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Sub-series A: Alphabetical, 1914-1965, undated.

Reel	Box	Folder
7	3	158

American Zionist Emergency Council, Akzin, Benjamin, 1945-1946.

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Recommendations
Benjamin Akzin

July 20, 1945

1. - Democratic Front. Pressure through active Democratic district workers mounting, via district and state leaders, to Hannegan.

2. - Republican Front. Full freedom to our friends in the Republican Party to arouse Republican Party interest in the Palestine issue.

3. - Systematic contacts with the President and his entourage.

4. - Systematic contacts with government officials in various Executive agencies.

5. - Systematic contacts with press circles, authors, radio commentators and leaders of public opinion in Washington and throughout the country.

6. - Systematic contacts with members of Congress of both parties, both in order to secure their friendship, and in order to induce them to exercise active pressure on our behalf.

7. - Arguments to be used in political and literary circles: increased emphasis should be laid on American self interest in the Middle East as being compatible with a Jewish Palestine.

On a general political plane, it should be emphasized that the pacification of Europe will be made much easier if the concentration of aggressive forces around anti-Semitic slogans were to be made more difficult by facilities for large scale Jewish emigration.

It should also be emphasized that channeling such emigration toward Palestine would decrease the pressure of would-be immigrants to enter the western hemisphere.

8. - A.C.P.C. activities should be intensified, but concentrated on Protestant circles.

A special effort should be made to gain the support, or at least to reduce the hostility, of Catholic and especially Irish-Catholic circles. This would best be done through channels independent of the A.C.P.C.

9. - Hindus, Koreans, Chinese, Negroes, movements in this country which are in sympathy with these groups, should be especially cultivated through special and discreet channels.

10. - An effort should be made to penetrate the circles interested in the oil industry and to combat their misconception that American oil interests require an anti-Zionist stand.

11. - Publicity. A determined effort must be made to decrease the flow of press releases by us and all other Zionist bodies. Instead, a serious attempt should be undertaken to place on the editorial pages of the general press and into weeklies and monthlies a stream of articles which, while not entirely devoted to Zionism, should on passant take a favorable stand toward a Jewish Palestine. Again, the arguments should be predominantly political rather than legal or moral in character.

12. - Washington office. The Washington end of our work requires the establishment of a permanent office in Washington headed by a resident director and assisted by a sufficient number of personnel capable of maintaining systematic contacts with Washington officialdom, press and society. The exact scope of the work of the Washington office must be made subject to an agreement with the Jewish Agency regarding the division of activities in that city.

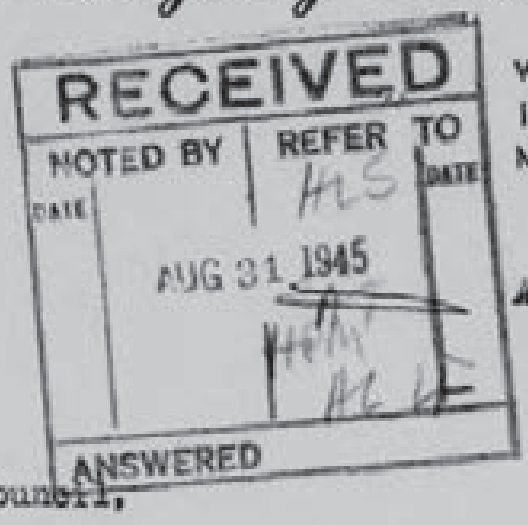
BA:EW

WRHS
AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS:
Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

WASHINGTON BUREAU
1720 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Michigan 4480 ZONE 9



August 30, 1945

The Executive Director,
American Zionist Emergency Council,
342 Madison Avenue,
New York City, 17, N. Y.

Dear Shapiro:

(1) I had a one and a half-hour conversation yesterday with Mr. Wailes, the newly appointed chief of the British Commonwealth Section of the Department of State, to whom I had been introduced a few weeks ago by his predecessor, Mr. Achilles. Wailes had known practically nothing about our problem. A week or so ago I sent him some printed material in advance of our conversation, and by yesterday he read part of it. I explained to him that the Middle-Eastern aspects of our problem are being taken up constantly with the Middle-Eastern Division, but that I wanted him to form an opinion on the importance of a Jewish Palestine for solving the serious European problems which are more within his scope of activities. I added my hope that, if convinced of the truth of this viewpoint, he will support our efforts. He asked a great many intelligent questions concerning the position of the British, the Russian and American officials to our problem and concerning the European aspects involved. He seemed to be fairly well impressed with the need for a large number of Jews to emigrate from Europe. He also asked me a great many elementary and detailed questions concerning numbers of Jews, absorptive capacity of Palestine, etc. Toward the end, he agreed to arrange for me to meet his colleagues, the chiefs of the Central-European, Eastern-European and Southern-European Divisions, of whom one is on sick leave and two are on vacation. He hoped that we will be able to meet within two to three weeks.

I am looking forward to this meeting as a step in broadening our contacts within the Department of State. To a certain extent, the people in the Middle-Eastern Division have a natural tendency to oppose us, since to them the Arabs are inevitably the major factor in the Middle-East, whereas, the Jews come in as a complicated element, or, if you want to put it vulgarly, as a nuisance and render their task more difficult. By the same token, once we enlist the interest of the people in the European Divisions, they ought to be our natural friends since to them, any solution that would facilitate Jewish emigration from Europe would make their task of dealing with the remaining European problems so much easier.

August 30, 1945

The Executive Director

(2) I was invited to lunch today by David Lawrence, the well-known columnist and editor. He reiterated his determination to avoid writing about the Jewish problem since, as a Jew, he would not be unprejudiced and since he is too busy with his other interests to study this problem sufficiently to write well about it. On the other hand he told me that he fully agrees that if a large number of Jews want to have a nation of their own, there is no reason why this should not be granted to them. He does not think much of the negative approach (Jews need Palestine because they have to leave Europe) but believes the positive approach based on the right of the Jews to national existence far preferable. He also advises us to point out that the Jews are developing Palestine far better than the Arabs and will continue to develop it in the future, to the commercial and social advantage of the entire world. He thinks that emphasis could be placed on the effect of the geographical shifts of populations occurring after this war and that as one of our contributions to such orderly shifts of populations, American support of Jewish Palestine would be very much in order. He advised us, when talking to Gentiles, to point out that the Zionist problem is very much akin to the Irish problem, that America should take a similar attitude in our case as the one taken in the case of the Irish, and that the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine would be just as much in the interest of everybody as the establishment of the Irish Free State has proved to be. He inquired about the attitude of Arthur Sultzberger and joined with me in denouncing the stand taken by him.

As you will see from this exposition, Lawrence is sympathetic, but afraid and somewhat confused. When he advised to talk about shifts of populations but feared our argument based on the need for immigration to escape anti-Semitism, this, in my opinion, reflects his fear that a Jewish Palestine might be used someday as an argument to start propaganda in favor of getting Jews out of America. He seems to be in the beginning stages of seriously thinking about Zionism and I think that if we don't rush him too much, we will some time later gain an active adherent. At any rate, I think that if he has an opportunity to discuss Zionism in private conversations (I don't think he would take the initiative of such conversations), he would speak for rather than against us.

One suggestion of his merits serious attention. He suggested that we prepare something like a prospectus, very vividly made, with little text, but mainly with diagrams and maps, one illustration with explanatory texts to a page. This prospectus should explain the number and distribution of Jews in the world, their legal and economic status, the position of Palestine vis-a-vis the Middle East, the movement of the Jewish migrations, and some of the achievements of Zionism. He thought that when discussing our problem with business people and journalists, we would find it much easier to bring the main points of our case to their attention if we used such a prospectus. I rather like the idea.

August 30, 1943

The Executive Director

(3) Congress reassembles immediately after Labor Day. I would appreciate it if you would keep me in touch with the progress, as it occurs, of the contacts which our local people will have made with the Democratic Party workers in their localities. Insofar as the local Democratic workers would communicate the pessimistic forecast of their Jewish associates to their Representatives in Congress, we would like to know about it so as to strengthen this impression and utilize it to the full in talking to the members of Congress from the respective constituencies.

(4) I will be looking forward to having Steinberg in Washington. After a few pow-wows which I propose to hold with him on the subject of the peculiarities of the Washington scene which is so different from the New York Jewish scene, I propose to introduce him to a few people and hope that he will succeed in bringing the circle of his acquaintances and utilize those contacts to the full.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:mp

P. S. The following episode of my conversation with Lawrence is communicated for whatever jocular or serious attention it may merit:

Lawrence: "I am generally considered a conservative, but in the thirty-five years of my study of public affairs I have found that as far as methods are concerned, radical and hell-raising methods always bring you further and faster to the point than a conservative and cautious approach. I therefore think that your organization was very smart in getting ex-Senator Gillette to head your movement."

After my explaining the situation and the difference, Lawrence politely agreed, but said: "I still think that their noise did some good, and a man in Gillette's position can do much more to advance the cause than almost any Jew."

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS:
Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

WASHINGTON BUREAU
1720 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Michigan 4480 ZONE 9

September 6, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver,
19810 Shaker Boulevard,
Shaker Heights,
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

On August 20th I sent you copies of my reports to the New York Office. If you no longer need to refer to them, I would appreciate having them returned. This does not include the individual copies of letters I have sent you since you have come back.

Best wishes for a Happy New Year.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:mp

September 13, 1945

Dr. Bejamin Akzin
American Zionist Emergency Council
1720 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Washington 9, D.C.

My dear Dr. Akzin:

I am enclosing a letter from Mr. Emanuel Neumann which is self-explanatory. I think it would be highly desirable if you were to see Senator Mead and indicate to him how helpful it would be if he would approach the State Department and present our case: Our Government is so eager to help Saudi Arabia with lend lease. Why is it not helping Jewish Palestine with its moral and political support" etc. etc.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

By Silver

September 13, 1945

The Executive Director,
342 Madison Avenue,
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Shapiro:

1. Because of the week-end and my trip to New York, I did not yet have time to report on a dinner which I had with Loy Henderson of the Department of State on Thursday, September 6th. The dinner was arranged by a mutual friend of ours, Mr. Margolin. At my request, Margolin suggested to Henderson the desirability of meeting informally outside of the Department. The dinner followed after Henderson agreed to the idea. Margolin's efforts consisted mainly in introducing a cozy note in the conversation and interjecting remarks here and there to get the ball rolling. Essentially, the talk for two and one-half hours was between Henderson and myself. I think it was a very worth-while undertaking. The main points of conversation are set out in the appended memorandum.

2. Margolin, who has been around Washington for the last twenty years, promised me his help in other directions as well. He is a distinguished Russian-Jewish lawyer, personally known to many officials and other people of standing. He was a close friend of Brandeis and Cardoza. He hinted that he would like very much to do occasional lecturing. Despite the fact that he has a very thick Russian accent, I suggest that we see to it that he be invited to lecture from time to time at a substantial fee. He has been lecturing at Harvard, University of Pennsylvania, etc., and is a person of undoubted academic standing. A few lectures at $100 would undoubtedly stimulate his desire to help us.

3. Pursuant to Mr. Lourie's request, I have visited Mr. Hutson, the newly-appointed Under-Secretary of Agriculture, to secure his consent to Dr. Lowdermilk's trip to England. The visit took place on Friday, September 7th. I told him how much we are indebted to American Agriculture in having shown us the way to agricultural progress in Palestine, thanked him for the hospitality for Palestinian students found in the Agricultural schools in this country and expressed a hope that we will be permitted to learn in the future from the great achievements and renowned experts in agriculture in this country. After he promised his help, I said that we are especially indebted to a member of his staff, Dr. Lowdermilk, who has become an outstanding expert in relation to Palestine agricultural development and that, as a matter of fact, we would like to ask him to go to London for consultations in connection with future agricultural work in Palestine, if the Department would give him leave for the purpose. Hutson said that we would have to take it up with Lowdermilk personally, but that he, Hutson, has no objection.

I telephoned this information to Lowdermilk who said that this ought to make the trip possible and informed me that he could most conveniently leave for London around November 15th. If necessary, he could advance his trip to the middle of October. I gave this information to Mr. Lowdermilk for transmission to London. Louie

4. While waiting for Mr. Hutson, I was introduced to a Mr. Tannous, of the Middle East desk of the Bureau of Foreign Agricultural Relations. Our conversation quickly revealed that he is a Lebanese Christian, a former student of the American University of Beyrouth and, presumably, far from a friend of ours. He was present during my conversation with Hutson, and this is the main reason why I mentioned the Lowdermilk matter as an after-thought instead of making it the main topic, as I had originally intended. I propose to introduce Tannous to Eliahu Epstein who would probably know how to deal with him.

5. In accordance with Dr. Silver's request, I have asked Mr. Sack to arrange a meeting for Dr. Silver with a group of Democratic Senators, to take place either on the 19th or 25th to 27th of September. Mr. Sack will also attempt to secure a separate meeting with a small group of representative and friendly Republican Senators as well as private talks with Senators Vandenberg and Hatch. The meeting with Democratic Senators is provisionally scheduled for the 25th, subject to confirmation.

Pursuant to further instructions from Dr. Silver, I am trying to arrange the reception by Acting Secretary of State, Acheson, of a delegation composed of Dr. Wise, Dr. Goldstein, Mr. Neumann, and myself. In accordance with Dr. Silver's letter of September 10th, I am also trying to meet Senator Barkley.

6. A friend of mine in the government informs me that the Inter-governmental Committee for Refugees is about to display a far greater activity in connection with identifying and resettling persons found to be non-repatriable. I understand that this is due, on the one hand, to the emergence of a large number of Catholic refugees from Poland in whom Catholic circles in this country and elsewhere are taking a lively interest, and on the other hand, to the more vigorous line taken by the new American representative on the Committee, Earl Harrison. Representatives of the Committee will soon start registering all persons who declare themselves to be unwilling to be repatriated, and it is on this basis that the number of non-repatriables will be established. There are fairly good chances that the registration will list separately Jews and non-Jews, and that efforts will be made to settle Catholic non-repatriables in Latin-America. This pattern ought to make it easier to emphasize Palestine as a place for Jewish non-repatriates. I will continue to keep in touch with my friend who is in touch with this matter.

Incidentally, I understand from the same source that the current move by various Jewish groups (American Jewish Committee, American Jewish Conference, Vaad Hahatzalah, Jewish Labor Committee) in sending delegates to Europe to assist in the care of non-repatriables has no real significance. UNRRA and the Army fully acceded to the request that these delegations be permitted to go in order to escape some of the blame for having mishandled the subject, but it is not likely that these delegations would be able to accomplish anything decisive.

The Executive Director September 13, 1945

7. A friend of mine connected with the press and a very loyal Zionist, has been asked by me to contact various persons in official positions in order to find out their reactions to our problem. I did so because of my belief that their real attitude would be much more clearly revealed to a newspaper representative asking questions in the course of a routine visit than in a discussion with people known to them to represent the Zionist movement.

The first person my friend was asked to contact was Mr. Tandy, the newly-appointed Secretary of the British Embassy in charge of Middle Eastern Affairs. I wanted to know what line he would take under the new government when questioned about Palestine. My friend informs me that Tandy commented on the Palestine situation in a very friendly tone and went out of his way to explain the Jewish viewpoint and argumentation. Incidentally, Tandy told my friend that he expects a decision on Palestine within the next few weeks. --- Tandy's attitude may indicate a new line adopted on instructions of the British Government or may indicate his own personal attitude. He seems to be a novice in questions of the Middle East, and he has been assiduously cultivated by Eliahu Epstein. I will propose to Epstein that we ask my friend to discuss the same matter with some other members of the British Embassy in order to test the situation.

My friend has also interviewed Mr. Wilson, of the Palestine desk of the Department of State. Wilson assumed a negative attitude and went out of his way to explain and justify the position of the Arab League.

8. I don't believe that I have as yet reported on Marquis Childs' column which appeared in the Washington Post on September 1st. Copies of that column were sent to you previously by the Washington Office. As you know, I had two long talks with Marquis Childs and have sent him some material. For your information, I enclose copy of a letter which I sent to Mr. Childs after the appearance of his column. I have also asked a number of people in Washington to write to him, commenting upon his column. I will, of course, continue keeping in touch with him.

9. Most of the prominent columnists who have been on vacation, have now returned to Washington, and I will renew my efforts to cultivate them.

10. On one of my recent trips from New York to Washington I had a conversation of several hours with Frank Gervasi which ought to be fairly useful. He told me about the book on Palestine which he is preparing, and I strongly recommend that everything possible be done in order to assist him in getting this book out.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:mp
CC: Dr. Silver
Encl.

הסוכנות היהודית לארץ ישראל

The Jewish Agency for Palestine

WASHINGTON OFFICE: 1720 SIXTEENTH STREET, N. W. • MICHIGAN 4480

M E M O R A N D U M

September 13,
1945

TO: Dr. B. Akzin

FROM: Eliahu Epstein

After you read the attached copy of my confidential memorandum on the subject of my conversation with M. J. Benard, First Secretary and Oriental Advisor at the French Embassy, Washington, D. C., please transmit it to Dr. Silver.

E. E.

EE:rk

Attachment - 1

C O N F I D E N T I A L

September 11, 1945

TO: Dr. Nahum Goldmann

FROM: Eliahu Epstein

SUBJECT: Conversation with M. J. Benard, First Secretary and Oriental Advisor, French Embassy, Washington, D. C.

At lunch M. Benard and I discussed various phases of Arab activities here and in the Middle East. He told me of his conversations with Msgr. Aqel, the Envoy of the Maronite Patriarch of the Lebanon to this country. According to M. Benard, the weakness of Msgr. Aqel's mission lies in a complete lack of clarity on the purpose or the method of presenting the Maronite case before his compatriots here and before the American public.

When Msgr. Aqel first saw M. Benard, he wanted to present to the Maronites in the United States a plan for an independent Lebanon limited to the frontiers existing before World War I, and making Lebanon a Christian National Home in the sense that all Christians of the Arab world, especially those in Syria, have the right to become Lebanese citizens by virtue of their Christianity, even if they remain resident outside the Lebanon. Moreover, the Lebanese Government should have the right to transfer Moslems living in Lebanon proper (the mountain) to Syria, and to bring in Syrian Christians, particularly those of the Jazireh, where the Christian position has been constantly deteriorating since the last Franco-Syrian crisis. The plan for a small, but homogeneous Christian Lebanon, is supported by the Lebanese Christian leaders, Emile Edde and Dr. Ayoub Thabet. But the Patriarch Arida, himself, has not yet taken a clear position on this matter.

The views of the Lebanese leaders who demand the voluntary change of Lebanese frontiers are conditioned by the fact that in a few years the enormous birthrate of the Moslems (2½ times that of the Christians) will automatically establish a Moslem majority in the Lebanon. This will give them the right to determine the destiny of Lebanon and destroy its position as a Christian stronghold in the Arab world.

M. Benard advised Msgr. Aqel to refrain from enunciating such a policy, which would give Lebanese authorities here an opportunity to brand the Patriarchial Envoy as a traitor, advocating a change of boundaries without authority. Furthermore, the Lebanese here would see the defeatist aspect of such a proposal and would not consider the constructive aspects undoubtedly involved.

Msgr. Aqel promised to convey M. Benard's views to the Patriarch as representing the official position of the French Embassy in this country. He also promised not to pursue his plan for changing the frontiers until he hears from the Patriarch.

M. Benard said that while the supporters of the official policy of the Lebanese Government advocate Lebanese participation in the Arab League and solidarity with other policies of the Arab states here, Mr. Mekarsel and his group, who oppose this policy, have neither the money nor the personnel to publicize and promote their cause. When M. Bonnet, the French Ambassador paid a return visit to Dr. Malik, the Lebanese Minister, he was impressed by his moderate tone in discussing Franco-Lebanese relations. Dr. Malik pointed out the traditional friendship between France and Lebanon and the desire of the Lebanese to have the misunderstandings settled as soon as possible. M. Bonnet interpreted Mr. Malik's words not as personal, but as a reflection of the position of the new Lebanese Government recently set up under Sami el-Solh, which is much more friendly toward France than the previous one. Undoubtedly, De Gaulle's successful visit to Washington and the British policy of reconciliation with the French in the Levant also affects the attitude of the Lebanese representative here toward the French.

When we talked of Zionist affairs, I took the opportunity to state explicitly our concern at the French stand regarding the Mufti. In the eyes of Jews and non-Jews this implies a French policy of appeasement in its most flagrant form, since there is no Moslem leader guilty of so many acts of treacheries and crimes, not only against the Jews, but as a participant in almost every conspiracy of the Nazis and Italian fascists in the Middle East before and during the war. I quoted a progressive journalist here who commented on the inconsistency of the French in condemning Petain and treating the Mufti as a Maharajah. Either they should permit Petain to enjoy the same privileges as the Mufti or make the Mufti face the same kind of trial as their own collaborationists.

Based on my experiences with the Arabs, I told M. Benard that their handling of the Mufti would be a blow to their prestige in the western democratic countries and among minorities and the few democratic elements in the East. If the policy is intended to extend the influence of the French over the Moslems and to soften the demands of extremists in North America, I can only say that just as the White Paper policy of the British in Palestine did not prevent Rashid Ali's uprising in Iraq, the French policy toward the Mufti will not moderate the demands of the Neo-Destour followers in Tunis. If France really seeks a modus vivendi with the Arabs in her North African dependencies, in my opinion, the only way is through a long term constructive economic and social welfare policy in those countries.

I told M. Benard that the liberal press in this country would, I thought, be forced to protest the French attitude toward the Mufti, which represented a repudiation of the policy adopted by the democratic countries regarding war criminals. We would certainly prefer not to criticize France and jeopardize her prestige in this country, however, when so vital a matter as sheltering the Mufti and encouraging the supporters of his policies, which are dangerous to the security of our people and other minorities in the Arab countries, is involved, it would be difficult for us to withhold our support from such a line as would be pursued by the liberal press.

It was clear that M. Bernard was impressed by this, and understood its implications. After a pause, he acknowledged that the French Government was eager not to antagonize the Moslems by persecuting the Mufti, but he agreed with some of my arguments and said he would not delay in transmitting them both to his Ambassador and the Government in Paris.

Later, he invited me to his office and showed me some of the reports from Paris and the French Consulate in Jerusalem dealing with the activities of the Arab League in the Middle East.

As a result of this interview, I suggest that we seek to have a few articles appear in the American press along the lines suggested by me to M. Bernard. This would serve as an indication to the French as to what they can expect from the liberal press here while they maintain their present attitude toward the Mufti. It would also be important to make this point in an interview with M. Bonnet.

WRHS AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

Wirk

NO. 2

EXTRACTS FROM THE ARAB PRESS IN THE U.S.A.

(Issued by the Office of the Jewish Agency for Palestine in Washington, D.C.)

THE DECLARATION OF THE PATRIARCHAL ENVOY MONSIGNOR AKL TO A FRENCH PAPER IN NEW YORK - "AL-ISLAAH" (N.Y. Semi-Weekly) September 11, 1945.

Ed. Note

Reproducing the interview given by Msgr. Akl to the French paper of New York "La Victoire", September 8 issue, the editor notes that Msgr. Akl advocates the protection by France of the Christians of the Near East and especially Lebanon who he says is in danger on account of the rise of the Arab League. To the Monsignor, the Arab League is a Moslem League. Msgr. Akl states vigorously that in this condition, Lebanon as a Christian State will exist no more, and The Jewish National Home in Palestine will face the same danger.

"AL-ISLAAH" (Same date) EDITORIAL

The Arabs in America have known that "Al-Hoda" was hinting at something. It could not declare it openly fearing that Arab communities here would denounce it and would withdraw their subscriptions from a paper making a business of dissonance and discords. Weeping and wailing about an imaginary danger to the Lebanon without mentioning the source of the danger, "Al-Hoda" can now say what the Monsignor said to the French paper because both have the same purpose in mind. Our leaders will remember that we have warned the editor of "Al-Hoda" that his action endangers the unity of our people and that he cannot absolve himself from the responsibilities for his action. We were surprised that he did not heed our Counsel. Then, when the Monsignor arrived in this country and finally gave the statement to the French paper about the so-called danger and that it stems from the Arabs and Islam, we understood the vague stand of "Al-Hoda" which feared to declare openly what the Monsignor believes and came to this country for.

All these statements about dangers were meant for the sole purpose of proving that France is needed to protect Lebanon and the Christians. As to the demand that the major powers should guarantee the independence of Christian Lebanon, that is but an excuse for France to come back again as its protector.

Monsignor surprised everybody when he contends that after the latest incidents in Syria sixty thousand Christians migrated to Lebanon to take refuge from Arab persecution. This is improbable, for if it were true, the Ministers of the foreign powers would have known it and France would have exploited such an event to her advantage.

And now we ask the Editor of "Al-Hoda" whether he believes the Monsignor when he said that we would need a New Crusade in order to secure the right to go on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

And we ask him also, whether he agrees with the Monsignor who defends the Zionist State when he says that "there is grave danger from the Arabs and Islam for the National Home of the Jews."

This is what we were afraid of when we pointed out the real danger to Mr. Mokarsel and again we ask him to listen to his conscience and be reasonable and leave our communities in peace and harmony instead of creating discord and fanaticism in their ranks which are considered dangerous in this modern age.

LEBANESE CONSULATE-GENERAL ESTABLISHED IN NEW YORK - "AL-ISLAAH" (N.Y. Semi-Weekly)
September 14, 1945

Americans of Lebanese origin have now an office in New York which symbolizes the independence and sovereignty of the little country of their origin.

The Lebanese Consulate-General, once considered a fanciful dream, is now a reality. It is temporarily situated in the Vanderbilt Hotel, where Consul General, Edward A. Gharra and his two colleagues, Emile Shamma and Emile Mattar, have established their headquarters and residence.

The Lebanese Consul General is a spectacled dark handsome young man, in the thirties, with an engaging smile. He comes from Zahle, which has produced so many prominent personalities in the New World. The United States is not new to him, for in 1936 he came to this country on an extended visit to his many relatives in Pittsburgh. On his return to the old homeland he pursued further studies, graduating with an LL.B. degree from the University of St. Joseph in Beirut. Following his graduation, he taught three years in the American University of Beirut and after that he practiced law until he was appointed to his present post.

Both assistants of Mr. Gharra are lawyers. Mr. Shamma took his B.A. degree from the American University of Beirut and his law degree from the Syrian University of Damascus, while Mr. Mattar graduated in law from the University of St. Joseph in 1937.

The Lebanese Consulate family has been received most cordially by the New York community which took them spontaneously into its heart.

BRITISH LABOR GOVERNMENT STUDIES NEAR EAST PROBLEMS - "AS-SAMEER" (Brooklyn Daily)
September 14, 1945 AN ARTICLE

Coincident with the approaching meeting of the exploratory Council of Allied Foreign secretaries in London, Mr. Attlee's Labor Government is making serious efforts to study the over-all situation of the Arab world. Mr. Bevin, Labor Foreign Minister, has called to London all the British Ambassadors, and Ministers to the Arab States, and consuls and others in a position to know the situation in the Near East where a minister or ambassador is not stationed.

At the same time reports from the capitals of the Arab World indicate keen reaction to this momentous step taken by the British Government. Lengthy telegrams and letters have been addressed by responsible groups to the British Foreign Ministry and to the Colonial Office explaining the situation in the various Arab countries regarding the chronic problems of Palestine, Syria, Lebanon, etc.

The tenor of those presentations, whether emanating from the capitals of the Arab countries or from the Arab Office in London, is that the Arab cause rests on universal considerations for which two World Wars have been fought. The Arabs rest their case on the principles of democracy, and ask no favor. They only want justice and equality with other nations which are seeking to make the world really safe for democracy this time.

No. 3

EXTRACTS FROM THE ARAB PRESS IN THE U.S.A.

(Issued by the Office of the Jewish Agency for Palestine in Washington, D.C.)

WHY HAS HE KEPT SILENT SO LONG?- "AS-SAMEER" (N.Y. Daily) September 12, 1945

EDITORIAL

The pronoun HE goes back to Monsignor Antoun Akl who told us when we went to see him, that we should not publish anything yet about him and his mission until he gives to the press an official declaration stating his mission which he came to this country for.

And days passed by; as he didn't send any declaration to be published we thought that he saw things which made him renounce his intention. He saw here a sea much bigger than his "boat" and an atmosphere much heavy for his "plans" so he may have chat with everyone like us and he may have told everybody like he told us.

Then came the news that the Lebanese Government has annulled the passport that Msgr. Akl carries, and this gave the proof that the Government knows that this Lebanese who created some trouble for them in Paris is doing the same in New York.

And now he takes to his help that newspaper (meaning "Al-Hoda"- Ed. Note) and it picks up by the invitation of the peoples to a conference in New York City in order that these people should hear what the Monsignor has to say. All this expense and bother which can be avoided by the people with the simple declaration on the purpose of his mission to America to the Arabic Press of the United States. Thus the public will know whats what, unless his mission is only to a certain number of peoples and if that is the case his mission would have no importance at all.

It was clear to us from what was published in the Lebanese Press about the Patriarch Arida stand concerning the independence does not agree with what the Monsignor declares to be. Although we respect the reverend visitor we cannot ignore the declarations of the Patriarch and takes what he himself (the Monsignor) says.

The Patriarch stands by the Lebanese Government and he cooperates with them, while he the Monsignor counts every errors, mistakes, and bad actions and does not even mention one single good act of this Government.

The Patriarch stands for the independence of Lebanon and does not accept any privileged status for any foreign power. And the Monsignor ends every talk by a definite result and this is that France should be the protector of Lebanon.

The Monsignor has an artistic way in explaining his thoughts. He says to you that he is for the independence before everything, then he says but, if we give France some kind of Protectorate it would be good. And at the end of his talk, he tells you that he had nothing to do with politic and that he was in Lebanon away from it, strictly neutral, minding his charitable and religious works.

And while he tries to convince you, he goes back and says that he is going to defeat the Government and it is easy for him to do it, much easier than to break a straw or to kill a mosquito.

And before that we would have told you that the President of the Republic Beshara El-Khouri is his best friend and that Said El-Solh is his best companion. That Abdul-Hamid Karami is on a high plane and all the ministers and leaders are his brothers. That you find in them all the noble qualities which make them fit to fulfill their positions.

But if you ask about the treasury of the country, he would tell you that they took every dollar in it and shared it with their protegees. So we ask: who are those that shared the treasury? Are they the friends of the Monsignor? And if you ask him how was it? And no protest came from the deputies? Then his reply is: Some deputies they are all alike they share everything.

And the press, O Reverend? How is it that she didn't say a word about it? The Reverend laughed cynically and said: "Poor Press!!! The paper which doesn't follow the official line will not receive its ration of paper and naturally disappear.

Plainly speaking he makes you believe that the people of Lebanon who were officially recognized as independent do not deserve to be independent.

And such when you leave him you will have in yourself a picture of Lebanon under Beshara El-Khouri worst than the Turkish era under the Red Sultan, Abdul-Hamid.

You may also come to the belief with him that the people of Lebanon whi is the most progressive and intelligent people is not fit but to be enslaved and exploited. And that the nation who has the sole right to exploit and enslave the Lebanese is France only!

Still we do not trust Monsignor's belief that we the American Lebanese are responsible for what is going on in our old country Lebanon, and that we have to fill the treasury that his friends had emptied it.

But are we duty bound? Finally we say that it is much better for a thinker, a patriot, a good citizen with a great devotion for Lebanon like the Monsignor, to be in Lebanon. He is much more useful for the people over there.

And for us here in this country, it is also much better.

A UNIVERSITY CITY IN CAIRO (A release by the Institute for Arab-American Affairs)
"MERAAT-UL-GHARB" (N.Y.Daily) September 11th, 1945.

One of the sure proofs that indicates that the Arab countries are advancing rapidly towards progress is the news we received from Egypt stating that it is resolved to establish in Cairo, the Great Arab capital, an Arab University City centering around the University of Fouad the first at the cost of five million Egyptian pounds (about 20,000,000).

His majesty King Farouq and his daughters gave one hundred thousand pounds and the Egyptian Government gave the same amount. Also the widow of late Prince Toussoun gave three thousands and many members of the royal family and some great personalities of Egypt gave various big sums.

The Arab University City will consist of many buildings, a library and a large auditorium and others - all of these will be built during the first three years to be followed by two years in which will be built special buildings for engineering, medicine, agriculture and physics.

Shiyu

September 14, 1945

The Executive Director,
American Zionist Emergency Council,
342 Madison Avenue,
New York 17, New York

Dear Shapiro:

I address this letter to you personally, with the understanding that you will decide who else in the office should be shown it. Of course, a copy is going to Dr. Silver.

The purpose of the letter is to put in writing my conception of the administrative needs of the Washington office in view of the broader task which it will have to fulfill in accordance with Dr. Silver's ideas on the subject.

To accomplish these tasks, it is necessary that we expand as rapidly as possible so as to have, beside myself, at least two other people who would be doing systematic contact work under my direction. This work will have to be done among members of the House of Representatives, the lower and medium brackets of executive officials (I hope that by now you will have realized that it is not merely a matter of maintaining relations with a few people in the Department of State, but of expanding our relations to officials in other departments as well), and newspaper men in Washington. As you see, I left out the Senate: Senators will probably have to be handled by Sack and by myself, as this task cannot be delegated so easily.

The two assistants I envisage, in order to do any real good, would have to be here more or less permanently. I don't think therefore that occasional visits to Washington by Rabbi Feuer or others from out of town would do the trick. Such occasional visits would be very useful if and when we plan special campaigns calling for intensive work, but they cannot take the place of two steady assistants whom I would introduce to a few people initially and who would then devote themselves on a full-time basis to the task of constantly broadening their contacts and acquiring and maintaining friends for our cause.

I am quite willing to think in terms of Steinberg and Mrs. Pierce for these tasks. Both would have to be taught, but after some teaching and with practice they ought to prove adequate. I would use Steinberg for the press and lower officials, and Mrs. Pierce for superficial contacts in Congress. Obviously, I would take over whenever very serious argumentation has to be faced.

The Executive Director September 14, 1945

Probably, these selections are not ideal. Teller would be much better with the press, and a girl like Ruth Karpf would probably be better with Congress, but I think that I could do the trick with Steinberg and Miss Pierce on condition that they remain here full time and are given the opportunity to learn the tricks of the trade.

Neither my assistants nor I could supplant Sack in his particular function -- that of producing rapid liaison with those highly influential circles with whom he is intimate. In this respect, Sack is almost irreplaceable, and we must all go out of our way to keep him happy and to ensure that he would continue giving us his unique services. But when it comes to extending the scope of our work to a larger group of people in Washington, Sack has neither understanding nor sympathy for this undertaking. He is trained in the school of going straight to the top, and since he has a sufficient number of friends at the top, he cannot see any use in cultivating others as well. In addition, Sack is rather jealous, and therefore this activity of "cultivating Washington" will have to be done more or less without counting on his help.

If I take Miss Pierce to work on the Capitol, as I would like to do immediately, this would mean a full-time job for her. Were she to attempt to combine her work on the Capitol with being Office Manager and jack-of-all-trades, she would do neither well. In the natural course of events, she would be inevitably tempted to give priority to hotel reservations and other requests that would reach her from the New York office over political work in Congress, since, after all, her pay check comes from the New York office and not from the Capitol. Therefore, detailing Miss Pierce to contact work on the Capitol means that we must have somebody in the office to take her place and to perform all those manifold services of which you may not be aware but which keep her busy all day long. If you are unwilling to let her go in that capacity, I must hereby request that Ruth Karpf be engaged at a salary to be agreed upon between you and her so that she could move to Washington immediately and undertake the Capitol work as my assistant.

There is, however, a good alternative: Miss Ruskin, who has been in this office a long time, seems to know all the ropes, and is of the same quick and alert disposition which characterizes Mrs. Pierce, seems to be available for the job of an Office Manager. I suggest, therefore, that I be authorized to engage her for this job at a salary of $50.00 (neither Mrs. Pierce nor Mrs. Perlov begrudge her this salary; both of them would like to see her come in), so that I could put Mrs. Pierce to work on the Hill.

How long Mrs. Pierce would be willing to work as a lobbyist on the Hill for $50.00 a week, is a question which I cannot prejudge. Being an intelligent girl, she will probably realize within a few weeks that this is a job which calls for a higher salary and for which we would have to pay anyone else far more than $50.00 a week. You might as well be prepared for it.

If the work of the office is to proceed efficiently, it will be necessary to have a second secretary in the office who would assist the Office Manager and do secretarial services for my two assistants as well as occasionally for Sack. You could not count on my secretary to do that since I am going to keep her busy full time. You will have, therefore, to envisage a further expenditure of $35 to $40 a week.

Theoretically, it would be possible to envisage Mrs. Perlov either as a second secretary or even as an Office Manager, taking the place of her sister. In practice, it won't work. Mrs. Perlov feels unhappy doing sheer office work, and someone who is unhappy about his job cannot, in the long run, do the work well. She would particularly resent remaining as secretary if her sister had been moved up to work in the Capitol.

