Trans-Siberian Railway. Most of the newcomers arrived without money, were mentally depressed and in poor health, and the problem of their housing and care necessitated immediate attention. At first they were offered shelter at the Embankment Building, where was also organized a sort of central office, and in the Museum Road Synagogue, but soon these accommodations became too small, and the Committee for the Assistance of European Jewish Refugees in Shanghai began renting private rooms for refugee families and giving them monthly allowances of SH$60 per person. At the end of 1938 this allowance was reduced to $55, (about U.S.$3.30) as the Committee became short of funds, and even the money donated by other committees was insufficient to meet the daily need.

By that time, in addition to the European Refugee Committee, there came into existence another body—the International Committee, better known as the "Komor" Committee after the name of its organizer. This Committee took charge of distribution of milk for refugee children and has aided in building up a small hospital of 59 beds to 200 beds, while the European Refugee Committee managed all hospitals and refugee camps, where it was found necessary to transfer the refugees during the first four months of 1939. From this time on private rooms have been rented only for families with several children and very old persons. Before May, 1939 even those who lived outside of camps received their food there free of charge, but this has been done away with, and CH$10 per month has since then been charged every one for camp food.

In spite of these measures and in view of the ever increasing tide of refugees, the Committees faced the

lack of funds, and in April, 1939 sent cables abroad asking for aid. At that time the Committees only had sufficient funds on hand to maintain the refugees for another three weeks, as the cost of maintenance of only 4,000 refugees even at 50 cents a day necessitated the expenditure of CH$2,000 per day. Before the Committee received any large contributions, more than 2,000 additional refugees were landed in Shanghai. A new camp in Hongkew, able to give shelter to 1,000 people was opened, and the majority of newcomers were placed there. An epidemic of scarlet fever, which broke out among the refugees at this time, seriously aggravated their plight. More than 100 were taken to an emergency hospital and several died. Preventing the spread of the disease in the crowded refugee camps presented a tremendous problem, and further funds were urgently needed. The cost of food of each refugee per day was cut to 33 cents, and at the same time the Committees delegated one of their leaders, a well-known local financier, to embark on a kind of world search for financial assistance for the European refugees in Shanghai.

The funds arrived, and relief work was continued. On the 1st of January, 1940 the number of refugees registered with the European Refugee Committee was estimated at about 17,000, and 24,500 meals a day were given to inmates of the 6 camps and the people living outside. The Employment Bureau registered more than 7,000 people—mostly artisans, and succeeded in finding jobs for some. However, at the time of writing, that is the end of 1940, the situation remains mainly the same. According to the latest data, the number of refugees in Shanghai has now reached 20,000. In spite of rigid restrictions imposed by the authorities, the emigrants continue to arrive, and gain admission by laying down a required money guarantee. During July, 1940, 2,230 people were kept in 6 refugee camps under the charge of the European Refugee Committee, and 8,143 received daily meals from public kitchens. The net expenditure for July was SH.$261,276,83, which means that SH.$8,250 a day is needed, and it is estimated that the daily cost of each

refugee varies between SH.$1.36 and SH.$1, the higher figure applying in winter months.

The Committee for the Assistance of European Refugees in Shanghai and the International Committee, up to the present moment, embraced all the relief work done for Jewish emigrants in Shanghai. The Chairman of the E.R.C. is Mr. M. Speelman, director of the International Savings Society in Shanghai, to whom the organization is largely indebted for the success of its activities. The bulk of funds at the disposal of this Committee is derived from the Jewish Joint Committee, New York, and a fraction of monthly expenditure is covered by local donations.

The total contributions received for refugees from November 15, 1938 to July, 31, 1940 amounted to SH$3,663,670.27.

Of this total the amount received in Shanghai was SH$224.643.94.

Thus, the amount received from abroad, chiefly from New York, was SH$3,439,026.33.

This total does not include amounts received for specific purposes in Shanghai, such as maternity wards, school-heating, etc. These special contributions amounted to SH$39,713.85. Apart from contributions in money much has been contributed for refugees in Shanghai by donations "in kind"—equipment, furniture, etc.

The education of about 650 children is cared for by the S.J.Y.A. (Shanghai Jewish Youth Association), of which Mr. Horace Kadoorie is the organizer and the leading spirit. The school at Kinchow Road, Hongkew, has the educational standard of an average high school, and in respect of methods of teaching and recreation facilities offered to the children is a model institution of its kind. Adjoining the school is the Club, which is not only a social center, where children indulge in sports and games, but a place where useful crafts, such as bookbinding, radio construction, cooking etc. are taught. There is also a clinic, where the health of children is looked after by a specialist, and a detailed record of each child's health is kept.

