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UNATIONS Photo, Korea.

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COLIN W. BELL is director of the Friends International Center in Geneva, Switzerland. He has been associated with AFSC since 1944, first as director of Friends' emergency war relief work in China, later as associate secretary of the Foreign Service Section.

A Refugee No Longer, When—

by LEWIS M. HOSKINS

ACROSS the face of the earth wander millions of people called refugees. It has been estimated that between 30 and 70 million persons are homeless; hungry, poorly clad or shod, sometimes stateless and frequently wandering, or else crowded into barracks or rooms where they are not wanted; a people whose personal hope is all but dead.

Best known to Service Committee friends is the plight of the nine to ten million in West Germany and the almost 300,000 more in Austria. These are the Expellees, the Displaced Persons as yet unsettled, and the many members of smaller groups. Remnants of European Jews who fled the Nazi pogroms still linger in port cities around the world.

Not all the world's uprooted people are direct products of World War Two; some 150,000 refugees of the Spanish Civil War of the 1930's are living in France; others are in North Africa and Latin America. A half million of Turkish ethnic origin have been expelled from Bulgaria, and recently some 12,000 more Expellees were sent from Romania to Greece because of their Greek ethnic origin. And in the Middle East 850,000 Arabs face their third winter encamped in and about desert towns or crowded into cities as they wait for resettlement or repatriation.

The Far East also has its share of displaced people. Several millions, vic-

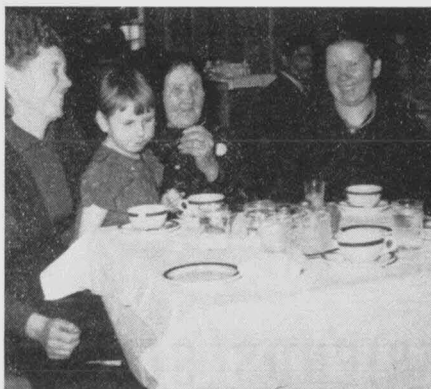
tims of the division between India and Pakistan, still live in substandard conditions in these countries. And the chaos that has been China for the past two decades has produced a staggering number of homeless people—a recent estimate placed the number as high as 50 million. In the past year and a half the refugee rolls have been swelled by another eight million created by the Korean war.

And there are others.

What can be done? The United Nations and numerous private and national agencies are doing what they can to feed, clothe, and house some of these refugees and to plan for their absorption into the community of men.

It is a simple fact that a refugee is a refugee no longer when he is properly housed, employed, and is legally and socially accepted as a member of his community. This fact means that each of us is in some measure responsible for settling the refugee problem of the world. This means that each of us must be aware of the desperation in refugee living; of the humanitarian necessity to do something about it; of the fact that huge masses of homeless people living in misery are prey to suggestions for violent solutions to their difficulties; that our own futures are tied up in their hopelessness.

Practical steps each of us can take are suggested on page seven.



MATRONA IGNATERKOWA, 99, holds her great granddaughter, Tamara, four, while Grandma Anna and Mama Marie look on. The occasion marks the fairy-tale ending to a story begun long ago in a Russian peasant home, continued through the misfortunes of life as a D.P. in Central Europe. The climax came recently, after years of disappointments, when the four-generation family finally reached the United States through aid of Church World Service and AFSC.

Toward Human Rights for Refugees

by COLIN W. BELL

FRIENDS have been identified with the refugee problems of the world for a great number of years. Concern has been very real for those whose homes are lost, whose families are broken up, and whose whole tenor of life is disrupted. It has been expressed in pounds and dollars, in food parcels, in bundles of clothing, in periods of voluntary work with one of the Quaker service bodies, in hospitality, in friendships and in prayer. Recently the opportunity has come for Friends to try to help refugees in a different way.

At various times during the last two years different bodies of the United Nations have been struggling with the writing of a Draft Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. Their efforts came to fruition at Geneva last July when a Conference of Plenipotentiaries from 24 nations drew up the final document and laid it on the table for the states of the world to sign and ratify. To date the encouragingly large number of 13 states has signed the Convention, though it should not be forgotten that there is often a long road between signature and ratification. The Convention will come into force when six states have lodged instruments of ratification with the U.N.