As for functioning as Office Manager, this, too, would give her little satisfaction, and I doubt whether her rather conservative and slow (though very thorough) way of doing things would prove adequate in the face of the specific tasks of an Office Manager combined with a travel agency manager which, in practice, is what New York asks Mrs. Pierce to be. Even according to Mrs. Pierce, Miss Ruskin would make a better Office Manager than Mrs. Perlov. Finally, I cannot conscientiously recommend Mrs. Perlov for work in the Capitol. She has all the earnestness, conscientiousness, and good will required, but in my opinion she just does not have the type of good-mixer personality which is the most essential requirement for the job. This is why I have agreed with Mr. Tuvim that he will invite her to join the APC staff in Washington. I hope he will do so as soon as possible, that is, as soon as you receive this letter. I would not be at all surprised if Mrs. Perlov would prove an excellent person to continue to take charge of the APC office after the conference. This would be a job where office work would be combined with a limited number of contacts, and where she would be more or less her own boss.

In addition, I want you to realize that both my assistants will, if they are really active, have fairly substantial expense accounts. This will be even more the case with me since, in order to do our work justice, I will have to start mixing socially with the people concerned. Hence my project of taking a house, of joining a couple of clubs, etc. What you considered so necessary in the case of the work of Marvin Loewenthal in his contacts with the New York intelligentsia, is even more true in my work in Washington. I'll admit that the Loewenthal experiment was none too successful, but you will have to take the chance on my experiment proving more successful.

I have spelled all this out very clearly so as to avoid the need to haggle either with you or with Miss Cohen over every particular item in the budget. If you agree with my general conception of the work of the Washington office, I hope there will be no difficulty when the time comes to implementing its individual steps. My conception is that the Washington office must become very rapidly a considerable part of our total activities.

The Executive Director September 14, 1945

and therefore you will have to devote to it a considerable part of our budget. It is not for me to judge whether you can do this by expanding your overall budget or by a corresponding reduction of the New York budget. Should the latter be the case, I would suggest to you to envisage a drastic reduction of the budget of your Research Department. Speaking as a man who did research for twenty years, I can tell you that our Research Department in its present form is almost entirely an unnecessary appendix in our work. There are some things which a small research department, composed of a few people who combine scholarly knowledge with quick, alert minds, could do for us. But your present Research Department has no alertness at all. It is composed of people who work as if they were writing doctors' theses and have a year's time to do that. If you want to consult me some day on a reform of the Research Department, I'll be at your disposal. The above has been said only in order to show you where you can get the money to expand the Washington office if you can't get it anywhere else.

In view of the necessarily outspoken character of this letter, I am having it written outside of the usual office channels, and will be grateful if you, too, treat it with the necessary measure of discretion.

Sincerely,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:cw

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS:
Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

WASHINGTON BUREAU
1720 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Michigan 4480 ZONE 9

September 14, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver,
19810 Shaker Boulevard,
Shaker Heights,
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

1. I enclose the attached report of the memorandum by Eliahu Epstein concerning his recent conversation with a member of the French Embassy.

2. Epstein gave me a copy of his letter to you of September 13th containing an extract from a letter received by him from Jerusalem. I am taking steps to contact General Chennault and the other gentlemen mentioned in that letter.

3. Since some of the Congressmen who have visited Palestine during the recess are back in town, I will start contacting them in order to see to what extent they might be willing to go to bat for us.

4. As you will have noticed from the press, Ex-Senator Bennett Champ Clark, about whom we were talking last week, has received a high judicial appointment. I will continue, though, looking for some other personality in the public eye to help us in the way which you suggested. I have already discussed the matter with Mr. Sack and will also be thinking in these terms.

Incidentally, should it appear that General Chennault is leaving active service in the Army (which, I understand from Mr. Sack, he has denied in the press), it may be worth-while to think whether we should not ask him to help us publicly. I will be able to make a more precise recommendation on that point after I will have seen the General.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:mp
Encl.
CC: Mr. Shapiro

הסוכנות היהודית לארץ ישראל

The Jewish Agency for Palestine

WASHINGTON OFFICE: 1720 SIXTEENTH STREET, N. W. • MICHIGAN 4480

M E M O R A N D U M

September 18,
1945

TO: Dr. B. Akzin

FROM: Eliahu Epstein

Attached is a copy of my confidential memorandum to Dr. Goldmann regarding the speech of Dr. Charles Malik given in New York on August 22, 1945 at a banquet for President Bayard Dodge of the American University of Beirut. A copy of the speech is attached also.

I would appreciate your forwarding these enclosures to Dr. Silver when you have read them.

Thank you.

E.E.

EE:rk

Attachments - 2

M E M O R A N D U M

September 18,
1 9 4 5

C O N F I D E N T I A L

TO: Dr. Nahum Goldman

FROM: Eliahu Epstein

Enclosed is a copy of a speech by Dr. Charles Malik, Lebanese Minister to the United States. This speech was given at a banquet in honor of President Bayard Dodge of the American University of Beirut, at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York City on August 22, 1945.

It is interesting to note that when a few days later some of the Arab papers in the United States asked the Minister for permission to publish his speech in full, he refused.

It was explained to me by a reliable Arab friend that it was the desire of the Minister to avoid the publication of his speech which indicated too explicitly a pro-Anglo-Saxon tendency. This standpoint would not fit the policy of the new Lebanese Government which is more pro-French than the previous one and undoubtedly more moderate as far as the French cultural interests in the Lebanon are concerned.

EEark
Enc. - 1

SPEECH OF DR. CHARLES MALIK, MINISTER OF LEBANON IN THE UNITED STATES, IN A BANQUET GIVEN IN HONOR OF PRESIDENT BAYARD DODGE OF THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT AT THE WALDORF-ASTORIA HOTEL, NEW YORK CITY ON AUGUST 22, 1945.

The destiny of the American University of Beirut is indissolubly linked to that of Lebanon. If for any reason Lebanon should cease to be what it has always been, namely the home par excellence of freedom of thought and conscience in the Near East, then such a thing as an American University in Beirut dedicated to the highest values of the mind and the spirit would be impossible. Conversely, if for any reason the University should cease to be a university, namely an institution for the disciplined search after and methodical transmission and fearless proclamation of the truth in every field, then a fundamental center of freedom will be extinguished in Lebanon, and the country will suffer in its very essence. The University needs a free Lebanon, and Lebanon needs a genuine university.

In my four-fold capacity as graduate of the American University of Beirut, as professor in that University, as student and professor of philosophy and as Minister of Lebanon in the United States of America, I am peculiarly concerned about the fortunes of Lebanon and the University. For entirely apart from the fact that I am Lebanese to the core, hewn out of Lebanon's very mountains and olive trees and village life, I believe if I were not so but had only learned the eternal character of Lebanon, her uniqueness, her infinite possibilities and the boundless joy and peace of her glorious mountains, there would be no country in the world that I would believe in and love more than Lebanon. For my friends it is not a simple thing to be the only country in Asia and Africa where real freedom has a chance to flourish, where the dignity and worth and decisions of the human could have a hope to be unconditionally recognized and respected, where the authentic Western positive tradition has since time immemorial and despite every obstacle taken real root, where in a word the authentic West authentically and internally meets the authentic East. Oh no, I don't need to be a Lebanese to love Lebanon, if only I knew the truth.

And believing as I do that the end of human life is not the senseless acquisition of material goods, nor the pitiful lust after power or fame, nor the hopeless quest of treacherous pleasure, nor even what is glibly called "success" or "happiness" or "progress", but the quiet love and vision and being of the truth, the truth namely that makes men free, believing all this I cannot but love and believe equally in the American University of Beirut. This institution has existed in our country for eighty years. It has been the expression of an act of outreaching love, transcendent in its ultimate origin. It springs from the American liberal tradition at its best. It has helped to educate our fathers, our brothers and sisters, and ourselves. It has aimed at mediating to the Near East, and especially to the Arab world, what is living and enduring and true in the Western positive tradition of thought and being. Remove the American University of Beirut and its intellectual-spiritual influence from the historical actuality of the Arab world, and you will have removed a goodly portion of the backbone and illumination and initiative of that world. The fact that about twenty graduates of this University participated in some capacity in the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco is but an outward measure of the depth of its impression upon the inner life of the Near East. And so you don't need to be a graduate of or a professor in the American University of Beirut to love and believe in it. In this, as in every case, the knowledge of the truth is sufficient.

For it is not a simple thing to have attempted in Beirut what the American University has attempted. To have opened its doors and therefore the possibilities of Western science and learning to the youth of the Near East without distinction as to race, religion, nationality or sex; to have insisted throughout on tolerance and patience and understanding and fair play and cooperation, and in short on the virtues of Anglo-Saxon democracy; to have tried to mediate to

the Arab world the Anglo-Saxon version of Western culture; to have put a special premium on character and worth and being; to have endeavored to teach us that the abundant life will be achieved not by massive regimentation but by individual initiative, not by blind obedience but by responsibility, not by force but by persuasion, not by fate but by reason, not by engrossment in the passing and immediate but by planning and foresight, not by pathetic self-ostracism from the positive Western tradition but by bold and wholehearted entry into it, not by the wholesale and infantile rejection of everything in our tradition but by the critical examination and tender reviving of whatever is of eternal value therein: to have vigorously stood for all this in Beirut for decades is not a simple matter. I weigh my words when I say that the students have a chance to seek, see, discuss, and participate in matters which they cannot seek or see anywhere else in the Near East. In the class room or in chapel or in the infinite leisure of sahra certain levels of vision and purity and certainty are often reached which the country has not known for centuries, perhaps never in its history.

You my friends who live in this blessed country take much for granted. You think that freedom, intellect, social responsibility and the being of the truth abound everywhere. But alas! this is not the case. The innumerable winds of doctrine which blow upon Beirut and the Near East from every direction make life there difficult. You must never forget that merely to exist in that region is to suffer. Only thus can you appreciate the significance of the American University of Beirut, one of the very few stable features in the general flux.

After saying all this I must hasten to guard against two possible errors. The University has not been the only cultural-intellectual agency in Lebanon and the Near East, and the University will not monopolize such matters in the future. To be sure the University will continue to be the central focus of Anglo Saxon culture, but there will always exist side by side with it institutions representing both the great humane-Latin world and local culture. These institutions have much to give Lebanon and the Arab world which our University cannot as well give. The future therefore is more to be pictured in terms of sincere, humble, intellectual collaboration with other institutions of higher learning, always in the name of the truth and always in the interest of the local populations. Only in this way will a rich total effect accrue to the land, an effect whose concrete character cannot now be foreseen.

And in order that this rich synthesis could have a proper domain of life and action, it is important that the intellectual relations between Lebanon and the neighboring countries be happy and free. Any artificial estrangement between Lebanon and the rest of the Arab world is highly regrettable. Lebanon's participation in the Arab League on the basis of the complete respect of her independence and liberties opens before us great possibilities of positive service to the Arab world. For Lebanon's vocation consists properly in her belonging at the same time, albeit tragically and precariously, to two living worlds; and if we knew the grace and art of being at once these two worlds, there would be no limit to the good that could come out of us to both of them.

For quarter of a century now President Dodge has been at the helm of the University. His services to the Near East date to before the First World War, and those of his family and immediate friends to the foundation of our University. Knowing well his modesty and absolute selflessness, to say now more than this before him would be sacrilege. But the United States is entitled to know that whereas the United Nations Charter is wonderful as an instrument of international peace and security and as a worthy monument for that great American humanitarian, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, such instruments are futile without the active support of that spirit of international good will and understanding which precisely such great American pioneers as Bayard Dodge have long been giving their lives to realize. "The empires of the future are all empires of the mind," said Winston Churchill two years ago at Harvard University; and therefore it is to the masters of the spirit and mind of men that we must bow in deepest respect.

Washington, D. C.

September 21, 1945

Mr. Eliahu Epstein
The Jewish Agency for Palestine
1720 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

My dear Friend:

Thank you for sending me a copy of the letter which you addressed to Shertok with reference to the Mufti.

I have again heard from Professor Yahuda who writes me that he has just received a letter from Mr. Masaryk from London stating that he had asked His Embassy in London to submit the material which Professor Yahuda had sent him about the Mufti to the War Criminals Commission.

Professor Yahuda feels that the Zionist representatives in Prague should be asked to see Masaryk in Prague and to urge him to carry on with this work.

He also feels that Herriot and Leon Blum should be requested to protest against the attitude of French officials in favor of the Mufti. Professor Yahuda had submitted the necessary material to the chairman of the French delegation in San Francisco, ex-Premier Bon Jour and his assistant took it with him to the Foreign Office in Paris. He also suggests that we approach the Yugoslav Embassy in Washington.

I think that the matter should be vigorously prosecuted, because the Mufti, unless he is brought to trial, is likely to become a powerful tool in the hands of our enemies.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

הסוכנות היהודית לארץ ישראל

The Jewish Agency for Palestine

WASHINGTON OFFICE: 1720 SIXTEENTH STREET, N. W. • MICHIGAN 4480

MEMORANDUM

September 21, 1946

TO: Dr. B. Akzin

FROM: Eliahu Epstein

Please transmit the following attachments to Dr. Silver when you have finished reading them:

1. Copies of extracts from the Arab press in the United States; (prepared by the Jewish Agency office in Washington, D. C.)

2. Copy of my confidential memorandum to Dr. Goldmann regarding two newspaper items on Msgr. Agel's mission to the United States;

3. Copy of my memorandum to Dr. Goldmann and attachments regarding possible statement to be made by Mr. Joseph V. Durna, President of the Assyrian National Federation in the United States.

4. General De Gaulle's reply to a question about Palestine.

E.E.

EE:rk
Attachments

M E M O R A N D U M

September 21, 1946

TO: Dr. Nahum Goldmann

FROM: Eliahu Epstein

For your information I am enclosing Extracts from the Arab Press in the United States. This is the first issue of these "extracts" prepared under my supervision. I am now inquiring the possibility of having these "extracts" prepared two or three times a month. They will contain items of interest to us which have not been covered by the "Digest of the American-Arab Press" published by the "Overseas News Agency." Besides, this so-called weekly survey was never a weekly one and sometimes news was delayed for several weeks.

The extracts will be sent regularly to the Members of the Executive in this country and also to our offices in Jerusalem and London who have already asked for such material.

EEsrk
Encs.

CCs: 1. Dr. Wise
2. Dr. Silver via Dr. Akzin ✓
3. Mr. Lipsky
4. Mr. Lourie

EXTRACTS FROM THE ARAB PRESS IN THE U.S.A.

THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT AND THE PATRIARCHAL ENVOY - "AL-HODA" (N.Y. Daily) 9/5/45
EDITORIAL

Monsignor Antoun Akl, celebrated Sunday mass Sept. 2 at the Maronite Church of St. Joseph, Washington Street, New York City. In his sermon he said the following: "The Lebanese Government has given me notice by her Minister in Washington, D. C., that she has cancelled my Passe-Port and that I only can use it when I go back to Lebanon."

This news fell on the group of worshippers like a thunderbolt. To us of Al-Hoda who knew it beforehand, it wasn't strange because the Lebanese Minister in Washington had sent to the editor of Al-Hoda the official notice in order to transmit it to Msgr. Akl himself. After we received the notice, we had a quiet talk on the subject with Prof. Edward Gerra, the Lebanese Consul of New York, and we abstained from publishing the news awaiting some explanation, for we were afraid that this was dynamite and we wanted to avoid troubles.

But Msgr. Akl couldn't wait for he saw in the order a trespassing by the Lebanese Government on the authority of his Patriarch who has the right to say to his children in America what is going on in their old country. So he announced the news in his sermon to a limited group of worshippers and it was up to us to publish it in our paper that everyone should know.

We saw afterward the Patriarchal Envoy who is still maintaining his point of view because it is clear and carries no doubt. This view is that he is the Envoy of His Patriarch and the other Christian leaders of Lebanon and he is not an emissary of the Lebanese Government. That he has a letter to present no matter what obstacles in his way in doing so. That the Lebanese Government when trying to shut his mouth is trespassing on the right of The Patriarchal Seat that he Msgr. Akl represents. That this action of the Government is clear proof that she is afraid that her dictatorial selfish actions be known, and that is why she is trying to stop the emissary who is going to tell the truth, and on the other hand she sends her envoys all over to serve her purposes and some of these do not agree with the safety of the State and life of Lebanon.

And the last word that the Envoy said to us was that he is a patriarchal emissary and that he will never obey but to his spiritual superior. That if he was denied the Lebanese citizenship, he will consider himself a martyr for he is doing his duty to his own country.

RETURNING SOLDIER SAW MUCH OF SYRIA - HIS VIEW OF SITUATION IN PALESTINE
"AS-SAMEER" (BROOKLYN Daily) August 31, 1945 AN INTERVIEW

George Haddad, son of Mr. & Mrs. Richard Haddad of Brooklyn, who returned recently from the Oriental theater of war, could truly say he saw much of the world at Uncle Sam's expense as a member of the Medical Corps. He was chosen especially because of his ability to speak Arabic, although born in this country. George could also say that he took a ship from Newport News on the 20th of December, 1942, and returned to the same pier on the 20th of July of this year.

Of this time George Haddad spent a year near Jaffa and Tel-Aviv. And what he has to say of Tel-Aviv is not exactly cheering to Zionists and their backers. He confirmed a story which appeared about two years ago in the New York News, namely, that Tel-Aviv is one of the worst vice-ridden cities in the world. His explanation was that the "All Jewish City" was full of refugee women who suddenly found themselves without any visible means of support.

We asked George what the sentiment of the American soldiers he met was on the question of Palestine and the Zionist claim for it. He said most soldiers he met sided with the Arabs. They felt that the Zionists were coming there with contribution funds to take away a country already in the hands of the Arabs.

THE PRESENT BRITISH POLICY IN EGYPT - "AL-ISLAH" (N.Y. Semi-Weekly) Sept. 7, 1946
AN ARTICLE BY PROFESSOR ALI AMEEN (OF LONDON ARAB OFFICE OF PROPAGANDA)

My various quests in Educational British circles and among some of the leaders in the Foreign British office guided me to the reply that I heard from many of them. It is this, what all of them say: "Great Britain is not going to interfere in the interior affairs of Egypt. What has happened in the past belongs to the past."

As for the revision of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty, someone in England says that: "Egypt must figure what she can give for what she is going to ask for!..."

Others said to me: "We do not consider the American Army in England an army of occupation!!!, so why do you speak of the British Army in Egypt as occupying Egypt".

Of course, this is an erroneous parallel and it does not need any clarification.

But no matter how there is a great necessity for action, and it may bring results, there are many opportunities for Egypt to take a chance now. Of course, this need be worked the hard way continuously.

General Spears told me that: "The treaty is like a marriage contract. The wife cannot be happy if the husband every once in a while brings out from his pocket. The marriage contract may be a necessity, but understanding between man and wife are more necessary for their happiness."

(Prepared by the office of the Jewish Agency for Palestine
in Washington, D. C.)

M E M O R A N D U M

C O N F I D E N T I A L

September 21, 1945

TO: Dr. Nahum Goldmann

FROM: Eliahu Epstein

Attached is a cutting from the "Christian Science Monitor" dealing with the nature and objects of Msgr. Aqel's mission to the United States. I call your attention to the last part of Msgr. Aqel's statement where he refers to the similarity of the Christians' position in the Lebanon with that of the Jews in Palestine. As I told you in our telephone conversation yesterday, Mr. Aqel is now visiting the Lebanese communities in Detroit and vicinity and as soon as he returns to New York, our meeting arranged by Mr. Mokarzel will take place.

Attached also is a cutting from the "New York Post" containing Richard Mowrer's conversation with Msgr. Aqel. This meeting between the two was arranged by me. Although the subject is dealt with in a superficial manner and the headline is not necessarily pertinent, it still covers a portion of the subject.

Naturally, more publicity will have to be given to Msgr. Aqel's mission to this country and this we shall have to discuss when we meet with him and Mr. Mokarzel.

EE:rk

Attachments - 2

MEMORANDUM

September 21, 1945

TO: Dr. Nahum Goldmann

FROM: Eliahu Epstein

I am enclosing for your information a copy of my letter to Mr. Joseph V. Durra, President of the Assyrian National Federation in the United States, and his reply.

As soon as I receive more material with regard to my suggestion to him, I shall inform you.

EE:rk

Encs. - 2

COPY

September 14, 1945

Mr. Joseph J. Durma
Assyrian National Federation
17 Academy Street
Newark 2, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Durma:

I am enclosing a copy of the "Palestine and Middle East" magazine published in Tel-Aviv, which includes a note on the Assyrians and their plight in the Jazireh. I am sure that this will be of interest to you and to your friends.

Although I devote most of my time to Zionist activities in this country, I am, by no means, becoming passive in the field in which we have mutual interests. I am glad to say that I have found among many people in prominent circles in this country a growing interest in the fate and future of the minorities in the Middle East. On many occasions in my conversations with political leaders, journalists and people interested in the affairs of the Middle East, I used the example of the Assyrians to indicate to them what happend and what might happen to minorities left to their own destiny amidst brutal and reactionary people governed by the ideal of sword and domination.

It is my sincere conviction that following the events in the Khabur, your Federation should have come out with some statement in defense of the victims in Syria. This statement would be timely because the future of the Middle East is under consideration at the present time at the Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the Big Five in London.

If you come out with such a statement, I shall do my best to give it wide circulation through the press and the radio. If there is anything else I can do, please let me know.

I extend my kind regards to you and Mr. Perley.

Yours sincerely,

EE:rk
Enc. - 1

Eliahu Epstein

COPY

ASSYRIAN NATIONAL FEDERATION

17 Academy Street

Newark 2, N.J.

September 19,
1945

Mr. Eliahu Epstein
The Jewish Agency for Palestine
1720 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Epstein:

Thank you for your letter of September 14th and the enclosure. As to your suggestion contained in your letter, the matter is receiving attention and you may expect to hear from me again shortly.

With kind personal regards, I remain,

Sincerely,

/s/ Joseph J. Durna

JJD.P

JOS. J. DURNA
President

MEMORANDUM

September 21, 1945

TO: Dr. Nahum Goldmann

FROM: Eliahu Epstein

The following is the authorized version of General De Gaulle's reply to a question about Palestine at the Press Conference with a group of American journalists held in Washington on August 24, 1945. The question reads as follows:

> "What is the position of the French Government and what will be the Arab reaction toward admission of European Jews to Palestine"?

ANSWER:

> "Palestine is at present under the Mandate of Great Britain. As a matter of fact, it is the only remaining one in the East. Regarding this, Great Britain is acting in Palestine according to the terms of her Mandate and France has not been consulted. That is why I believe I cannot answer you."

EE:rk

CC: 1. Dr. Wise
2. Dr. Silver via Dr. Akzin
3. Mr. Lipsky
4. Mr. Lourie

September 21, 1945

The Executive Director,
American Zionist Emergency Council,
342 Madison Avenue,
New York 17, New York

Dear Shapiro:

(1) Steinberg and I have met, a few days ago, Miss Cottrell and Mr. Metcalfe of the Washington office of the New York Herald-Tribune. The purpose of the conversation was mainly to afford Steinberg an introduction into newspaper circles in Washington, with the idea that he would further exploit it in order to widen his contacts in those circles.

The conversation was fairly useful. We agreed with Miss Cottrell that I will give her the background of a story about the Mufti and she will try to develop it into a Washington dateline article for her paper. Metcalfe has been lecturing in the past under the auspices of the Anti-Defamation League, knows Monsky, and is used to viewing the Jewish problem through the eyes of people who are considering it mainly a problem of fighting prejudice. I will try to educate him Zionistically. If I succeed, I will suggest to Miss Shepard to use him as a speaker on his favorite subject: "Behind the Scenes of American Foreign Policy." It is a subject in which he could do us no end of good. At the same time, the fact of our getting him some lecturing engagements would certainly help to make him our friend. But first I want to do a little educational work on him.

(2) I asked Steinberg to contact, in the first place, the representatives of the Missouri papers in view of the fact that this is the President's home state. He saw Mr. Harris of the St. Louis Post Dispatch, and Messrs. Felt and Kuhl of the St. Louis Star Times. Harris seemed fairly friendly to our cause and explained to Steinberg that, while work with individual newspaper men is important, much quicker and more decisive results can be obtained by contacting: (a) publishers and editors of newspaper chains and of individual papers, (b) editorial writers for individual papers and newspaper groups, (c) columnists. He particularly advised us to get in touch with Jack Knight, the publisher of the very important Knight group of papers, which include the Chicago Daily News, the Detroit Free Press, and others. Mr. Knight lives in Akron, Ohio. He further suggested to pay special attention to the Kansas City Star, the President's home-town newspaper, which is being read by President Truman faithfully and with great affection.

A lengthy conversation was also held with the gentlemen from the St. Louis Star Times. Mr. Pelt, the chief of the bureau, was friendly, but Mr. Kuhl was skeptical and asked questions which revealed a certain sympathy with the viewpoint of the American Council of Judaism.

(3) In connection with the above, I want to drew your attention to the suggestion made by me sometime ago that Dr. Silver meet Roy Howard and ask him to undertake an editorial campaign favoring our cause. I would suggest that this matter is of tremendous urgency in connection with our efforts to arouse public opinion. You may remember Sack's suggestion that an approach to Roy Howard would be facilitated if the editor of the Howard papers in Cleveland, a friend and admirer of Dr. Silver, were to be interested in the matter. At any rate, I would suggest that you concentrate immediately on bringing about a meeting between Dr. Silver and Howard.

I hope that you will do the same with Knight and that, unless you have a first-rate man in Kansas City who could obtain for us the editorial and personal sponsorship of Mr. Roberts, a first-rate man be sent from New York to Kansas City for this purpose.

I would further drew your attention to the ease with which the Hearst newspapers are eager to defend the Jewish position in the Palestine problem. Until now, only the New Zionists and the Bergsonites made use of Mr. Hearst's attitude in this respect, and I would advise you to consider very carefully whether, despite the obvious reasons to the contrary, we shouldn't get in direct touch with Mr. Hearst and his editorial writers.

All in all, nothing would further our campaign of public propaganda more than a series of editorials in a large number of American newspapers. I think, therefore, that seeing people like Roy Howard, Jack Knight, Roberts, and others is more important than almost any other individual step.

(4) In connection with the President's many ties with Kansas City, Steinberg threw out the suggestion that one of the next conferences of the A.F.C. should perhaps be held in Kansas City.

(5) Eliahu Epstein has seen Mowrer, Stone, and Uhl. Mowrer is about to publish, according to Epstein, a most excellent article about our problem, and Uhl is also preparing something which ought to be of great indirect assistance to us.

(6) In accordance with your request over the telephone, I have informed Steinberg that you need him urgently in New York and that he is to report at the New York office on Tuesday morning. I have asked him to stay over Monday since he is scheduled to see Reynolds of the Chicago Sun. It took him till now to get his bearings around Washington, and now that he was about to begin really useful work, he is to go away. This shows the need for letting me have an assistant who would be able to stay. If the man is a good man at all, he is most useful if we can count on his continued presence over a lengthy period.

In accordance with your authorization over the telephone, I am engaging Miss Ruskin as office manager, to take Miss Pierce's place. As soon as Miss Ruskin

The Executive Director September 21, 1945

will be able to start work, I hope someday next week, I will start using Miss Pierce for contact work. Thereafter, all administrative matters, as well as hotel reservations for distinguished guests from out-of-town, will have to be handled by Miss Ruskin.

(7) I will send a separate report regarding the conversation with Mr. Acheson. Before doing so, I will submit the draft of my report to Messrs. Neumann and Levinthal for their corrections. In the meantime, Mr. Neumann will undoubtedly inform you of the general tenor of our conversation.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:ow
cc to Dr. Silver

WRHS AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

M E M O R A N D U M

September 21, 1945

TO: Dr. Nahum Goldmann

FROM: Eliahu Epstein

I enclose a report received from Mr. Harry Batshaw, Co-Chairman of Zionist Public Relations in Canada. This report was written at my request and Mr. Batshaw promised to keep us informed about the Arab activities in Canada.

EE:rk
Enc. - 1

CC: 1. Dr. Wise
2. Dr. Silver via Dr. Akzin
3. Mr. Lipsky
4. Messrs. Lourie and Weisgal

Montreal, September 14, 1945.

M E M O R A N D U M

RE

ARAB PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN CANADA

For approximately the last two years, a group of Syrians in Canada have been conducting Arab propaganda against Zionism. They organized the Canadian-Arab Friendship League. As far as we are aware, this organization has no Canadian members. We are not aware of how extensive its Syrian membership is. Our impression is that they are only a handful of wealthy political-minded Syrians who have formed themselves into an executive to give the semblance of an organization. The leading spirits in this group are the following:

S. Masoud, candy manufacturer,
825 Sherbrooke St. E.
Montreal.

George Tabah, moving-picture owner
and dry goods merchant.

Their activities consist of the following:-

(1) Press releases, whenever possible, presenting the Arab anti-Zionist point of view - see samples from clippings attached. They employ a young French-Canadian newspaperman as their contact with the press.

(2) The holding of meetings or alleged meetings at the Windsor Hotel, Montreal, which enables them to get publicity in the guise of the report of a meeting.

(3) Availing themselves of the presence of prominent people in the Arab world who may be visiting in Canada to obtain anti-Zionist statements during their passage through Canada, e.g. the Egyptian delegate to the Civil Aviation Conference.

(4) Extensive program of Letters to the Editor. They tried the stunt of writing in the name of a non-existant Jew who espoused the Arab cause. We were able to establish that the letter was written on the typewriter of the then Chairman of the Canadian Arab Friendship League.

(5) They arranged a banquet at the Windsor Hotel at which 300 people attended to hear Professor Prince and Mr. Malouf of Boston.

(6) They have recently undertaken a monthly publication, copies of which have been forwarded to you. It is called The Canadian Arab.

(7) They have arranged for speakers to tour Canada, such as Professor Hitti, who addressed meetings of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs last year.

(8) They arranged for distribution of literature from a Christian Moslem Society in New York

הסוכנות היהודית לארץ ישראל

The Jewish Agency for Palestine

WASHINGTON OFFICE: 1720 SIXTEENTH STREET, N. W. • MICHIGAN 4480

September 24, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
East 105th Street at Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of September 21.

I am transmitting a copy of your letter to Mr. Shertok in London from where it will be easier to approach both the Czech Government and the French political leaders regarding the Mufti. I agree with Professor Yahuda's suggestion that it is also necessary to approach the Yugoslav Embassy here and I shall take the necessary steps to do so.

I agree entirely with the last paragraph of your letter indicating the necessity for urgent and vigorous action in this matter.

With kindest personal regards,

Yours very sincerely,

E. Epstein

EE:rk

Eliahu Epstein

Memo to Benjamin Alexander

See

Marion Pelham

Shapiro

Ben Hecht

September 25, 1945

The Executive Director
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Shapiro:

(1) In addition to yesterday's report about my conversation with Henderson, I want to tell you that I am continuing my efforts to get in touch with the chiefs of the four European Divisons in the Department of State (Eastern European, Central European, Western European, and Southern European). The chief of the British Commonwealth Division is trying to arrange for me meetings with these other chiefs. As I explained in one of my previous letters, I do this in order to get intra-departmental pressure in favor of solving the Jewish question in order to counteract somewhat the pressure of the Middle-Eastern Division which tends to over-emphasize the Mid-Eastern difficulties involved in any such solution.

(2) I had yesterday a second luncheon conference with Thomas Stokes, the noted columnist. We went thoroughly into the Palestine problem, and into the run-around which we are being given. Stokes said that until now he deliberately avoided writing about the matter because he did not know sufficiently about it. The material which I have sent him and our two conversations have given him a great deal of knowledge, but he wants to know more about the subject before putting his thoughts on paper. I invited him to go out and study it and talk about it to anyone he would like. The only thing I asked him is that he should call on me again to ask me to answer any ~~questions of~~ doubt which might arise in his mind in the course of his investigation. This he promised to do.

When I asked Stokes why it is that courageous thinkers who come out very forthrightly with specific recommendations on a great many controversial questions prefer to sit on the fence when it comes to Palestine, he told me that in his opinion this is largely so because these people hear from some of their most respected Jewish friends that Jews are not unanimous on the Palestine issue and that there are serious reasons against establishing a Jewish State. -- Of course, I went very thoroughly into this argument and told him everything there is to be told about our Jewish opponents.

The Executive Director September 25, 1945

(3) As Steinberg will probably tell you, he had a very interesting conversation yesterday with Tom Reynolds of the Chicago Sun. Reynolds was very friendly, advised concentrated pressure on Truman through Byrnes, Snyder, and Hannegan in this order of preference. He particularly suggested that we should systematically get all our friends, Senators, etc., to work on Secretary Byrnes as soon as he returns, this being the shortest cut to obtaining a favorable decision. He also advised us to pay special attention to publishers and editorial writers, and particularly to get favorable editorials in papers such as the Baltimore Sun and the Washington Post, which are attentively read by President Truman. Reynolds further suggested that he would be ready to ask any questions concerning the Palestine matter at the White House press conferences which we may wish to ask him. Steinberg told him that I will be in touch with him regarding such questions.

(4) Epstein had a further discussion with Mowrer regarding our matter. Mowrer's advice was that we should not waste time on Senators, etc., since we don't have that much time at our disposal. He suggested that we ought to see President Truman, together with Hannegan; that at this meeting, our leaders should be accompanied by a few influential Jewish politicians from important centers, or at least from New York; that, without mincing words, we should make it clear during that interview that unless President Truman acts to redeem in full the Democratic platform, five million American Jews will, in a body, swing over to the Republican Party. In Mowrer's opinion, this is the only line of argument that would produce adequate results. He added that he knew that we may be lacking people who would have the courage to say that in so many words, but that he did not see any other way for us. Before driving Palestinian Jews into the awful risks of an unsuccessful revolt, it is, in his opinion, our duty to attempt a solution by means of political pressure in this country.

I believe that there is a lot to be said for Mowrer's suggestion to Epstein. I think, however, that this argument should not be made by us face-to-face with the President. It could and should be made by us, in even more forthright language, when talking to Hannegan, but we should leave it to Hannegan to convey the word to the President. When we talk to him, we should discuss the issue with him on the bases of fair play, justice, and a wise foreign policy. It is important that the President should know of the implications of the domestic political scene, but any attempt on our part to threaten the President would be, in my opinion, most harmful.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:ow

September 25, 1945

Dr. Nahum Goldmann

Eliahu Epstein

SUBJECT: Arab activities in Argentina, Mexico and Guatemala

1. Argentina

Following my request to the Zionist Federation of Argentina for information on Arab activities, the following reply was received from them on September 12th.

The number of Arabs living in Argentina is about 300,000, the majority of whom are Christians. The number of Moslems and Druses is insignificant.

The Arabs in Argentina have the following national organisations: "Congreso Panarabe", "Honor y Patria" and "Home Club." Besides these, there are various local organisations and institutions, apparently of a social and welfare character, including the Syrian-Lebanese Hospital in Buenos Aires. The "Honor y Patria" is the strongest among them. The President is Moises Asise, a Christian. The head of "Home Club" is Raquel Ketlun, a Christian woman of Syrian origin.

Two Arab dailies appear in Buenos Aires. One is "As-Zeman" in Arabic, and the other "L'Eco de L'Orient" in Spanish. There are also some lesser publications in the interior of Argentina, both in Arabic and in Spanish.

There is little contact between the Arabs in Argentina and the Arabs in U.S.A., and there are no indications, as yet, of contacts between the Arab organisations in Argentina and the Arab Legations in Washington.

During the war, Axis agents were very active among the Arabs in Argentina. A Doctor De Stefani, who, a few years ago toured Latin-America and visited Argentina ostensibly as a lecturer, was really out to gain Arab sympathies for the Axis.

The "Congreso Panarabe" in Argentina is affiliated with some groups but is not accepted by the "Honor y Patria" organisation. In spite of the pretentious name of "Congreso", its influence is rather limited, but it is this organisation which publishes, from time to time, anti-Zionist publications and tries to be active in this respect.

Following Dr. De Stefani's visit to Argentina, the anti-democratic newspapers in Buenos Aires, "Pampero" and "Crisol" supported Arab anti-Zionist activities. These papers have since folded up. The Anti-Zionist propaganda is, however, continued by some of the papers which replaced "Pampero" and "Crisol." The anti-Zionist propaganda of the Arabs in Argentina was, until now, a sporadic effort due entirely to the initiative of some individuals and did not arouse much interest among the Arab population in general.

According to the Zionist Federation in Argentina, there is no need for counteracting the Arab propaganda and unless something more serious occurs in this respect, the best thing is to ignore it, at least for the time being.

The letter of the Federation contains a promise to keep us informed about any developments in this field and to advise us of necessary action to be taken by us.

2. Mexico

The following is an extract from Mrs. R. Marden's report on her visit to Mexico from August 24th to September 2nd, 1945:

ARABS IN MEXICO

Leading Sephardim and Arab speaking Jews in Mexico maintain friendly relations with some of the local Arabs. Eighty per cent of the depositors of the Arab bank of ABU MRAD are Jews, among them also the WIZO of Mexico. The owner-director of the bank, ALFREDO ABU MRAD, a Lebanese educated in New York City, exerts a powerful influence on local Arab community. When the Syrian-Arab review TEMPESTAD started publishing a series of anti-Jewish and anti-Zionist articles some three months ago, Alfredo Abu Mrad intervened and put a complete stop to the propaganda campaign.

