

Rough Draft (dictated but not read by JM)

We take it for granted that any plan for effective action on the cases of new refugees from Europe must meet at least the following requirements.

First, it must provide for prompt action at any time, and particularly during the next month or six weeks. It is virtually impossible now for refugees to leave Europe except via Portugal and England. Opportunities to leave there and elsewhere may come quickly and may have to be taken advantage of at once, so that decision in this country must be prompt.

Second, provision must be made on this side for the full support of needy refugees over a period of at least two years. It would certainly be hoped that some refugees might be able to place themselves before the expiration of that time. But it is doubtful if admittance could be obtained unless at least two years' support were promised. (This point would have definitely to be cleared with the State Department.)

Third, it cannot expect any financial contribution from American academic institutions toward the absorption of these refugees nor any assurance that they would be given permanent positions, as was the case under the deposed scholar program.

Fourth, it must anticipate and safeguard against suspicion and hostility toward an alien group coming into the country at a time when suspicion at least already prevails.

With these requirements in mind, we recommend the following policy for the Foundation, dividing our recommendation into two stages. The first covers the period until the matter can be considered by the Trustees. During

that period we propose operation through grants-in-aid by officer action from existing funds. At the next meeting of the Executive Committee, however, we propose that the procedure be regularized by a Committee grant, probably to the New School for Social Research, as recommended below.

We recommend that the Foundation adopt the policy of allowing the New School for Social Research, under the direction of Dr. Alvin Johnson and in cooperation with the International Institute of Education, under the direction of Dr. Stephen P. Duggan, to act for the Foundation in making arrangements to bring refugees to this country, to provide for them here on their arrival, and to make all possible efforts to bring about their appropriate absorption in American life. Presumably the New School and the Institute would act in this way primarily in the cases of refugees of interest to the Divisions of Social Sciences and the Humanities, though in some cases it might be possible for them to act in behalf of refugees of interest to the Division of Natural Sciences, particularly when their work was of a nature which did not require laboratory facilities. Presumably the Divisions of Natural Science and Medical Science would for the most part still deal directly with the cases of refugees in their fields.

Concretely, the procedure would be to grant funds for this purpose to the New School for Social Research, first in the form of grants-in-aid to meet the needs of individual cases that come up before Committee action is possible; and second, in the form of a lump sum grant to be proposed at the next meeting of the Executive Committee.

Under this arrangement the New School would act either on its own initiative or on the initiative of the officers. The initiative of the officers

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would be sufficient in any case, but it would be expected, as Dr. Johnson agrees, that most cases would be automatically agreed to by both parties. Dr. Johnson would undertake to clear on cases with the State Department, thus assuring the acceptability of any refugee to the government.

Support for no refugee would exceed \$2,500 annually, including the cost of his coming to this country and of such travel as may be desirable for him in this country after his arrival. It would be made clear to all refugees that support was fixed at this level in the expectation that they would shortly find more remunerative posts. There will be no promise or implied commitment of support over a longer period of two years.

On their arrival, Dr. Johnson would install refugees temporarily on the faculty of the New School for Social Research, where they would have an opportunity to lecture without additional remuneration and to become members of a group which should in general be congenial to them. As soon as their qualifications were known to Dr. Johnson and to Dr. Duggan, efforts would begin to place them elsewhere. Both men would endeavor to obtain opportunities for them to lecture in academic institutions and elsewhere, again without remuneration. A canvass recently made by Dr. Duggan's office would be brought into play in an attempt to find what academic institutions, particularly the smaller institutions, would be glad to have men join their faculties as lecturers without cost to the institution. In such placements, no commitment would be expected or asked as to the possibility of permanent appointment.

In practice, the officers, Dr. Johnson and Dr. Duggan would act as an informal committee in the selection of refugees to be aided. It would be agreed among the three parties that no more than a given number of refugees could be aided - possibly 100 in all - and selections would be made in that

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perspective with a view to the eminence of the men involved and to their potential contribution in this country. A subordinate consideration might be the representativeness of the total group for Europe as a whole.

As the plan got under way, it would probably be advisable for the New School, or the New School and the Institute jointly, to make some public announcement of it, stressing that the number of cases involved would be limited and that they would be selected primarily with a view to what they could contribute to American life and culture. It could be further pointed out that for the present at least they would not be competing with or replacing Americans, even though they were serving on the staffs of American institutions. Their work would, by the arrangement which brought them here, literally constitute an addition to what this country already has.

This recommendation is designed to meet only the present situation in which, unless some such help is given, these 100 men are liable to be lost to the world of science and free thought. If we think of what may happen to them after the two years covered by this arrangement, the difficulties that arise may lead us to do nothing to meet this present situation, for thinking of them tends to rule out possibilities more hopeful. Many at least of the refugees who might be cared for in this way may, for example, be absorbed outside academic institutions. As a last recourse, some of them would at least be eligible for some of the subsistence projects which Dr. Johnson has already organized for earlier refugees who could find no placement.

If the Foundation embarks on this plan, it must do so with full recognition that it may have to take further action either directly or through the agencies designated here to protect this group. The care with which they would be selected and the careful clearance of their cases with the Department

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of State ought to justify such action. As a dark example of what might be necessary, all concerned ought to stand ready, if later it should become necessary to intern aliens, to see to it that this group in some way got preferential treatment.

Whatever the risks, we feel some such plan as this the best means of meeting the present situation and of meeting it promptly as we necessarily must.

JM:EA

July 1940