A Step Forward

The Convention is not a very noble or liberal document, but it is a worthy step forward in human progress (or it can be so, if it is made to live and work) in that it establishes certain vital human rights for a most helpless, forlorn and unprotected segment of humanity. It guarantees freedom of religion, marriage rights, property rights, access to courts, the right to work, education and social security. It confers certain freedom of movement, including the possibility of obtaining identity papers and internationally recognized travel documents. All these things are vital to the ultimate reintegration of the refugee into world society, but there is one other factor which is of enormous psychological importance to him. Hitherto the refugee has too often been rootless and without rights, the responsibility of no one, though specified groups have received charity and protection from international and private sources. Now the Convention recognizes the right of the new U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees to supervise the application of the Convention; now the refugee has a high authority whose specific duty it is to uphold his legal status and defend his rights. He is not merely a lonely soul dependent upon the uncertain good will of other more fortunate men.

One vexed question was that of the definition of the term "refugee." A long and complicated definition was finally adopted, under which the main body of refugees are those

who became "persecutees" (ugly but comprehensive word) "as a result of events occurring before January 1, 1951, (a) in Europe, (b) in Europe or elsewhere." Contracting states have to specify which of the two geographical applications they accept. A moment's reflection will show what a latitude of interpretation this clumsy formula allows. The reason behind it was the clear division of the Conference delegates into two groups—those who called for a "liberal" Convention to include refugees everywhere, and those who argued that the present Convention had been drawn up with the European refugee in mind, that its articles were not adapted to the circumstances of refugees elsewhere, and that it was woolly idealism to imagine that one Convention could be written which would cover the basic rights of refugees in all different parts of the world.

Another real problem which faced the delegates was the understandably differing standpoints taken by those representing countries of first asylum, such as the western European nations, and those of resettlement, such as Australia and the U.S.A. The latter could afford to be liberal in certain aspects of the Convention, since they could be as selective as they wished in the numbers and categories of refugees they accepted. European continental nations were concerned to protect themselves from the results of an indiscriminate inrush of refugees; the others were anxious to preserve their present methods of controlled immigration.

The political climate of today is all against the writing of a very liberal Convention. Someone has made the rather cruel remark that at times the Conference in Geneva looked like a collection of fearful sovereign states banding together to defend themselves from the infiltration of the wicked refugee. Things were hardly as bad as that, but it was true that on occasions the minds of national delegates were obsessed with the picture of the subversive, the criminal or the otherwise undesirable refugee or pseudo-refugee to the virtual exclusion of the "99 just persons." Nevertheless, in intention at any rate, a beginning has been made in regularizing the world responsibility toward those who today happen to have suffered from the result of our collective guilt. We are not being sentimentalists if we say to ourselves: There, but for the Grace of God. . . .

It would be a mistake to assume that adequate machinery has now been set up for the solution of the refugee problem. There are a number of disturbing factors in the present situation. The Mandate of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees is concerned mainly with their legal protection. Although in certain circumstances his office could render other services to the refugee, at the present time he has

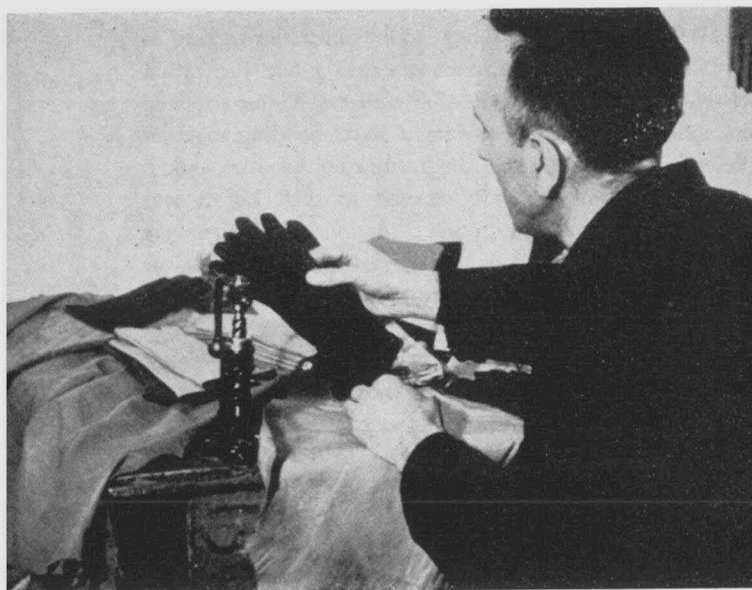
(Continued on page seven)

Whose Tenor o



Henry Selz

HOME ECONOMICS DEPARTMENT, Coconut Division, of the school for Moslem girls conducted by the Calcutta Friends International-Center, meets with Norwegian and Indian Unit members. Students are members of a minority group in the Indian community; some are refugees of the partition upheavals.