According to the statement of the local Zionists, Abu Mrad contributes regularly to Zionist funds, buys lots of tickets, not just one or two, for Zionist functions and offered his services to be on the alert and to communicate to the Jews all information concerning any attempt to introduce anti-Zionist activities into Mexico. He assured the Jews who called on him at my suggestion that he had at his disposal the services of "ten of the foremost local Arabs to run out of the country any visitor who would attempt to stir up ill-will between Jews and Arabs."

As there was no time for careful exploratory work to ascertain the character of our would-be helpers, I refrained from personally meeting with a group of Arabs, lest it may serve as a pretext for starting an anti-Zionist campaign. But the existing friendly relations between the Sephardim and the Arabs in Mexico could serve perhaps as a testing ground for initiating an Arab pro-Zionist movement in these regions.

Memorandum
Dr. Goldmann

NOTE: It may not be of any significance, but it is nevertheless noteworthy that the newspaper EXCELSIOR of Mexico City, Aug. 31, 1945, Section Three, page one, column one, carried an article entitled: "WHOLESALE ARAB DIVORCES, Saudi Arabia Calls her Scattered Sons".

The article relates that "young Arabs are divorcing their Mexican wives, often leaving them and their children without any means of subsistence, and doing so in order to answer the call of their country and their leaders they have to obey and they leave."

8. Guatemala

The following is a copy of a letter received from the secretary of the Zionist Federation in Guatemala:

I studied the questionnaire which you sent me August 2nd, and the only important fact which I can give you with regard to the Arab colony is that there are 250 to 300 souls all of them of the Catholic religion.

They have no organization and no political influence in the country. In regard to Palestine they are all anti-Zionists. Whenever there is some Zionist propaganda, as it happened last year, on the occasion of Mr. Shutkin's visit here in behalf of the Keren Hayesseth, they came out with a series of articles in the press.

For your information I wish to state that 2 or 3 months ago an Arab journalist from Chile visited Guatemala and announced in the press that the object of his journey was to strengthen the relations between all the Arab communities on the American Continent. He spent here a few days and then went southward.

/s/ Salomon Perera, Secretary.

I am expecting to receive more material regarding the Arab activities in the Latin Americas and when this material is compiled, we shall have to review the situation and consider the steps required for properly facing these activities and the method of counteracting them.

CCs: 1. Dr. Wise
2. Dr. Silver via Dr. Aksin
3. Mr. Lipsky
4. Messrs. Lourie and Weingal

EMark

C O N F I D E N T I A L

Dr. Nahum Goldmann — September 25, 1945

Eliahu Epstein

Subject: French Policy Regarding Palestine

From a conversation with a prominent member of the French Embassy in Washington I got thefollowing interpetation of the Fremch position regarding Zionism and the Palestine question.

Although the French recognize thenecessity of the Jewish people for a national home, both as a refuge for those who survived Hitler's extermination program and as a compensation of the moral sufferings of the Jewish people (whose feeling for national independence grew enormously since the war), France finds herself at the present in a most difficult position regarding her relations with the Moslem and Arab worlds.

The position is more serious than is generally recognized even by the French. The policy of the Vichy administration coupled with a corrupt local regime have brought about an unprecedented crisis in France's relations with Moslems and Arabs in North Africa. The present situation there both socially and economically as well as politically may jeopardize the whole position of France in Algeria, Tunis and Morocco, if some drastic means are not taken to improve it.

The influence of the Arab League in North Africa is growing, especially in Morocco. There is a committee for the defense of Morocco's independence in Cairo, which has been active in Egypt since the formation of the League, and there is a growing demand in Moroccan circles for inclusion of their country as well as Tunisia and Algeria in the Arab League.

One of the problems facing the French government is to protect France's influence in the Mediterranean. The strength of Arab nationalism evidenced at the time of Syrian and Lebanese crisis and now in the case of Palestine has made a deep impression on the French. With the loss of French control in Syria and its lessening in the Lebanon the French government is concentrating now on keeping its influence in the Mediterranean through the Moslem countries in North Africa.

The French aims in the Mediterranean are: first, preserving its hegemony in North African as essential for protection and strengthening of French economy; second, protection of lines of communication to their imperial possessions in the Far East and Equatorial Africa; third, to preserve the traditional influence of the French culture and language in the Middle East as a springboard for both political and economic contacts in the future.

Consequently, in these circumstances the Zionists should not expect any favors or expressions of sympathy from De Gaulle or his government. With his strong anti-British feelings De Gaulle will only be too glad to see the Palestine situation boiling in order to remind the Arabs that the French are not alone responsible for checking Arab unity and hindering their independence.

It is also true that most of the present advisers on Moslem and Arab affairs in the French government are inclined to sympathize with the Arab cause more than some of the leading personalities in this field in the past. (My informant refered in this connection to Dr. Robert Montagne and G.Gorse, a member of the French National Assembly and a confidential adviser on the Arab and Moslem affairs to some prominent members of the present French government.)

The best we can expect as far as French attitude towards Zionism is concerned is neutrality. If, however, our problem is refered for decision to any international body it is doubtful whether the French would support the Zionist cause and our demands for a Jewish Palestine.

The position taken by the French regarding the Mufti can be explained by their present policy of appeasing the Moslems and Arabs. Although this policy harms France's prestige in the country and abroad, very few people would dare to advise De Gaulle not to use the Mufti if there is the slightest chance of improving the French position in the Arab and Moslem worlds by that means.

When the conversation turned to the question of Zionist work in this country my informer called my attention to the astonishing lack of knowledge he found among the American public and political leaders regarding the Jewish arguments for demanding that Palestine become a Jewish State. Even France has to spend

half a million dollars yearly to popularize her cause through the press, lectures and other media of propaganda. The British spend two million dollars yearly on this kind of work in theU. S. A. The Zionist cause, which depends primarily on the good will and sympathy of the public opinion, apparently did very little toward making itself known even among the circles which are so important for the success of our political demands.

Although skeptical regarding our chances with the French government, my informant encouraged us to strengthen our contacts with the French Embassy, among whom we can find friends and sympathizers with Jewish sufferings and the Zionist cause, and by no means should we ignore the possibility that these persons may be influential in matters of importance to us now and in the future.

N. G.

CC: 1. Dr. Wise
2. Dr. Silver via Dr. Akzin ✓
3. Mr. Lipsky
4. Messrs. Lourie and Weisgal
5. Mr. Shertok
6. Dr. Magnes

EE:ds

Dr. Nahum Goldmann

Eliahu Epstein

September 25, 1945

Attached is a summary of "Arab Political News" prepared by our office in Jerusalem.

E.E.

EE:rk

Attachment - 1

CC: 1. Dr. Wise
2. Dr. Silver via Dr. Akzin
3. Mr. Lipsky
4. Messrs. Lourie and Weisgal

21st August, 1945.

ARAB POLITICAL NEWS

Reaction to President Truman's Statement on Palestine

President Truman's statement on Palestine evoked a strong reaction from Arab statesmen and the Arabic press. 'Abdurrahman 'Azzam, Secretary-General of the Arab League, addressing journalists in Alexandria, said that the statement was communicated to him by the American Minister in Egypt. (This is regarded in Arab circles as implying U.S. recognition of the Arab League.) This official statement, he said, was less alarming than the versions published in the press. At the same time he expressed determined opposition to Jewish immigration to Palestine and stated that such immigration could not be carried into effect without the use of force. Palestine has already taken in immigrants in excess of its absorptive capacity, and was not capable of solving the world Jewish problem. The establishment of a Jewish State in an Arab country would encounter the opposition of the Palestinian Arabs, and of the Arab and Moslem worlds. Encouragement of Zionist aspirations would lead to a constant clash of hopes and religious desires. 'Azzam said that he relied on the late President Roosevelt's solemn promise to King Ibn Sa'ud that he would not help the Jews against the Arabs of Palestine. President Truman, too, had renewed the promise of the United States to consult the Arab States in all matters affecting the rights of the Arabs in Palestine. The Arabs therefore offered determined opposition to the U. S. suggestion at Potsdam and to the negotiations they were conducting in London. If the Palestine problem was not an international one, and Russia had nothing to do with it, the Arabs could not understand how America could assume the right to interfere. The Palestine problem was primarily an Arab one, and in the first instance concerned the Palestinian Arabs and their neighbours.

Nuri al-Sajahji, Iraqi Premier, after meeting 'Azzam, stated that Palestine was Arab and had to remain Arab. President Truman's statement was to be regarded merely as the expression of a wish, and not as a solution. The Palestine problem concerned the Arabs and Jews of Palestine, and must be solved in the Middle East, without any outside interference.

Nahas Pash also made use of the opportunity to make a pronouncement. He said that the Palestine problem was one which concerned all the Arabs, and he referred to his past activities on behalf of the Arabs of Palestine. He demanded the implementation of the decisions embodied in the Alexandria protocol, which had been drawn up while his government was in power, and called for an urgent meeting of the Council of the Arab League to deal with the Palestine issue.

The Arabic press reacted very strongly to the statement, and its attitude was strengthened by the fact that so much prominence was given to the Arab point of view in the foreign, and especially the English, press. The heaviest attacks were directed against President Truman before the true text of his statement was made available, statements having been attributed to him regarding the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine and support of Zionist demands, especially immigration. The version of the statement circulated evoked a storm of protests and threats, and it was characterised as the greatest blow to the Arabs. At the same time there are points in the statement which were interpreted in favour of the Arabs. Satisfaction was expressed at the statement that the Palestine problem is not an international one, and the plea was put forward that only the Arabs and Britain - and possibly the U.S.A. - had the right to participate in the discussions. Some papers agreed that the Palestinian Jews were also entitled to be a party to the negotiations, but the interference of world Jewry and the Jewish Agency was opposed. There was also satisfaction at the fact that no solution or settlement would be reached without consultation with the Arabs, and that the solution would be a peaceful one. A particularly good impression was created among the Arabs by the President's reluctance to send half a million troops to keep order in the Middle East. So far discussions in Arab political circles had not touched upon the question of security; but now President Truman's statement has raised the issue, and it is being discussed widely. The Arabs regard this as one of the means of opposing the implementation of Zionist demands. In many quarters the statement is regarded in the nature of an invitation to the Arabs to exert a greater degree of pressure.

Articles in "Al-Balagh" and "Al-Muqattam" dwelled upon the Zionist menace to the Arab countries. This was also the gist of Taqi ad-Din's statements upon his return to Egypt after visiting Palestine. A special point was made in the Arabic press of accusing the Jews of not being satisfied with Palestine and of having expansionist intentions. There has also been growing pressure to secure a meeting of the League Council, especially following President Truman's statement. Apart from Nahas Pasha, who demanded that the League Council be convened, the Iraqi Premier announced that a meeting would take place at the earliest opportunity. 'Azzam, however, said that it would depend on circumstances. The Arab Party has asked the Syrian Government to take steps to secure an early meeting of the Council to discuss the Palestine question. It is also reported from Arab sources that suggestions have been made in Syria and the Lebanon to the Palestinian leaders, particularly the Husseinis, to convene an all-Arab

conference on Palestine which would represent, not governments, but parties, and reaffirm the Arab demands with regard to Palestine. In the meantime the secretariat of the Husaini party has decided to demand the termination of the Mandate, to declare Palestine an independent country, to protest against President Truman's statement and to send messages of appreciation to Mahas Pasha, Nandi al-Bahjaji and 'Azzam. It was also decided to ask the Arab governments to convene a meeting of the League Council immediately.

Arab Diplomats in London Busy

While at one end Ibn Sa'ud is threatening to make difficulties regarding the oil concessions he has granted to American firms if America supports Zionism, and his son, the Emir Faisal, as well as the Syrian premier, Faris al-Khouri, have been affirming the unity of the Arab world on the Palestine issue and its readiness to oppose a pro-Jewish solution, diplomatic activity in London has been proceeding. 'Azzam, who is in touch with the Arab statesmen, has asked the Emir Faisal, and also 'Abdul-Illah and Nuri as-Sa'id, to put the Palestine question before the British Government. Camille Sham'oun, the Lebanese Minister, who has met Mr. Bevin, has been asked by 'Azzam to consult with Faisal whether an urgent meeting of the League Council should be summoned. Both Faisal and 'Abdul-Illah are to meet Mr. Bevin, and the latter has also been invited to tea by Mr. Attlee. The Arab statesmen have decided that at their meetings with the leading members of the cabinet they will all insist upon the implementation of the White Paper. They are not alarmed by President Truman's statement.

The English friends of the Arabs, among them Gen. Spears, are also increasing their activity. In the course of a speech Spears said that a Jewish State could be established only by force of arms, and that the League would oppose it with all the means at its disposal. At a reception given by the Syrian Minister to mark the second anniversary of the accession of Quwatli, the President, Spears called upon the Arab world to display unity. Spears has also been instrumental in forming a pro-Arab parliamentary committee which will maintain contact with the propaganda bureau in London.

Reports of Arab League Decisions on Land Purchase in Palestine Confirmed

Previous reports about the decisions of the League Economic Committee regarding the establishment of two funds, for land purchase and development in Palestine respectively, are confirmed. The land purchasing company will have a capital of LP.1,000,000, of which half will be paid up immediately, and the development company will have a capital of LP.500,000. Although the Economic Committee has concluded its sittings, several members have remained behind to work out the share of each member State in the above mentioned expenditure. The final decision on the question of the land of Palestine can be regarded as a compromise between the supporters of 'Alami and the Husainis (who stress the importance of agricultural development and guidance) and those who incline toward the Sunduq al-Umma and the Istiqlalists (who place more emphasis on land rescue by direct purchase) including, it is said, 'Azzam himself. The Economic Committee hopes to justify this expenditure to the parliaments of the Arab countries by suggesting that Palestine should be converted into an "agricultural experimental station" for the whole Arab world.

The carrying into effect of the two land undertakings will depend upon three things. The first is the extent to which the Palestinian Arabs themselves share in the financial burden. As regards land purchase they are already maintaining the Sunduq, but they have so far not made any contributions towards development. The second condition is that the Palestinian Arabs should reach some understanding among themselves and be prepared to recognise the importance of both the land purchasing and development undertakings, in the form decided upon by the Economic Committee in its attempt to make an adjustment between the Sunduq and the "Constructive Project." The third condition is that the Arab League should send representatives to control the working of the two undertakings, especially from a financial point of view.

ROUND-UP OF NEWS FROM THE ARAB COUNTRIES

Background of Formation of New Lebanese Government

The 'Abdul Hamid Karameh Government resigned after achieving a large majority in parliament. It was known that Karameh had been wanting to resign for a long time. However, he deferred his resignation till the return from San Francisco of Wadi' Na'im and the conclusion of the negotiations with the French. Moreover, the Governmentdid not desire to avoid facing parliament, and wished to resign in an honourable manner, after having proved to the people that the majority of parliamentary deputies approved

of its policy. Of late the Karmeh Government had been subjected to constant attacks by the nationalist opposition headed by Riad as-Sulh, who called for closer co-operation with the countries belonging to the Arab League and a more aggressive policy towards France. In the present circumstances, in view of the fact that the British Government is trying to reach an understanding with France, Karameh could not meet the demands of the extremists, but was forced to display a more moderate attitude, so that in the end he had to make way for more moderate elements.

The Lebanese trade unions have sent a cable to the secretary of the I.T.U.C. in Paris asking for an invitation to the conference.

Syria

The Ministry of Education intends to send 200 students abroad every year. A hundred and fifty of them will study in American, and 50 in English, universities.

The Turkish press reports attacks by young Arabs on Turkish inhabitants of Syrian villages near the Turkish border. The Arabs demanded contributions for the victims of the recent disturbances in Syria, and when the Turks, who are poor, refused to give money, a clash ensued in which a number of Turks were killed and injured.

Egypt

The Government is considering the establishment of a company to maintain a permanent air service between Cairo and London. Half the capital will be provided by Misr Airways and the other half by British Overseas Airways.

The Government has decided to conclude a pact of friendship and good neighbourly relations with Yemen.

It has been decided to dismiss all foreigners from the Egyptian police force by the 1st September, 1946.

Sa'udi Arabia

Ibn Sa'ud has stated his intention of equipping his army with the most modern types of weapons. There are to be several armoured brigades and five air squadrons. He also wishes to send officers and men to Europe to complete their military training.

PALESTINE ARAB AFFAIRS

Istiqlalists Persist in Attempts to Form Higher Committee

The Istiqlalists are still persisting in their attempts to form a Higher Committee. Jad Sweidan, one of the Christians who has been suggested as a member, is trying to mediate between the Palestinian leaders with the assistance of the Emir 'Abdullah. As usual, "Falastin" is trying to exert pressure and to move matters forward by anticipating events and publishing unauthorised reports. So embarrassing have these reports become, in fact, that Sweidan has been forced to deny them and to announce that, although negotiations are proceeding, no agreement has so far been reached. There is no change in the attitude of the Husseinis, who continue to insist upon their demands. If the other parties wish to form a Higher Committee, they will apparently have to do so without the participation of the Husseinis, and it is very doubtful whether they will do so. It is reported from Christian circles that there is dissatisfaction at the prospect of Anton 'Atallah and Jad Sweidan being appointed Christian representatives on the Higher Committee. The names of more suitable candidates are being mentioned, among them 'Isa al-Isa and Yousef Sahyoun.

Politicians in the Arab countries are also trying to intervene with a view to resolving the Palestine Arab deadlock. It is, for instance, reported that Hamed al-Wadi, and 'Iraqi, formerly head of the Emir 'Abdullah's office, who is in close touch with the Iraqi regent and the Hashemite house, is now on a visit to Palestine and Transjordan in connection with the negotiations for the formation of a Higher Committee.

The Istiqlalists seem to have realised that there are no prospects of achieving their aim of a Higher Committee by means of agreement among the party leaders. They are, therefore, reverting to their old proposal, in which they were backed by the non-party group of young men connected with them, for the formation of a Higher Committee through a broadly constituted people's conference of elected representatives. This is the line now being adopted by Rashid Haj Ibrahim in "Al-Nahda" and by Shukri at-Taji in "Falastin."

The Arab National Front is pursuing the same tactics as the Istiqlalists. It was originally formed in Jaffa as an ostensibly non-party organisation. However, its purpose has not been achieved, and it has become a small and one-sided group. The Haifa branch of the National Front is virtually non-existent, while attempts to found branches elsewhere failed. The Jaffa branch is now making efforts to get into the limelight and to become recognised as a general national organisation. It is also engaged in making preparations for an all-Arab conference, which it would like to place under the patronage of 'Azzam, the purpose of which will be to demand a sovereign national State for the Arabs of Palestine. It has also sent cables to Ibn Sa'ud, Shukri Quwatli, President Truman and others. In order to attract attention to itself, it has provided three advocates to conduct the defence of the bandit leader, Hamad Suwata, who was caught recently. It has opened a new club in Jaffa with a library of books on political, economic and social questions in which statistical material and reports are to be collected.

Jerusalem Propaganda Bureau to Assemble Material on Jews

The central propaganda bureau in Jerusalem is getting down to work and has established contact with the bureau in London. In addition to Wadi' Tarazi, the staff of the bureau has been joined by Burhan Ragheb Dajani, who is due to go to London in two months' time. Negotiations are still proceeding with a view to securing the services of Hajai Husseini and 'Abdul Hamid Yasin. As it has still been impossible to find premises, the bureau continues to be housed in Musa 'Alami's residence where it occupies three rooms. It is reported that Wadi' Tarazi has set himself the aim of assembling material about the Jewish population, its leaders and outstanding personalities, parties and institutions. He intends to form an archive on Jewish affairs which will include a card-index of Jewish personalities. He is also reported to have begun learning Hebrew.

The London propaganda bureau is preparing a reply to the manifesto issued by the Zionist Conference. Its members are appearing in public with the Arab diplomats and Spears' followers. Emile Bustani, the businessman and journalist, is also actively engaged in propaganda activity.

It is reported from Washington that Miss Najla 'Izzuddin, of the propaganda bureau there, is in touch with officials of the State Department, and that she is lecturing in universities.

Workers' Society Takes Measures against Dissidents

A meeting of the "Left" was held in Jaffa recently, and was attended by representatives from various parts of Palestine. The Haifa branch of the Federation of Trade Unions was also represented. Boulos Farah and Mukhlis 'Amr were nominated as delegates to the I.T.U.C. The resolutions adopted contained nothing new. They included the usual demands for a democratic regime and denunciations of Zionism, Jewish immigration and land sales to Jews. The meeting also demanded the return of the exiled politicians, and the inclusion of workers' representatives on the staffs of the propaganda bureaux. Meanwhile the Haifa branch of the Workers' Society has launched a campaign against the dissidents. It sent two lorry-loads of hecklers to the meeting in Jaffa who caused it to finish earlier than scheduled. The Society has announced the dissolution of the dissident branches, and has informed the authorities to that effect. It has also stated that the seceding members will no longer be able to make use of the name or amenities of the Society. The Society has also begun to mobilise supporters, even among the members of the seceding branches. The members who have broken off from the Society will now have to choose a new name for themselves. According to an estimate by the Society, they number only 17 per cent of the total membership, although other estimates vary considerably: for instance, "As-Sirat" thinks the "Left" have a majority. The Arabic press on the whole has refrained from taking sides in the dispute. In order to strengthen its position the Society has approached 'Azzam with a request to help in the formation of workers' movements in the Arab countries and in securing their representation at the I.T.U.C. There is also talk of trying to form an all-Arab workers' movement.

Husseinis Displaying Signs of Renewed Activity

As a result of the movement in favour of the establishment of a Higher Committee, the Husseinis have been forced to adopt a more active policy. They have lately been sending a large number of telegrams to Arab statesmen and British Government departments, in all of which they reiterate their demands. In view of the end of the war they demand the revocation of protective and emergency legislation, and especially of the censorship. They are making a special point of trying to secure the repatriation of the exiled leaders. They have asked the Emir Faisal

representations to the British Government, and have sent a memorandum to the Syrian Minister in London with regard to Jamal Huseini and the detainees in Rhodesia. At the meeting of the party secretariat of the 20th August it was also decided to issue a manifesto to the people on the present situation, to convene a party conference for the middle of September, and to hold another meeting of the secretariat three days later to continue the discussion.

Opposition to Joint Citrus Delegation Continues

Despite all the efforts of the members of the Citrus Delegation to demonstrate that their participation in the Delegation will be for the benefit of the Arabs, strong opposition still persists. A manifesto has been published in the press signed by 'Awni 'Abdul Hadi and Dr. Husein Khalidi condemning the joint Delegation in the strongest terms. They regard it as evidence of agreement on the Arab side to the principle of equal representation with the Jews in Government institutions, and ascreating a precedent for a round table and co-operation with the Jews. The Arab citrus growers are urged to forgo their temporary economic advantage for the sake of political interests and to undertake separate economic activity. There is also increased opposition to the Government Citrus Control Board, and there have been demands from citrus growers and merchants to abolish it. To that end signatures to petitions are being obtained and memoranda sent.

Sultan of Morocco Wants Mufti

Following the conclusion of the Far Eastern war, there have been increased demands for the repatriation of the exiled politicians and the release of political prisoners. In addition to the efforts being made by the Husseinis, the Emir 'Abdullah has stated that he is doing what he can in the matter. Petitions and telegrams are pouring into the Government offices from all kinds of organisations.

It is learned that the Sultan of Morocco is negotiating with the French authorities with a view to having the Mufti transferred to Morocco. The Sultan claims that the British are not opposed to the idea, and bases his contention on an intimation he has received from the Arab League.

Miscellaneous Items

It is rumoured that a company is being formed by Karaman Dick and Salti Ltd., the cigarette manufacturers, and the Sunduq al-Umma for the establishment of an Arab collective village at Khirbet Jalil, in the Acre sub-district. The property of the village will be held jointly by the company, the landowners and the villagers, and the profits will be distributed among the three partners in the enterprise. There is also talk of establishing a model village at Nazareth on the initiative of the Sunduq and Communist circles. An attempt is being made to link this project with the Government development programme.

It is reported that a considerable change has come about in the nature of the ownership of arms among the Arabs. Previously arms had been the property of the Effendis, landowners and other influential personages. Now, however, a considerable quantity is in the hands of the common people. An estimate founded on authoritative information places the number of rifles in the possession of the Arabs of Palestine at between 35,000 and 50,000, although not all of them are in good condition. Of this number, a maximum of 5,000 are in the Nablus district, averaging 20 rifles per village. Ammunition is estimated at 100 rounds per rifle. It is understood that the arms are for the most part concentrated in the Hebron hills, from where they are dispersed all over the country.

Dr. Silver

September 25, 1945

The Executive Director
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Shapiro:

(1) Supplementing my earlier letter of today, I want to inform you that the chief of the British Commonwealth Division of the Department of State has telephoned this morning to say that he has arranged for me to meet this afternoon his colleague, the chief of the Central European Division.

(2) After trying for many months, I finally met this morning Mr. Carr, the principal assistant of Drew Pearson. He told me that tomorrow's Pearson column will be devoted to Zionism. It deals mainly with the President's letter to Attlee and with the visit of Gillette, Brewster, and Magnuson at the White House. It was my feeling that the information for this column was given to Pearson by Bergson and his friends.

As a result of my talk, there is some hope that one of Pearson's next columns will be devoted to the Mufti affair. Naturally, the fact that a column has already been written about our problem is a handicap in getting another extensive treatment of our problem published soon thereafter.

(3) Dr. Silver seems to be very busy on the Hill. Sack is with him. At the time of writing (11:55 A. M.), I have not yet seen or heard from Dr. Silver. Therefore, the message from New York regarding Sumner Welles has not yet been transmitted to him.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:ow

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS:
Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

WASHINGTON BUREAU
1720 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Michigan 4480 ZONE 9

September 28, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
Rabbi Stephen S. Wise
Mrs. Judith Epstein
Mr. Leon Gellman
Rabbi Israel Goldstein
Mr. David Wertheim

Dear Dr. Silver

This is not a formal report to the Emergency Council, which I would have sent to the New York office in the course of business, but a personal letter which I am addressing as a Zionist to the leaders of the four major Zionist parties and the two co-chairmen of the Emergency Council.

I wish to draw your attention to the piece of advice given a few days ago by Edgar Ansell Mowrer to Eliahu Epstein of the Jewish Agency. Mowrer, whose article you have undoubtedly admired in yesterday's New York Post and who is both an expert observer of the political scene and a detached person, told Epstein that before we drive the Jews of Palestine into the awful risks of a revolt, we ought to exhaust all means of political pressure in this country and that, as far as Mowrer could see, this was not yet done.

It is in this spirit that I want to draw your attention further to the column by Constantine Brown in yesterday's Washington Star which you might have seen in the New York Sun (I believe that his column is printed there). You will find enclosed the main excerpts from that article.

I also enclose for your information a memorandum about a telephone conversation which I had this morning with Mr. Brown.

In the light of the situation, I would respectfully submit for your consideration that the situation calls not for threats along the lines which are familiar to us as the Hannegan front, but for evidence that the Jews are already forsaking the Democratic Party. The approaching New York elections are far from being an ideal testing-ground for such an attitude, since the political situation there is blurred and the issues are largely local and personal. Nevertheless, in the absence of any other opportunity, I would suggest that if we could get a sufficient number of Jewish voters to switch from O'Dwyer to Goldstein and thereby defeat O'Dwyer, this would be

September 26, 1945

the fact which would make everybody, including the President and Mr. Hannegan, sit up and take quick notice. This only on condition that acknowledged leaders of New York Jewry and well-known Democrats, such as Dr. Stephen Wise, would deem it possible to come out openly and state why they believe that pledges made by leaders of the Democratic Party could no longer be trusted.

If we believe that it does not lie in our power to take the election away from O'Dwyer, or if a sufficient number of Zionist leaders known as Democrats could not find it possible for themselves to take such a public stand, then, of course, the course suggested by me cannot be pursued.

There is one other thing, however, which can be done. It is a minor, very minor demonstration, and, if compared with the risks which Palestinian Jews will be undergoing, but a mosquito bite. I hope, therefore, that sufficient courage will be found by all concerned to undertake this step. The step consists in withdrawing the invitations to every Democratic speaker who has been asked to address the Madison Square meeting of this coming Sunday, to announce this fact publicly, and to invite exclusively Republican speakers, such as Governor Dewey and Congressman Baldwin, to address the gathering. This, coupled with a request to the Yiddish press to publicize the Brown column and to attack the Palestine record of the Democratic administration without white-washing the part which the present and the former presidents have played, might set the ball rolling.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:cw
2 encls.

M E M O R A N D U M

September 26, 1946

I telephoned Constantine Brown about his article in last night's Star. He could not see me today, and so I asked him over the telephone whence he got his information about the Roosevelt pledge to Ibn Saud. He said that he got it from State Department quarters and that to camouflage this fact he wrote that there were leaks in foreign countries.

He added that if we happen to talk with Senator Wheeler, we might ask him what he thinks of Brown's story about the Ibn Saud pledge, and we will see what Wheeler will have to say to us on that point.

I further asked where he got his information that military experts consider the presence of 50,000 American soldiers necessary in Palestine in case of a pro-Zionist policy. He replied that this was the figure given by General Marshall last year at the executive session of the Foreign Affairs Committee, and that it was the generally accepted figure in military circles in Washington.

He sounded, as on all previous occasions, rather friendly to us.

BG.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann September 27, 1946

Eliahu Epstein

SUBJECT: 1. Arabs in Colombia

The following information was received from Dr. S. Rosenthal, President of the Zionist Organization in Colombia. In collecting this information he was assisted by Dr. Demetrio Nader, Vice President of the Colombia-Lebanese Society. I am acknowledging the receipt of this information through our Latin-American Department, and asking that Dr. Rosenthal keep us informed about any new developments in the field of Arab activities in Colombia.

(1) The majority of Arab population in Colombia, (whose number we are unable to determine) is Christian.

(2) The only Arab organization in Colombia, established about one year ago, is the Colombo-Lebanese.

(3) Its character is essentially cultural and aims at the rapprochement between the Lebanese and the Colombian Republics.

(4) The President of this society is a certain Mr. Moarack, who was recently elected.

(5) This society aims to establish chapters in all the principal Colombian cities.

(6) There is no Arab newspaper at present, but the society is planning to issue a magazine at sometime in the future. The magazine will be dedicated exclusively to cultural, literary and general questions.

(7) The society does not bear a political character.

(8) The society has contact with the Lebanese Legation in Washington.

(9) The society has 200 members in Bogota. They are Lebanese or Colombians. The society does not accept Arabs of other Arab countries, as for instance Egypt.

(10) Another purpose of the society is to acquaint the Colombians with all things related to the Middle East, which is very little known among Colombians.

2. Arabs in Mexico

The following information regarding the Arab activities in Mexico reached us through Mrs. Yarden. This was reported to her by Mr. Mossens of Mexico City.

(1) An Arab named Zacarias, who is a noted figure in film production in Mexico, went about "some time ago" and collected signatures against Zionism.

(2) Miguel Abed and Cabalan Macari, "the richest Arabs in Mexico", are both active politically and are known to be anti-Zionist.

Miguel Abed is a very shrewd man. He was a partner of Avila Camacho in his textile factories. Though he has business relations with Jews, he does not hesitate to "stab them in the back in political matters." He is president of all pro-Allies Arab clubs in Mexico, gives banquets in honor of the President of Mexico and presented him with a decoration in behalf of the Lebanese Government. At the last elections he "contributed a fortune" to have Avila Camacho elected.

(3) Felix Palavicsini (ex-Ambassador of Mexico in Argentina) supports the Arabs in his nightly broadcasts (9 P. M.). The Arabs gave a banquet in his honor.

N. N.

cc: Dr. Wise
Dr. Silver via Dr. Akzin
Mr. Lipsky
Messrs. Lourie and Weisgal
Mr. Shertok
Mr. Heydt

EMark

C O N F I D E N T I A L

Dr. Nahum Goldmann

September 28, 1945

Eliahu Epstein

SUBJECT: Mufti-Hitler Telegrams

Following the release of the Mufti-Hitler telegrams by the American Zionist Emergency Council, I approached some of the journalists to encourage them to publish proper interpretations and comments on this release. In this connection, articles were published by Messrs. Edgar Mowrer, Alexander Uhl and I. F. Stone. Mr. Stone used a copy of a letter (which I showed to him) written by a Jewish internee in one of the concentration camps in Germany.

Although friendly to our cause, both Mowrer and Uhl often lack information on the Middle East and the Arabs. It appears to me that it is of real importance to educate these people for they can be of much greater use to us when they have the necessary knowledge for writing on subjects in support of our cause. Stone has a much broader approach to the subject, both as a Jew and as a person with profound social convictions and wide background. In the past few weeks I have met with him frequently and had a chance to appreciate the qualities which can make his services very valuable to us.

In our last conversation a few days ago, he expressed his readiness to go to Palestine to write articles for "P M" and "The Nation" giving the background on the Palestine situation. I strongly encouraged him to do this without delay, and after discussing the question with Mr. Weisgal, I informed Mr. Stone that we were ready to cover a part of his expenses. I also promised him that he could count on the full cooperation of the Jewish Agency when he is in Palestine. Mr. Stone is now making inquiries about the possibility of his visit to Palestine and is going to New York within the next few days to meet the managing editors of "P M" and "The Nation" in this connection.

N. G.

CC: Dr. Wise
Dr. Silver via Dr. Akzin
Mr. Lipsky
Messrs. Lourie and Weisgal
Mr. Shertok

ES:rk

C O N F I D E N T I A L

Dr. Nahum Goldmann

September 28, 1948

Eliahu Epstein

SUBJECT: Conversation with Professor William F. Albright, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland.

I happen to know Professor Albright for quite a few years. He was Director of the American School for Oriental Research in Jerusalem for some time. When I was a student at the American University of Beirut doing research on the life of Bedouins in the Syrian Desert, Professor Albright supervised some aspects of this research.

On my arrival in this country, I got in touch with Professor Albright, and I inclose for your information copies of two letters from him.

When I called on him last week, we spent several hours discussing Arab activities in this country. He gave me a very gloomy picture of the prevailing attitude toward Zionism in academic circles engaged in Oriental research. Such centers for Oriental and Arabic studies as Princeton, Chicago and Pennsylvania Universities are completely under the influence of supporters of Arab nationalism and are, practically without exception, anti-Zionist.

Professor Philip K. Hitti made his Department in Princeton University a center for such pro-Arab activities and he is supported by Professor Gibb in Chicago and Professor Speiser in Pennsylvania University, who, if not directly connected with Arab political activities in the United States, are used by them to further the Arab cause.

The publications devoted to Oriental and Arab studies, some of them of a purely scientific nature, do not miss an opportunity to support the Arabs and attack Zionism. Practically all the attacks on Zionism through this medium remain unanswered because of the absence of friends among the American Orientalists. Professor Albright, himself, has been ill for the last two years and has not yet recovered, which prevented him from doing something to defend us in these circles.

The greatest danger, according to Professor Albright, is that students in the Oriental Departments of American universities are systematically educated to support the Arabs and to oppose Zionism. A good number of these young men will one day occupy important positions both in America and in the Orient as diplomats, scholars, journalists, etc. In a few years time, the consequences will be a serious danger to us.

It is Professor Albright's opinion that we have to consider the matter very seriously. One of the suggestions he made was that we have closer contact with the professors who are actively cultivated by the Arabs and ignored by us. An invitation to some of the professors to visit Palestine and to lecture at the Hebrew University could be an effective means of influencing them. It would also be of great importance to send over graduates from the Oriental School of the Hebrew University for post-graduate work in some of the American universities, where they can influence both the professors and fellow students.

Last, but not least in the opinion of Professor Albright is the need for a serious Zionist publication in this country which should approach the current problems of the Middle East from a wide sociological view, indicating the constructive character of Zionism in Palestine, not for the benefit of the Jewish National Home only, but for the countries and peoples of the Middle East in general. We shall also have to invite the participation of non-Zionists in such a publication and permit opponents to register their views in order to establish a good name for the magazine. The prevailing ignorance regarding Zionism and the Palestine problem is more dangerous than objective information on this subject, even if it be critical of some aspects of our work in Palestine.

While agreeing with practially all the suggestions of Professor Albright, I tried to indicate the difficulties of answering so many challenges with so few people trained for the enormous tasks he described.

I asked him what part he could take in putting some of his suggestions into practice. His reply was rather vague, and he indicated that his bad health would prevent him even from getting on as fast as he would like with the great object in his life: writing the ancient history of the Jewish people. He started a few years ago and planned to present the subject from a sociological angle, practically unprecedented in writings on this subject before. He believes that this work, when finished (he hopes in 1948), will prove the firm connection of the Jewish people with Palestine, and the constructiveness of the ancient Jewish society through the centuries of their independent life.

I arranged to see him soon again for further discussion and to seek some practical conclusions. I value this contact with Professor Albright very highly. He is one of the few friends we have among the prominent Orientalists in this country, whose name carries great prestige and authority in this country and among Orientalists all over the world. It is most unfortunate, however, that his health prevents him from being practically engaged in our work, but still his advice and occasional participation can be most instructive and useful.