One cannot speak too highly of the atmosphere prevailing both in the club and the school of the S.J.Y.A. It is hard to believe that these institutions exist exclusively for refugee children, so spacious and well-decorated are the rooms and halls and so cheerful and joyous the appearance of the inmates. Much emphasis is given to the study of English, and one often only hears this language spoken both by the children and the teachers. Even the songs which the children sing to the melodies familiar to them from Berlin and Vienna days have been rendered into English by the teachers. German is being taught as a foreign language. Hebrew is also given much importance in the school curriculum.

The International Committee at present centralizes various activities formerly under the management of special organizations. It manages the special Rehabilitation Fund, created with a view to enabling refugees to start in business. Sir Victor Sassoon donated SH$150,000 to this fund. At present the amount at its disposal reaches SH$238,000. Mr. Paul Komor, Chairman of the International Committee, has collected up to SH$102,785 for various other funds, such as the Milk Fund, School Fund, Hospital Fund, Nursery and Children Fund and Shoe-Clothing Fund. In addition to the management of the above mentioned funds the I.C. maintains an Accounts Department, which accepts deposits and cashes foreign cheques, a Thrift Shop, which lends money on the security of immigrants' valuables and offers safe-deposit facilities, a Legal Department, which offers legal services of all kinds to the refugees, a Travel Department, which assists them to move to other places in Asia, a Passport Department, which issues identification cards recognized by local police and the authorities of Japan, Australia and Argentina, and an Employment Department. The International Committee also sponsors a Nursery, administers Scholarships, and runs a small Library.

Of all Shanghai organizations working for the welfare of the refugees the one known as "Hicem" stands apart as the oldest association of its kind. Its activities are worthy of special notice: The name "Hicem" originated from the combined initials H.I.A.S. (Hebrew

Immigration Aid's Society) and J.C.A. (Jewish Colonization Association), which it has represented since 1921 as a central organ in charge of Jewish immigration and emigration. Among the diverse activities of "Hicem" the most important has been that dealing with "Information," which has been splendidly organized, reaching the remotest corners of the world, and covering a multitude of fields. It concerns not only the possibilities of Jewish immigration and emigration, but by maintaining connection with Jewish organizations throughout the world offers invaluable service to individuals in answering inquiries, searching for lost relatives and friends, etc.

The first Far Eastern branch of "Hicem" was opened in Harbin in 1922 under the name of "Daljewcib," which means in Russian, Far Eastern Jewish Central Information Bureau, and up to 1933 it dealt mainly with Jewish immigration to U.S.A. In 1933, when large-scale persecutions of Jews in Germany became a permanent situation the Daljewcib in Harbin was instructed to investigate possibilities of Jewish emigration to the Far East as a result the first groups of Jewish emigrants, consisting almost exclusively of doctors, came to Shanghai. Later on Daljewcib began to receive numerous inquiries from individuals abroad as to prospects of employment in the Far East, but to most of them it answered in the negative, considering the prospects for large-scale European emigration to the Far East, where white men must compete with cheap native labour, anything but bright.

The situation suddenly changed in 1938, since after the Munich deal, the Jews in Austria and Czechoslovakia met with the same fate as Jews in Germany and were forced to leave *en masse*. At this time it was found necessary to appoint a representative of "Hicem" in Shanghai, which, more than other city in the Far East, attracted emigrants from Europe. Mr. B. S. Barbash, an old resident and popular social worker, was assigned to this post. The Shanghai branch of "Hicem" was literally flooded with inquiries from various European centers as regards the prospects for Jewish emigration here, and it is easy to imagine the amount of work thus involved, as each case had to be dealt with separately; all data available collected and individual advice given

to each prospective emigrant. According to Mr. Barbash, no less than 1,500 people benefitted from "Hicem" 's services during 1938-39. Almost every emigrant arrived with a "Hicem" cheque amounting to approximately US$50 for each family member. All had made inquiries through "Hicem" prior to arrival, and upon arrival came to "Hicem" for advice as to business prospects, investments, etc.

At the end of 1939, when the emigrants began arriving by thousands, it was found necessary to open a special branch of "Hicem" in Shanghai, and as a result there came into existence "Daljewcib-Hicem" under the expert guidance of Mr. T. Birman who had been connected with the organization for 20 years.

It may be said without exaggeration that every Jewish emigrant in Shanghai is indebted in some way or other to "Hicem" either for material aid or otherwise, for it is only through this organization that they are now able to keep in touch with relatives scattered over Europe or may establish connections with relatives living in other parts of the world.