Paul Hubbe

GLOVE-MAKING—from materials supplied by American industries through the AFSC Material Aids Program—is one of the crafts encouraged by AFSC mobile unit among refugee camps in Land Oldenburg, Germany.

HARD CORE. *Deprived. Tired. Apathetic. Tuberculosis. Mass quarters. Bunkers.*—These hard words fill reports from Quaker workers among refugees. Harsh names—refugees, expellees, infiltrates—clothe in anonymity the frightful existence 30 to 70 million people endure today.

Often, suddenly, statistics give way so that the people stand before us: “—the mother hustling all the children out on the stairs to play so that the father, who was on night work, could get some sleep; the young wife who broke down and sobbed that her husband’s nerves were going to pieces if he couldn’t get work and she was ashamed when he ‘carried on’ for the walls of the hut were so thin that the neighbors could hear every word; the old well-bred pair from Pomerania who had once owned a large estate but now pottered about ineffectively in one tiny dilapidated room; the family who had arrived a few weeks before from Silesia hoping to find a new home and were pushed into two damp leaking garrets; the children decorated with piles of odd grey patched garments worn on top of one another so that it was difficult to tell their age, sex, or health; the red-rimmed eyes and running noses of camp children; the twelve-year-old girl who missed coming to the neighborhood center for a week and was discovered living with eight other persons in one room. There had been nine, but her grandmother had died, her mother had broken down, and Renate had too much to do to go to the center—.”

The problems of people called refugees cannot easily be separated from other difficulties of European recovery, of the Middle East, or the Far East, or wherever they are. Indeed, our own futures are tied up in their miseries, and it is not compassion alone that requires something be done.

The Service Committee has tried to help and to press for solutions in as many ways as possible: by giving direct aid, by summer social service projects, by including refugees in European neighborhood center programs, by special self-help projects in the Oldenburg area of Germany and a small farm-loan plan in Austria. In our own country the AFSC has developed services for those able to emigrate; and contacts made with officials here and abroad have brought Committee thinking to bear on some overall policies affecting refugees. As we go to press a mission to the Middle East is exploring what possibilities might be open for the AFSC to help with resettlement of Arab refugees.

The Quality of Service

We have the space to describe only a selected few of these projects. But before doing so it may be well to let a report from one of our workers suggest their greatest value. The

Life is Broken

report came as a D.P. camp of 6,000 persons in Munich, Germany, closed last April:

"On looking back over the years in Warner Camp, it seems to me one of the most important things we were able to give the people with whom we came in contact was the feeling of being a real individual again and not just a body with a number. . . . We saw this particularly in our own refugee staff workers who came to us as shy, withdrawn persons lacking self-confidence, and who gradually developed into normal individuals with a sense of responsibility for their work and a real interest in the program. We watched Mr. W., a young Estonian, change from a quiet, retiring person into the leader of our staff. When he emigrated to the States we thought the life and soul of our little group had gone, only to find that Mrs. K. and the Orinks had shaken off their apathy and were ready to take his place."

Oldenburg Industrial Project

In Land Oldenburg, Germany, refugee camps grip thousands of individuals in unyielding despair. Traveling about from camp to camp, an AFSC mobile unit has helped break through this pattern at several small points by helping the refugees themselves set up common rooms, sewing rooms, cobbler shops, kindergartens, and by distributing food and clothing. Most of this work seemed to the team to ease the immediate situation but a fraction, and to make no dent on the underlying troubles. So, during 1951, an industrial project was launched to discover by what method it might be possible to integrate the refugees' livelihood with the German economy rather than let it continue to ride a burden upon it.

The project began with a Nissen hut built by the refugees from scrap parts donated by the army, several elderly sewing machines and one highly-treasured "zig-zag" machine indispensable for sewing button-holes, the enthusiasm of several women to learn to sew for the industrial market, and the counsel, support, and patience of a German businessman who placed with them their first large order—for 100,000 sheets.

By August the team could report: "We had been anticipating the work as well as we could, but even in our most vivid imagination we hadn't realized what it meant. The first shock was that the three months we had been given to do the job were whittled down to seven weeks. This meant immediately organizing two working shifts, with 10-15 women employed in each. At the peak of the job 35 were employed.

"None of the women, apart from those who had started



Thomas and Eliza Foulke

DIRECT AID is one of a variety of ways in which AFSC serves people. For orphans, tuberculars, and others in special need in Japan, supplementary food is supplied through Licensed Agencies for Relief in Asia, of which AFSC is a member.

