MEMORANDUM

July 11, 1940

Subject: Refugee Scholars

Within the last two days, JM and I have had long conferences with Johnson and Duggan. In addition, I have talked with AG and SHW. The problem does not become any easier as one goes into it. Certain personal convictions are, however, becoming clear:

1. Action by the Foundation in this matter would indicate that the Foundation believes that for the next five, ten or maybe twenty years America is going to be one of the few places in the world where a real mind will have a free chance to work. The present collapse of European civilizations offers an opportunity for enhancing American culture. Because the Foundation believes this, it is willing to bring to America a limited number of really first-class men. The Foundation is not attempting to face up to the whole problem which Europe presents; it is simply trying to save a small part of what it considers to be the most productive and potentially useful section of the population. It is appropriate that the Foundation do this because it has worked with such men in Europe for many years, and also because the Foundation has a big stake in the preservation of international scholarship.

2. There does not seem to be any way in which the Foundation can escape responsibility for decision as to the scholars who are to be aided. There is no other organization so well equipped to select these scholars. Any delegation would be simply a meaningless smoke screen.

3. Except to a limited degree in public health, the Foundation is not an operating agency. Although the Foundation is equipped to select these scholars and able to aid them, it is not equipped to plan for their residence and work once they arrive in this country. In this connection, the services
Refugee Scholars - TBA - Page 2.

July 11, 1940.

of two institutions have been considered: (1) the New School, and (2) the International Institute. Although the cooperation of both of these has been secured and will prove useful, it would seem that the New School is the agency which should be directly employed. Duggan and the Institute have many connections with institutions, but are hampered by many of the considerations which hamper the Foundation. Johnson and the New School are relatively free, aggressive and ingenious. Johnson has indicated a willingness to provide temporary hostel and to arrange contacts for any scholars whom we might send. He would not try directly to obtain positions for these men. With the help of Duggan, he would simply try to make sure that a man is known where there might be interest in him.

4. It would be possible to appropriate some money — say $100,000 to Johnson for this purpose. It would require Executive Committee action, and I do not think it is a necessary way of doing business. I suggest that we separate the divisions into two classes: one, the NS and MS, who will handle their cases directly; two, the SS and H, who will in general assign their scholars to the New School. I think no grant should be announced until Johnson has had a chance to accept or decline the assignment. I think in most cases Johnson, if we select carefully, will take any scholar we assign to him. Initial commitments should be for one year, with renewal for another year. It should be made plain that neither of us — particularly the New School — assumes any responsibility after that period. In most cases Johnson will try to get rid of a man as soon as he can. He would plan to pay a very small stipend, $1500 for a single man and $2500 for a married man. He does not want them to be too comfortable in these temporary positions. Johnson is sure that most of the scholars will be placed before the expiration of two years; Duggan is not so sure. All of us will have to take a chance. I think Johnson should
recommend scholars to us whenever he wants to. Just as in the case of scholars whom we recommend to him, the divisions here should have a chance to veto his suggestions. Again, however, they would probably be willing to act in most cases.

5. In round figures, we assisted about 200 deposed scholars, about 125 of them in America. In the present program, I visualize not more than a hundred scholars, or roughly 25 to a division. Even that number would cost us something like $400,000 if all of them had to be supported for two years. It would be my hope that the job could be done for something less — say, $250,000.

6. It is obvious that if we are going to bring even a hundred scholars to this country, the question assumes some importance with respect to national policy. It seems to me that, before going too far, we should secure the approval of the State Department not only that they may be cognizant of what is going on, but also that they may help in securing visas, investigating people, etc.