As the majority of emigrants in Shanghai hope to go to America, "Hicem" investigates quotas and arranges for stop-overs in Shanghai and Japan for those who are able to obtain entrance.

Landing in Shanghai, though it is only temporary is difficult, which "Hicem" endeavours to overcome. The Immigration regulation adopted by the Japanese in August, 1939, whereby all German Jews, distinguishable by the letter "*J.*" on their passports, prohibits entry to Shanghai, hence steamship companies in Europe refused to sell tickets unless the emigrant presented a landing permit. These landing permits were issued by the International Settlement and French Concession authorities either upon presentation of US$400 or to those who had close relatives or jobs waiting for them in Shanghai. But following Italy's entry into the war these permits became invalid, for the only route remaining open for emigrants was via Siberia and Manchukuo, and the Manchukuo authorities granted visas only to those

who possessed Japanese landing permits. In order to obtain Japanese permits it became still more difficult. According to "Hicem's" information there are more than 2,000 people in Europe who possess International Settlement and French Concession permits and yet are unable to get to Shanghai. However, from 30 to 60 people arrive on every ship from Dairen via Manchukuo and land in Shanghai. Some proceed by way of Dairen-Kobe-U.S.A. At all places they are met by representatives of "Hicem," taken care of, helped with luggage and advised as to money, tickets and other details connected with their voyage.

Having concentrated upon helping the refugees in transit, "Hicem" faces further difficulties, in view of Japanese reluctance to offer full cooperation and the general deterioration of the political situation in Europe. Organizations which but a short while ago were able to cooperate with "Hicem" are now themselves in need of help. The Paris Jewish community, for example, which was always considered well off, is now in a desperate situation as thousands of Jewish refugees are crowded at the French-Spanish frontier trying to get Spanish transit visas in order to seek refuge in Portugal. Lisbon gave shelter to the central committee of "Hicem" after its members were forced to flee from Paris. Aside from Warsaw nothing is known of other branches of "Hicem," formerly active in most European centers.

Generally speaking, the Shanghai Committees have been helpless in doing anything more fundamental than continuing relief activities. The situation surrounding Shanghai with the Japanese Army of Occupation in control of all areas about the city, has made it impossible to do much of a constructive nature for the masses of the refugees. Under normal peacetime conditions, the German refugees probably could have been absorbed into the industrial and commercial life of the city, as were the Russian emigrees who arrived here two decades earlier. As the situation stands today, the problem of relief continues the main problem and a tremendous one it is.

# PROPOSED SETTLEMENTS FOR JEWISH REFUGEES

It is obvious to any observer that the refugee problem in its present magnitude cannot be solved by relief alone and calls for action on the part of governments. Different proposals have already been put forward and examined, but none of them so far has been put into effect. Let us study these proposals.

In the first place, Britain investigated possibilities for refugees in British Guiana, a tropical colony in South America. The United States, which magnanimously admitted many thousands of immigrants, was said to have examined a proposal with reference to a settlement in Alaska. Pre-war France at one time was interested in settling a few thousand refugees in Madagascar, large island near the East African coast, which is a French possession. Nothing has yet been realized, and the situation of the victims of National Socialism is becoming worse and worse. Some South and Central American States, which were ready to receive refugees, not so long ago, changed their immigration laws, and there have even been cases where refugees possessing genuine visas for American ports were turned down by the local authorities and not permitted to land.

One of the most interesting proposals made lately was published in May, 1940, which referred to a settlement in the Philippine Islands. It was motivated by a speech made by Mr. Hilarion Hilayan, Director of Plant Industry in the Philippines and one of the leading figures in the industrial life of the Commonwealth. He stated in his speech that there are not enough people in the whole of the Philippine Islands to fill even one half of Mindanao, the southernmost island of the Philippine archipelago. A week after Mr. Hilayan's address President Manue Quezon announced that the government favoured the settlement of 10,000 refugees on the above mentioned island.

Another proposal was published by the Dominican Republic at the end of May, 1939. The authorities of this island were said to be fostering a plan whereby up to 100,000 persons could be settled in the





**Young refugees are taught the three R's in the Kadoorie School, one of the best in the Far East. Top photograph shows a group at tea time. Below, children are making the most of the school reading-room.**






**The kindergarten at the Wayside Home takes care of small tots. Top, the class-room well lighted and furnished. Below, children learn the fundamentals of social cooperation at the time-honored game of ring-around-the-rosy.**

undeveloped agricultural regions of the country. The Dominican Republic is a small state; the island, on which it is situated, is divided between the two republics of Haiti and Santo Domingo and has a size of 29,360 square miles. The Dominican Republic covers only 13,600 miles. The island is fertile, but the climate is tropical. The authorities were said to have the intention of providing free farmlands to settlers if they would agree to engage in agriculture, promise to guarantee a stable market for their products and provide living accommodation for the first period, as well as farm implements and advisers.