Douglas Lazenbury

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS in Germany and Austria make a place for refugees in their regular programs; aid in easing the difficult relationship between the communities and their unwanted newcomers.



in April, could sew on an electric machine, and, as we discovered, the sewing of a sheet is not as simple as it sounds. As soon as we got over one difficulty, the inspector would find something else wrong, and during the first period we did have desperate moments. However, things began gradually to improve, until at the end of the allotted time we were turning out sheets with hardly a mistake.

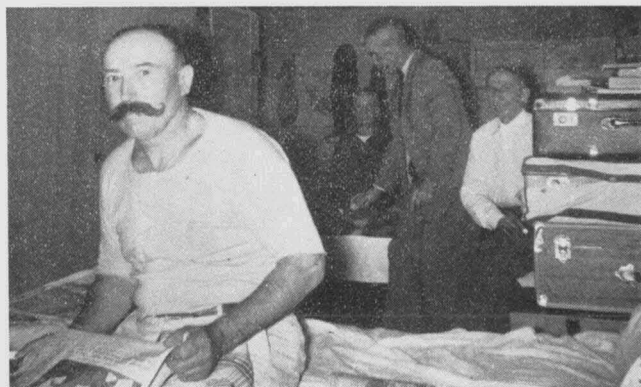
"We cannot thank Herr Kumpers enough that he persevered with us, and we are speechless when we think that he trusted us enough to put the material value of one million D. marks into our hands. This fact alone gives tremendous encouragement, especially to the people in camp who are so often looked down upon as of a much lower scale and certainly not to be trusted, just because they happen to live in these conditions, largely through no fault of their own.

"At the end of the first big week we were in one of the shops in town where several of the women were also buying things. 'Whatever's happened in Burlagsberg,' asked the woman behind the counter, 'have you all come into a fortune?' 'No,' answered one of the women, 'but just as good as, the Quakers are in Burlagsberg and have now started a little industry and given us work, that's why we're all so happy and have got a chance to buy something.' Further down the street two of the women had got tiny piglets which they had bought to fatten for winter.

"It has been a hectic period, one of tears and laughter, frustrations and accomplishments, hours and hours of work, of satisfaction and joy in work that gives these people particularly a new sense of respect and hope."

Displaced Persons in the United States

The AFSC campaign to secure assurances for 200 D.P. families is nearing completion, although 20 more sponsors are needed before the deadline of December 31, 1951.



Karin W. Person

FOUR COSSACKS who once fled home for their lives find temporary shelter in the San Antonio Center operated under direction of the Pasadena Regional Office. One Cossack works for the Center, the others have found jobs through aid at the Center and will soon move on to community living.

This program is being extended to include a few of the 54,774 Volksdeutsche and Reichdeutsche who may now be brought to the United States in the same way that D.P.s have come. There are many farm families and household workers among this group as well as professional and skilled workers. Since they may receive their visas up to June 30, 1952, there is still time for Friends to offer assurances for them.

The largest development in D.P. services in this country is the program of the Pacific Southwest Regional Office. This involves services to D.P.s in camps for fruit pickers in the Los Angeles area, as well as the sponsorship of one camp for unattached men offering a homelike atmosphere, some retraining in a small work shop, and aid in finding jobs.

On National and International Levels

For the past two years workers in the field, headquarters staff in Philadelphia, New York, and London, and staff members in Friends International Centers have been cooperating in study and discussion of the refugee problem, in formulating policies regarding international resources for the protection, care and resettlement of refugees, and in placing these representations before the appropriate United Nations bodies and representatives. This is done under the aegis of the Friends World Committee for Consultation which, as an international organization, has consultative status with the Economic and Social Council of the U.N. Colin Bell's article in this BULLETIN describes these activities more in detail.

We have reason to believe that our efforts, together with those of other voluntary agencies, have had some effect on the programs that have gradually evolved, but the problem is still far from solved and the continuation of our efforts into the indefinite future seems to be called for.

We have inevitably been drawn also into activities in connection with the development of United States immigration policy and the legislation that proposes to implement it. At the present time legislation which would completely codify and in many ways change our basic immigration laws is pending in Congress. Some contemplated changes are in a sound direction, but many represent a most unfortunate tendency toward greater restrictions than ever upon immigration and naturalization. Realizing the importance of immigration opportunities as a part of the solution both of the refugee problem and, to an extent, of over-population with its implications for the economic stability and peace of the world, we cannot be indifferent to the action which our country takes in this field. We are therefore carrying on educational activities in this area to the extent of our ability.