EE:rk

CC: Dr. Wise
Dr. Silver via Dr. Aksin
Mr. Lipsky
Messrs. Lourie and Weisgal
Mr. Shertok

(COPY)

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
BALTIMORE 18, MD.

August 9th, 1945

Dear Mr. Epstein:

Your letter of July 27th reached me just before I was taken ill. I have now recovered and am back at my desk again. It was indeed a pleasure to know that there will be someone in Washington who knows the Arab problem thoroughly, yet from the Jewish point of view. Heretofore there has been a serious gap in Zionist circles here in this exceedingly important respect. You will have many -- in part very unpleasant -- problems to handle, and you will again and again be disgusted by the utter ignorance shown by so many interested parties, both pro- and anti-Zionist, on the Arab question.

I shall, of course, be delighted to see you at any time. I plan to spend the rest of the summer at my desk - unless I am ill again -- except for August 23-27, when I shall be in New York. From 10:00 to 6:00 every day I hope to be in my office, Gilman Hall, room 118, west of 34th and Charles Street. Unfortunately I virtually never get over to Washington, since it is such a madhouse and since I have no illusions whatever about my political or diplomatic ability.

Cordially,
/s/ W. F. Albright

August 18th, 1945

Dear Mr. Epstein:

Many thanks for the copy of your study, The Lebanon, which I have read with very great interest, finishing it last night. It is an admirable survey, well documented and balanced. I am very glad indeed that there is a competent geographer and historian who can base himself on first-hand knowledge and first-hand Arabic sources in the Zionist organization in this country. The absence of anyone of this type has been a glaring deficiency in the whole set-up here in the past.

In reading your monograph I naturally bore in mind that it was finished a year and a half ago; since then many things have occurred, such as the stupid intervention of General de Gaulle, which has brought an abrupt end to French influence and will have exceedingly important repercussions, the return of the Russian state and church to interest and intervention in Syrian affairs. But it is remarkable how well your pages stand the bright light cast on them by subsequent events.

I shall be in New York most of next week, returning Monday evening, August 27th. I then hope to remain in Baltimore through September, working every day until after 5:00 p.m., in my office, Gilman Hall, room 118. Just drop me a card a few days ahead of time and I will let you know whether I am to be here at any suggested time.

Cordially,
/s/ W. F. Albright

Dr. Altyn

C O N F I D E N T I A L

Dr. Nahum Goldmann

October 2, 1945

Eliahu Epstein

SUBJECT: Conversation with Dr. M. Zore of the Yugoslav Embassy, Washington, D. C.

Upon publication of the Mufti-Hitler telegrams by the American Zionist Emergency Council, I called on Dr. Zore, first secretary of the Yugoslav Embassy, to present this release personally and to discuss the subject of the Mufti with him.

From a reliable source, I know that Dr. Zore's position at the Yugoslav Embassy is second to that of the Ambassador, who is now away from this country. Dr. Zore was one of the early supporters of Tito and played an important political role in the Partisan Movement. Although he does not officially belong to the Communist Party, he supports the Leftest Wing in Tito's Government.

He knew that the Jewish Agency had sent a certain amount of medical supplies to the Partisans, and that our boys were attached to the British Military Mission in Yugoslavia in the critical period of Tito's struggle.

This facilitated my approach to the subject of the Mufti as I represented the same organization with which Dr. Zore's Government had already dealt. However, he could not tell me much about the Mufti's being on the list of war criminals, other than what we already know. The branding of the Mufti as a war criminal, as far as the Yugoslavs are concerned, was connected with his activities in Bosnia where he raised Moslem troops to combat the Partisans, and to support the Nazi and Pavelic's regime in Yugoslavia. All the material on this subject is in Belgrade, and the Washington Office has no available data on this subject. He promised me that he would transmit the copies of the Mufti-Hitler telegrams to his Government without delay. He could not tell me whether his Government had approached the French Government directly for extradition of the Mufti from France to Yugoslavia. According to Mr. Benard of the French Embassy here, no such demand ever reached his Government.

The conversation then turned to the present political situation in Palestine. I explained to him the current state of affairs to which he listened without making any comments.

Dr. Leo Rabinovits, member of the Yugoslav Embassy and formerly private physician to King Alexander, who took part in the conversation, suggested to Dr. Zore that it would be useful if some announcement were made about this conversation indicating the importance of winning the sympathy of the American Jews now when Yugoslavia is struggling for her political and territorial rights in liberated Europe. Dr. Zore agreed with this proposal and suggested that I prepare some kind of a statement regarding our conversation.

After the conversation, Dr. Rabinovitz asked me to make the statement as mild as possible to permit Dr. Zore to endorse it without referring to his Government in Belgrade, which would mean possible cancellation, or at least delay in issuing the statement. If too many political matters are included, the Belgrade Government would undoubtedly have to consult the Russian Government which would mean another obstacle. Considering this advice and bearing in mind the importance of urgent and every possible international support for our immediate requirements at this critical moment, I prepared the attached statement which I am referring for your consideration. If this statement is accepted, it may, in my opinion, carry an important interpretation by the press as a friendly act not of the Yugoslav Government only, but also of a State belonging to the Russian bloc in Europe.

EK:rk
Attachment - 1

CCs Dr. Wise
Dr. Aksin for Dr. Silver and Mr. Shapiro
Mr. Lipsky
Messrs Lourie and Weisgal
Mr. Shertok

Mr. Eliahu Epstein, representative of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, called on Dr. M. Zore, first secretary of the Yugoslav Embassy, on September 27. Mr. Epstein expressed the gratitude of the Jewish Agency for the humane treatment and assistance accorded Jewish survivors in Yugoslavia and neighboring countries by Yugoslav partisans and by the Government of Marshal Tito. He also indicated satisfaction at the initiative of the Yugoslav Government in putting the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin el-Husseini, on the list of war criminals.

Dr. Zore, expressing the views of the Yugoslav Government, made the following statement:

> The Yugoslav people, having themselves given two million dead in this war for the defense of their national liberty and individual human rights, is in the best position to evaluate the profound suffering of the Jewish people. The Yugoslav Government also appreciates the dire and precarious position of the surviving remnant of European Jewry, especially those who are homeless and in large numbers still in concentration camps. In view of the demonstrated success of Palestine in absorbing homeless Jews into productive activity, Dr. Zore expressed his sympathy with all measures to transfer Jewish survivors to Palestine.

CONFIDENTIAL

Dr. Nahum Goldmann — October 5, 1945

Eliahu Epstein

SUBJECT: Arab Activities in Canada

Attached is a copy of an item carried by the Arab press in this country. It indicates the increase of Arab activities in Canada. I am sending a copy of this memorandum to Mr. Harry Batshaw in Montreal for his information and a request that he make further inquiries on this subject.

WRHS ARCHIVES

EE:rk

Attachment - 1

CC: Dr. Wise
Dr. Akzin for Dr. Silver and Mr. Shapiro
Mr. Lipsky
Messrs. Lourie and Weisgal
Mr. Shertok

CANADIAN COLLEGE TEACHES ARABIC

Through the untiring efforts of the "Arab Canadian Friendship League," Sir George Williams College of Montreal, Canada, has announced recently that it will include the teaching of Arabic in its curriculum. For the convenience of those who wish to study this language in their spare hours, after business hours, the College has decided to give the course in its evening sessions.

The Sir George Williams College also announced the appointment of Mr. Rashid G. Saba, a graduate of the American University of Beirut, as instructor of the course in Arabic under its auspices.

"Al-Akhlaq"
(New York, September 28, 1945)

C O N F I D E N T I A L

Dr. Nahum Goldmann

October 5, 1945

Eliahu Epstein

SUBJECT: Activities of The Arab Office in Washington (No. 5)

Attached are copies of two telegrams from a prominent American correspondent to his paper in New York; one is an interview that he had in Cairo with Abdul Rahman Azzam Bey, Secretary General of the Arab League, the other deals with the Palestine situation from the Cairo angle.

According to my information these telegrams will not appear in their present form, but will be incorporated in an article to be published some time after Secretary Byrnes sheds more light on the Palestine situation.

EE:rk

CC: Dr. Wise
Dr. Akzin for Dr. Silver and Mr. Shapiro
Mr. Lipsky
Messrs. Lourie and Weisgal
Mr. Shertok

CAIRO, September 29, 1945

The fall oranges are turning golden in the Holy Land and tanned laborers are scanning the skies for the first rain clouds. But there is no peace in Palestine. There are ominous rumblings of an imminent political storm. Uneasy Arabs and Jews search the papers for the latest terrorism act. Till now those have been an occasional grenade thrown by an unknown hand, or a mysterious shot in the night. But signs of what is to come are found in the Haifa court room where 18 young boys and 2 girls are standing trial. Members of the underground Irgun, they are alleged to have been found receiving military training on a secret shooting range.

Amid the growing tenseness, Truman's demand for a hundred thousand immigration quota fell like a bomb shell on the Arab world. Truman had not only openly called the Arab League's spokesman Abdul Rahman Azzam Bey, and indirectly King Ibn Saud, a liar, but was insisting that the British "throw Palestine's doors wide open to Europe's Jews." Indignantly Azzam retorted that Ibn Saud had also told Roosevelt that he and his sons were prepared to lead their Arab legions to war to save Palestine, had now moved into a sphere of higher politics ranking with the most pressing world problems discussed by the Big Five in London. Islam's "Jihad" had to be fought on the threshold of the London conference rooms. Azzam hurriedly packed and emplaned for London, and said he might later call on Washington. The Arabic press meanwhile unleashed its indignation mixed with some disappointment against America and her President. "Truman is a man with an olive branch in one hand and an atom bomb in the other.", fumed the most widely read Arabic weekly, Cairo's Akher El Yom. The wafdist (leftist?) daily, Elmisri, asserted: "Truman's game is up. The whole Arab world can now see through his designs." It went on to explain: "With an eye on the second term, the United States President is courting the Jewish electorate by imposing a hundred thousand immigrants on Palestine, and telling the British to take care of them. On the other hand, he is placating Wall Street by stretching the hand of friendship to the oil-wealthy Arabs." Egyptian press editorials insinuate the time has come for the Arabs to use the immense bargaining power they possess in the oozing oil deposits of Saudi Arabia and Iraq. Their terms should be oil for Palestine.

Truman's latest statements have had still another effect. They have helped to raise Britain's stock in the Middle East, and America seems temporarily to have lost the role of champion of the small Middle East countries. "At least the English," Effendis now tell you, "always admitted both sides had a case, while praying for a Solomon to solve the problem. They have often been unjust and have usually bungled, but all along they admitted the problem seemed too complex. America, instead of coming to her Ally's aid, is pushing her still deeper into the quagmire of Palestine."

CAIRO, OCTOBER 4, 1945

Lean, brown-eyed, whispy moustached Azzem Bey is boiling mad over Truman's suggestion of a hundred thousand (Azzem says he's received no confirmation of the report and that the American minister in Cairo told him not to consider it a fact). He says: "We will fight immigration with all our power. Of course, if it is forced on us, we are handicapped as we have no atomic bomb." Azzem, who maintains that he is not anti-Jewish although he gives every indication of being so, says the whole issue boils down to whether immigration is inspired by "human" or "political" motives. Azzem is convinced that the motives are political. "The British and the Americans who support immigration simply want the Jews to dominate and divide the Arab world. Truman is under the influence of New York Jews." If the motives were human Azzem says, the immigration question would be considered on a world basis. "I can promise you," says Azzem, "that the Arab lands would absorb their full proportion of Jews." He is violently opposed to Russian or any other trusteeship of freed Arab lands. He thinks they should be entirely independent or under an Arab mandate.

CONFIDENTIAL

Dr. Nahum Goldmann

October 8, 1945

Eliahu Epstein

SUBJECT: Yugoslav Embassy

Dr. Leo Rabinovitz, member of the Yugoslav Embassy, called this morning and informed me that Dr. M. Zore, First Secretary of the Embassy, would not be able to give his consent to any statement which will include Palestine. He gave me to understand that any statement involving Yugoslavia in the Palestine controversy is not desired by his Government. He hinted a possible negative attitue to this matter on the part of Russia. Dr. Zore, according to Dr. Rabinovitz, would not mind, however, expressing his general sympathy toward the suffering Jews in the concentration camps.

In my reply to Dr. Rabinovitz, I reminded him that it was not my idea, but his, that a statement be published in order to give favorable publicity to Yugoslavia among American Jews. However, any omission of Palestine from the statement will make it meaningless in the eyes of the Jews who are looking now not for general expressions of sympathy, but for practical assistance to the solution of the Jewish problem.

Dr. Rabinovitz promised to bring up the matter again before Dr. Zore. I advised him not to press this matter.

EEark

CCs Dr. Wise
Dr. Akzin for Dr. Silver and Mr. Shapiro
Mr. Lipsky
Messrs. Lourie and Neisgal
Mr. Shertok

Dr. Nahum Goldmann October 8, 1945

Eliahu Epstein

Attached is an extract from the daily bulletin of the British Information Service in New York dated October 5, 1945, which appeared under the heading, "The Palestine Crisis."

EE:rk

Attachment - 1

CC: Dr. Wise
Dr. Akzin for Dr. Silver and Mr. Shapiro
Mr. Lipsky
Messrs. Lourie and Neiegal
Mr. Shertok

EXTRACT FROM THE BULLETIN OF OCTOBER 5, 1945 ISSUED DAILY BY THE BRITISH INFORMATION SERVICE IN NEW YORK

The Palestine Crisis

The press conference held yesterday by the Arab League chief in London, Azzam Bey, is the DAILY MAIL's choice for the first place on its front page. It quotes him as saying that the Arabs would no longer tolerate the daily landing of Jews in Palestine. The NEWS CHRONICLE also gives prominence to Azzam Bey's press conference, and the TIMES' first editorial deals with the Palestine question. After summarizing the cases put forward by the Jews and by the Arabs, the TIMES declares that the extremists on either side are equally mistaken in holding that it rests with Britain alone to do justice to their claims. The local deadlock in Palestine, irresolvable so long as these claims are mutually exclusive, is but part of a wider problem in the solution of which not only British interests but the interests of the United Nations are involved. The paper goes on to say:

> "While none can fail to share President Truman's anxiety to relieve Jewish suffering, his suggestion that this country should assume responsibility for altering at a stroke the population ratio in Palestine to the disadvantage of the Arabs will find little support.
>
> "The British Government have shown wisdom in recognising that Palestine is part of a larger whole, a politically conscious Middle East of which Britain's allies as well as Britain herself must take account. The decision to refer the matter to the Council of the United Nations was right."

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS:
Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

WASHINGTON BUREAU
1720 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Michigan 4480 ZONE 9

October 7, 1945.

Dear Dr. Silver,

Work in Washington prevents me from attending the Executive Committee meeting on October 11th. I therefore would like to draw your attention to the fact that my position at the head of the Washington office is still irregular. Before your departure for England, you have announced that I'll be temporarily in charge pending your return and the clarification of Council - Agency relations. You have returned long ago. The relations have been clarified several weeks ago. I hope therefore that you will find it reasonable to announce (or request) my appointment as Director of the Washington Office at this next meeting of the Executive Committee.

You and your collaborators in the New York Office know the importance of clear decisions on states. I am certain, therefore, that you will appreciate the importance of such a measure to the success of my work.

Sincerely yours,

B. Goldstein

October 10, 1946

The Executive Director
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Shapiro:

Events in connection with the extraordinary conference have disrupted the routine of my reporting. For the past few days I have also been busy taking stock of the administrative details in this office, which, I found, need a lot of revamping for the sake of efficiency. I will now take up again the political work and the regular reports. For the moment I want to inform you of an exchange of letters with the Department of State. Copies of the letters in question are enclosed.

The first letter was discussed by me with Dr. Silver during his stay in Washington and was okayed by him. Since Henderson's reply is a clear attempt to evade the obvious responsibility of the State Department, I wrote a second letter pressing the point. It is my feeling that we should no longer let the State Department proceed as it wishes, but rather insist that it does the proper thing when our demands are just. This would put the Department of State on the defensive and would give us good munitions against it, should we wish to draw fr[illegible] Congressmen and Senators into the fight.

I also enclose the long overdue account of the visit to Mr. Acheson's office on September 20. A preliminary draft prepared by me was sent to Mr. Neumann and Judge Levinthal. This represents the final account including their corrections.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:ow
Encls.(2)

COPY

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

WASHINGTON

In reply refer to
NEA

October 5, 1945

Dear Mr. Akzin:

I appreciate your thoughtfulness in sending under cover of your letter of September 26 a copy of the AP despatch from Cairo reporting that an American official has stated that the King of Saudi Arabia "has sworn to take violent action against Jews and any members of the United Nations supporting them should any large-scale immigration be allowed to Palestine".

As I informed you during our conversation on September 24, I am confident that this despatch was not based upon information divulged by any representative of the Department of State. I may add that no information has come to the Department which would justify it in believing that the King of Saudi Arabia has made any statements which would give ground for an approach to be made to him along the lines suggested by you.

During these times when feelings are tense between groups favoring or opposing Zionism, it may be expected that rumors will crop out from time to time that members of one or the other of these opposing groups are resorting to threats of the use of force.

Sincerely,

/s/ Loy W. Henderson

Loy W. Henderson

Mr. Benjamin Akzin,
American Zionist Emergency Council,
1720 Sixteenth Street, Northwest,
Washington 9, D. C.

COPY

September 26, 1945

Mr. Loy W. Henderson, Director,
Office of Near Eastern & African Affairs,
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Henderson:

Further to our conversation of September 24, I have the honor to enclose the text of an Associated Press story dated Cairo, September 21, as it appeared in a recent issue of one of the Washington dailies.

As you are aware, we do not attach the slightest importance to the threats, reported to emanate from King Ibn Saud and other quarters, to wage war on the Jews of Palestine. At the same time, we cannot refrain from expressing our utmost concern at the fact that the governments of certain Arab countries recently admitted into the United Nations Organization, are tolerated by the Government of the United States and its principal allies. The present case in which King Ibn Saud is reported to have threatened violent action against other United Nations as well as against the Jews seems to be an instance to which, we feel, the attention of the Government of the United States ought to be particularly drawn. It is our belief that under the United Nations Charter no aggressive action of that kind may be either undertaken or threatened, and we would respectfully suggest that King Ibn Saud be informed by the Government of the United States of the gross impropriety of any statements such as those attributed to him in the enclosed dispatch.

I would be grateful if you would submit the above suggestion to the Under-Secretary of State and would inform us whether it has been found possible to take action along the lines suggested.

COPY

Mr. Loy W. Henderson, Director,
Office of Near Eastern & African Affairs
Department of State

September 26, 1945

In this connection, I would like to thank you for the assurance which you have given me in the course of our conversation that no official of the Department of State could have made the statement attributed in the Cairo dispatch to the anonymous "American official". We would have found it quite inexplicable if a member of the Department entrusted with the task of representing the American Government abroad were to lend himself to the role of a sounding-board or transmission channel for the broadcasting of such an improper threat by King Ibn Saud or any other foreign government, and we are glad to know that this was not the case.

Yours very sincerely,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:cw
1 encl.

WRHS
AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

KING SAUD SWEARS VIOLENCE IF JEWS ENTER PALESTINE

Cairo, September 21 (A. P.) -- An American official said today King Ibn Saud of oil-rich Saudi Arabia "has sworn to take violent action against Jews and any members of the United Nations supporting them should any large-scale immigration be allowed to Palestine."

The official said the monarch promised there would be no future difficulties between Arabs and Jews if the status quo was maintained.

The informed, who must remain anonymous, quoted Ibn Saud as saying he was not anti-Jewish, but felt an increase in Jewish immigration quotas soon would transform the country into a non-Arab land.

October 9, 1945

Mr. Loy W. Henderson, Director,
Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Henderson:

I thank you for your letter of October 5, reiterating your statement made during our conversation on September 24 that the Cairo dispatch attributing a threat of violence to the King of Saudi Arabia in connection with the Palestine issue was not based upon information divulged by any representative of the Department of State.

I appreciate your point of view in adding that no information has come to the Department of State which would justify it in believing that the King of Saudi Arabia has made any such threats and that, therefore, the Department would have no grounds for an approach to be made to him along the lines suggested in my letter of September 26. I beg you, however, to realize where it leaves us: There have been repeated statements in the press, some quoting the King of Saudi Arabia, others quoting the Secretary-General of the so-called Arab League, an organization representing a group of governments with whom this country maintains official relations, all threatening violence against the Jews of Palestine. One of these threats, namely, the one to which I drew your attention during our conversation of September 24, quotes an American official as the source of this information. The judgment of the people of the United States, as well as of the officials of the United States Government is unavoidably affected by these reports, which are given full publicity throughout the country.

It is difficult to understand that such threats, known to reputable American newspaper men in Cairo, remain hidden from American diplomatic representatives stationed at the same place. But in any case, would it not seem that the repeated publication of such threats in the press of this country is a sufficient reason for at least inquiring from the Arab governments concerned whether any such threats have been made and expressing this government's strong disapproval of the threats in question? The preceding suggestion is, of course, based on the assumption that the Department of State does consider that threats on the part of Arab governments to wage violent action against the Jews of Palestine, if made, would have been grossly improper and in violation of international peace.

Mr. Loy W. Henderson
Department of State

October 9, 1945

You will permit me to note that the reported threats can hardly be dismissed on the ground that "During these times when feelings are tense between groups favoring or opposing Zionism, it may be expected that rumors will crop out from time to time that members of one or the other of these opposing groups are resorting to threats of the use of force." No statements have been made by any Jewish spokesmen in Palestine threatening to wage violent action against foreign countries or their populations. Such threats to international peace are attributed by the press only to representatives of Arab states.

May I respectfully suggest, therefore, that the question of making inquiries and/or representations to the King of Saudi Arabia and the governments of the Arab countries associated in the so-called Arab League in connection with the reputed threats of international violence attributed to King Ibn Saud and the spokesmen for the League be re-examined by the Department of State in the light of the above considerations?

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:cw

October 12, 1945

Mr. Benjamin Akzin
American Zionist Emergency Council
1720 - 16th St. N.W.
Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. Akzin:

Mr. Max Rhoades, (his address is 222 Wendover Rd., Baltimore 18, Md.) who I understand is known to you, and who has in previous years done work for the Zionist movement, is eager to do work for us in Washington. I do not know very much about Mr. Rhoades, his previous activities or of his qualifications. It might be helpful if you could arrange to meet with him and find out in just what areas he feels he can be of service at this time.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

COPY

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington

October 12, 1945

Dear Ben:

Thank you for your letter of October 2 with regard to the question of Palestine and the homeless Jews of Europe. We in the Department who have been working on these and related matters have taken careful note of what you have to say respecting the need for an urgent solution of the problem of Jewish immigration into Palestine. As you have undoubtedly noticed in the newspapers, this problem has been engaging the personal attention of the President and Secretary Byrnes, and it is to be hoped that it may prove possible to reach a satisfactory solution in the near future.

I am sure that you have read the report of Earl Harrison, who went to Germany to study the condition of the Jews and other displaced persons in the camps there. His account of the appalling conditions under which many of these individuals were living at the time of his visit has now been made public and I think we can all feel thankful for the improvement which has already taken place. The relief of the persecuted European Jews and other victims of the Nazi regime has been, and I am confident will continue to be a definite policy of this Government.

The question of Palestine is also one to which we have been devoting close attention, and we shall be glad to bear in mind your views in this regard.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

SIGNED Dean Acheson
Under Secretary

Mr. Benjamin Levinson
Levinson & Levinson
105 West Madison Street
Chicago, Illinois

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS:
Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

WASHINGTON BUREAU
1720 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Michigan 4480

October 16, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
19810 Shaker Boulevard
Shaker Heights
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Enclosed please find the text of a letter which I have prepared for the Cleveland Plain Dealer. It is similar to other letters which I have prepared for various leading newspapers throughout the country.

The need for such a letter arises from the fact that the fear of Arab violence has become the major objection leveled at us from all sources. I believe it therefore essential to dispel this bogey.

If you like the letter as it stands, I would be grateful to you for forwarding it to the editor of the Plain Dealer, possibly with a recommendation that it be printed. If you prefer to have the letter bear your signature or that of another Cleveland resident, to send it to another newspaper in preference to the Plain Dealer, or to change it in any way, please make whatever use you wish of it.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:ow
1 Encl.

October 18, 1946

Mr. Benjamin Levinson
105 West Madison Street
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Levinson:

I thank you very much for your letter of October 16 enclosing a copy of Mr. Acheson's reply to you. Its tone was certainly encouraging, and we will respect its confidential character.

I am glad to know that you will be in Washington on your way to Atlantic City. It would certainly be worthwhile if you could get to see Mr. Acheson for a personal chat. A visit at the Department of State on your part may have a somewhat official touch. It would be much better, therefore, if you could arrange to meet him for lunch or otherwise outside of the Department.

If you can arrange for me to be present at your meeting--so much the better. But should you believe that this might destroy the intimate character of your conversation, you will, of course, leave me out of it. It is for you to decide which procedure would be preferable. At any rate, I am looking forward to the pleasure of meeting you when you are in town.

Copies of the letter are being sent by me to Dr. Silver, Dr. Goldstein, and the Washington office of the Jewish Agency, for their confidential information.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:ew

Dr. Silver

October 25, 1945

Mr. Harry Shapiro, Executive Director
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Shapiro:

The following is an account of Rabbi Thurman's conversation with President Truman as told to me by the Rabbi within an hour after his having seen the President. It is understood that the account of the visit is to remain strictly confidential. Upon leaving the President's study, Rabbi Thurman was asked by newspaper men about his visit and he told them that the visit was a purely personal and friendly one. He was further asked whether Palestine was at all mentioned and he replied that naturally a Jew could not help mentioning Palestine at a time like this. He also added that the President was quite sympathetic. Beyond this, nothing should be made public regarding the visit.

The Rabbi stayed with the President for twenty-five minutes, ten minutes more than the time previously allotted. After a few words of cordial greetings on both sides, the Rabbi mentioned that he is much perturbed over the Palestine question. The President said, "Oh yes, Palestine", as if he had already heard a lot about it. The Rabbi told the President that the Palestine question probably worries him a lot, and the President agreed that he was very much worried about it.

The President informed the Rabbi that he had sent a cable to Attlee about Palestine just an hour earlier. The Rabbi said that he hoped that this means that the President is not going to back down on his request for the 100,000 certificates. The President replied that he will try to have it done, but.....

In the further course of the conversation, the President explained that the Palestine situation is a "tinder box", that the main difficulty is that the Russians are increasing their pressure in the Middle East and are about to occupy Iran. The British need our help, and we must be careful to see that the Arabs shouldn't be irritated. A second point made by the President was the fear of large-scale Arab uprisings.

The Rabbi countered these arguments by pointing out the military meagerness of the Arab countries (more or less along the lines of our Washington memorandum) and mentioned how ridiculous it is to speak in terms of a large number of troops in the Middle East when all that MacArthur needs in Japan is 200,000. This seems to have registered with the President, who laughed at this point. The Rabbi also mentioned the fact that the Egyptians never raised a finger in defense of their own country when Rommel was threatening Alexandria. The President stated that he did not know this fact.

Nevertheless, the President kept coming back to the question of widespread Arab opposition and mentioned that 80,000,000 Arabs are ready to oppose Jewish immigration. He also mentioned that 200,000,000 Moslems are likewise opposing the Jews.

The Rabbi told him that the figures which the President got are not correct, that there are no more than 25,000,000 Arabs, even including Egypt, and that both the Iran and the Moslem situation is largely due to British propaganda. The Rabbi mentioned his own experience of discussing the matter with a great many Arabs when he was in the Near East; he found that the rank-and-file Arab realizes the advantages which he receives from Jewish immigration; it is only the politicians and the overlord who oppose the Jews.

The Rabbi then referred to the President's experience as chairman of the Truman Committee, when the President must have found that bureaucrats often give out colored reports to suit their own wishes and policies, and drew the President's attention to the fact that the State Department may be proceeding along the same lines. He said that American representatives in the Orient are to a large extent influenced by the glamor and flattery of the Arabs, and thus their reports to the State Department are not entirely reliable. The situation is made more difficult by the fact that American officials abroad have never received any clear directions from the President as to what American policy is.

The President was pleased by the mention of the Truman Committee and admitted that things may not be exactly as they should in the State Department.

The Rabbi also mentioned that though he is not a politician, he must tell the President that two or three million Jewish voters who have loyally supported the Democratic administration for twelve years have perhaps helped to decide a great many elections; though the Jewish vote is the most independent in the country and no one can deliver it one way or another, the Rabbi would not be surprised if a great many Jews would feel bitterly disappointed about being let down on the Palestine question and would start wondering whether they have cast their lot with the right party. At this point, the President looked sharply at the Rabbi, who had the impression that this argument made quite an impression on the President.

The Rabbi then took up the humanitarian side of the matter. The President seemed to be quite impressed by it, but kept on referring to the political difficulties.

The Rabbi went into the question of the 100,000 certificates as the first step of a larger program. He told the President that the figure of 100,000 was probably proposed by the President because Harrison had reported to him that there are 100,000 homeless Jews in western Germany who have nowhere else to go. "Had you sent Harrison to investigate the situation all over Europe, he would have reported to you that there 1,600,000 people in this situation", said the Rabbi.

The Jewish State, or Commonwealth, or majority was not mentioned. Since the Rabbi did not want to appear as part of an organized campaign of pressure, he did not mention any names of Zionist leaders or steps taken by them officially. The President likewise did not refer to them. Nor did the question of anti-Zionist feelings among some American Jews come up.

The Rabbi's impression was that the President was under constant pressure on the Palestine issue. At one point of the conversation it seemed to him that the President was beginning to get irritated over the amount of this pressure. When the Rabbi tried to get the President to discuss in greater detail the problems involved, the President would not do so, and the Rabbi went on discussing various points in a sort of a monologue, with the President keeping silent.

The Rabbi's impression of the President's state of mind was confirmed later by the news that on that very morning, the President and Mr. Byrnes had their meeting with Senators Taft and Wagner.

I believe that the Rabbi's visit has served three very good purposes:

1. Zionist arguments coming from an old personal acquaintance must have strengthened the same arguments pressed by organized Jewish groups.
2. The Rabbi's hint about a possible change in the attitude of Jewish voters must have come in quite usefully.
3. His casting a doubt on the information reaching the President from State Department and British sources was quite useful.

Nevertheless, it appeared from the Rabbi's account of his conversation that the President is still essentially unconvinced that a pro-Zionist solution of the Palestine question can be had without running/very serious international difficulties. It seems that misleading reports regarding this matter have reached and are continually reaching the President from too many sources. (Despite the President's acquiescence in the introduction of a Congressional resolution,) this doubt persisting in the President's mind is by far the strongest difficulty which we have to face. The only way to overcome this difficulty is to have the President discuss the international

inked out in all other copies
B. G.

The Executive Director October 25, 1945

political aspects of the Palestine situation (Russia, Arab violence, etc.), if possible on his own initiative, with some people whom he would readily accept as experts whose advice and information is at least equal to that which he has been receiving from his officials and from the British. I see only two men who might fall into this category. One is Bernard Baruch, and the other is James G. MacDonald. I suggest that both gentlemen be seen and be consulted as to the best way of getting them to see the President, if possible on his own invitation. MacDonald probably knows all the facts of the situation; nevertheless, it would be useful to go over the situation with him. Baruch ought to be given a very clear picture of the objections which are being raised against us in official circles and of the answers to all such objections.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

EA:ow

WRHS
AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS:
Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

WASHINGTON BUREAU
1720 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Michigan 4480 ZONE 9

October 25, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
19810 Shaker Boulevard
Shaker Heights
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

In accordance with your request given to me by Mr. Sack, I am treating the matter of the forthcoming resolution as strictly confidential. For this reason, no copies of this note are being sent by me to the New York office.

I have read with the greatest attention the resolve part of the proposed resolution. I understand that it follows very nearly a text formerly passed by the House Foreign Affairs Committee. Nevertheless, I am struck by its extreme resemblance to the formula used by Bergson. If you compare the two texts, you will notice the same resemblance. This in itself does not frighten me, though it ought to frighten a great many of our friends who attacked Bergson for his "treason" to Zionism and who would not like to be considered as imitating his tactics. But I do think that its text is entirely too weak to suit us.

Aside from asking for free immigration, the only tie-up of the resolution with political Zionist lies in the expression "so that they may reconstitute". It will not need much persuasion on the part of very few members of the Foreign Relations Committee, backed, I am afraid, by considerations of good grammar, to change this to a formula such as "and that Palestine may be reconstituted". With this formula, you open the door to the Gillette reasoning at its worst and to a stand in favor of an immediate constitution of Palestine as a free and democratic commonwealth, with some guarantees that Jews may be permitted to immigrate.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver October 25, 1945

Despite the difficulties involved, I would, therefore, suggest that you and our friends in the Senate should make use of the interval before the introduction of the resolution to change its wording.

One more suggestion. Since the resolution, I understand, is to be introduced as a joint resolution, it is far better Congressional procedure to have it introduced in one House only and sent over to the other House after passage by the first. This eliminates the likelihood of conflicting versions and of mutual rivalry between the Foreign Relations Committees of both houses. I would suggest, therefore, that the resolution be introduced in the Senate only and sent to the House after its passage by the Senate.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

Ba:cw

THE PARK CENTRAL NEW YORK CITY 19, N.Y.
M. A. LANZNER, GENERAL MANAGER CIRCLE 7-8000 SEVENTH AVENUE 55 TO 56 STREET
CABLE ADDRESS PARKCENT

Wednesday, Dec. 26.

Dear Dr. Silver,

During my conversations with various people yesterday and today, it became clear to me that the Jewish Agency is extremely ill-equipped to prepare evidence for the forthcoming hearings in London and Jerusalem. Leonard Stein, who did most of the work for them for the Royal Commission (and did it very well), is now in the non-Zionist camp. Except for Chertock himself, they seem to rely mainly on Namier for London and Leo Kohn in Jerusalem.

In the circumstances I wonder whether it would not be correct to offer my help to the Agency for the preparation of their case. If they wanted such help, I could fly over in time to spend several weeks in Jerusalem prior to the

arrival of the Commission which would go first to London and the Continent.

As American, as a specialist in international law, and as a political scientist acquainted with the most up-to-date Zionist argumentation, developed in this country, I might be of considerable service.

For obvious reasons, I would like you to take the initiative in this matter, if you consider it meritorious.

Incidentally, a brief stay in Palestine would place me in a position to discuss with the people there some of the things of which you were trying to persuade them. It would also help me in establishing good relations with Chaterde and others, which might come in useful should you wish to pursue further the London project of which you spoke to me. - But primarily, I hope, you will consider my suggestion in relation to the Agency evidence before the Commission.

Sincerely yours,

B. Akzin

October 26, 1945

Dr. Benjamin Akzin
American Zionist Emergency Council
1720 Sixteenth Street Northwest
Washington, D.C.

My dear Akzin:

Thank you for your letter of October 26. By the time my letter reaches you, you will have undoubtedly read in the press that Wagner introduced his resolution. This was done against my determined urging of him not to introduce it until our Committee of Eight will have had an opportunity to discuss it at a meeting which I had Dr. Goldmann call for next Monday. But after speaking to me at 11:30 this morning, he called up Dr. Wise and Dr. Wise, unmindful of the decision to consult the Committee of Eight, and impressed with the item in the New York Times which spoke of an agreement between the United States and Great Britain, he told Wagner to go ahead with the resolution even though he was informed that I urged delay.

Wagner was evidently burning up to introduce the resolution because of the tremendous demonstration in New York on Wednesday. He undoubtedly wanted to cash in on some of the valuable publicity.

I am not pleased with the resolution and I might have urged, at the meeting on Monday, to drop the whole business of resolutions, for no other type of resolution than the one that has been introduced has any chance of passing either the House or the Senate. There is absolutely no prospect of passing any resolution which will contain the terms "Jewish State" or "Jewish Commonwealth." The Gillette boys have done a good job in making the terms synonymous with the theocratic state in the minds of congressmen and senators not excluding the President himself.

The Senators whom we consulted felt that such a resolution, if adopted, would be so much additional pressure on Great Britain at this time. It has the advantage over the one previously introduced in that it is a joint resolution which will carry the signature of the President, and leaves out the term "ultimately" to which some of our people took exception. It re-affirms the resolution of 1922 and backs it up by demanding the abrogation of the White Paper and by declaring the right of the Jews to reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic commonwealth.

Our "judicial" friend in Washington, to whom I read the resolution, stated that it was a very good one, that it need not be put under a

microscope, that only those who are very close to the whole problem will miss certain things in it. The importance of such a resolution, in his judgment, was its total affect on the political situation, and as such, he believed the resolution was a very good one -- provided it could be passed.

Incidentally, Wagner stated that Byrnes had told him that the report in the New York Times about the British-American agreement was unrealistic.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

P.S. Your letter to Mr. Webber is excellent.

WRHS AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

October 26, 1945

Mr. Harry Shapiro, Executive Director
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Shapiro:

1. I want to acknowledge receipt of the copies of your correspondence with Rabbi Goldfarb of Charleston, South Carolina. I will answer Rabbi Goldfarb to the effect that we will prepare the speech for Senator Johnston when the situation in Congress is ripe for it.