This plan, however, cannot be expected to be realized soon, and at any rate Santo Domingo will find difficulty in settling the 100,000 persons whom she is willing to accept. But the example of the republic is significant—if small countries deem it possible to receive 100,000 refugees, what of large countries possessing vast territories ?

An outstanding proposal, offering a constructive solution of the refugee problem, was published in Czechoslovakia during the September 1938 crisis but apparently the copies sent to Geneva and London never reached their destinations :

"The earth still offers space for settling millions of people who are homeless, asserts the author of this project, but wealthy people spend millions on the relief problem instead of investing money in a productive way with really beneficial results.

"One of the great powers possessing uninhabited territory, the plan states, should lease the land to a settlement company, which would become the owner of gas, electricity and other utility monopolies for a long period of time and have the right to lease plots of land for 99 years. The company should offer loans to all who are able to start new industries or agricultural enterprises; it should also supply technical instructors and all the necessary aid to new settlers. The territory would be governed by the state from which the territory is leased. The company would be the banker and administrator of the territory.

"At first the company should open the territory only to workmen, masons, some farmers, physicians,

dentists, teachers, land surveyors, etc., altogether only a few hundred people, who would prepare the land for mass immigration during this preliminary period.

"The company would have the right to advise prospective immigrants, but not to refuse entrance to anybody. The managers would have the right to refuse granting credits, but not to exclude anyone (except criminals) from the right to work. The immigration system should be similar to that adopted by the United States, the only difference being that the company would grant credits and sell certain commodities. The company would give no charity—it should be a business enterprise working on a social basis.

"Immigration would be free to the territory and would not mean free entrance into any other part of the country. In order to regulate this the authorities would issue "Identity Cards" and "Work Cards," similar to the "Cartes de Travail" in France, to all the inhabitants of the territory. The residents of the territory would receive cards of another color. Persons holding territory cards would not be permitted to work in the country proper and vice versa. Travelers would be granted permission to cross the border between the territory and the country, but would not be allowed to accept any position outside of their own district.

"The territory would remain a part of the state also with reference to trade. There would be no customs duties for goods entering the territory from other areas of the country and vice versa. The territory should never become "a state within a state."

"The plan as a whole offers the following advantages :

1. It could be carried out simultaneously in different places by different companies,

2. It should offer settlement for at least 100,000 persons in each leased territory within one or two years.

3. The financiers expending money on charity for refugees would receive a return on their investments.

4. The shares of the Settlement Company could be offered to anybody and present a safe investment for small stockholders.

5. Workers in the country would be guaranteed against competition.

6. The country would gain 100,000 new customers who at the same time would produce goods which the country otherwise has to import.

"There is an apprehension that the settlers would become competitors of the natives of the country by offering farm products and manufactured articles for sale. It is true that new customers would mean new competitors, but the theory of national capitalist economy is all based on free competition. Either the state in question is an adherent of free economy, or it is one of regulated economy, as in the case of Germany, Italy and Russia. In the first case, the state must accept the competition as well as the increase in national production; in the second case, it would be forced to regulate the production of the territory as well as the production of the whole state.

"The realization of this plan would result in increased income for the state and for the inhabitants, for it offers the increase in production, consumption and consumers; it offers settlement built by foreign capital and would bring profits to the shareholders."

The outlined plan was never officially published, which is a great pity, for it might have changed the attitude of the world toward the refugee problem until a final solution could be found. At any rate, it offers far more possibilities than immigration into countries which accept only a small quota of refugees. To enter the United States, for instance, the refugee must wait for a couple of years in some other place, and, while waiting, spend whatever money he has, so that when the entrance is finally granted, he enters the country without money with which to start any business. Naturally, no state is interested in opening its door to beggars, but those who might become beggars tomorrow could be made into productive members of society if the states who own free territories changed their outlook upon the refugee question.

The United States has accepted thousands of refugees and even granted extra-quota entrance to some persons. Some writers, however, hold the opinion that the United States could have done much more. Mr. Henry H. Todd published a very instructive article in the "Man-

chester Guardian" in May, 1939, stating that although the United States allowed more than 27,000 Germans and Austrians to enter the country, it does not represent a limit of what could have been done.