Thus, while working on a very personal basis with refugees, the AFSC has also tried to do an interpretive job at policy-making levels as well.

What You Can Do to Help

Individual Americans can play a very real part in resolving some of the difficulties confronting refugees by doing these practical things:

You can cooperate with—or even initiate—plans for your local Meeting or congregation to provide sponsorship enabling a D.P. or Volksdeutsche family to come to the United States under the U.S. Displaced Persons Act. Displaced Persons Services, AFSC, can give you any needed information that is not available locally.

Even if you cannot help sponsor a family, you may be able to learn of newcomers in your community to whom you can offer friendship and hospitality, whom you can help become accustomed to American ways. Perhaps you can volunteer your services to an agency, such as the International Institute, YWCA, or settlements which help to integrate newcomers into the American scene.

You can help to create an atmosphere in your community that is hospitable to newcomers, by explaining the problem of Displaced Persons, and why they have had to seek refuge in this land so far from home. In this connection, you can

often clear up misunderstandings if you are careful not to accept complaints about D.P. families without hearing their side of the story. It is true that some D.P.s have proved unsatisfactory, but the percentage is very small and investigation more often than not reveals that the D.P.s in question had not been given jobs and housing on a par with American standards, or that they had exercised their right, in accordance with American tradition, to move on to better opportunities.

You can watch developments in immigration legislation in Congress and let your point of view be known as to the importance of sound and far-sighted legislation in this field, which will serve the world situation as well as our own. The Friends Committee on National Legislation, 1000 Eleventh Street, N.E., Washington 1, D. C., can give information in this field.

You can indicate to your representatives in Congress, and to the American Delegation to the United Nations, your desire to see adequate international provision made for the care and resettlement of refugees.

Toward Human Rights for Refugees (continued)

neither the staff nor the money to give any sort of material assistance towards maintenance or rehabilitation. The International Refugee Organization is shrinking rapidly as it works towards its demise. Everyone is clear that there is need for an organization endowed with adequate resources to tackle the continuing problem of refugee resettlement and overpopulation generally, but among the several agencies interested in these matters there is no accord as to the most appropriate organizational pattern for the future. The position is urgent yet confusion exists. Again, the Refugee Convention is as yet only a piece of paper, and the refugees to be covered by it are limited in category. A further disappointment was the inability of the Conference, owing to lack of time, to adopt a Protocol which would deal with the problems of Stateless Persons. Such people have problems analogous to, though not identical with, those of refugees. The matter was referred back for further study.

How were Friends involved in the Conference? In a personal way, by the presence of James Read, the American Friend who is now U.N. Deputy High Commissioner for Refugees, and as such deeply involved in the application of the Convention; organizationally, by myself as representative of the Friends World Committee for Consultation.

During the course of the debates the FWCC submitted one written statement and was granted the right to speak twice to the Conference. The points made were all in favor of a more liberal interpretation of the basic human rights of the refugee. Along with other non-governmental organizations which had made similar representations, we were happy to see an article on the right of religious freedom written into the Convention at a later stage. It is difficult to assess the effect of our other submissions, because such influence is often more intangible than specific.

One thing is certain—that the attention given to what Quakers may say in high places is a direct result of countless acts of service by Friends everywhere over the years. After one FWCC statement the Egyptian delegate paid tribute to the help given by Friends to the Palestine refugees, and asked the Conference to recognize that we spoke out of ground-root experience.

Thus it is that the Society speaks corporately. The search in the drawer for a warming garment, the dedicated tithe of income, the service of Quaker workers in many lands, and the prayers—without these we should have neither the right nor the competence to take part in the framing of a charter of refugee rights.

The American Friends Service Committee, representing the Religious Society of Friends, attempts to relieve human suffering wherever it is found and to ease tensions between individuals, groups or nations. It believes that there is that of God in every man and that love, expressed through creative action, can overcome hatred, prejudice and fear.

The Service Committee works in Europe, Asia, Mexico, and the United States. Its projects include relief and rehabilitation work; educational projects in race relations and economic relations; work and study projects for young people; self-help housing projects; and seminars and institutes on international relations.

All parts of the work are open to anyone regardless of race, religion or nationality. The Committee's work is made possible by voluntary contributions. Checks may be sent to the AFSC at any one of its offices.

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Paul Hubbe

Refugee children in Oldenburg, Germany, pageant the Christmas Story