2. I have had today a long conversation with Mr. Bowman, representing a string of Canadian papers and the London Daily Mail. I think the conversation will be fairly useful.

3. A well-known figure around Washington, Dr. Philip Marshall Brown, a retired professor of international law from Princeton and President of the American Peace Society, has written two letters to the Washington Post, in both of which he stresses the point that Palestine is a Holy land for three religions and that, therefore, no privileges be given to Jews there, and to industrialize the country would be a sacrilege. Two very good answers have appeared in the Post by Mr. Shalowitz and by two young people, Mr. Avni and Miss Block, but they did not touch on this central point. I have given to the Post a letter, copy of which is enclosed herewith, dealing with this issue, and was assured that the letter would either appear over my signature or that they will use the argument made for an editorial. I said that I would much prefer to have it made into an editorial.

4. I am trying to arrange meetings with Senators Bell and Fulbright. The former was anti-Zionist until very recently and is reported to have become somewhat more friendly of late. The latter is one of the most pro-British people in Congress, but I understand that he has made a mild speech in favor of Zionism at a recent U.P.A. meeting. Since I know both of them and know their slant on international affairs, I will try to strengthen their friendship (if any) for us. Otherwise, I think I will not undertake any steps for the present to contact anyone in Congress for the time being, since Mr. Bsok is handling this and I would like to avoid confusion.

The Executive Director October 26, 1945.

6. A Miss Betty Miller from Indiana was here yesterday. She is a friend of Ezrah Shapiro, who, I understand from Dr. Marks, recommends her highly for Zionist work. She worked with the government for the last three years, seems to be a person of means, and is willing to volunteer her time to help us in contacting people. Dr. Marks was very much impressed by her. Dean LeSourd, who also spoke to her, liked her too. Her knowledge of Zionism is exceedingly superficial, and she hardly knows as yet what arguments can be used in selling our case. But she seems to be a woman of quick intelligence and ought to be able to learn the right approach rapidly. She is a woman of the world, has a nice apartment on Connecticut Avenue, and a good-looking car. She is primarily interested in speaking to Congressmen on our behalf, but I will not make use of her in this capacity unless you want her to do this kind of work. If so, you'll tell me whether you want me to coach and instruct her, or whether I should turn her over to Mr. Sack. She knows some people in the oil crowd, and I have asked her to arrange a little party in her apartment, where I could meet some of the oil company crowd.

In recommending Miss Miller to your attention, I would like to repeat my conviction that the best solution for intensifying our work in Washington would be to engage Ruth Karpf, who, in addition to having precisely the personality needed for the job, has a very good knowledge of Zionism and Palestine.

6. In pursuance of the conversations which I had with Mr. Wailes of the British Empire Division and Mr. Leverich of the Central European Division, I sent the latter several copies of a memorandum specially prepared for the European Divisions and the Department of State. I have sent to Dr. Silver a copy of the memorandum, together with Leverich's reply, with the request that he forward that material to you.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:ew

November 2, 1945

Mr. Harry Shapiro, Executive Director
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Shapiro:

1. I had a long and friendly conversation with Blair Bolles, head of the Washington office of the Foreign Policy Association. He took a very favorable stand on our question and, since he knows and understands a lot about the difficulties we are encountering, I had very little to tell him. In fact, he made a very valuable suggestion. He said that the only man who understands enough about the oil situation, is sufficiently friendly to us, and wields sufficient authority in government to be taken seriously when discussing oil and Palestine, is Ickes. Therefore, we ought to ask him to destroy in the minds of the President and the Secretary of State the oil bogey which was sold to them. Bolles promised to try to get me an interview with Ickes. --According to Bolles, Secretary Byrnes is less favorable to us than the President and was dissatisfied with the President's request for 100,000 certificates. In Bolles' opinion, all our real difficulties in official circles in Washington have started with General Hurley's visit to Saudi Arabia.

2. Since Walter Lippmann mentioned Palestine a few times in his recent columns, I phoned for an appointment. He said that he was working now on something which makes it impossible for him to make engagements. I asked: "In how long a time will it be possible for you to make an appointment?" He answered: "Indefinitely." I said: "Your attitude is deeply appreciated", and hung up.

3. I had a letter in yesterday's Washington Post in reply to Philip Marshall Brown (see my previous report of October 26). Since Brown is essentially a well-meaning and very influential person, I followed up this piece of polemics by phoning him, and we are going to lunch together next week to talk over the situation.

The Executive Director November 2, 1945

4. The Washington Star sent me an advance proof of a longish letter giving the Arab viewpoint, asking me to prepare a reply which they will run immediately after. I will send you both texts when they appear.

5. I am trying to arrange a talk by Professor Friedrich on "American Policy for the Middle East" to the Washington Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, a most influential group, connected with the Shotwell group in New York but in a way even more important since it is composed almost exclusively of government officials acting in the foreign field. Friedrich agreed to speak, but at his usual fee of $100.00. The Washington group in question does not pay its speakers, but I take it for granted that we will reimburse Friedrich to the amount of his usual fee. Let me know whether you have any objection to this arrangement.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BAkcw

November 2, 1945

Dr. Benjamin Akzin
American Zionist Emergency Council
1720-16th Street Northwest
Washington, D.C.

My dear Dr. Akzin:

Thank you for your letter of October 31 and for the memorandum which you sent me about the Congressional resolution. Had the resolution not been introduced so precipitously, and against my express request, I would have, myself, suggested certain changes in the wording. There may still be time to offer emendations when the resolution comes before the Foreign Relations Committee. I will keep in touch with you about it.

What is important to bear in mind, however, is the total effect of the passage of the resolution upon the given political situation.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

November 2, 1945

Dr. Benjamin Akzin
American Zionist Emergency Council
1720 Sixteenth Street N.W.
Washington, D.C.

My dear Dr. Akzin:

I do not know why you should not send the enclosed letter to the Cleveland Plain Dealer. I would suggest that you mail it from Washington or New York. You may wish to bring it up to current date and include some reference to the rioting in Cairo.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:BK
Enc.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL • 1720 SIXTEENTH STREET, N. W. • WASHINGTON 9, D. C.

MEMORANDUM

FROM Benjamin Akzin **DATE:** November 5, 1945

TO: Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and Dr. Nahum Goldmann

SUBJECT: Meeting of committee of major powers re German reparations

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

I understand from friends in the Department of State that Dr. Goldmann's recent visit in connection with the reparation problem is not likely, in itself, to lead to any results, but that a meeting of the committee of the major powers to make recommendations regarding the allocation of German reparations among various claimants will be held in Paris on November 9. I understand that in some capacity the Intergovernmental Refugee Committee will be represented at that meeting in connection with the reparation claims of displaced persons. I further understand that unless a representative of the Agency and/or the World Jewish Congress (from London) arranges to be present in Paris at that time to press for reparation claims for the Jewish community as such, it would be too late to press any such claims subsequently. This information is being conveyed to you in the hope that you might be able to communicate by telephone with London to insure Jewish representation in Paris.

BA.

BA:ow
cc to:
Mr. Shapiro
Mr. Epstein
Dr. Neumann

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL • 1720 SIXTEENTH STREET, N. W. • WASHINGTON 9, D. C.

MEMORANDUM

FROM Benjamin Akzin **DATE:** November 6, 1945

TO: Dr. Silver

SUBJECT:

1. On the basis of various conversations with English newspapermen and State Department officials held within the last week, I formed the following impression:

The reason for the postponement of Azzam Bey's visit to America and his sudden departure for Egypt is that the British government advised him that some concessions regarding limited Jewish immigration to Palestine would have to be made and suggested that it would be better for the Arab league to give its consent to such a program, thereby continuing in effect the principle of the White Paper and appearing in a more humaniterian light in the eyes of the American public. Accordingly, Azzam Bey went to Cairo to try to obtain such Arab consent.

The postponement in Attlee's or Bevin's statement on Palestine was made in order to give the Arabs time to decide on their attitude. The reason for this postponement seems to have been explained to the American government and to have received its approbation.

Should the Arab League accept British advice and give its consent to limited immigration, we would be indeed in a serious situation: a very tiny progress in so far as immigration is concerned would have been achieved at the price of continuing the situation under which the Arabs would remain a party to various negotiations concerning Palestine.

As far as I can make out, this British move was made after Secretary Byrnes explained in his statement that immigration of 100,000 people is not considered a basic issue on which the Arabs would be consulted. The British replied that while this may be the American view point, America would surely not object to a British attempt to obtain Arab consent to a small immigration, provided that if after a short time such consent is not given, a British statement concerning limited immigration would be made anyhow. To this procedure our government seems to have given its consent.

2. From a recent conversation with a State Department official immediately concerned with the matter, I gathered that Mr. Roosevelt's letter to Ibn Saud in which Ibn Saud is assured that no decision affecting Palestine will be reached without consultation with the Arabs will be made use of as evidence that the Arab States are "states directly concerned" within the meaning of the trusteeship articles of the United Nations Charter.

BA

November 9, 1945

Mr. Benjamin Akzin
American Zionist Emergency Council
1720 - 16th Street Northwest
Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. Akzin:

You may be interested in following up the matters referred to in the enclosed letter.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

A'S:BK
Enc.

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS:
Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

WASHINGTON BUREAU
1720 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Michigan 4480 ZONE 9

November 13, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
19810 Shaker Boulevard
Shaker Heights
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

1. As I told you over the telephone a few days ago, following Rabbi Gerstenfeld's broadcast on the radio on November 4 strongly favoring our program, I telephoned the Rabbi and invited him to meet with me. The meeting was arranged for today, but in the meantime, Dr. Gerstenfeld asked me for material concerning various points at issue. He said that he would like to make use of it in his next broadcast, November 11, and during a conversation which he was scheduled to have with certain people of the President's entourage. I sent him various printed and mimeographed material issued by the New York and Washington offices, as well as two short memoranda on specific points on which he had asked information. Copies of these specific memoranda are enclosed.

On the 11th, he again made a very powerful broadcast favoring unrestricted Jewish admission to Palestine. I did not hear it, but those who listened in assured me that it was a very strong plea in our favor.

During our conversation today, Rabbi Gerstenfeld told me that he would like to unite and organize non-Zionist opinion in this country to come out publicly in favor of the Jewish demand on the basis of some formula which, while not identical with the Zionist formula, would nevertheless emphasize the demand for the speedy physical transfer to Palestine of all Jews who wish to leave Europe, coupled with the request for constructive action that would ensure their gradual absorption into Palestine. He asked me what I thought of his idea, and I replied that there was nothing that I could say beyond stating that it is a very interesting idea which I would be glad to transmit to you if he could give me a more detailed idea of the basis on which he wishes to formulate his stand. Gerstenfeld replied that he would prefer that I keep the matter confidential, since he would like to avoid the impression that he is acting in coordination with or "as a

mouthpiece of" the Zionist movement. He would, therefore, prefer to consult with the various representative figures among the non-Zionists before getting in touch with the leaders of the Zionist movement.

Dr. Gerstenfeld further informed me that he is having a meeting tonight with Messrs. Rosenman, Ben Cohen, and Niles. Ed Kaufman and Elishu Epstein will also be present. According to Dr. Gerstenfeld, Rosenman took the initiative of calling the meeting, and Kaufman suggested that Epstein be also invited to attend. In the further course of the conversation, I tried to give Dr. Gerstenfeld further arguments and information which might come in handy in his conversation tonight. It will be interesting to hear from Epstein what course the meeting takes.

According to Dr. Gerstenfeld, he has been approached by various people, including high officials of the British Embassy and Christian clergymen, trying to dissuade him from continuing to take the stand which he took in his recent broadcasts.

Dr. Gerstenfeld also said that as far as he knows, President Truman made use of his recent meeting with the American ministers in the Middle East and with Henderson to tell them that he favors the opening of the gates of Palestine to Jews and that he wants them to cooperate in making this policy possible.

2. I understand that the Washington News Letter by Blair Bolles, Director of the Foreign Policy Association in Washington, in the next issue of the Foreign Policy Bulletin,will be devoted to the Palestine question. I think it will be somewhat more favorable than the writings on Palestine issued by the New York office of the Association.

3. I have been told by Mr. Webb of the London Daily Herald that our arguments, which he has forwarded in letters to Williams and Morrison, reached London before Attlee came over and were given some consideration.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:ow
2 Encls.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL • 1720 SIXTEENTH STREET, N. W. • WASHINGTON 9, D. C.

MEMORANDUM

FROM Benjamin Akzin **DATE:** November 14, 1945

TO: Dr. Silver

~~SUBJECT~~

Congressman Bennett, Sharfstein of Philadelphia, and Fowler Harper (former General Counsel to the Social Security Board) left for England yesterday. Mr. Gillette, Mr. Stern and Congressman Sp[illegible]rs are scheduled to follow them in a few days. Bergson does not intend for the moment to go to London. His status as a visitor to the United States seems to have been regularized. Should he go to London, he will do so in order to engage in active political negotiations there similar to those which he has been carrying on here, and not because he has to leave the country.

It should be considered whether, insofar as his activities are considered harmful, it is not better to have him continue in Washington, rather than have him introducing further confusion in England as well.

BA

BA:cw

Benjamin Akzin

November 14, 1945

Harry Shapiro

Conference with Messrs. Wulfson and Baresh of the Interior Department.

I had a conference today with Joel Wulfson, Assistant Commissioner of Lands in the Interior Department and Mr. Baresh, Chief Counsel of Geological Survey in the same Department. Mr. Wulfson is reputed to be one of the men closest to Secretary Ickes.

I explained to them the harm done to us by the impression prevailing in official circles in Washington that the oil interests of the United States make it impossible for the United States government to back Zionism. I gave them our answer to this argument, but informed them that the argument will continue to be used against us unless it is repudiated by someone sufficiently high in the administration and sufficiently acknowledged as an authority on the oil situation to compel attention. The only man who could do it and who could dispel the harm which the argument does us in the minds of Mr. Truman and Secretary Byrnes, is Secretary Ickes.

Mr. Wulfson agreed to help us. He will speak to the Secretary either on Friday of this week or on Monday of next week and will suggest to the Secretary that he should receive a small Zionist delegation who would explain to him this argument and its implications.

Wulfson hoped that thereupon the Secretary would appoint a small committee drawn from the ranks of the Department and of the Petroleum Administration to go into the subject. Mr. Ickes would then be able to present Mr. Truman and Mr. Byrnes with the findings of this committee and, thus backed, dispel in their minds the argument advanced against us.

Mr. Wulfson asked me who would be the people who would see the Secretary. He said that a small delegation is preferable. I replied that I will have to refer the question to our leadership.

Since the conversation with Ickes is to deal with a specific point and not with the general problem, I think the delegation should be composed accordingly. I would suggest Emmanuel Neumann, Rose Halpirn, and myself. Perhaps, instead of Rose Halpirn, there should be Ben-Horin, Zaslani, or Epstein.

L:ow

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL • 1720 SIXTEENTH STREET, N. W. • WASHINGTON 9, D. C.

MEMORANDUM

FROM Benjamin Akzin **DATE:** November 14, 1945

TO: Dr. Silver

SUBJECT: Meeting November 13 between Dr. Gerstenfeld, Messrs. Rosenman, Cohen, Niles and Kaufman.

In connection with my letter of yesterday's date, and in accordance with the information which I gave you over the telephone this morning, I want to inform you that the meeting last night between Dr. Gerstenfeld, Messrs. Rosenman, Ben Cohen, Niles, and Kaufman did not produce any satisfactory results. Mr. Niles particularly took a negative and rather cynical attitude toward the whole problem. Mr. Epstein was not there, but Mr. Ziff was present, and I hear that he, as well as Dr. Gerstenfeld, tried to impress ~~Joseph~~ Rosenman and Mr. Cohen with the seriousness of the situation.

As you will have noticed from the newspapers, Mr. Rosenman is leaving the White House at the end of the year and returning to private practice in New York.

Dr. Gerstenfeld intends to continue discussions with leaders of the American Jewish Committee and the American Council For Judaism in an effort to secure their cooperation along the lines of a formula that would permit them to back a large-scale program of Jewish immigration and settlement in Palestine. He is meeting leaders of the American Jewish Committee this coming Friday in Baltimore. He will also see Rabbi Lazeron, in whose Temple he is preaching Friday night.

Ben

November 17, 1945

Honorable Carl A. Hatch
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator Hatch:

At the request of Dr. Silver, Dr. Wise, and the other Jewish leaders associated with them in sponsoring S.J.Res. 112, and in accordance with your own request last Thursday, I am writing to acquaint you with our attitude toward this resolution and any changes that may be proposed in its text.

The objective of the Resolution is to bring forth a clear and authoritative statement of American policy on Palestine. The Palestine Resolution adopted by Congress in 1922 and the United States-British Convention of 1924 fully state the American position. The meaning of these documents has been clarified by a long series of statements: President Wilson in 1919; the platforms of both political parties in 1944; President Roosevelt in the same year; and clear majorities of the members of both Houses of Congress a few months ago, in a letter to President Truman on the eve of his departure for Potsdam, asserted that they favor the reconstitution of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth.

Time and again, however, it was alleged that there is no "official" document in existence which states with sufficient clarity this government's policy on Palestine. To make an end to this situation, Messrs. Taft, Wagner and Walsh introduced S.J.Res. 112 which, when made part of the law of the land, would guide the policy of the Executive and would strengthen its hand in dealing with the British and other foreign governments. Written in most moderate language, far less outspoken than the statements referred to above, this Resolution nevertheless makes clear certain points:

(a) It is a joint Resolution, and, therefore, its official and authoritative character cannot be disputed.

(b) It makes it clear that Jews who desire to go to Palestine have a right to enter there freely, without restrictions, and will have opportunities for colonization.

(c) It makes it clear that the future Palestinian State cannot be established without Jewish cooperation.

Point (a) is self-explanatory.

The importance of point (b) is obvious to you, Senator, when you consider past British practices which consisted in artificially restricting Jewish immigration by pretending from time to time that Palestine's "absorptive capacity" had been exhausted, by limiting or prohibiting agricultural settlement by Jews, and by making further Jewish immigration dependent on the consent of the Arabs.

The importance of point (c) is equally clear. It would indicate that it is no part of American policy to support the premature establishment of Palestine as a State or Commonwealth on the basis of an Arab majority. This would inevitably mean the stoppage of further Jewish immigration, and, instead of becoming a Jewish Commonwealth, Palestine would become an Arab country with a Jewish ghetto. It would end up as a second Germany or, at best, a second Poland. That this is not an exaggeration was again demonstrated in the rioting last week in Tripoli and Egypt, where more than 100 innocent Jews were killed by Arab mobs.

There is no need to explain at length why such a Resolution is doubly necessary at this time, when Britain has agreed to consult the United States on the future of Palestine, and when the British government, through Mr. Bevin, has again indicated that it means to continue its policy of evading the clear meaning of its original obligations. (To further inform you of the meaning of these obligations, I enclose an excerpt from the Report of the British Royal Commission on Palestine.)

We understand that attempts may be made to whittle down the language of the pending resolution, so as either to diminish its authoritative and binding character, or to render its language purposely vague, or to introduce language which would make it possible for British and other unfriendly circles to interpret its intent to suit their purposes.

We fear, more especially, that a reference to absorptive capacity may be introduced in the Resolution, and we wish to inform you that such a reference will be made use of by the British to stop and restrict, ever so often, further Jewish immigration on the ground that it is necessary to re-investigate the "absorptive capacity". Instead of helping to decide once and for all that Jewish immigration to Palestine is to remain free, the Resolution would then become a means of re-opening the question again and again.

Any such change, or, for that matter, any change that could be interpreted as meaning that Palestine would become a State before the Jews had full opportunity to immigrate thereto, would make such a resolution a stumbling-block in our way, rather than a help. I have been asked to convey to you the feeling of the overwhelming majority of Jews in America, which is:

If our friends in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (and I number you among them), cannot see their way to incorporate in the Resolution, clearly and unequivocally, the sentiments which they so often expressed in individual and collective statements and which have been endorsed by Presidents Wilson and Roosevelt and by the platforms of both parties, we would be grateful if they did not make our task more difficult by a Resolution which could be misinterpreted and misapplied in practice.

I hope you will not misunderstand the meaning of this last request: we are trying to help one to two million persecuted and homeless human beings, anxious to go and live in freedom in a country that has been promised to them. All too long have we been confronted with declarations and documents which, though friendly on the surface, are full of qualifying phrases that rob them of their intended meaning and are even used to curtail Jewish effort. Another ambiguous document will make the task of saving a helpless people even more difficult. If Congress cannot pass a resolution that would be helpful, we would rather have none.

With my kindest regards and my deepest personal gratitude to you for your interest, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

Leo R. Sack

LRS:ew

November 19, 1945

Mr. Harry Shapiro, Executive Director
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York, 17, New York

Dear Shapiro:

I will report orally, on a suitable occasion, about the various aspects and last-minute efforts in connection with the fight for the Congressional resolution. For the moment, I limit myself to sending you the enclosed copies of three documents which were the basis of our work in the last three days.

The Aide-Memoire was given to Senator Guffey, together with an excerpt from the Jewish Telegraphic Agency of November 11 reporting accounts of incitement of Arabs against Jews by British officials in Palestine.

The letter sent by Senators Wagner and Taft to the members of the Foreign Relations Committee is as per enclosed copy, with corrections.

The letter to Senator Hatch was given to him Saturday night to acquaint him with our attitude toward the proposed changes in the resolution.

At Mr. Sack's request, I accompanied him within the last few days to see Senators Wagner, Vandenberg, Guffey, Austin, Green, Tunnell, and Wiley, with all of whom we talked along the lines of the letter to Senator Hatch. Lucas,

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:ow
3 Encls.

MEMORANDUM

From: Benjamin Akzin November 19, 1946

To: Dr. Silver, Dr. Wise, Dr. Goldmann, and Mr. Lipsky.

SECRET

I understand that at a recent meeting of the Emergency Council, the subject of partition was brought up. Without going into the merits or demerits of partition, I would like to offer a few thoughts pertinent to the subject:

1. Even the best and fairest politicians in England and America are under a psychological compulsion to suggest or impose solutions somewhere in the middle between the extreme demands of the two ostensible parties--the Jews and the Arabs. Because of this, any solution proposed by the Jews or known to be favored by the Jews, however reasonable in itself, tends to become, in the eyes of such Englishmen and Americans, an "extreme" demand. This applies to partition as well.

This point was overlooked by the Jewish advocates of partition in 1937: had the Jews insisted upon a Jewish state in the whole of Palestine, the British might have imposed partition as a compromise solution, but since the majority of the Zionist Congress, headed by the President of the World Zionist Organization, made clear their desire for partition, this solution became identified in the British minds with the Zionist program, and British circles began to think in terms of a compromise between Jewish-favored partition and the Arab position.

Should there be among us any people who would favor partition as a solution for the future, it is suggested that they profit from this lesson.

2. Insofar as we may convince the British and American governments of the need to establish a Jewish state, it must be recognized that the establishment of such a state in a partitioned Palestine rather than in the whole of the country is much more likely today than it would have been before the Second World War. In those days, there were two arguments bolstering our cause for a Jewish state in the whole of Palestine: first, justice; second, the fact that the obvious and immediate candidates for immigration into Palestine numbered between three and five million. Today, only the first argument remains--our right to the whole of Palestine. In view of the extermination of a large number of prospective immigrants, it will not be as easy for us to argue that we would need the same amount of territory as we have needed for the larger number of immigrants who had to be provided for in former years. Therefore, from the point of view of Anglo-American politicians, this cannot help weakening our claim to the whole of Palestine.

3. Realistically speaking, the alternative confronting Anglo-American politicians with reference to Palestine consists in either stabilizing the political situation in Palestine on the basis of a bi-national state with an Arab majority, or the formation of a Jewish state in all or part of Palestine. For psychological reasons, these politicians will prefer a bi-national state. If the situation in Palestine is such as to indicate that a bi-national state is feasible, the likelihood is that a solution along these lines will be imposed. Only if the situation in Palestine indicates that a bi-national state with an Arab majority would be unworkable and would create a lasting source of trouble, would England and America be impelled to envisage the creation of a Jewish state.

Memo from: Benjamin Akzin
To: Dr. Silver, Dr. Wise,
Dr. Goldmann and Mr. Lipsky.

November 19, 1945

SECRET

One of the decisive determining factors, if not the decisive factor, would lie in the prevalence of civic peace vs. civic strife in Palestine. Indeed, if the Jews and Arabs in Palestine live together in peace under a common government, the British and American observers will most probably decide that a bi-national state would be workable. Only if there is widespread and serious civil unrest on the part of either the Jews or the Arabs would the British and the Americans come to the conclusion that a bi-national solution would not prove workable. In the end, physical unrest in Palestine is, therefore, far more essential to compel the two governments to envisage seriously the establishment of a Jewish state than any number of declarations of policy emanating from the World Zionist Movement or from American Jewry.

4. At the very highest level of Zionist policy, the choice between civic peace and a prolonged period of revolutionary upheaval in Palestine must be made, in full cognizance of the factors outlined above. We must realize that if the Jewish state is to materialize in the present period of history, it will most likely take the form of partition. We must have this in mind when deciding on one of two lines of action, of which one would be likely to end in a bi-national state with an Arab majority (probably under international trusteeship), and the other in a partitioned Jewish state, also probably subject to trusteeship.

BA.

BA:ow

B. Silver

November 27, 1945

Mr. Harry Shapiro, Executive Director
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Shapiro:

1. In accordance with the decision made at last night's meeting of the Executive, I am starting to give out material to newspaper people regarding the true story of the Congressional resolution. I will ask Leo Sack to give it to the people whom he knows best, and I will tackle the others. You ought to have in the office a copy of a first draft of the story which I sent you yesterday, and I hope that you will also do your utmost for the dissemination of that story.

2. I am giving various newspaper people the information contained in a letter which I am sending today to Loy Henderson, a copy of which will be sent to you. I am also giving them information regarding British imperialistic reasons for keeping Palestine heavily garrisoned while blaming the Jews for it. All this material is being sent to you, and I hope that Wanson, Ben-Horin and others will see to it that it gets as widely disseminated as possible.

3. By tomorrow, the personnel of the joint commission may be announced. In case there is a last-minute hitch, the following additional names have been suggested as being good selections: Thurman Arnold, Leon Henderson, and Earnest Griffith. I don't know about Arnold, but Henderson and Griffith (whom I know very well) would be very good. If there is time, I think their candidacy should be pushed, the one as the man with the economic outlook, and the other as the distinguished academician and federal official. Griffith is a former college dean and professor of political science, and has for several years been Director of the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress.

The Executive Director November 27, 1946

4. I want to repeat the suggestion made to you over the telephone earlier today: I think nothing would give as dramatic and forceful a picture of American determination to back the Jews in Palestine as a full page advertising campaign addressed to the American public, and mainly to the non-Jews in America, asking them to contribute funds to help those who are trying to introduce Jews into Palestine, overcoming British resistance. Such a call for sympathy with those who actually fight for a noble cause would bring us tremendous sympathies, especially among the Irish and others who remember how the British behaved in subject territories. The fight going on in Palestine will very soon be crystallized in the mind of the American public as one of two things -- either a fight against tyranny in defense of the right of people to enter their own homeland, or as a fight instigated by hoodlums. We have very little time to see to it that the former impression prevails. If we don't do it very quickly, the latter view will be taken; newspapers already begin to picture it in this manner in their stories from Palestine. If this continues a few days longer, we will be on the defensive and will have to explain that we are not hoodlums -- a rather bad tactical position to be in. This is why I urge an immediate offensive in which the present struggle in Palestine should be compared with the Irish struggle for freedom, with the Greek struggle for freedom under Byron, and with similar historical events. Let the British be on the defensive trying to show that this is not the case. But don't limit yourself to the abstract exposition of our case out of a false feeling that dignity does not permit us to ask for money of the public at large. This is actually the most dignified way of raising money, because it is the most democratic way, while at the same time ensuring that people will do something for us and thereafter remain our friends.

I understand that because of United Jewish Appeal arrangements, this could not be done by us. So much the better. I would much rather have an appropriate friendly Gentile group make the appeal. If I were you, I would not make it on behalf of the existing American Christian Committee. Genteel Protestant clergymen are not the people to do this sort of thing. I would have the appeal made by a special committee with a large sprinkling of Irishmen in it. Please act on this suggestion with all possible speed.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:cw

C O P Y

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Washington

C O P Y

December 12, 1945

My dear Mr. Akzin:

I am writing to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of November 27, with which you sent me a copy of a message which you have received from Palestine relative to the recent anti-Jewish disturbances in Tripoli. This message and the other two enclosures to your letter have been carefully noted by the appropriate officials of the Department and your courtesy in furnishing this information is appreciated.

As you know, the Department requested its representatives at Cairo and Tunis to report regarding the disturbances in Tripoli, and their preliminary reports have now been received. You may rest assured that the Department will continue to devote close attention to this matter.

Sincerely yours,

(signed) Loy W. Henderson
Director, Office of
Near Eastern and African Affairs

Mr. Benjamin Akzin,
American Zionist Emergency Council,
1720 Sixteenth Street NW,
Washington, D. C.

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS:
Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

WASHINGTON BUREAU
1720 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Michigan 4480 ZONE 9

December 18, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
19810 Shaker Boulevard
Shaker Heights
Cleveland, Ohio

SECRET

Dear Dr. Silver:

Rabbi Korff, who has been associated with the Bergson group, phoned me on Saturday, December 15th, stating that he would like to see me about an urgent matter. He came to my house the same evening and told me that he had decided to break publicly with Bergson in view of the increasing anti-Zionist trend of Bergson's activities. What had started with Bergson as a matter of tactics has deteriorated to the point where he is ready to become another Shabtai Zvi. The disagreements between them have grown for sometime, and about a month ago Korff told Bergson privately that he was ceasing to co-operate with him. The Stern interview and the part played by the delegation in London were so terrible that he, Korff, thinks it imperative to make his severance public, because he believes that this would discredit Bergson in those Congressional circles where he, Korff, is well known, and because discrediting Bergson appears to him at present a patriotic duty. He asked me whether I would go over a draft of his letter of resignation.

I refused to give him any advice in this situation and said that whether he should publicly denounce Bergson or not was a matter for him to decide. I agreed to go over his letter of resignation, as a purely personal service, but refused to use the facilities of our office in distributing his letter. I did so because Korff may decide at the last moment to withdraw or deny that he sent out this letter, and I did not want our organization to get involved in any controversy of this sort. As a friendly service, I permitted his letter of resignation to be mimeographed on our machine, but have had all the copies returned to Rabbi Korff so that he will distribute them if and when he sees fit. (As I was dictating these lines, he telephoned to tell me that the copies have been distributed to the press.)

I asked Rabbi Korff whether he intends to continue his Jewish activities and if so whether he wants to work within the framework of our organization. He said that he would like to work on his own, because as an independent worker he would be able to work more energetically, and that he thinks he will have sufficient funds at his disposal in order to conduct such work.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver December 18, 1945

He stated, however, that he would like to cooperate with us discreetly and to coordinate his work with ours. I replied that I would inform you of his intentions.

The letter of resignation enclosed herewith represents his original dreft with some changes suggested by me. Other changes which I proposed were rejected by him. Korff explained that the "intimidation and coercion" to which he refers did not come from Zionist circles, but from various personal acquaintances and religious groups with whom he was previously associated. I tried to get him to take it out anyhow, since the expression might be construed as reflecting on Zionist organizations, but he insisted on leaving it in.

The part of the letter referring to the personal support which he gave Bergson refers, according to Korff, to Bergson's struggle against being inducted into the army and against deportation. Korff says that there is no truth in the rumors spread by Bergson that the Zionists tried to have him deported, but that all these efforts originated with Senator Lucas.

Korff states that to his positive knowledge, Lessing Rosenwald met Bergson in Philadelphia six weeks ago and gave him $15,000 in cash to finance the delegation to London, and that other considerable contributions were made to the American League for a Free Palestine by several associates of Mr. Rosenwald through Mr. Wilf, the Executive Director of the League. If and when challenged by Bergson, Rabbi Korff is ready to make these facts public.

You have undoubtedly heard of the energetic and imaginative work performed by Rabbi Korff in Washington, first on behalf of the Vaad Hahatsalah, and then on behalf of Bergson's organizations. I will be grateful for your instructions as to the extent to which you believe it possible for us to cooperate with Rabbi Korff in the future and as to the form which this cooperation should take. Perhaps you or Mr. Neumann would like to see Rabbi Korff personally.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:ow

See third page BA.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver December 18, 1945

P.S. To the above, I should like to add a personal comment:

I have seen Rabbi Korff in operation for quite sometime. He is ingratiating and has entrée with a great many people in Washington. His contacts seem to stem from Senator McKellar, Senator Mead, and Congressman McCormack of Massachusetts. His ties with the two latter seem to be especially close, and there is some talk of his being a business associate of Senator Mead, at any rate.

I understand that he did not generally accept a salary from the organizations for whom he has been working, but that his expense accounts have a tendency to reach astronomical figures. I recall that when I was with the War Refugee Board, the Rabbis from the Vaad Hahatsalah came to me to ask me confidentially whether I believed his help to them was worth the tremendous drain which his expenses made on their treasury.

In making your decision regarding our future cooperation with Rabbi Korff, you will have to keep in mind both his undoubted energetic personality and the other side of his character. All in all, I would be inclined to recommend an experimental period of cooperation with him.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Dr. Silver

COPY — from Washington Office — for _____

December 18, 1946

Mr. Harry Shapiro, Executive Director
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Shapiro:

As you know, I have been giving a lot of thought to the need of contacting representative Catholic circles in order to get their support or, at least, to reduce the likelihood of their opposition. The Catholic Church is organized along authoritarian lines, and thinks in realistic terms which are quite unlike the sentimental approach of those Protestant circles that are friendly to us. In addition, the entire approach to Catholic circles ought to be fundamentally different in many ways from that cultivated in the predominantly Protestant-oriented American Christian Palestine Committee. I say this despite the presence of individual Catholics in that Committee. They are neither typical nor representative of Catholic opinion. For these reasons I favored an independent approach to Catholic circles through three different channels: the American Catholic hierarchy, the Vatican, and the lay Irish Catholic element whose interest on our behalf ought to be aroused through the many parallel experiences which we share with the Irish where England is concerned.

The place to start contact with the Irish lay element is, of course, New York, and I hope that you will ask a few of our friends in New York, people with a strong political sense and who know a lot about the Irish fight for freedom, to start something in this direction. As for the two former avenues, I had a preliminary talk on December 10th with Father Tanner, Assistant General Secretary of the National Catholic Welfare Conference which, as you may know, is the organized body of American Catholicism and is administered by the so-called Administrative Board of Bishops, of which all the Catholic Bishops in America are members.

Father Tanner advised me to approach the Catholic hierarchy in the following three ways: (a) by contacting in person the Apostolic Delegation in Washington (the quasi-diplomatic representation of the Vatican in the United States); (b) by contacting personally the faculty of Catholic

University in Washington, among whom would be found the people whose advice on the problem is most likely to be sought by the hierarchy; and (c) by approaching Archbishop Stritch of Chicago, the present Chairman of the Administrative Board of Bishops.

My next step was to have a lengthy conversation yesterday with Father Parsons, professor of political science at Catholic University. Professor Parsons, a former editor of "America", is considered to be one of the most outstanding intellectuals among Catholic clergymen in the country. He took a sympathetic attitude toward our problems, gave me further advice regarding a suitable form of approach to the Apostolic Delegation, and suggested that we seek to discuss our affair with the three archbishops in the country, who, according to him, would be most influential in rallying American Catholic opinion to us: Archbishops Stritch of Chicago, Mooney of Detroit, and McNicholas of Cincinnati. Mooney is a close friend of Stritch, whereas McNicholas is the closest friend in this country of Archbishop Cicognani, the Papal Delegate. He authorized the use of his name in asking for such an interview, since all three archbishops are good friends of his. He further suggested a conversation with Father John Courtney Murrey, one of the editors of "America", whose address is 329 West 108th Street, New York. Father Murrey, in his opinion, would be a key figure for Catholic contacts in and around New York.

In the course of our conversation, Father Parsons inquired about the attitude of the Vatican and whether we had direct relations with the Holy See. I told him about the occasional visits which Zionist leaders have paid to the Pope and to the Secretary of State, and during which the prelates mostly listened rather than talked. Father Parsons was in Rome during some of the visits there of Monsignor Pa[illegible]ina, and is aware of the latter's anti-Zionist tendencies. He is also aware of the mounting Catholic concern about the Maronites, and of the implications of this concern in relation to Zionism. He made light of the pro-Moslem attitude of Protestant missionary circles, saying: "Catholics know that the Vatican will take good care of the Holy places whatever kind of state is established in Palestine and will make the necessary arrangements. The Protestants have no Pope, and so it becomes everybody's business to be concerned about the Holy places."

Finally, he agreed to take the initiative of convening, early in January, a meeting of several members of the faculty of Catholic University (political scientists, theologians, etc.) at which I would be present to answer questions and to arouse the sympathetic interests of those present in our problem.

