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that is an exaggeration. Nobody knows. But I do know that this refugee problem is the most tragic that men have ever been called upon to solve, that to millions of these people the end of the war will only start off a whole new series of fears and anxieties.

So our most serious—relatively serious—refugee problem will be that presented by some 50,000 German and Austrian refugees. Why? First, because most of them are Jews, and you can hardly blame them if they hate the idea of going back to the countries where the people of their race have suffered such terrible persecution. Even when the Nazis are only an unpleasant memory, some of the effects of their teaching will remain, for the Germans who will be in positions of influence in their country for the next 40 years or so have been taught since childhood that all the Jews are sub-human monsters who deserve no pity.

But that is only one side of the question. The other is, shall we want them to stay? Personally, I have seen enough of the sufferings of peoples under European dictators to hope that these refugees may become self-respecting citizens of this country as so many other political refugees have done in the past. But it would be both unfair and foolish not to recognise that a lot of Englishmen—decent, kindly and tolerant Englishmen—will be hostile to them. What are the reasons for this hostility? One, of course, is due to a fairly widespread dislike of all foreigners. People do not always pause to reflect that it was upon this dislike that Hitler built up National-Socialism with its horrible creed that the German people is the *Herrenvolk*, the master race, and that all the other peoples of the world are to be put on different scales of inferiority, with the Jews at the bottom of them all. That doctrine is, of course, the exact opposite of the doctrine upon which both Christianity and Democracy are based. But it is often easier to condemn a whole race than to condemn the lack of opportunities of education and advancement from which the people of that race may have suffered.

There is another more respectable reason why these refugees may not be wanted after the war: the fear that they may increase the problem of unemployment.

As things are at present, there does not seem to be much doubt that the refugees have increased our national wealth. Many of them are highly trained scientific men, and as far back as August, 1940, the Prime Minister said that "since the Germans drove the Jews out and lowered their technical standard, our science is definitely ahead of theirs." When the war broke out there were about 1500 German and Austrian doctors and dentists over here, but at first there was a great prejudice against them among many British doctors and dentists. By July, 1940, only 460 foreign practitioners of all nationalities had been granted permits to practise. Now almost all these foreigners are back at their own jobs, but we have to remember this is, in part, because so many doctors and dentists are needed in the armed forces.

As for other refugees, they have started over 450 factories, making articles which we can export or should otherwise be compelled to import; buttons and zipp fasteners, mechanical toys, chemical products, clothes and so on. They have brought into this country

new business connections and methods, and ideas which will be of permanent value. For example, they have made London, instead of Leipzig, the centre of the international fur trade. Many of them have ceased to be refugees; they have become citizens. They think in English, and when they say 'us,' they mean the people of Great Britain.

There is one last point I should put before you. This is no longer an over-populated island. The Dominions, too, have put up hundreds of new factories. Canada, for example, had built no ships for 20 years before the war, and is now one of the great ship-building countries of the world. Instead of discouraging immigration, some of these Dominions will have to encourage it by every possible means, and they will not be able to pick and choose as the Americans did in their immigration laws between the two world wars. These considerations must affect our attitude towards refugees from the Continent. It is a large and difficult subject, and I leave you to make up your minds whether refugees bring wealth into a country; whether their competition with people of our own race is likely to be unfair and damaging to the country; whether the whole problem should be looked at from this severely material point of view or from the point of view that they have already suffered greatly in the common cause of defeating National-Socialism.



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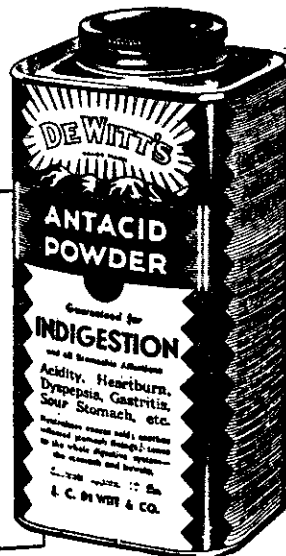
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