Under the regulations of the 1924 quota law, the United States agrees to admit 153,774 quota aliens each year, in addition to which an unlimited number of non-quota aliens, such as professors, students, religious ministers and inhabitants of Canada, Mexico and Central America can lawfully seek admittance to U.S.A. each year.

The writer further proves that during the four-year period of 1934-1938 a total of 150,999 immigrants was admitted, which is less than the specified quota admittance for one year. "Striking as this picture is," says the writer, "it becomes even more so if the number of emigrants from the United States is considered. According to the annual report of the Secretary of Labor during the period of 1934 to 1938,—166,368 persons left the country for permanent residence abroad. Thus, during four years, 150,999 persons entered the States, while 166,368 left the country. The United States," he points out, "is far from being overrun by aliens, but on the contrary, they have decreased their alien population by more than 15,000 in the last five years due to emigration alone."

The immigration laws permit free entrance to inhabitants of Central and South America. This fact, Mr. Todd contends, proves that the whole question was not dictated by the apprehension of labor competition. The deficit in immigrants from Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia for the last eight years amounts to 174,739. If not the regulation that the immigration of each year forms an entity in itself and no adding-up to the next year is permitted, more than 174,000 new immigrants could be admitted to the United States in all conformity with immigration quota, asserts Mr. Todd.

We do not wish to pass judgment on Mr. Todd's analysis of the quota system, but merely point out that the United States has not admitted the number of refugees they were prepared to admit when the law was passed in 1924.

There exist several proposals with regard to utilization of the funds of various Committees in a more productive manner than is being done at present, when large sums are donated to all those in need. No doubt the committees would gladly spend the same sums on those who would be allowed to enter the countries where they could settle, and it is quite certain that large sums would be at the disposal of settlement companies, which could settle people in sparsely populated territories.

The plan offered by Mr. Hilarion Halayan seems to be the most interesting, as it refers not only to refugees, but presents a plan for organized common land settlements and offers all facilities to those who are really able to fulfill the conditions.

In the summer of 1939 Mr. Jacob Berglas published another plan with reference to the proposed settlement of 100,000 European refugees in Yunnan Province. John Ahlers in an article published in *The China Weekly Review* pointed out that Yunnan is the most backward province of China and that the settlement there would present many difficulties. As a matter of fact, the passage and sheltering of 100,000 persons in Yunnan would cost at least US$35,000,000, while on the other hand the security offered to the new settlers seems to be rather indefinite. Mr. Berglas visited the United States in August 1939, and so far as the writer is informed, tried to influence American citizens to grant a part of their affidavit guarantee sums for the realization of the Yunnan plan and for the settlement of those for whom the affidavits had been issued.

If American citizens wish to help the victims of German National Socialism by utilizing existing affidavits, the new Alaska plan may prove even more useful both for them and for the refugees. The plan to open Alaska to immigrants came up a long time ago, but a draft bill was prepared by the Department of Interior only in August 1939, and the fate of this bill still remains unknown.

Another plan came to light recently, when Representative Hamilton Fish, Republican Congressman for New York, proposed a broad scheme for the settlement of Jewish refugees in Equatorial Africa in the

region of Lake Chad. He visited Europe and discussed the plan with the French Government. Now other means of its realization has to be sought, of course.

The upkeep of approximately 20,000 refugees in Shanghai costs the Committee, as computed in 1939, at least U.S.$1,000 per day. In London the Committee grants a subsidy of 20 to 30 shillings a week to any needy refugee. If only 3,000 waited for visas for 2 years, the amount spent on subsidy alone would reach U.S.$2,000,000. Thus the Shanghai and London Committees alone have spent approximately U.S.$2,720,000 in two years, and this sum does not represent even one quarter of all sums the world spends on relief without finding any basic solution to the refugee problem.

At least two of the above mentioned settlement companies could be organized on the money going for relief only in London and Shanghai, while suitable territories abound in Africa, Australia, South America, Canada, Alaska, the Philippines and South China.

Millions of dollars have been spent on sending the refugees to places like Shanghai, Cuba and elsewhere, but work is scarce. There is no doubt that even one half of this sum would have been more than sufficient to start a productive large-scale enterprise, which would eventually prove a solution of the refugee problem, which at present is no more an exclusively Jewish one. Refugees of other nationalities, of whom the world is full today, would probably benefit from the experiment carried out with Jewish settlers, and nothing short of experiment can find a solution for a problem which seemingly is beyond the wit of man to solve.

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