In connection with the projected interviews with the three Catholic archbishops, I would be glad to take part in the conversations. Should you prefer to have others handle these conversations, I would [illegible] you to give me the opportunity to prepare a comprehensive memorandum for these conversations which ought to be studied by those who will be handling them. The

COPY — from Washington Office -

The Executive Director — December 19, 1945

Catholic aspect of the problem is a particularly delicate one, and ought to be handled with particular circumspection by those engaging in the matter. Please let me know also whether you would like me to write to the three archbishops, or whether you prefer to have these letters sent out by the New York office, or by residents of the three respective cities. I would very much advise against the latter procedure.

Though his name was not mentioned either by Father Tanner or by Father Parsons, it is my personal belief that the one strategic person whose influence, in the last analysis, will be decisive is Archbishop Spellman. But in the ordinary course of events, we would get nowhere trying to take up the matter directly with him, unless the ground is prepared in suitable quarters. However, if either Dr. Silver or Dr. Wise are on such terms with Archbishop Spellman that they could initiate a discussion with him about our problem, that would, of course, be the best and shortest way. Incidentally, I have also discussed with Professor Friedrich the possibility of having some talks on our problem with Archbishop Cushing of Boston, who occupies a somewhat exceptional position among the bishops of America. Whenever Dr. Friedrich sees an opportunity of doing so, he will inform me, and, assuming that you have no objection, I would go to Boston in order to participate, together with Friedrich, in a conversation with Archbishop Cushing or the prelates of his Diocese.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

Ea:cw

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

COPY — from Washington Office — for _____

December 19, 1945

Mr. Harry Shapiro, Executive Director
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Shapiro:

I had another conversation last night with Andre Visson, whom I saw last spring. Visson, a Russian Jew and a columnist writing in the Washington Post and many papers on international affairs, is also the Washington representative of the Reader's Digest. He gets around a lot, especially in British circles. At the time of our previous conversation, he told me that he does not believe in the chances of Zionism but avoids writing on the subject in order not to add to our difficulties by expressing his skepticism.

In the course of our conversation yesterday, he agreed that there is not the slightest validity in the often used arguments that the Arabs could start large-scale violence or that if America would back the Jews, the Arabs would throw themselves into the arms of the Russians. I asked him, since this is his honest opinion, why he shouldn't say so in his articles, and he promised to do so in the near future.

Incidentally, Visson told me that the latest argument which the British are spreading in Washington by way of mouth is to the effect that in case of war, the Jews in Palestine would constitute a pro-Russian fifth column, and that therefore the governments of England and America are equally interested in preventing any further Jewish immigration into Palestine. He agreed to scotch this argument in personal conversations whenever he could, but thought that since our opponents have not brought it out into the open, so that the public at large does not know about it, more harm than good would be done if he were to deal with the idea in his articles. I fully agree with him, since a reputation of a woman is never enhanced if people write about her to say that she has no lovers.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BAtow

December 21, 1945

Dr. Benjamin Akzin
American Zionist Emergency Council
1720 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Dr. Akzin:

To relieve pressure on The Temple telephones Dr. Silver has had a private telephone installed here under his name. The number will not be listed. In the future, when you make calls to Dr. Silver at The Temple he would appreciate it if you would call him at RANDOLPH 0822.

With best wishes, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

ARS:BK

Secretary to Dr. Silver

UNITED STATES SENATE

COMMITTEE ON
EDUCATION AND LABOR

C
O
P
Y

December 27, 1945

My dear Mr. Akzin:

I received your kind letter of December 18th with its enclosures before I went away for Christmas and I want to thank you for your kind expressions. You will learn, after we become better acquainted, which I hope will be the case, that I never harbor any feelings on any subject and I thoroughly understood the circumstances with regard to the Atlantic City situation and I was glad to see that it was cleared up so well. Possibly the incident illustrated a deep conviction I have that we cannot make progress with important issues by attacking head-on those with whom we may not be in agreement. A delicate situation such as we may be in, in my judgment, calls for a diplomatic and understanding approach, and I am very hopeful that the expression of conviction which was reflected in our Senatorial resolution will be effective with the joint commission appointed to study this distressing situation.

It is my sincere hope that real progress will be made promptly in finding a solution for the desperate situation of the homeless Jewish refugees who deserve our every sympathy. I was delighted that President Truman took another step which I have been hoping he would take; namely, in suggesting that the immigration situation be considered in this connection, to the end that we may set an example to other countries of the world in solving this difficult problem.

I have examined your documents with real interest and I hope soon to have the pleasure of discussing with you again the interesting questions presented.

Always cordially yours,

(Signed) H. Alexander Smith

Benjamin Akzin, Esquire,
American Zionist Emergency Council,
1720 Sixteenth Street, Northwest,
Washington 9, D. C.

HAS:W

WASHINGTON OFFICE - THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE

MEMORANDUM

CONFIDENTIAL

TO: Dr. Silver
Mr. Neumann
Dr. Akzin for Messrs. Shapiro and Lourie
Dr. Wise
Mr. Lipsky
Mr. Weisgal

December 28, 1945

FROM: Eliahu Epstein

Attached is a confidential report, consisting of three papers, prepared by the Study Group of the Cairo Group of Chatham House. The authors of these papers hold prominent positions in the British Embassy and in the Minister-Resident's offices in Cairo. They are responsible to a great extent for the policies of the British Government in the Middle East. This makes the paper not just a study, but rather a program of policy, which, on broad lines, has been accepted and followed de facto both during and since the war.

see Chatham House Study

EEirk

Attachment - 1

Provided that this loan is granted in the expectation that it will facilitate the domestic rehabilitation of the people of Great Britain and will make possible freer international trade;

And provided that the government of the United States request (and that the British government agree) that no part of the proceeds of this loan be spent by the British government in connection with that government's policies in Ethiopia, India, the Netherland East Indies, Palestine, and Siam;

And provided that the grant of this loan is not to be construed as implying American approbation of British policies in the above-named countries.

[1945?]

DRAFT OF A LETTER BY SENATORS WAGNER AND TAFT TO MEMBERS
OF THE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

Dear Senator _____:

Since Senate Joint Resolution 112, introduced by us, is now being considered by the Foreign Relations Committee, we would like to communicate with you and other members of the Committee.

In our opinion, the need for the Joint Resolution appears even more urgent after the events of the last few days than it has heretofore. By his agreement to participate with the British government in a joint committee of inquiry on Palestine and the Jewish problem, President Truman has again demonstrated America's interest in this question and the willingness of our government to influence the decisions to be taken in reference to Palestine.

It is most desirable, therefore, that our government, in dealing with Great Britain and other foreign countries, whether through the Joint Committee or through any other channels, should have the advantage of an authoritative statement by the Congress of this country's policy.

You undoubtedly have noted that there are important points of difference between President Truman's approach to the problem and the position taken by the British government, as evidenced by Foreign Secretary Bevin's speech in the House of Commons of November 13th. American policy, even though it is based on a long series of statements dating back to President Wilson, has received no recent formal support and clarification by Congress. The nearest approach to a recent declaration of American policy in the matter came during the Presidential campaign of last year, when both the Democratic and Republican

platforms and the two Presidential candidates vigorously pledged themselves to the re-constitution of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth. Under the circumstances, we hope, you will agree that a clear and authoritative statement of the purposes which the United States seeks to achieve through the joint Committee of Inquiry and through diplomatic procedures is exceedingly timely.

The world stands aghast at the enormity of the Jewish tragedy. Mr. Justice Jackson, in his indictment of the Nazi War Lords, officially estimated the number of Jews who perished at the hands of the Nazis at 5,700,000. Since V-E Day, tens of thousands of additional Jews have died as a consequence of Nazi inhumanity. Every report and investigation by competent observers has concluded that it is impossible for most Jews of Europe to resume their lives in their old homes. Palestine is the only safe haven of refuge and the only place to which they have a claim under international law. We feel, therefore, as we believe you do, that it is timely and correct that the Congress express itself forthrightly in an effort to help find a constructive and lasting solution of this tragically human problem. Our resolution would ~~immeasurably~~ not embarrass the Executive, but would strengthen ~~the~~ hands ~~of the Executive~~ in seeking a solution.

At the request of Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise, and in order to acquaint you with the anxiety with which the large majority of our Jewish fellow-citizens view the matter, we enclose copies of a telegram sent by these eminent Jewish leaders to President Truman previous to the publication of the United States-British agreement and of a statement issued by them subsequently thereto.

Sincerely yours,

Robert F. Wagner

Robert A. Taft

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

BY DIRECT WIRE FROM

WESTERN UNION

1223

SYMBOLS

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NEWCOMB CARLTON, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD
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PAGE TWO

TROUBLE IT IS NECESSARY NOT TO POUNCE ON DISTRESS SIGNS BUT TO ENFORCE A CHANGE IN BRITAIN'S CYNICAL POLICY AND FULFILL PLEDGES WHOSE JUSTICE HAS BEEN UNIVERSALLY ACKNOWLEDGED

BENJAMIN AKZIN
DIRECTOR WASHINGTON OFFICE
AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
1720 SEVENTH STREET, N. W.

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

BY DIRECT WIRE FROM

WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1223

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

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THE FOLLOWING WIRE IS TO BE SENT TO THE NAMES ON THE ATTACHED LIST:

SHOULD YOU WRITE ON PALESTINE SITUATION, I HOPE YOU WILL NOT COUNTENANCE DOUBLE STANDARD WHICH ACCEPTS VIOLENT ACTION BY OTHER OPPRESSED GROUPS AS INDICATING THE MEASURE OF THEIR DESPAIR AND CALLING FOR SWIFT REMEDY BUT TURNS AGAINST JEWS WHEN SOME OF THEM ARE MOVED BY DESPERATION TO VIOLENT ACTION AGAINST CONTINUED ENFORCEMENT OF ILLEGAL REGIME IN PALESTINE STOP WE DEPLORE VIOLENCE IN PALESTINE BUT UNDERSTAND THE STATE OF MIND OF PALESTINIAN JEWS CONFRONTED WITH DISCRIMINATORY LEGISLATION AND CLOSED DOORS TO JEWISH REFUGEES IN VIOLATION OF INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS AND INDIGNANT OVER RENEWED BRITISH ATTEMPTS TO EVADE AND POSTPONE A CHANGE BY DELAYING DEVICES STOP TO TERMINATE

January 2, 1946

Mr. Harry Shapiro, Executive Director
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Shapiro:

Enclosed please find copies of two letters from the Department of State and one letter from Senator Smith.

The State Department letter of December 21st is a reply to my letter of December 7th sent in pursuance of a request by Mr. Lourie. I do not think that this reply could be considered satisfactory. I am sending a copy of it to the Washington office of the World Jewish Congress which, I understand, has some further material on the subject. In consultation with them, I will draft another letter to Henderson.

Henderson's letter of December 28th is in reply to a series of letters of mine dated September 26th, October 9th, and December 7th. I am enclosing the latter letter and I believe that you have copies of my former letters, enclosed with my reports. What Henderson does is to refuse to take any action individually, on behalf of the United States, as he well could, and to pass the buck to the United Nations, leaving the initiative to the British. Off-hand I think the best thing we could make of this reply, is to have it released for publication, together with revelant excerpts from my letters to him. The correspondence also could be transmitted to the Agency office in London so that they may approach the British Government. But I don't think that this will lead anywhere.

Senator Smith's letter is in reply to my letter to him of December 18th, copy of which has been sent to you. I suppose you will want to inform our friends in New Jersey of this development.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:abb
Enc.

Dr. Akzin

January 15, 1946

Mr. Harry Shapiro, Executive Director
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Shapiro:

1. Today was the first time after several weeks that I could settle down again to the systematic work that needs to be done in Washington. I had lunch with Joel Sulfson of the Department of Interior, with whom I had a thorough discussion regarding the situation. He gave me some good pieces of advice and promised his cooperation, which will be forthcoming in so far as it is consistent with his position. As his advice and cooperation bear fruit, I will let you know.

2. In connection with the recent item in the Jewish Telegraphic Agency reporting the activities of the American Foreign Service in the Middle East (see Lourie's memorandum to me of January 2nd and Ben-Horin's memorandum to me of January 8th), I had a talk today with William Stone, Director of the American Information Service. Stone is an old acquaintance of mine and a former Director of the Washington office of the Foreign Policy Association. He is now the head of what used to be the OWI. He informed me that as soon as he came in, he dismissed Kurani as an unsuitable person to head the Middle-Eastern Branch of that office (see my reports of some months ago concerning Kurani).

He explained that the American Information Service is, strictly speaking, entitled to give information abroad to clarify the legal status of a concurrent resolution, but he seemed to agree that this activity can also be interpreted as encouraging Arab opposition to a policy which, after all, is based on valid international agreements and has tremendous official and unofficial support in this country. He agreed that this would be improper and asked me to let him have a short memorandum, without going specifically into the various accusations which we have against that service in the past, but which would point out what position, in our opinion, they ought to assume at the present time. He said he would speak to the man whom he has appointed Acting Chief of the Middle-Eastern Branch, William Carter, and suggested that I, too, should discuss the situation with Mr. Carter. In addition, Stone and I are going to meet soon for a lengthier conversation.

Sincerely yours,

BA:ow

Benjamin Akzin

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS:
Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

WASHINGTON BUREAU
1720 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Michigan 4480 ZONE 9

January 16, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
19310 Shaker Boulevard
Shaker Heights
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Pursuant to Lourie's letter of December 20 addressed to the French Ambassador, I called up the French Embassy a few days ago for an appointment with the Ambassador. (It is because of the work connected with the Washington session of the Anglo-American Committee that I could not do so sooner.) I saw the Ambassador today and made the following points:

1. It is the Jewish Agency For Palestine which usually deals with foreign governments. We, as American citizens, usually deal with the American government only. In this case, however, I was instructed to see the French Ambassador in order to let him know with what concern the Jews of America regard the matter of the ex-Mufti.

2. One way in which, we hope, the French government will be helpful will be in instructing the French representatives on the War Crimes Commission to take a strict rather than a lenient attitude in the discussions relating to the ex-Mufti. In this manner, the likelihood of the War Crimes Commission deciding to place him on the list of persons to be tried before an international tribunal would be increased.

3. Another way in which the French government could be helpful would be in making it clear in its direct contact with the Yugoslav government that it has no objection, but, on the contrary, would welcome further Yugoslav action with a view either of pressing the War Crimes Commission to try the ex-Mufti or of asking France to extradite him to Yugoslavia so that he may be tried as a war criminal before a domestic Yugoslav tribunal. Yugoslavia is under British pressure to do nothing further in the affair of the ex-Mufti, and it, therefore, hesitates regarding its future action. French support would greatly encourage Yugoslavia to do what is just.

4. The preceding methods concerned such measures in which France could only take a certain attitude but in which the final action would depend on other Powers. There are two aspects, however, which depend on France alone:

(a) In the past, the Mufti has "escaped" a great many times, from the British in Jerusalem, from the French in the Lebanon, from the British in Iraq and again in Iran. We do not believe that any one of those escapes could have engineered without the support, or at least the knowledge, of the authorities concerned. But what is past is past. Now the Mufti is under surveillance in France, and we very much hope and pray that no miracle or accident or co-incidence should be permitted to develop as a result of which the Mufti would once more escape. It should be considered that, were the Mufti to be permitted to leave metropolitan France for the colonial empire, this would render more easy the second stage, namely, the escape. We, therefore, very much hope that the French government will see to it that this time the Mufti will stay in France until put at the disposal of the War Crimes Commission for trial or until extredited to Yugoslavia.

(b) We are greatly concerned over reports that the Mufti has been able to establish communications with Pan-Arab circles abroad. We do not doubt that the French government, if it wanted, could make impossible any such communications which may be used by the Mufti in the furtherance of his political intrigues.

5. I drew the Ambassador's attention to the fact that, if Jewish interests in Palestine are the most directly endangered by the ex-Mufti, French political interests would undoubtedly be the next objective. Pan-Arab expansionist appetites grow, and since the British will take good care to see that they should not grow in the direction of the British sphere of influence, it is clear that the French interests will suffer. On the basis of past experience, the French government should realize that any promises of gratitude for assisting in the release of the Mufti which it may have received from Egyptian or Syrian or other Arab politicians, including the Mufti himself, will be forgotten within ten minutes after the Mufti got out of French hands.

6. I spoke of the Ambassador's personal record in the days of Vichy, when he and all others connected with the present French government were deeply shocked at any attempts to deal with collaborationists, even mild collaborationists, for the sake of momentary tactical advantages. I said that we are certain, therefore, that he and the government of France would recognize the moral inadmissibility of treating for the sake of alleged tactical convenience with the ex-Mufti, who is a collaborationist of the worst kind.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver January 16, 1946

7. I added a few nice words about Jewish love for France which was the first one to proclaim Jewish emancipation, about our disillusionment with England, and about our hope that France, at least, will not deceive us.

The Ambassador said little. He asked what reply we got from the State Department to our memorandum of December 13th, made a few other conversational remarks, and said that he would transmit to Paris the essence of my remarks. I thanked him and said that I hoped that he would not only transmit my requests, but would also recommend on his own that they be adopted.

After leaving the Ambassador, I went in to Mr. Benard, the Secretary in charge of Near Eastern Affairs, to whom I repeated my conversation with the Ambassador. Benard said that he has no doubt that the previous escapes of the Mufti were far from accidental and that he knows that the Ambassador is personally very much opposed to any cooperation with collaborationists and with enemies.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

EA:cw

COPY

Pol 5/49 16 January, 1946.

The Chief Secretary,
Government Offices,
Jerusalem.

Sir,

I have the honour to address you on the subject of the economic boycott proclaimed against the Palestine-Jewish community by the Arab League, comprising the Governments of the neighbouring Arab States and the Government of the Mandated Territory of Transjordan, as well as by the Arab Higher Committee in Palestine.

2. I beg to attach a copy of a letter on the subject addressed by the Jewish Agency for Palestine to the Chairman of the General Assembly of the United Nations Organisation and would ask for the favour of its transmission to His Majesty's Government. The Jewish Agency would respectfully request that its submissions may be endorsed and supported by the representatives of His Majesty's Government in the appropriate organs of the United Nations Organisation. A similar request is being addressed by the Jewish Agency to the Governments of the United States, U.S.S.R. and France.

3. Quite apart from His Majesty's Government's status as a leading member of the United Nations Organisation, its locus standi in the matter derives from its position as the Mandatory for Palestine. The Jewish Agency was gratified to see in an official communique issued by the Government of Palestine a full recognition of the fact that the boycott "is a measure of immediate concern to the Mandatory Power which is responsible, under the provisions of the Mandate, for the well being of all peoples in Palestine."

4. From the beginning of the boycott agitationsthe Jewish Agency has been anxious to refrain from doing or urging anything that might be calculated to precipitate the issue. In the hope that the decisions taken by the Arab Governments might remain on paper, the Jewish Agency has urged upon the economic circles directly concerned the necessity of showing the maximum measure of forebearance and abstaining from premature retaliation. Experience has unfortunately proved these hopes to have been unwarranted.

5. The legislative and administrative boycott measures adopted by the Governments concerned, to which reference was made in the attached communication, have been followed by practical steps carrying the above formal decisions into effect. Cases have already been reported of consignments of Palestinian goods having been stopped or confiscated at frontier posts. Palestinian firms trading with the neighbouring countries have received notices of cancellation of orders and of severance of commercial relations. Import licenses for Palestinian goods are in the process of being cancelled. The officially directed propaganda for the complete enforcement of the boycott is in full swing.

6. In Palestine itself an extreme reluctance appears to prevail in wide sections of the Arab business community and general public to engage in the boycott, as the Arab and Jewish economic systems have never been so closely integrated and interdependent as they are today. But the action taken by the neighbouring

countries is exerting pressure on the Arabs of Palestine and strengthening the agitation for a complete economic rupture between the two communities.

7. In these circumstances, urgent and determined action on the part of His Majesty's Government and the Palestine Administration appears to be called for, if the mounting tide of racial incitement and economic destructiveness is to be stemmed in time. It may well be that, if left to itself, the boycott policy will eventually produce boomerang effects which may bring its authors back to reason. Even so, a large volume of preventable harm will have been created and direct retaliation by those immediately affected - unavoidable in the absence of governmental action - will have caused lasting bitterness. Modern experience, however, has proved how unwarranted is reliance on the automatic working of economic logic where racial prejudice dictates policy and national prestige bars retreat.

8. The first consideration as regards the British Government's reaction to the boycott arises from the fact that it was proclaimed and is being implemented under the auspices of the Arab League. This organisation has come into being with the full blessing of His Majesty's Government. In fact, a declaration of His Majesty's Government's sympathy with the idea of the Arab League preceded, and can therefore be rightly held to have prompted, its birth. This being so, it would appear to be desirable that His Majesty's Government should publicly register their condemnation of the racial boycott policy and pledge their opposition to it, lest their silence on the subject be misconstrued as tacit approval or, at least, toleration.

9. As, however, mere censure and admonition can hardly prove an effective remedy, it is submitted that a series of practical steps should be taken to bring home to the Governments concerned the extent to which their own economic interests depend upon normal trade relations with Palestine, of whose economy the Jews form such a significant sector, and the harm which they are liable to suffer as a result of these relations being disturbed by aggressive action on their part.

10. There appear to be three main channels through which benefits accrue to the neighbouring countries from trade relations with Palestine. In the first place, they all export considerable quantities of food and other commodities to Palestine of which a large proportion is consumed by Jews. These imports include cotton from Egypt, wheat from Syria and Transjordan and cattle from Iraq, all of which are obtainable from other sources. In 1944 (the last year for which official figures are available) the expenditure of Palestine on imports from the countries of the Arab League was nearly £4,000,000 for barley and £1,130,000 for wheat, most of the latter cereal having gone to the urban population of which Jews form the majority. For Syrian wheat the Palestinian consumer is paying more than twice the price of Canadian wheat and for Transjordanian more than twice the price of the Australian. The ratio of the Syrian price to the Canadian is more than 3:1. In the second place, most of the neighbouring countries obtain part of their imports by transit through Palestine. This is particularly the case of Transjordan, but Egypt, too, imports livestock from Iraq and Transjordan via Palestine, while Iraq enjoys the facility of a free zone in the Haifa harbour. In the third place, the dollar deficiencies of these countries are covered wholly or in part by the dollar surpluses of Palestine deriving from Jewish sources (proceeds of the sale of diamonds and remittances of Zionist funds).

11. It is submitted that a very serious warning should be addressed without delay to the Governments pursuing the boycott policy that, unless that policy is immediately discontinued, the Government of Palestine will proceed to the curtailment or

complete withdrawal of all these benefits, i.e., the diversion of Palestine's import trade to other countries, the drastic restriction of the grant of import licenses to nationals of the boycotting States, the denial of transit facilities and the reduction of the allocations of currency from the dollar pool. It should be realized that if the boycott continues and no retaliatory measures are taken under the first and last counts, the Jews of Palestine will find themselves in the grotesque position of actually financing a boycott directed against themselves.

12. In the particular case of the Government of Transjordan the powers wielded by His Majesty's Government as the Mandatory should, it would seem, be sufficient to put an end to the boycott policy even without resorting to any sanctions.

13. In the case of Syria and the Lebanon, the obligations assumed by those States under the Trade Agreement with Palestine of the 30th November, 1939, should be invoked. Paragraph 9 of this Agreement reads as follows:

> 9. "Trade between the territories of the Contracting Parties shall as far as possible not be impeded by any import or export prohibitions or restrictions. In so far as prohibitions and restrictions may be enforced on the importation or exportation of any goods, articles produced or manufactured in the territory of one Contracting Party and imported into or exported to the territory of the other Contracting Party shall receive treatment in all respects as favourable as that accorded to the like articles produced or manufactured in any foreign country. The foregoing provision shall in particular apply in respect of any import or export licenses which may be required, and in respect of the conditions under which such licences are issued."

The boycott now instituted is a flagrant breach of the Agreement calling for its immediate abrogation by the Palestine Government.

14. The boycott further involves a breach of existing trade agreements between all the boycotting States and the United Kingdom. Under all these agreements Palestine is entitled to enjoy the benefits of the "most favoured nation" clause. There can be little doubt that the present boycott is, in relation to Palestine, a direct violation of the obligations incumbent upon the Arab States in question by virtue of that clause.

15. The question of the administrative and other measures called for by the boycott agitation in Palestine calls for special treatment and may form the subject of further submissions. In the present context it is only desired to draw attention to the detrimental effect which this boycott is liable to have on Jewish-Arab relations and the country's internal security, and to point out that the internal boycott agitation will automatically collapse if the external boycott is checked and liquidated.

16. The Jewish Agency would be grateful for the earliest possible consideration of these submissions and for an intimation of the steps taken by the Government, to which reference was made in your letter O.S.742/4 of the 8th January, 1946, as well as of the further measures which the Government intends to adopt.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

M. Shertok
EXECUTIVE OF THE JEWISH AGENCY

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS:
Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

WASHINGTON BUREAU
1720 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Michigan 4480 ZONE 9

January 21, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
19810 Shaker Boulevard
Shaker Heights
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

In further pursuance of Lourie's letters regarding the Mufti, I have been on January 18th to the Yugoslav Embassy where, the Ambassador being in London, I discussed the matter with the Charge d'Affaires, Dr. Makedi. The gist of my talk was similar to that which I had with the French Ambassador. I explained that this was an exceptional case and that, to indicate the extent to which American Jewry is concerned about the matter, we are informing the interested foreign embassies concerned, though usually we leave such contacts to the Jewish Agency. We spoke rather frankly about the manner in which Britain seeks to avert a trial of the Mufti and in which Yugoslavia is not pressing the matter too much because it has a great many other points of disagreement with the British government. Dr. Makedi indicated that the Yugoslavia government has the same difficulty with the War Crimes Commission in the case of a great many people whom they nominated as war criminals, including some Italian generals and several collaborationists, headed by General Mihailovich. I told him that this makes it the more convenient for Yugoslavia to make a test case of the Mufti on the theory that the War Crimes Commission or the British government should not be permitted to prevent the trial of anyone against whom one of the United Nations presents a ~~bonified~~ bona fide indictment; if he is innocent, he still may be acquitted at the trial. Until now, the Yugoslav government never had an opportunity to appear in public as a champion of some obviously just principle which could rally public support in this country to it. Such an opportunity would arise were Yugoslavia to appear as a champion of trying alleged war criminals and being against all those forces which try to shield the accused ones from trial. I do not doubt that a great many sections in this country would rally to the support of that principle and of the Yugoslav government which would stand for it, and we would certainly fully cooperate in making the people realize the issues involved.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver January 21, 1945

Concretely, I suggested that Yugoslavia could do one of two things: (a) It could raise the matter once more actively before the War Crimes Commission, taking good care that this time Yugoslav action would be supported by countries which have a similar point of view to that of Yugoslavia -- Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Russia, which though not represented on the War Crimes Commission could support this action through diplomatic channels. It would be very difficult for the British to keep up their opposition to a trial of the Mufti by an international tribunal if the War Crimes Commission were to be pressed to that effect by several governments and if the matter became one of public knowledge.

(b) The Yugoslav government could ask the French government to extradite the Mufti to Yugoslavia, in accordance with the decision of the Moscow Conference, for trial by a Yugoslav tribunal.

Makedi replied that he will report the suggestions to Belgrade and will let me know when he receives a reply. In the meantime, he suggested that one of our friends in London should discuss the matter with Dr. Leontic, the Yugoslav Ambassador in London, who would know much more about the exact situation and would be in charge of whatever steps are to be taken in London.

I thanked Makedi for his suggestion and asked for one immediate favor. I mentioned that I discussed the matter a few days ago with the French Ambassador and suggested that, if Makedi could mention to the French Ambassador or one of the high officers in the French Embassy that Yugoslavia continues to be actively interested in the indictment of the Mufti, that would undoubtedly be reported to Paris and would help eliminate the danger that the French government, under British influence, would permit the Mufti to escape. He said that he would think it over and that he might be able to do that on his own. I am to phone him within two weeks about this matter.

In the course of the conference, Makedi told me that he had had a visit from Dr. Perlzweig, of the World Jewish Congress, a few months ago, to discuss the affair of the Mufti. I told him that Jewish organizations such as the Jewish Agency and the World Jewish Congress usually are the only ones to contact foreign representatives in Washington, but that we wanted him to know of the interest of American Jewry in this matter.

In view of Makedi's suggestion, I think it would be useful if the Jewish Agency office were to transmit through reliable channels copy of this letter to London with a view to having one of our friends there contact Dr. Leontic along the same lines.

As you will recall, Lourie also suggested that I visit the Soviet Embassy in the matter of the Mufti. I telephoned for an appointment with Mr. Novicov, the Soviet Chargé d'Affaires, but he was unwilling to meet me, stating that the memorandum and accompanying letter had been transmitted to Moscow and that there was nothing further that the Embassy could do. Unless I find some informal way of getting in touch with the Russians, I will let that matter drop.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:cw

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS:
Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

WASHINGTON BUREAU
1720 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Michigan 4480 ZONE 9

January 23, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
19810 Shaker Boulevard
Shaker Heights
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

The following are some of the activities of the Washington office in recent days:

1. Senator Bridges' office called to ask for some information regarding recent developments in Palestine. They wanted it for a speech to be delivered by the Senator in Pittsburgh early in February. I gave them the material they wanted.

2. I had a lengthy conversation with Congressman Celler. He wants to make a speech on the floor of the House some day next week and asked for material. The Congressman is especially interested in attacking the motives behind the appointment of the Anglo-American Committee and the manner in which the British members of the Committee conducted the hearings. He is not going to touch the American members of the Committee.

We have also discussed the situation with reference to bringing up the Palestine issue at the time of the debate on the British loan.

3. Dr. Ruth Gruber, a close associate of Secretary Ickes in the Department of the Interior, has been granted a leave of absence from the Department and is leaving this Saturday for London, the continent, and Palestine, where she will cover the Anglo-American Committee for the New York Post. I have abundantly provided Miss Gruber with material and information. Before leaving, she will try to see Dr. Wise, Dr. Neumann, and Mr. Manson. I have also suggested that the Jewish Agency office here ask our friends in London to get in touch with her upon her arrival there. When I see you, I will tell you more about her.

4. The dinner which Congressman Celler arranged at my request took place last night in a private dining room at the Statler. In addition to Congressman Celler and Congressman Kopplemann, the following were present:

Rear Admiral W. B. Young (Navy Department, attached to the Department of State)
Rear Admiral Edward Macauley (Maritime Commission)
John Ward Cutler (General Counsel, Alien Property Custodian's Office)
John M. Cormody (Commissioner, Maritime Commission)
M. R. Johnson (Commissioner of Customs, Treasury)
Edward J. Shaughnessy (Immigration and Naturalization Service, Justice)
Thomas E. Lyons (Foreign Trade Zones Board, Commerce)
Wendell Berge (Chief, Anti-Trust Division, Justice)
Mrs. Chase Going Woodhouse (Member of Congress)
Amos E. Taylor (Director, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Commerce)
J. J. O'Connell, Jr. (General Counsel of the Treasury)
Alexander Holtzoff (U. S. District Court Judge)
Kenneth Romney (Sergeant-at-Arms, House of Representatives)
Robert T. Miller (Department of State)
Ernest S. Griffith (Director, Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress)
Lynn R. Edminster (Member, U. S. Tariff Commission)
Stewart Berkshire (Treasury)

There were also present two of Congressman Celler's secretaries, and I invited Mrs. Neftalin, the Chairman of Washington Hadassah, Mrs. Rosenthal of New York, and Miss Pierce of our office.

The character of the dinner will be made clear to you by the attached copy of Congressman Celler's letter of invitation. After a brief introduction by the Congressman, a lot of questions were asked, which I answered. The people present were a very good cross-section of the Federal officialdom. Practically none of them had ever been touched by us before. I think a lot of misinformation and doubts have been cleared up last night, and these people should become helpful, especially if the contact with them is upheld from time to time.

5. Congressman Celler is exceedingly pleased with the success of last night. He thinks of arranging another dinner in a few weeks to which he would invite another group of federal officials. I am also trying to get a few other members of Congress and other people similarly situated to take the initiative ~~in~~ holding other dinners or little informal discussion evenings in their own houses.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:ew
Encl.

C
O
P
Y

January 9, 1946

Dear Mr.

I would very much like you to be with me at a dinner I am giving on Tuesday, January 22nd, at the Statler Hotel, Private Dining Room No. 1. Cocktails will be served at 6:30 P. M., and dinner at 7:00.

I am likewise inviting a number of friends, who, like yourself, hold responsible positions in the various branches of the Government.

There is so much misunderstanding concerning the Jewish aspirations in Palestine that I am sure you will welcome an informal discussion of the subject. I am very anxious to set before you and other of my friends the true situation. You will have a splendid opportunity to fire all and any questions at me and others well qualified to answer them.

I want to stress the informality of the dinner. The number of guests will be in the neighborhood of 15 or so. There will be no speeches, and nobody holding forth at length.

Please try to be present.

I shall appreciate your letting me know whether you will be able to come.

With all kind greetings, I am

Sincerely yours,

R.S.V.P.

January 28, 1946

Dr. Benjamin Akzin
American Zionist Emergency Council
1720 - 16th St. N.W.
Washington, D.C.

My dear Dr. Akzin:

I am enclosing an interesting letter from William Gordon, of Boston, which raises legal questions in connection with the American Chalutzim. I wish you would give the matter some thought and perhaps draft a reply. We will probably be asked the same questions more frequently as the movement for Chalutzim spreads in this country.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK
Enc.

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS:
Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

WASHINGTON BUREAU
1720 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Michigan 4480 ZONE 9

February 1, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
19810 Shaker Boulevard
Shaker Heights
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Upon my return from New York, I found a message saying that Mr. Henderson of the State Department, whom I had wanted to see ever since the Bevin announcement on Transjordan but who was ill, would see me yesterday.

We discussed at length the Transjordan situation and I have not only his assurance that the British move was a complete surprise to the American government, but, this time, also the inner conviction that he was telling the truth. He fully realized that the British do not mean to give Transjordan real independence, but that they mean to keep it as a protectorate, separate from Palestine and without any form of international control. He obviously didn't like it. He said that the only point which occurs to him as possibly making difficult American representations on the subject is that America has consistently upheld the need for terminating mandates and giving independence to backward countries; but that, of course, the fact that the independence of Transjordan would be of a spurious kind would make it somewhat easier.

I told him that the Secretary of State was going to get from us a memorandum on the subject, and I went with him through the contents of the memorandum. He was greatly interested, and we analyzed in detail the various legal points involved. He asked how we could maintain that the termination of the mandate for Transjordan was inadmissible in the face of the precedent of Syria and the Lebanon, but he seemed to be in full agreement with the two replies which I gave him: that the mandate over Syria and the Lebanon was terminated prior to the coming into effect of the United Nations Charter, whereas now this Charter is in effect; and that any change in the territorial or political status quo within the territory

under the Palestine Mandate while the two governments are jointly examining the Palestine problem would be inconsistent with the spirit of their agreement.

I told him that we wondered whether we should put into the memorandum the point about the spurious character of Transjordan independence. He thoroughly approved our omitting this point from the written text and said that, of course, he and the Department are thoroughly aware of this aspect and will keep it in mind.

He told me that he will ask for a full study of the question, and I pointed out that Emir Abdullah is coming to London for negotiations on independence within a couple of weeks, and that it will be much easier for the United States to stop Great Britain from doing anything at this stage than after the negotiations between Great Britain and Abdullah have progressed further. He agreed and promised to make the study as rapid as possible with a view to immediate action. In this connection, he also asked that our memorandum be formally sent in as soon as possible. I thereupon telephoned Hanson and asked him to send it out the same day which, I understand, has been done.

Henderson is aware of a very interesting point suggested to me, incidentally, by Mr. Isreeli: namely, that Emir Abdullah's authority over Transjordan is admittedly a delegated authority stemming from the British government and that, in reality, he is as much of a British official appointed to administer Transjordan as would have been Mr. Peter Robinson from Liverpool; and that the negotiations with Abdullah aim at making this Mecca-born official a sovereign of a foreign country in his own right in the same way in which the British had made another appointee of theirs, Emir Feisal, King of Iraq.

Of course, Henderson could not let the occasion pass without questioning me as to our interest in Transjordan and as to whether we had in mind the inclusion of Transjordan when demanding a Jewish State in Palestine. The gist of my reply was that under the Mandate, Transjordan is part of Palestine with some reservations as to its internal regime; that whether a special regime in Transjordan should be continued or not is a matter to be considered as part of the entire Palestine problem; that a decision regarding the future of Transjordan at this point would prejudge the issue; and that in any case, the economic possibilities of Western Palestine would suffer if Transjordan were placed in a position to prove obstructionist in connection with matters such as the Jordan development and so on.

He smiled and said: "In other words, you want to use Transjordan as a bargaining point to get the Jewish State in Western Palestine and to get guarantees of economic cooperation with Transjordan."

With a very serious face, I said, "It is far more than a bargaining point. We are convinced that it is unjust to tear Transjordan away from Palestine at any time; and that it is unlawful to do so at this time."

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

I reminded Henderson of the various points raised before, to which we had received no reply as yet. He had no news about the Mufti situation, which is being handled by the Legal Division of the Department, and not by him. He said that on Tripolitania, the Department had reached the conclusion that there is no point in suggesting a formal investigation into the British attitude at the time of the disorders; such an investigation would produce no good and would only result in increased bitterness. The view generally held in the Department is that the British showed proof of gross incompetence, but not of maliciousness. I tore into this statement with an analysis of various other things the British have done, or have not done, or have said in recent times and asked him whether the cumulative weight of all those instances did not show him that the British were very glad to have riots and other occasions of difficulties as bolstering their contention that a Jewish Palestine would be a dangerous undertaking. Among the instances cited were the Morgan incident, the activities of Emerson and Hasthcote-Smith of the Intergovernmental Refugee Committee, the anti-Jewish demonstrations in Damascus at the time of British military rule there, the permission to Egyptian anti-Jewish agitators to enter Tripoli, the whispering campaign in Washington, and in British Army circles in Germany, linking Jews with a Communist plot. He seemed to be rather impressed by this chain of evidence and said: "No doubt the British policy is to admit as few Jews as possible to Palestine. The British have what we in America do not have -- the perfect teamwork of every Briton, whether he is a government official or an official of an international agency. Every Briton will make use of all his opportunities to help along what he knows to be his government's policy." But he registered indignation at the British attempt to suggest that Jews in Palestine would become a pro-Communist influence. He said that he knew enough about the Jewish community in Palestine to realize that this was nonsense, and that he would say so to anyone with whom the subject might come up.

I think the second half of our conversation gives me a perfect opening to get him interested in the admission of the leaders of Arab terrorists into Palestine as another indication of the British taking steps which, in the natural course of events, may lead to Arab riots against Jews in Palestine. I am expecting impatiently your statement on Jamal. As soon as I receive it, I will send Henderson a copy with a covering letter, and will continue pressing the matter orally.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:cw

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS:
Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

WASHINGTON BUREAU
1720 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Michigan 4480 ZONE 9

February 1, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
19810 Shaker Boulevard
Shaker Heights
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

In my report of January 21st, I mentioned that Makedi, the Yugoslav Charge d'Affaires, asked me to telephone him after about two weeks in connection with the Mufti affair and with my request that he talk about it to the French Embassy in Washington.

I phoned him yesterday and he asked me to come over to the Embassy today. When I did so, he informed me that he had received a wire from the Yugoslav government informing him that on September 15th of last year, Yugoslavia withdrew the name of the Mufti from the list of persons submitted to the War Crimes Commission as war criminals. He did not know what the reasons of the Yugoslav government were. In the circumstances, he did not, of course, discuss the matter with the French Embassy or with anyone else.

I think we ought to consider what is to be done further in the Mufti affair in the light of this information. The Yugoslav government very tactfully did not publish its decision, but the British knew it, and that is what matters.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:cw

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS:
Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

WASHINGTON BUREAU
1720 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Michigan 4480 ZONE 9

February 6, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
19810 Shaker Boulevard
Shaker Heights
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I have given a lot of thought to the problem of the location of the Washington office after the Z.O.A. moves back to New York, and I would like to submit to you certain considerations.

The real estate market in Washington is now at its highest. By selling the house, the Z.O.A. could make now much more money than if it were to hold on to the house. The house is in a rather dilapidated condition and in a neighborhood which is neither first-rate residential nor business. As soon as new building gets going, the price for it will undoubtedly fall very rapidly. From this point of view, therefore, the best thing the Z.O.A. could do would be to take advantage of prevailing conditions and to sell it now.

The above conclusion is not destroyed by any consideration of the advantage which may result for the Zionist movement from holding on to the house and using it instead of a suite of offices. I have made a careful study of the costs of maintaining and using the building. These costs amount to $613 per month, or $7,359 per annum. For this amount of money, and probably for far less, we could rent a very comfortable suite of offices in town. For the purposes of this letter, I am considering the Zionist movement as a whole and not the question of whether the building will be maintained by the Emergency Council or whether the Emergency Council will pay a rent to the Z.O.A. and the maintenance of the building will be charged to the Z.O.A.; these are, after all, bookkeeping details which do not change the total picture.

Should the Z.O.A. decide to keep the building and turn it over on whatever terms to the Emergency Council, it would, no doubt, be feasible for the Council to rent a few rooms to the Hadassah, Brandeis District, National Fund, or other institutions. But I

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver February 6, 1946

don't think that such rentals to local chapters of Jewish bodies would compensate for any sizable part of the budget, and I would like to draw your attention to the fact that the house is not suitable for a harmonious division of space between several organizations. I would like to suggest, therefore, that you decide in principle on the desirability of selling the house as soon as the Z.O.A. has found permanent quarters in New York and has moved out its entire furniture, and as soon as I am able to secure adequate offices for the Emergency Council in Washington at a monthly rent of, let us say, not over $500.

I should like to say that, as far as personal convenience is concerned, the retention of the present house suits me admirably. It is located most conveniently with relation to my apartment, and with the moving out of the Z.O.A., it would give me a magnificent office of my own. What I propose in this letter is, therefore, based on general and not on personal considerations.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:es

cc to:
Dr. Neumann
Mr. Shapiro
Dr. Marks

NOTE: See Appendix.

A P P E N D I X

Maintenance Costs of House
1720 16th Street

	Monthly Expense	
Insurance	$ 20.00	
Mortgage and Interest	274.00	
Taxes - Real Estate	50.24	
" - Water	4.00	
		$348.24
Coal	60.00	
Electricity	32.00	
Gas	5.00	
		97.00
Service and repairs	30.00	
Towels, water, ice	25.00	
Caretaker - $26 per wk.	113.00	
		168.00
		613.24
TOTAL PER ANNUM		$7,368.88

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS:
Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

WASHINGTON BUREAU
1720 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Michigan 4480

February 6, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
19810 Shaker Boulevard
Shaker Heights
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

In reply to your letter of January 28, I am enclosing a draft of an answer to Mr. Gordon.

Upon consideration, it seems to me that it is better to frame the reply on the general issue involved and not on the narrow question which he raises. I think this narrow question of allegiance should be treated toward the end and should be given no more weight than it actually deserves. It is easy to magnify this point by giving it a particularly long and detailed treatment, and I don't think the situation warrants it. As for Mr. Gordon's reference to "political loyalty to the Jewish community in Palestine", this concept does not exist in a strictly legal sense, and I don't see any justification for introducing this concept and thus unnecessarily complicating the matter.

I think the way in which I have prepared a reply to Mr. Gordon would lend itself to a general statement of our position on the subject. Please let me know whether you approve of this way of putting it, and I will then devote to this question one of my forthcoming articles in the Jewish "Day".

Nevertheless, I would like to add that, personally, I do not see what we have to gain by starting a public propaganda in favor of a Halutz-movement from America. The movement has been going on for some time, caused partly by pure idealism, and partly by the increasing psychological and economic pressure on the Jewish youth in this country. These causes will continue to exist, and the movement will continue to grow. I do not think that public propaganda in favor of Halutziuth would speed up that natural movement, and I do see all sorts of unpleasant

reactions resulting from such propaganda taking place. These reactions may come from all kinds of quarters beginning with the Gordon's and ending with the Rosenwald's. Where a fight is necessary in order to gain a clear advantage, we should fight. But there is hardly any point in exposing ourselves to attacks over questions that can just as well be left alone.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:es

WRHS
AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS:
Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zaira Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

WASHINGTON BUREAU
1720 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Michigan 4480 ZONE 9

February 8, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
19810 Shaker Boulevard
Shaker Heights
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

During the days since my last report, I have concentrated on strengthening various contacts which we have in town. Among other things, I have had long discussions with Mr. Chase, Acting Chief of the Dependent Areas Division of the Office of International Organization in the Department of State. Mr. Chase is replacing Mr. Bunche during the latter's absence in London. Mr. Chase, a professor of political science of Lafayette College, has already acquired all the impenetrable air of the diplomat. Insofar as I could steal a glance behind the wall, I think he is not a friend of ours, but I may be mistaken. I gave him all the arguments which would interest a man in his position, but I do not flatter myself that I made any appreciable dent.

I also had a long discussion with Mr. William Carter, Chief of the Near and Middle East Division of the Office of Public Information of the Department of State (formerly O.W.I.). Mr. Carter, who had been asked by his chief, William Stone (see my previous reports) to see me, was formerly O.W.I. representative in Calcutta and is apparently well aware of the tricks of the British. I think that, unless stymied by the diplomatic crowd in the Department, Stone and Carter will really try to make an end to the monkey business which O.W.I. representatives have hitherto been conducting in the Middle East. Carter explained to me that the Office of Public Information will be greatly curtailed in scope as compared to the O.W.I. activities. Interpretive material will be cut out almost entirely, and practically the whole output will consist of documentary material. (The first thing I did thereupon was to send him the volume of documents which we prepared for the Anglo-American Committee.) I said that in the circumstances, it becomes doubly important that the Public Information attaches do not give local elements, in their private and social contacts with them, the impression that American sympathy for Jewish Palestine need not be taken seriously, since such off-the-record attitudes can undo all the good which public

statements have done. He agreed but said that it was almost impossible to control the private attitudes of the people concerned. This, unfortunately, is true, but I think that he will try to brief the people accordingly. Carter also said that under the new arrangement, the Public Information attaches will be working under the close supervision of the local American diplomatic representative instead of being more or less independent of him, as was the case with the O.W.I.

Carter seems to have some bona fide doubts as to the Arab danger, the Russian danger, etc. We, therefore, agreed to meet for lunch, together with his assistant, who is in charge of the Arab-speaking territories, Mr. Ogden, for a discussion of these aspects of the problem.

Mrs. Denise Tourover, National Vice-President of Hadassah, has lately undertaken to contact various local clubs. She has already spoken at one of them and will, I hope, continue her activities on an ever-broadening scale. She, as well as a few other local ladies including a Mrs. Nathan Hurwitz and a Mrs. Dodek, are going into this field and do me the honor of keeping me advised. Mrs. Yarden is also branching out as local speaker and is also in touch with me. Maintaining contact with our ladies, each of whom is twice as temperamental as an operatic prima dona, is about the hardest diplomatic job on my hands. I keep my fingers crossed that things should go well, and I hope that you will add your Rabbinical prayers to the same end.

I am still awaiting word from Mrs. Rosenthal as to whether she will agree to come to Washington. If so, a great deal more could be achieved through social contacts.

Following upon my visit to Mr. Henderson, I wrote him a letter with reference to the Transjordan matter. Yesterday, upon reading in the J.T.A. that the Trusteeship Committee of the UN Assembly had approved the British announcement regarding Transjordan, I telephoned him. He was rather excited about not having been consulted about this by the American Delegation in London, and I think that it's got his goat. He informed me that he has spent a lot of time on the Transjordan matter, has held conferences with representatives of four or five other divisions in the Department, which are all concerned in the matter, and is trying to get things done in a hurry. -- Upon receipt of the text of your statement regarding Jamal el Husseini, I wrote him another letter dealing with this particular point. Copies of both letters are enclosed herewith.

Incidentally, Elishu Epstein had today a very nice and dignified letter in the Washington Post about Jamal. Though the letter is exceedingly suaviter in modo, it is fairly fortiter in re.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:cw
Encls.

C
O
P
Y

February 1, 1946

Mr. Loy W. Henderson, Director
Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Henderson:

In pursuance of our conversation of yesterday's date, I take much pleasure in enclosing for your information two copies of a memorandum which was forwarded last night by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and Dr. Stephen S. Wise, on behalf of the American Zionist Emergency Council, to the Secretary of State.

If you or the members of your Division, or of any other Division of the Department of State which may be concerned with the matter would like to discuss with me the points raised in our memorandum or to ask any questions in connection with it, I shall be at your complete disposal.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin
Director, Washington Office
American Zionist Emergency Council

BA:cw
Encls.

D. Silver

No. 14

Members of the Executive of The Jewish Agency for Palestine — Feb. 8, 1946
Washington, D.C.
Eliahu Epstein

Attached is a copy of a letter dated January 16, 1946 addressed by Mr. M. Shertok on behalf of the Executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine to the Chief Secretary, Government Offices, Jerusalem, on the Arab economic boycott.

EE/BG
Attachment 1

cc: Dr. Wise
Dr. Akzin for Dr. Silver and Messrs. Neumann and Shapiro
Mr. Lipsky
Mr. Lourie
Messrs. Weisgal and Zaslani

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS:
Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

WASHINGTON BUREAU
1720 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Michigan 4480 ZONE 9

February 12, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
19810 Shaker Boulevard
Shaker Heights
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

1. The enclosed letter from Shertok to the Palestine Government is rather a good one. I wonder whether a similar letter, changed to meet the situation, should not be addressed to Mr. Byrnes by the Emergency Council. If you like the idea, I think that either Handler-Pekelis or Handler-Robinson would be a good team to compose such a letter on the basis of Shertok's note.

The boycott is also one of the matters which you might want to bring up during your conversation with the Secretary of State.

2. Could I have your reaction to my previous letter concerning the location of the Washington office?

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:es
Encl.

P.S.— Sen. Taft is out in Kansas and won't be back before Saturday.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Constituent Organizations

Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

342 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 2-1160

February 13, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I respectfully ask to be released from service with the American Zionist Emergency Council on April 1, 1946 when, together with my family I plan to return to the Pacific Coast. After six months (during which time I intend to be in China and in Palestine) I will stand ready once more to be of service to our cause.

Cordially yours,

J. M. Alkow

JMA:RB

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS:
Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

WASHINGTON BUREAU
1720 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Michigan 4480 ZONE 9

February 14, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
19810 Shaker Boulevard
Shaker Heights
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Enclosed please find an excerpt from the New York Times of February 13th indicating Rabbi Korff's venture into independent political action. I was afraid that something of that kind was going to happen unless we hitched his energies to our wagon. When a Jew decides that he ought to do something about the Jews, there is usually no way of stopping him.

Knowing Rabbi Korff's overflow of energy, I am certain that we will encounter many evidences of his Committee's activities, both in Washington and in New York. Do you intend issuing any statement in this connection, or do you want us to deal with the matter as occasion arises? And if the latter, just what is the attitude which you would like us to take?

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:cw
Encl.

NEW UNI[illegible]DS PALESTINE

N.Y. Times 1-13-48

Political Action Committee

Formed to Carry on Fight

Formation of a Political Action Committee for Palestine to contribute to the goal of Zionism by enlisting the aid of American political leaders and to engage the interest of those at the helm of world leadership was announced yesterday by Rabbi Baruch Korff, a member of the committee.

The organization has the following objectives: the recognition by the United Nations Organization of European and Palestine Jews as an ethno-political entity; the recognition by UNO of Palestine as the national territory of the Jews; the immediate repatriation of the Jews in Europe to Palestine, and the giving of aid and sympathy to "those Jews in Palestine oppressed and persecuted by the Mandatory Power because of their political views."

Rabbi Korff said one of the immediate hopes of the committee is to send to Palestine a Congressional investigating delegation. Included in the list of members of the organization's executive board are Senator William Langer of North Dakota, Senator James M. Mead of New York and Representative John W. McCormack of Massachusetts.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL • 1720 SIXTEENTH STREET, N. W. • WASHINGTON 9, D. C.

MEMORANDUM

FROM Benjamin Akzin **DATE:** February 17, 1948

TO: Dr. Silver

SUBJECT: Progressive Palestine Association

SECRET SECRET

Mr. I. S. Turover, President of the Washington District of the Z.O.A., phoned me this morning to say that according to information which he deems fairly reliable but for the authenticity of which he cannot vouch, the recent emergence of the "Progressive Palestine Association" as an organization which goes into public propaganda of bi-nationalism is part of a design to conduct such propaganda on a large national scale. According to the same information, the Washington group has been offered considerable financial assistance for this purpose by some circles in New York. Mr. Turover heard that this offer was made by a group which included a Mr. Wise. Mr. Turover could not ascertain which Wise was meant in this connection. He takes it for granted that it could not be Dr. Stephen Wise, but he does not know whether Rabbi Jonah Wise or Mr. James Waterman Wise was the person referred to.

I am not sending copies of this memorandum to anyone but yourself.

Sincerely yours,

BA.

BA:cw

Address Official Communications to
The Secretary of State
Washington 25, D.C.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

WASHINGTON

Henderson

February 18, 1946

My dear Dr. Akzin:

Thank you very much for your courtesy in sending me, under cover of your letter of February 1, 1946, a copy of the letter which Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and Dr. Stephen S. Wise have sent the Secretary with regard to the future status of Trans-Jordan.

As I have indicated to you by telephone, the various points raised in their letter are being given careful consideration by the Department in formulating the policy to be adopted by it in the circumstances.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Loy W. Henderson
Loy W. Henderson
Director
Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs

Dr. Benjamin Akzin,
Director, Washington Office,
American Zionist Emergency Council,
1720 Sixteenth Street, Northwest,
Washington, D. C.

COPY

February 20, 1946

Mrs. Blanche Shepard
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Shepard:

In accordance with your request, I visited Professor Friedrich yesterday in Cambridge and discussed with him the Rappard schedule in Washington, as well as the Harvard Conference. Friedrich and I will try to arrange something appropriate in Washington and will remain in touch about this question.

Concerning the Harvard Conference, Friedrich explained to me that he must be particularly careful to avoid the accusation of making this conference an instrument of Zionist propaganda. This would largely be the case were he to invite people who are chiefly known in public as propagandists of the Zionist cause without inviting Arab propagandists. This is the main reason why he has not yet made up his mind whether he can afford to invite Neumann, who is known now as one of the leaders of the Zionist movement in this country. This is also a reason why he has not yet decided in his own mind whether he can invite me, despite my academic qualifications. He will probably invite one of us, but hardly both. He will try to get Robert Nathan, who is a student of the economic problems of Palestine, and could in this capacity do much of what Neumann would have been doing otherwise. On the whole, he is restricting the conference to university people specializing in the Middle East. His problem is a difficult one, since academic circles are, on the whole, opposed to us. I found out that two of the main participants of the conference will be Quincy Wright and Dean Landis, both of whom, as we very well know, are against us.

The conversation with Friedrich, who told me of his dilemma very frankly, puts me in a position to make suggestions to him as to such people in the universities who might be invited to the conference. I suggest that you find out the names of such people and telephone them to me as soon as possible, and I will then write Professor Friedrich telling him that I have thought over what he had said and that I would

Mrs. Blanche Shepard February 20, 1946

like to suggest a few additional names from academic circles who might be invited. I only ask you, in suggesting more names, not to bring in people whose "sympathy" to us is really nothing more than a support for the demand that some more Jews be allowed to enter Palestine, but who, when confronted with opposition, would all rally to a bi-national or even an Arab state view ~~would~~.

In the light of my conversation with Friedrich, I would like to submit to you and those others in our organization who have charge of these matters a thought which I have harbored for some time. ACC conferences are an excellent vehicle for our movement, since they bring together a large number of people who are given a clear statement of our cause. But academic conferences of the kind envisaged by Friedrich are a very inadequate instrumentality. In the very nature of things, they have to be conducted along the "objective" lines of the Harvard Conference and, therefore, become nothing more than a debating society in which we would often be represented less strongly than the other side. If you want to penetrate into academic circles, the way of doing it is a different one: one or a few people should be made available as guest lecturers on some topic directly or indirectly relating to the Middle Eastern situation. Various colleges in the country should be offered such guest lecturers. If invited even to a single campus, such a lecturer will come in close intellectual and social contact with the entire faculty for the duration of his stay. The expenses involved would be far smaller than those of any conference, since they would mean that only one man's expenses would have to be paid. The result would be much more profound, because he would be able to exercise an undisturbed influence over the faculty and student body of a given college. If the thing could be done on several campuses, it would become very much worth while. The best way of doing it would be if we had some people connected with the Hebrew University come to this country. An appropriate organization such as the Friends of the Hebrew University could write to a series of colleges saying that Mr. So-and-so would be interested in learning the set-up of American institutions of higher education and would like to visit the college in question for about a fortnight. In such a way, the college faculty would be very glad to receive him and would undoubtedly try to exploit his stay in order to get a few lectures. In addition, he would be meeting members of the faculty all the time. The trouble with this scheme, however, is that the faculty of the Hebrew University is, unfortunately, full of people whose Zionist outlook is Magnesian rather than Biltmore-ian. This is something which cannot really be corrected quickly, though for the life of me, I have never understood why the leaders of the movement do not try to correct the situation. But as a long-range policy, and provided something could be done with the Jerusalem faculty, this would be the best way of getting into academic circles.

Mrs. Blanche Shepard February 20, 1946

Incidentally, this is also the reason why I have initiated, some months ago, the thought of a student exchange between the Hebrew University and various American colleges, a thought which I have discussed with the appropriate official in the Department of State and which I then turned over to Elisha Epstein, who, I understand, is doing something about it.

If you want to think about a way to adopt my "guest lecturer" scheme to short-range possibilities, without waiting for Hebrew University corrections, I would suggest that you think about ways and means how to bring it about. Offhand, I should say that a little group of people comprising yourself, Professor Janowsky of City College, Professor Fineman of Temple, myself, and some others who might be interested ought to sit down for a couple of hours in an effort to find the best way of doing it.

I address the letter to you, since you raised the subject with me, but I hope that you will forward it to all those who take an interest in this program.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Arzin

BA:GW

Dear Dr. Silver -

It might be altogether a good idea to send a few good people to South America. They could explain to the local Zionists everything that is going on in the movement today

B.G.

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS:
Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

WASHINGTON BUREAU
1720 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
MIchigan 4480

February 21, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
19810 Shaker Boulevard
Shaker Heights
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I have received a telephone call from Mrs. Yarden who informs me that the Bergson group has placed a large ad in a leading general newspaper in Buenos Aires. The ad appears on behalf of the American League For a Free Palestine and mentions a number of American Senators and Congressmen who sponsor that organization. According to Mrs. Yarden, the Bergson group is now about to embark upon a large-scale program of activities in various countries in Latin America.

Mrs. Yarden views the prospect as a rather serious one, because there are very few people in Latin America who are sufficiently conversant with the situation to be able to stop the confusion engendered by the Bergson group before such a confusion gets too strong. She believes that if the divisions resulting from Bergson's activities were damaging enough in the United States, they would be even more damaging in Latin America where far less is known about the subject.

I told Mrs. Yarden that this was a problem which concerned primarily the Jewish Agency rather than the Emergency Council, but that, if she wished me to do so, I would acquaint you with her fears in the hope that you would draw the attention of the Jewish Agency Executive or of the American Committee to the matter. I do so now, and I am sending copies of this letter to the same people to whom I usually send copies of my reports to you, namely, Dr. Wise, Mr. Shapiro, Dr. Neumann, and Mr. Epstein.

Sincerely yours,

Baukin

Benjamin Akzin

BA:cw

No. 31

Members of the Executive, The Jewish Agency for Palestine — February 21, 1946
Washington/London/Jerusalem

Elisha Epstein

SUBJECT: French Broadcast from Beirut

The following broadcast, transcribed by the Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Service, Military Intelligence Division dated February 20, 1946, has been transmitted by the Beirut radio in French under the headline 'Britian 'Inspires' New Arab Kingdom.' The author, Mr. Pierre Solan, AFP Correspondent in Cairo, is a reliable reporter with excellent connections in Arab and other cirles in Egypt. Indirectly he indicated the French opposition to the plan of Greater Syria which, if achieved, will eliminate completely what remains of French political influence in the Middle East:

BRITIAN 'INSPIRES' NEW ARAB KINGDOM.

Beirut broadcasts a report by Pierre Solan, AFP correspondent in Cairo, on the 'political situation in the Middle East,' as follows: 'The formation of an Arab Kingdom is imminent. A complete rearrangement of Middle East politics can already be foreseen. This kingdom will include Transjordan, Iraq, and at least part of Palestine. It is equally thought possible that Syria may be drawn toward the orbit of Baghdad, or that she may join, in more or less close form, the new federation.

Return to Lawrence Policy

'Britain is far from being hostile to this development. It is even possible to say that she has at least inspired and favored it. This would be a resumption after a quarter of a century of the Arab policy of Lawrence. After having favored the kingship of Ibn Saud at the expense of the Hashemite family, Britain today assists in the formation of a federation under a descendant of King Hussein, whom the same Ibn Saud once chased out. The sons of Hussein still consider the Saudites as usurpers.

Rival Factions

'The Egyptian press is beginning to sense the danger. The recent publication of the memoirs of Emir Abdullah has revealed the acuteness of the difference which is dividing the Arab world into two factions. The Saudites have riposted by demanding the expropriation of the territories of Transjordan in the Province of Akaba and the town of Maan, the present terminus of the incomplete Damascus-Medina Railway.

Ibn Saud's Oil Plan

'According to the Egyptian review Al-Ra'y Al-Am, Ibn Saud intends to obtain a common frontier with Egypt which would enable him to carry a branch of the Saudi Arabian pipe line directly to the Mediterranean so as to avoid paying transit fees in the Suez Canal.

Potential Factional War

"The same Egyptian review writes that the situation is so tense that U. S. and British political circles are of the opinion that war between the Hashemites and Saudites would be inevitable as soon as British troops are withdrawn from Transjordan. The same review is of the opinion that an agreement has already been reached between Britain and the United States on the fusion of Palestine, or at least a part of Palestine, with Transjordan. Finally, the review says that Iraq has been assured of Turkey's support for an extension of the Hashemite Kingdom.

Smut's Warning

"An atmosphere of uneasiness can be discerned within the Arab League. One should also recall the message recently addressed to the Jewish people by Marshal Smuts inviting them to moderate their struggle in Palestine as grave events would soon take place in the Near East." (Beirut, in French to the Near East, Feb. 18, 1946, 1:30 p.m. EST) L

MB:rk

CC: Dr. Wise
Dr. Akzin for Dr. Silver and Messrs. Neumann and Shapiro
Mr. Lipsky
Mr. Lourie
Messrs. Weisgal and Zaslani
The Executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine in London
Palestine

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS:
Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

WASHINGTON BUREAU
1720 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Michigan 4480

February 27, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
19810 Shaker Boulevard
Shaker Heights
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

The two dinners which Congressman Celler arranged for us on January 22nd and February 26th were a very serious service to our cause. At my request, and in the interest of the cause, no publicity is being given to these affairs and no public credit is, therefore, being garnered by the Congressman. I think it would be an act of the most elementary courtesy if you would send Congressman Celler a little note telling him how much you and the Zionist movement appreciate his initiative, and I would be grateful if you would kindly let me know whether you have written him such a note.

I was glad to hear from Mr. Sack that he had discussed with you the matter of your possible appearance before an audience composed of the clergy of Washington under Dr. Gerstenfeld's auspices. I thought at the time that this would have been a most important audience for you to address. Having failed to persuade you, I asked Mr. Sack to try to use his influence and I am hopeful that you will reconsider your attitude and agree to such an appearance.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

Benjamin Akzin

BA:cw

February 27, 1946

Mr. Harry Shapiro, Executive Director
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Shapiro:

I want to report to you about last night's dinner arranged by Congressman Celler, the second of the series. Those present included:

Congressman and Mrs. Emanuel Celler
Congressman and Mrs. Herman P. Kopplemann
Honorable William Orville Douglas,
Associate Justice of the Supreme Court
Honorable Kenneth C. Royall,
Under Secretary of War
Honorable Harry D. White,
Assistant Secretary of the Treasury
Major General Lewis B. Hershey
Major General Millard G. Wyman
Honorable J. Howard McGrath,
Solicitor General
Honorable James E. Markham
Alien Property Custodian
Mr. Malcolm Ross, Chairman,
Committee on Fair Employment Practice
Mr. Arthur Paul,
Assistant to the Secretary of Commerce
Honorable Joel D. Wolfsohn,
Assistant Commissioner, General Land Office
Honorable Josiah E. Dubois,
Assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury

In addition, there were present Mr. Leo Sack, Mrs. Shalowitz and Mrs. Dodek, two prominent local Hadassah members, and myself.

Mr. Harry Shapiro February 27, 1946

It was very informal. No speeches were made, but a lot of questions were asked which were answered mainly by me, with the energetic assistance of Congressman Celler, Mr. Sack, and the two Hadassah ladies. At times the discussion became an ordinary round-the-table conversation, and there was a lot of animation and interest, and no one left before the end. It was everybody's opinion that the affair was exceedingly useful and informative. Congressman Celler is a little bit tired of it, and now I am trying to get Congressman Kopplemann to arrange something similar.

The scope of the discussion was very wide and covered almost every aspect of Zionism. The point which seemed to impress the present company most was my refutation of the argument that the Arabs might turn to Russia if America and Britain favor the Jewish case. Assistant Secretary of Treasury White seconded my ideas on this subject and was very helpful. Of some possible interest was a question by Justice Douglas whether the correct interpretation of Britain's obligations under the Mandate could not be submitted to the World Court. I explained that this could be done, but only if some government which was a member of the League of Nations, or the United States, would submit the question to the Court. A number of those present, including Solicitor General McGrath, seemed very interested in this point, and I am thinking of discussing this matter further with both of them.

Assistant Secretary White is now a key man in all international economic negotiations. He is the American Managing Director of the International Bank, and, together with William Clayton, the Assistant Secretary of State, is the man who is most active in all current loan negotiations. I mean to maintain the contact with him. (Incidentally, I had two recent conversations with I. F. Stone, whom I chided gently for the damage he is doing us by his advocacy of bi-nationalism. Stone said that he believed in bi-nationalism but that he would like to help us in some other way to compensate for this disagreement and asked whether I would like him to discuss the Jewish need for Palestine with Assistant Secretary Clayton. I agreed, of course, and hope that we may thus get to Clayton as well.)

There were two features of yesterday's dinner which must be described as negative. Acting Secretary of War Royall told of his impressions in Palestine and he dwelt on the fact that a very large number of Jews to whom he spoke were most anxious to leave Palestine as soon as possible and either to return to their native countries or to go to America. I think I succeeded largely in dissipating the impression of these remarks, but something may have stuck. The second awkward feature was a long discussion around the demand for a Jewish state. Mr. Dubois, who is very close to Peter Bergson, was very insistent that we would have more unanimity among Jews and would gain more sympathy among Gentiles if we were to restrict our demands to an unlimited immigration. You will realize that I was not shy in defending the Jewish state program. Nevertheless, several other officials around the table joined Dubois in the belief that the matter

Mr. Harry Shapiro February 27, 1946

might appear less complicated and, therefore, more acceptable to the public at large if we spoke only of unrestricted immigration.

All in all, it was an exceedingly useful affair and probably the most fruitful way in which $110 of Zionist money could have been invested. It will give me an opportunity to continue contacts with some of the most prominent members of the Washington official hierarchy.

I think that Congressman Celler deserves a note of thanks for his efforts in connection with the two dinners and that such a note should be signed by Dr. Silver himself. I am very hopeful that you will join me in asking Dr. Silver to send him this note.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:cw

WRHS AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

Washington, Feb. 28, 1946.

Dear Dr. Silver,

I have to stay home today, and I hope that you won't mind reading my handwriting.

Harry Shapiro phoned me this morning to tell me that you asked that we verify the truth of the story of the disavowing of the Congressional Resolution by the U. S. Ambassador in Cairo, before we start making noise. He asked me how it could be verified, and I said that Henderson has promised to find it out, but that we can't rely on him; I suggested therefore that he cable to Jerusalem asking whether they can verify the news item (from Haaretz) about a release by the Arab League to that effect. Shapiro said he'll do it, and I'll ask Leo Sack to postpone action for the Time Being.

On the other hand, the present situation seems to me to be such that the more occasions we have to take the offensive, claiming that the Administration's attitude is incorrect — the better. Since we have a bona fide press story to back us, the burden

of proof is no longer on us. It is the other parties which must be made either to confirm or to deny the story.

If it is confirmed, Jewish statesmen ought to take the position that President Truman's administration is definitely against us, and therefore we are against them. A large number of prominent Jews ought to announce their forming Republican ranks, etc. If Hannegan will thereupon try to mend things — that's up to him; but decisive things will only happen after the Jewish swing to Republicanism has become notorious.

If the story is denied — fine. But how do we bring about such denial? I don't think a denial can be had unless and until people like Taft, Green, Tunnell, Blooms, Flood — connected with the Resolution — will start protesting. This is why I suggest that we bring the matter to their attention on the basis of the Jerusalem story. Since the reply from Jerusalem will hardly do more than confirm the story as we have it, without making it more authentic, I would be grateful

if you'd let Leo Lack and me have your instructions on this point.

Sincerely yours,

Ben Kutin

March 12, 1943

Dr. Benjamin Akzin
American Zionist Emergency Council
1720 Sixteenth Street N.W.
Washington, D.C.

My dear Dr. Akzin:

I should like to meet with the Russian Ambassador in Washington. I have been urged from various sources to do so. I discussed it with Eliahu Epstein when I was in Washington two weeks ago. I am wondering whether you can reconnoiter and discover whether a request by me to the Embassy for such a meeting would meet with favor. I cannot advise you how to go about it, but I am sure that you will find some tactful way to do it.

I assume that you will be in New York for the meeting of the Executive of the Emergency Council next Tuesday.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ARS:BK

March 14, 1946

Mr. Harry Shapiro, Executive Director
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Shapiro:

1. As a follow-up to our meeting at Congressman Celler's dinner, I visited yesterday Mr. McGrath, the Solicitor General. I asked his advice about the lag between promise and performance, and explained to him how disheartened we are by the fact that the Administration, despite occasional public expressions of sympathy, declines to consult us on policies to be pursued and places us constantly before accomplished facts. The election season is approaching, and, in keeping with former practice, we may expect once more a lot of friendly speeches and statements by candidates for election and re-election, and even a few friendly statements from the heads of the Administration. This is not what we are looking for, and I came to ask what he could advise and what he could do to help us in order to obtain some action.

In reply, he gave the usual assurances of friendly feelings for us, but explained that, not being in the Cabinet, he could not raise the Palestine issue. In a subordinate capacity, he has to stick to his own job, and any attempt by him to influence the policy of other Departments would be strongly resented. I answered that if this was the only difficulty, I hoped very much that he would soon attain Cabinet level, but that according to rumors, he is far more likely to become a Senator. He said that he might indeed run for the Senate, but only if Senator Gerry decides not to seek re-election; he is bound to Senator Gerry by personal friendship and would not run against him.

Returning to the Palestine issue, he said that we seem to 4 putting undue emphasis on persuading the Administration to favor a Jewish Palestine by means of technical arguments. The way to gain Administration support at the present time is very definitely not through a technical, but through a political approach. He was very emphatic on this point. I replied that there is no such thing as an organized Jewish vote and that we don't have any intention of trying to organize it, especially since many of us individually feel that the Democratic

Mr. Harry Shapiro, Executive Director March 14,1946

Party is still by and large the bearer of a sounder domestic policy than the Republican Party is likely to be and since some of us are not at all persuaded that, should the Republicans win, their performance as regards Palestine would be any better than the performance of the Democrats. Nevertheless, there is a tremendous revulsion of feeling among a great many Jews who feel that they have been deceived and let down by many years of promises which were never kept. This reaction is so strong that, without any effort to organize it, it must be expected to result in a switch of a large number of Jewish votes in the coming elections, unless there has been some definite performance on the part of the Administration before the fall which would reverse this feeling among the Jews. There is splendid opportunity for such action, since the report of the Palestine Committee is expected within two months, and the Government will have an opportunity to make its decision and press its recommendations in London immediately thereafter. I would be grateful if he would advise us what should be done along the lines suggested by him while keeping in mind that we do not want to organise any bloc of Jewish votes. He said that the most effective means of pressure would be if the Democratic candidates for Governorships and for the Senate in the key states with a considerable Jewish population would be made to realise this state of affairs. Each one of them is going to have several talks with the President, with Mr. Hannegan, and with the other key persons of the Administration. If the candidates would make these persons realise the gravity of the situation in their states, this would produce better results than anything else could produce. Mr. McGrath did not think that individual Members and candidates for Congress would carry a similar weight, but if a group of Democratic Congressmen in threatened areas were to take up the matter collectively with the Administration, that might produce results. After all, the real issue in the coming elections concerns the control of the House, rather than that of the Senate. Incidentally, Mr. McGrath thought that Mr. Byrnes should also be considered among those dignitaries to whom the candidates ought to speak on a political level. He does not see much hope in our trying to persuade Dean Acheson or anyone else in the State Department that we should be given satisfaction purely on the merits of the case.

I asked him what he personally could do. He replied that he would undoubtedly have soon an opportunity to discuss the political situation with Mr. Hannegan and Mr. Clark (the Attorney General). When that happens, he will tell them that he personally believes that the Administration did not stand by promises made to the Jews in respect of Palestine, and that he fears that the resulting revulsion of feeling among many Jews is likely to be one of the most dangerous clouds in connection with the coming elections. He believes it wiser not to take the initiative for such a discussion, but to wait until the opportunity arises naturally. He is certain that it will come soon, and he asked me to remain in touch with him in order to find out when and whether he will have been able to make the point.

On the technical level, he suggested that a group of friendly members of Congress, including such people as Senators McMahon, Hatch, Hill, and Congressmen Bloom and Celler, should ask the Secretary of State to give our chief

spokesmen an opportunity to discuss with him the technical objections and points involved in the formulation of the Palestine policy, including our request that a directive be worked out which would bring in line the day-to-day policy of the State Department with the public pronouncements, and our request that we be consulted rather than put before established facts--a privilege which the Administration often grants to movements and groups with which it is in sympathy. He also suggested that we work out a catechism of questions and answers, in which we would try to anticipate every single possible question and doubt which has been or might be advanced against Zionism, and reply to it as clearly as possible. It was obvious, however, that his main hope was connected with the political rather than the technical approach.

He was exceedingly friendly throughout the conversation, which lasted about 45 minutes, and referred several times to the useful character of the dinner at which we met. He said that it was that very dinner which suggested to him the idea of a question and answer catechism.

I would suggest that the New York office should start working on such a catechism. I think it should be couched in lively terms and should have a journalistic rather than a research character. Perhaps the best first step would be to compile a list of questions. Those who come in touch with the outside world and with hostile audiences (Ben-Horin, LeSourd, Voss, Grauel, etc.) would be the best people to compile the questions. If you inform me that you have decided to adopt the suggestion, I will also send in a long list of questions.

2. Through the intermediary of Mr. Julius Silverstein, a good Zionist and an attorney from Brooklyn, I met with his friend, Congressman Keogh, of the Ninth Congressional District in Brooklyn. The Congressman stated that he was aware of Jewish dissatisfaction with the Administration in the matter of Palestine and asked what was the best he could do to help us at this point. I told him that the greatest service he could render us would be to inform his state leader and his Brooklyn leader of the existing dissatisfaction and to explain to them that no more speeches or statements are likely to change this state of affairs. He said he would be glad to have this conveyed to them and asked me whether I would like to have him arrange a meeting between me and these leaders. This I declined with thanks, explaining that if they would hear this from me or any other active Zionist, the leaders would have reason to suspect the truth of our statements, since we are obviously interested parties. Coming from him, they would accept these statements for what they are.

We will remain in touch, and the Congressman will inform me if and when he has these talks with the political leaders involved.

3. I also had a lengthy conversation with Barnet Nover, the political columnist of the Washington Post and one of the most respected journalists in the city. Mr. Nover, who is a Jew and occasionally comments on the Palestine

problem in a very fine way, told me that he is doing what he can in a discreet way to advance our cause, but that he prefers not to be tied up with us in any way in order to retain his reputation for objectivity. For the same reason, he would not like to bring us together with his fellow columnists. He suggested, however, that on the occasion of some public figure who knows all the answers coming or returning from Palestine, we should ask some friendly Senator to arrange a dinner to which most of the important columnists and newspaper men would be invited to get the latest information about the local situation. Such a dinner would them also be a good opportunity for the latest arrival and a few others of our people to answer any questions which the columnists would ask.

It seems to me that such a dinner could best be arranged on the occasion of Emanuel Neumann's forthcoming return from Palestine. If you agree, please notify Mr. Leo Sack or me and we will try to arrange it.

I found Mr. Nover terribly pre-occupied with the international situation. He does not believe in an imminent war, but fears that we are in for an open hostility between us and the Russians. For this, despite occasional minor faults of our diplomacy, he fully blames the Russians. He thinks that most of the political observers at present are bored stiff with the Palestine problem, partly because of a sense of guilt and partly because their attention is now focused on the situation which is developing in the Russian-Iranian-Turkish corner. Nover himself believes that the Russians have made up their minds that a Jewish Palestine would be an industrial base linked in many ways to the Western Powers. They obviously don't want such an industrial base in the Middle East, and, therefore, have made up their minds to oppose Zionism. What he, Nover, cannot understand is why the British are so blind as not to see the same thing.

4. I attach herewith a report by Mr. Schulson on his first contacts.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:cw
Encl.

Hyman A. Schulson March 13, 1946

Benjamin Akzin

Interview with Cromwell A. Riches of the Office of International Trade

I spent this afternoon at the Office of International Trade of the Department of Commerce in order to re-establish my contact with Nathan Ostroff, General Counsel of the Office of International Trade, a former Yale Law School classmate of mine. He is very sympathetic to our cause and is quite familiar with our problems politically and economically. He promised to help in every possible way whenever we had any international trade and economic problems regarding Palestine, whenever his Department could be helpful. He introduced me to Cromwell A. Riches, Chief of the Middle East and African Section, British Commonwealth Division, the Office of International Trade, Department of Commerce. Mr. Riches, an economist, is very sympathetic to our cause, knows our problems, and promised to do everything within his power to help us whenever we had any international trade and economic problems.

During the course of our conversation, while discussing the sterling bloc and other economic difficulties we have had with relation to Palestine, he stated that he had recently received information, the source of which he could not reveal, that the British were recently rejecting import licenses in Palestine in what he considered meritorious cases for the purpose of exerting pressure on American business interests in Palestine to work for the approval of the British loan.

When I pointed out to him that the January 1946 figures, the best available figures, showed an increase in import licenses in Palestine and asked him if he knew of any specific cases where applications for import licenses were rejected, he stated that when the new statistics for February and March 1946 were issued, we could check upon his informant's statement. It is quite possible that the above statement was made to me in order to get the Zionist movement to support the British loan.

I learned from Mr. Riches that Professor Robert Barr, his predecessor, is now a Professor of Economics at Marquette University in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. I am informed that Professor Barr has written very favorably in connection with economic matters of Palestine. I suggest that Harry Shapiro inform the Chairman of Public Relations in Milwaukee about Professor Barr. He might make an able propegandist and should be cultivated by the Milwaukee Zionists. He might be asked to address one of their Zionist meetings on Palestine economics.

MAS:ow

#38

March 14, 1946

Members of the Executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine
Washington/London/Jerusalem

Eliahu Epstein

Attached is a copy of a despatch sent from Cairo on March 2, 1946 by a prominent American journalist to his paper in this country on the hearings of the Anglo/American Committee of Inquiry during its stay in Egypt.

WRHS
AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

EE/BG
cc:Dr. Stephen S. Wise
Dr. Akzin for Dr. Silver and Messrs. Neumann and Shapiro
Mr. Lipsky
Mr. Lourie
Mr. Weisgal
Executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine in London
Palestine

From Catto to TIME Inc. - March 2, 1946;

ANGLO-AMERICAN PALESTINE COMMISSION

The first thing the travel-weary and report-sated commission members did when they reached Cairo's new historic Mena House Hotel in the shadow of the pyramids was to read newspapers. What they read didn't please them much, didn't make their task any lighter, their decisions less easy. They read of mass raids on British airfields in Palestine and of bloody rioting in Egypt. And they became conscious of their importance in the Middle East with Egyptian secret servicemen shadowing them everywhere and large-scale security measures around the hotel. Their first Cairo session, in the same room where sat the Allied military greats to map the Pacific strategy late in 1943, had a mocking haunting similarity on a smaller scale to Big Three meetings.

Bone and muscle-weary now, the commissioners were nearing their journey's end, and sometimes this weariness crept into their faces and too often into their softly-spoken but biting questions. It was most apparent, however, intheir relief at the end of the first Cairo session that all Arab States (exact cable reading) delegates Arab League Secretary General Azzam Pasha do all the talking. Their views have been expressed in a ten-page memorandum and with it they were satisfied. And so were the commissioners.

Back of them were weeks in Europe's new ghettos with 750,000 Jews bursting out of a too tightly held ring, and before them were three weeks in Palestine. One aspect or facet was to be projected against the other, but the hope was dying that they could be made to fit one of (?) on the other. In Europe they seemed agreed with Judge Rifkind that 600,000 Jews of the total were "unrepentant Zionists" whose hope lay in pimmigration to Palestine. 75,000 were ready to return to their own countries if they had assurances of some security and means of livelihood. The other 75,000 didn't much care where they went—except back to Germany or Poland or Rumania or Russia. They were ready to go Palestine if certificates were available, but would go the the Dominican Republic, Eritrea or the United States or Britain or France. This wasn't apathy the commissioners found. It was simply a desire to live again as human beings and end their camp existence. Their decisions and recommendations centered around the answers to three questions: first, was there to be a Jewish state or not? Second, how many immigrants each year, if any, into Palestine? Third, what form of government werethey to recommend for Palestine to Britain and Americaner to the UNO?

With the possible exception of James G. MacDonald, the commissioners bring to their tasks one great quality: not a single one knew anything of the problem beforehand, were blessed with blissful ignorance about the Mid-East. Sometimes this quality took on the form of naive tourism, with the commissioners chasing each other throughthe halls of Egyptian museums or riding on camels to see the sphinx and the Pyramids. There were, however, no purchases in Cairo's notorious "Moussky" because the security people wouldn't let them. The strict judicial and legal minds dominated the commission and often led them into fanciful arguments on form and phraseology that missed many a point. Rosy-faced Judge Joseph C. Hutchison of Texas whose flat twang perplexed his Arab listeners, was plagued by the same illness that GI's experienced the world over. He wanted home. There is many a good brain among them — like bright San Francisco lawyer Bartley Crum, whose Catholicism gives him an independence not enjoyed by the others, or young Richard Crossman who is assistant editor of London's New Statesman, and who shows an intelligent progressive interest in the problem. Both Boston's Frank Buxton and North Tottenham's —London— Lord Morrison assess the witnesses and weigh the memoranda against the background of their own constituencies, Buxton with a finely-grained New England insularity and Morrison with a hearty Londoner's ("Call me Bob") appetite for sympathy.

America's former Ambassador Phillips takes little active interest, enhances the Commission's stodginess with his courtlymanners, graciousness and general good humor. Behind the scenes and moving with an easy mysteriousness is the United States Minister to the Levant states, George Wadsworth, who acted as liason with the Arab states at UNO conferences, and now is working in the same capacity with the Commission's American section. A bright-eyed former missionary, Wadsworth's knowledge of Arab affairs is unmatched anywhere, and many Arab states owe him a debt of gratitude.

As a representative body of Americans and British, the Commission has little in the way of brilliance or statesmanship. Because the Jewishproblem and Arab case are so

well known, there is little new to add. This Commission prides itself on being a jury-- "12 men good and true" --. Little do they realise that they are less judges than being judged by the seven Arab states, by unholy Palestine, and by millions of Jews. As British and American representatives, their acts and decisions may not settle disputes or relieve thensions or create new policies, but they will establish a state of mind and a tendencey. On that, judgement will be passed in the Middle East and elsewhere.

March 14, 1946

#37

Members of the Executive, The Jewish Agency for Palestine
Washington/London/Jerusalem
Eliahu Epstein

SUBJECT: Press Release Department of Agriculture, Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations

Attached is a copy of a release by the Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations of the United States Department of Agriculture. The release contains information on the U.S. Agricultural Mission to the Near East.

From a reliable source I learned that Palestine is not included among the countries which the Mission is going to visit during their four and one-half months' stay in the Middle East. The pretext of not visiting Palestine is that no invitation has been extended by the Palestine Government to the Mission.

I have learned, however, from the same source that Dr. Afif Tannous, a Lebanese by origin and the expert at the Department of Agriculture on matters relating to the Middle East, is a member of the Mission and will serve as the liaison between the Mission and the Arab Governments. He is an anti-Zionist and proved his biased attitude on several occasions. He was responsible for a confidential report being prepared during the war on the agricultural conditions in the Middle East in which he avoided entirely mentioning the Jewish agricultural achievements in Palestine.

In my opinion steps have to be taken to influence the American Government that the Agricultural Mission which is now on its way to the Middle East should include Palestine on the agenda of the Mission.

EE/RC
cc:Dr. Stephen S. Wise
Dr. Akzin for Dr. Silver and Messrs. Neuman and Shapiro
Mr. Lipsky
Mr. Lourie
Mr. Weisgal
Executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine in London
Palestine

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations

Washington, February 19, 1946

United States Agricultural Mission to the Near East:

The United States Government, through its Departments of State and Agriculture, is planning to send an agricultural mission to certain countries in the Near East primarily interested in agricultural development. The mission is prepared to spend about 3-½ months in the Near East, arriving in Lebanon late in February.

Members of the mission are Dr. Franklin Stewart Harris, president of Utah State Agricultural College, Logan, Utah, agronomist and expert on irrigation and agricultural education; Dr. Robert Earle Buchanan, director of Iowa State's Agricultural Experiment Station and dean of Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, Ames and Dr. Afif Tannous, rural sociologist, member of the Department of Agriculture's office of Foreign Agricultural Relations.

This mission is being arranged as a result of requests received by the United States Government over the last two years from several Near Eastern governments and private insittutions for agricultural advice and assistance. Plans for the mission were made in accordance with the United States Government's policy of cultural and technical collaboration with foreign countries. It is understood that any studies and final recommendations made by the mission would represent as far as possible a cooperative effort between its members, local government officials and interested private organizations.

The primary purpose of the mission is to survey the agricultural situation in conjunction with local authorities in order to indicate possibilities of long tern developmental projects which might be undertaken by Near Eastern governments independently or in collaboration with the American Government. The cooperation of private American and local institutions would also be encouraged.

The secondary purpose is to share with governments and privat organizations, American agricultural experience and to extend advice pertinent to the region's needs, when requested.

(Note: Pictures of the mission members are available for publications, from the Press Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington 25, D.C. Phone 6085)

4854 USDA 374-46

March 15, 1946

Dear Dr. Silver:

Shouldn't either we or our friends in Congress make a formal protest against the report that Mr. Wadsworth, who is known to hold a prejudiced opinion on the question of Palestine, has been assigned to act as liason officer with the American section of the Palestine Committee, which is supposed to be free from bias?

BG

March 15, 1946

Dear Dr. Silver:

Since the mission is, according to the release, has been on its way for a whole month, I wonder whether it is not too late to get it to change its itinerary. Besides, since Tannous is the only Government representative on the mission, he will influence the other two members so that even a visit to Palestine is not likely to change matters much.

Perhaps the best approach would be a series of strong protests addressed to the Secretaries of State and of Agriculture against the fact that Palestine has not been included in the itinerary and against the inclusion in the mission as the sole Government representative of a well-known and biased anti-Zionist. These protests should come, at one and the same time, from you and Dr. Wise, from the Palestine Economic Corporation, from one or several Jewish members of Congress, and from a few friendly Senators. This might result in much quicker action than anything else and, at least, might serve to discredit somewhat the report which Tannous is going to draft upon his return. Should this be done?

B. G.

March 20, 1946

Mr. Harry Shapiro, Executive Director
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Shapiro:

As I told you over the telephone, Rabbi Korff telephoned me this morning to inform me that the Overseas Press Club is arranging, on his initiative, a debate on Palestine with the participation of Khairi of the Arab Office, somebody (probably Rosenwald) for the Council For Judaism, and himself for the Action Committee on Palestine. He asked me for comments. I said that in such a debate, the Zionist viewpoint would anyhow be outnumbered two to one and that, in any case, the correct thing for him would be to tell the people in charge that since the Emergency Council represents by far the main body of pro-Zionist opinion in this country, it, rather than he, should be asked to participate in the debate. He said that this is what he wanted to discuss with me.

We met at lunch, and he repeated, as he did a few times before, that he would like to cooperate with the Emergency Council. I recalled that you said over the telephone that I should not further deal with him. On the other hand, I was mindful of Dr. Silver's request, made at the time when Korff first approached me, to string him along without committing ourselves or promising him anything. In the circumstances, I thought that the best solution would be to give him a fatherly speech saying that if he wants to cooperate with the Emergency Council, he should telephone you and ask you to meet with him in order to discuss the possibilities of such cooperation. Having thus deposited Korff in your lap, I hope that my part in this business is over.

Coming back to the subject of the debate, Korff said that he thinks of suggesting to the Overseas Press Club that it invite the Emergency Council to rebut the anti-Zionist views at the conclusion of the debate, and that this is proof of his desire to cooperate with us. I said that I doubted very much whether the AZEC could be satisfied with such a part, and that I was certain, without knowing it, that as soon as the AZEC hears of the debate, as it undoubtedly has heard already because it was mentioned in the press, it will try to get its own representative invited to represent the Zionist viewpoint.

Mr. Harry Shapiro, Executive Director March 20, 1946

Incidentally, Korff told me that the splinter group of Revisionists led by Rosen and Giloni which arranged the recent mock trial and are behind the Palestine Emergency Fund have again united with Bergson. They asked Korff to come back into the combination, but he refused. The intimation was, without Korff saying so, that he prefers to work with us.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:cw

March 20, 1946

Mr. Harry Shapiro, Executive Director
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Shapiro:

I had a first meeting this afternoon with Professor Rappard, the former Vice Chairman of the League of Nations Mandates Commission. He has come to America as a member of a Swiss delegation to negotiate with the United States Government concerning the disposition of frozen Swiss assets. He said that he will try to attend the Harvard Conference, that he will address the meetings in Washington (I forgot to report that in addition to his talk before the Brookings Institution, he will also speak before another lesser body known as the Institute For World Affairs; there is also a possibility of his participating in a discussion on trusteeships before a third body, the Commission To Study The Organization of Peace).

He mentioned that he had recently met Dr. Weizmann and Dr. Goldmann. We then discussed various recent developments in connection with Palestine. He fully understands and agrees with our coming out into the open with the demand for a Jewish State. I prepared him for certain arguments which he is likely to meet in academic circles, such as theocracy, the Christian interest in Palestine, the oil question, the Russian situation, etc. He also asked about our reaction to the Anglo-American Committee, about the attitude of the State Department officials toward us, and sundry other questions. It was a pleasure to talk to this man who unites a profound understanding of things with a quick and nimble mind. Usually, people have one or the other. He saw through all the arguments against us and gave me the correct answer to each of them almost before I was able to tell him how we are answering it. Our viewpoints coincided entirely.

He asked me whether we have lost or gained by the death of Roosevelt. I gave the appropriate yes and no reply, whereupon he said: "Roosevelt, of course, understood the Jewish need for Palestine much better than Truman does, but he did not need the Jewish vote, whereas Truman needs it." A gast kumt oif a vail un seht oif a mail.

Mr. Harry Shapiro, Executive Director March 20, 1946

The one difficulty about Rapmard is that he is here on official business and cannot discuss Palestine directly. But I am certain that should he be asked questions or brought in consultation, his replies will be good. I am sending him some written material (Transjordan correspondence, Mufti correspondence, Jamal Husseini correspondence, etc.) and will probably see him again next week.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:dw

WRHS AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS:
Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

WASHINGTON BUREAU
1720 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Michigan 4480 ZONE 9

March 21, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
19810 Shaker Boulevard
Shaker Heights
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

In connection with your letter of March 12 and our conversation in New York, I have asked Mr. Schulson to see Mr. Carp. Before undertaking the trip, Mr. Schulson telephoned him and ascertained that his friend would be unable to be of direct assistance in this matter. Nevertheless, I asked him to go over and have a general conversation with him on the occasion of his next trip to New York. I advised him to speak to Mr. Ben-Horin before he does so, since Ben-Horin could give him good advice as to the arguments which could be used.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:cw

March 21, 1946

Mr. Harry Shapiro, Executive Director
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Shapiro:

Following up the acquaintance with some of the more promising people present at the Geller dinners, I visited today Mr. John M. Carmody, one of the three Commissioners of the United States Maritime Commission. He is Irish Catholic and of all the people present at the first dinner was most outspoken in suggesting that what we need is less complaining and more talk and militant action. We had a very pleasant discussion, as a result of which, I hope, Commissioner Carmody will help me to get in touch with some of the inner circles of the Catholic hierarchy. He proposed that we meet again, to which I naturally agreed.

Incidentally, the talk touched upon his own work as one of the heads of the Maritime Commission, which is charged, among other things, with the sale of a large number of sea-going vessels of all kinds and sizes. He fully realized the interest which such vessels could have for us in connection with Aliyah A and B and showed a readiness to help us in this respect. I am sending copies of this note to Elishu Epstein and to Meyer Weisgal with the suggestion that if any one in the Agency is interested in this matter, they should get in touch with me and I will introduce them to the Commissioner.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:ow

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS:
Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

WASHINGTON BUREAU
1720 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Michigan 4480 ZONE 9

March 21, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
19810 Shaker Boulevard
Shaker Heights
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Upon receipt of your letter of March 15 relating to Senator Magnuson's speech, I tried to arrange an appointment, but found that he left for the West Coast and will not return until the middle of April. I will, of course, try to see him when he is back in Washington.

The need to discuss our point of view with Senator Magnuson in an intelligent fashion has been apparent to me for several months. I have been looking for an opportunity of getting together with him and have discussed the matter repeatedly with Mr. Shapiro. Quite recently I mentioned to Mr. Tuvim and Mrs. Shepard that I would like very much to have them arrange some speech by the Senator which would enable me to take a short railroad or airplane trip together with him, thereby gaining an opportunity for a quiet talk. About ten days ago, I asked Mr. Sack, who is largely handling our contacts on the Hill, to try to arrange a meeting with the Senator.

If we have some friends in the state of Washington who can intelligently argue the question with Senator Magnuson, I would very much recommend that they take it up with him. But there is no point in trying to browbeat him, as was done before, by pointing out how important we are and how unimportant Bergson is. He knows it. Nevertheless, as far as intellectual conviction goes, the Bergson group has succeeded in persuading him of their viewpoint, whereas our spokesmen have either not tried or not done a sufficiently good job of it. If we don't have a man on the West Coast who can out-argue the Bergson viewpoint on its intellectual merits, perhaps it is better to leave him alone until he comes back.

I will communicate with Mr. Shapiro concerning your suggestion that I should also write to Mr. Bromfield and Miss Chatterton. Obviously, a letter alone would not begin to serve the purpose, especially in the case of a man like Bromfield, who has thought about the problem a great deal and has been closely connected with Bergson for the last three years. It will be necessary

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver March 21, 1946

to meet both of them personally. Mr. Bromfield is often in New York, but Miss Chatterton, if I am not mistaken, lives in Hollywood. I would be glad to take a trip to see either or both of them, but I think that unless this is decided, I should not write to them, since I believe the man who is ultimately to see them should write to them.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:ow

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הסוכנות היהודית לארץ ישראל

The Jewish Agency for Palestine

2210 Massachusetts Ave., N. W.
WASHINGTON 8, D. C.
ADAMS 5411

March 22, 1946

Dr. Aba Hillel Silver
19810 Shaker Boulevard
Shaker Heights, Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:-

May I call your special attention to the attached memorandum and to ask your personal assistance in accepting the plan for counteracting Arab activities in the academic field in this country? I am confident that your personal interest in this matter will facilitate the execution of the proposed plan of action.

I was very glad to receive an invitation to attend the dinner in connection with the Kefar Silver Campaign. Mrs. Epstein and myself will be delighted to participate in this campaign and to celebrate another important contribution of American Jewry to the upbuilding of a Jewish Palestine.

With best wishes,

Cordially yours,

E. Epstein

Eliahu Epstein

EE/RC
encl.

Dr. Silver

#45 CONFIDENTIAL

March 22, 1946

Members of the Executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine
Washington/London/Jerusalem

Eliahu Epstein

Subject: Contacts with the Institute of Pacific Relations

During my visit to New York on March 11th I called on Mr. Edward C. Carter, Secretary General of the Institute and Mr. John S. Hoyland, Secretary General of the International Secretariat. This Secretariat consists of representatives of

The Australian Institute of International Affairs
Canadian Institute of International Affairs
China Institute of Pacific Relations
Comite D'Etudes des Problemes du Pacifique
Netherlands-Netherlands Indies Council, Institute of Pacific Relations
New Zealand Institute of International Affairs
Philippine Institute of International Affairs
Royal Institute of International Affairs
U.S.S.R. Council, Institute of Pacific Relations
American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations

I had a letter of introduction to Mr. Carter from Freda Kirchwey.

Our Conversation took place at Mr. Hoyland's office. I spoke about the interest we in Palestine have in developing closer contacts with institutions in this country and elsewhere, concerned with the social, economic and political problems of the East. I suggested that the Institute of Pacific Relations might be interested in the problems of the Middle East in addition to the information it gathers and the research it does on the Far East. New conditions in international relations have made the old conservative divisions of the East into Near, Middle and Far East rather obsolete and unsuitable to the problems of the post-war world, I argued.

In the course of the conversation I then indicated the unsatisfactory character of the studies carried on in the Middle East by the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House), a member of the International Secretariat. I stressed the imperialistic and reactionary membership of this Institute in the Middle East and strengthened my point by referring to the recent report of the Cairo Group on British Interests and Policies in the Arab world. A summary of this report was published some time ago by I.F. Stone in "The Nation" and both Messrs.

Carter and Hoyland had read this article. I went on to explain the needs for a more independent and sociological approach in analyzing existing conditions in the Middle East and stressed further the importance of establishing an Institute for this kind of research in the Middle East itself which should be directly connected with the International Secretariat in New York. I explained at length the potentialities which exist in Palestine that would qualify it to become the center for this Middle Eastern Institute - namely, acquired experience in scientific research and presence of a number of persons well fitted to carry out the work of the Institute. Both Mr. Carter and Mr. Hoyland listened attentively to my views and in reply, first Mr. Carter and then Mr. Hoyland, expressed their agreement with my approach to the subject.

Mr. Carter said that although primarily interested in the scientific study of the peoples of the Pacific area, the American Institute of Pacific Relations is by no means limited to dealing exclusively with the problems of the Pacific. They have recently encouraged and facilitated the establishment of an Indian branch of the Institute which has not yet become a member of the Secretariat but keeps in direct contact with the Office of the Institute of Pacific Relations in New York. The problems of the Middle East, both from the point of view of the existing internal problems and as a topic of growing importance in international affairs, are assuming more dimension in his eyes; as far as the American Institute itself is concerned, they would be glad to facilitate any initiative toward mutual cooperation. Although he has not been to Palestine, Mr. Carter knows a lot about Zionism and would bevery much interested in seeing the progressive and democratic forces of the Yishuv contribute and help in the general development of the Middle East.

Mr. Hoyland was more cautious in presenting his views. He indicated the difficulties in doing anything on behalf of the International Secretariat in the Middle East independently of the British, who would like to cover everything in that part of the world through the Chatham House and its affiliated groups in the Middle East. He is now having a lot of trouble with the Chatham House for sanctioning the existence of independent groups in India and Burma. Any independent action in the Middle East would raise even greater opposition on the part of the British. Mr. Hoyland was Chief of the American War Information Office in China during the war and there became acquainted with the growing suspicions of the British toward anybody interested in the Middle East other than themselves.

He asked me several questions about the activities of the Chatham House in the Middle East and about the Cairo Group of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. That brought us to a further discussion of the current problems of the Middle East. Both Messrs. Carter and Hoyland seemed impressed with my description of the present situation in Egypt, Iraq and Saudi Arabia as seen from the angle of social and economic conditions in these countries.

At the conclusion of our conversation Messrs. Carter and Hoyland expressed their desire to see me again after they have discussed my proposal for the establishment in Palestine of a "group" (they preferred this name to "Institute") which would in one way or another deal in the Middle East with subjects of interest to the American Institute of Pacific Relations and to the International Secretariat (which covers the activities of the Associated Institutes as a whole).

I consider it to be of great political importance for us to proceed with this matter . I have had a chance to see the value - public and political - of the Institute of Pacific Relations both in America and abroad. It is also one of the few American organisations which have friendly relations with the U.S.S.R. and have established close contacts with the U.S.S.R. Institute of Pacific Relations. This is not the place to describe at length the anti-Zionist nature of the Chatham House; suffice it to say that any check on the activities of the Royal Institute of International Affairs in the Middle East through an independent Institute or a "Group" in Palestine connected directly with the International Secretariat would be very helpful to our work both in this country and in other countries in the East.

EE/RO
cc:Dr. Stephen S. Wise
Dr. Akzin for Dr. Silver and Messrs. Neumann and Shapiro
Mr. Lipsky
Mr. Lourie
Mr. Weisgal
Executive of the Jewish Agency for Palesti ne in London
Palestine

March 24, 1946

Dr. Benjamin Akzin
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

My dear Dr. Akzin:

I read your memorandum of March 21 about work in academic circles.

What you say, of course, is very true and the facts are quite well known to us. Unfortunately, very little has been done in that connection. I am wondering why we cannot send one or two people to visit a number of the universities even before we develop large-scale plans to cover the entire situation properly. After all, Dr. Izeddin is only one person but she has been visiting a great number of universities, and with marked success. Can we not find at least one person available to do this work now while we lay plans for a more intensive program?

With regards to Senator Magnuson, I am surprised that having felt as you did for several months that you should have a meeting with Senator Magnuson that you have not as yet succeeded in meeting with him. No one is trying to "browbeat" the Senator but the Senator certainly can be made to understand that he should not lend himself to uttering false and damaging charges against the Zionist movement. I hope that when he returns to Washington you will at once try to communicate with him. I believe that a letter to Mr. Bromfield and Miss Chatterson should be dispatched. If their replies are unsatisfactory, an occasion may later be made to see them in person.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:GR
cc: Mrs. Blanche Shepard

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL • 1720 SIXTEENTH STREET, N. W. • WASHINGTON 9, D. C.

MEMORANDUM

FROM Benjamin Akzin **DATE:** March 25, 1946

TO: Dr. Silver

SUBJECT:

Epstein's Report No. 45 makes it even more apparent how important it is to establish an Institute For Middle Eastern Affairs, as suggested in my memorandum on "Work In Academic Circles". Such an Institute would become a constituent body of the Institute of Pacific Relations and could influence its work.

BA.

BA:ow

March 25, 1946

Dr. Benjamin Akzin
American Zionist Emergency Council
1720 - 16th Street N.W.
Washington, D.C.

My dear Dr. Akzin:

In reply to your letter of March 20 --
The American Zionist Emergency Council has no special place for Rabbi Korff and no special need for his services except as he is prepared to take his place along with all other Zionists and assist in the activities of the movement. I think that he rendered a distinct disservice if, as you say, he was responsible for arranging the debate on Palestine at the Overseas Press Club. These impresarios are not interested in advancing the cause of Zionism. Their concern is to keep themselves in the public eye and exploit Zionism for self-gratification.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

March 25, 1946

Mr. Harry Shapiro, Executive Director
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Shapiro:

Mr. Sack and I have recently discussed the influence of the Standard Oil lobby on our problem, and he very kindly suggested to try to arrange discussions with two good friends of his with possible influence in Standard Oil quarters. One of them is the columnist and publisher, David Lawrence (with whom, you may recall, I had already a talk on general matters). Mr. Lawrence is out of town, and Mr. Sack will take the matter up when he returns. The other man is Mr. Thompson, a former newspaper man who is now in charge of public relations for Standard Oil of California in Washington.

As a result of Mr. Sack's initiative, the three of us had lunch together last Friday. Mr. Thompson brought with him Mr. Spurlock, an official of the Arabian Oil Company. Mr. Spurlock was also present at my last talk with Mr. Duce (see my report of March 13).

Both Leo Sack and I took the offensive, explaining the harm which the oil argument is doing us in the popular mind. Thompson and Spurlock denied that they had any interest in the Palestine problem or did anything to interfere with our success. We pointed out, however, that since the alleged interest of their companies is used against us, they are morally responsible for undoing the damage. They emphasized that it was their company which asked Ibn Saud whether he had any intention of anulling the American concessions, and that, upon receiving his denial, had informed several newspaper men in Washington accordingly, though Reynolds of the Chicago Sun was the only one to have made this denial public.

Toward the end of the conversation, we asked them what they think of the connection between our efforts in Palestine and their interests. When so pressed, Spurlock, who used to live in Arabia

and is returning there shortly, admitted that he was afraid that our efforts in Palestine would result in disorders in that area which might damage the interests of these companies. Thompson, who had no first-hand knowledge of the situation in the Orient, was less outspoken, but inclined to agree with Spurlock. Thus, after denying that the oil companies have any negative attitude toward our efforts in Palestine, they admitted it in a roundabout way.

We spent a lot of time explaining to them the reasons why Ibn Saud and the other Arab rulers are very much interested in American concessions and American Governmental protection for their own selfish reasons. This argument seemed to click with them, but when we pointed out that "spontaneous" disorders in Arab countries are impossible, that the Arab countries lack facilities for large-scale warfare, and that the Arab rulers are so bound by their own interests to the United States that they will not give the signal to any disorders unless they believe that their American associates and protectors want them to do so, Thompson and Spurlock were not quite convinced. However, I think that a tiny dent was made in their armor.

Before Spurlock's arrival, Leo Sack hinted strongly to Thompson, who is a public relations man, that the Jews in this country are becoming increasingly upset by what they regard as a sacrifice of humanity to oil, and that some quite unfavorable publicity is likely to result. He also questioned whether the negative attitude of the Standard Oil Company toward us is a policy which has the consent of either the public opinion of America or of the stockholders of the Company, among whom there are a great many Jews. I believe that this argument also made some impression. In the course of our talk, we pointed out the economic importance of our work in Palestine, and the increased consumption of fuel to be expected from our colonization work. Thompson and Spurlock, just as Duce before them, asked several times why we can't get together with the Arabs and settle the matter by agreement. We replied that we would be very happy to arrange an agreement with them, but that if anyone makes the Arabs believe that their consent is essential to our program, this amounts to giving them a right to veto our program, and then one shouldn't be surprised if they make use of this veto.

Thompson, Duce, and Spurlock are about to leave for the Middle East in a month's time. Thompson and Duce will go there on a visit, but Spurlock is going to stay in Arabia for good. Thompson might visit Palestine on his way back, and Leo Sack asked him to look up our people there. I suggest that the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem get in touch with Mr. Pinkerton to find out when Thompson is due to arrive. Somebody ought to be assigned to contact him when in Palestine, and I think that this somebody should be able to speak the language which a newspaper man and public relations expert <u>who is connected with big business</u> would be able to understand.

Mr. Harry Shapiro March 25, 1946

An interesting point of information was given to us by Mr. Thompson: John D. Rockefeller, 2nd owns 12% of the stock of Standard Oil of California (as well as 15% in Standard Oil of New Jersey). Since this makes him probably one of the largest, if not the largest single stockholder, I suggest that an attempt be made to have Dr. Silver meet him to discuss the situation with him. It may be useful, in this connection, and in other connections, to discuss the oil aspect of the Palestine situation with Bernard Baruch.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:cw

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הסוכנות היהודית לארץ ישראל

The Jewish Agency for Palestine

2210 Massachusetts Ave., N. W.
WASHINGTON 8, D. C.
ADAMS 5411

Strictly Confidential March 25, 1946

Dr. Aba Hillel Silver
19810 Shaker Boulevard
Shaker Heights, Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:-

A friend of mine in the French Embassy, who has just returned from Paris, gave me the following information which he asked me to keep most secret.

While in Paris he spoke with one of the highest officials in the Quai d'Orsay about the Mufti. This man explained to him the official position of the French Government with regard to the Mufti.

1. The Mufti has never been put on the war criminals list either by Yugoslavia or by any other government.

2. France is not going to do it. She does not have any legal reasons to demand the Mufti's prosecution as he did not commit any war crimes on French territory. Also as a country with millions of Moslem subjects, she cannot risk antagonizing their feelings under present conditions by prosecuting the Mufti.

3. The British Government has recently approached the French Government to deliver the Mufti into their hands. When French authorities made inquiries as to what the British would do with the Mufti, they were told that the Mufti would be sent to the Seychelelles Islands. The French have refused to fulfill the request of the British, justifying their stand by referring to the Mufti's immunity as a political refugee.

4. My informant told me that measures have been taken not to allow the Mufti to escape from France and he is living under permanent supervision, although his movements are not restricted.

I have no reason whatsoever to doubt the authenticy of this information which was given to me under secrecy by one of the highest officials of the French Embassy here.

Although continuously pressing the British to put the Mufti on the war criminals list, we must devote simultaneously a good part of our criticism also towards the French. I think it is most important for you to see Leon Blum while he is still in this country and to speak to him in no uncertain terms indicating that American Jewry will not tolerate the protection extended by the French to the Mufti and to consider him as a "political refugee". The Jews do not care much what the Mufti has done

to the British and the Yugoslavs but they will not remain quiet until the man who, according to the latest information in our hands, has a great share in the responsibility for the extermination of six million Jews, is brought to justice. With all respect and sympathy to France and the French people, the Jews of America will not hesitate to take the most extreme public measures in this country against France if the shameful tolerance of the Mufti is not put to an end.

Although I realize that it will be difficult for Blum to combine his feelings as a Jew and as a Frenchman and undoubtedly you will embarrass him, his mission here is one that can be very much harmed by an organized public campaign. Perhaps he will refer you later to Ambassador Bonnet.

I would be glad to supply you with all the necessary information regarding the Mufti in our possession before your interview with Blum.

With kindest personal regards,

Very cordially yours,

E. Epstein

Eliahu Epstein

EE/RC

WRHS
AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

Dr. Silver

CONFIDENTIAL

#46
March 26, 1946

Members of the Executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine
Washington/London/Jerusalem
Mr. Eliahu Epstein

Subject: Conversation with Mr. Loy W. Henderson

On March 20th I called on Mr. Loy W. Henderson, Director of the Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs of the State Department, and discussed with him the Agricultural Mission to the Middle East. Mr. Gordan P. Merriam, Chief of the Division of Near Eastern Affairs, was also present.

I made it clear that although the Jewish Agency cannot speak on behalf of the Palestine Government in inviting the U.S.A. Agricultural Mission to the Middle East to include Palestine on its agenda, both we, and all other Jewish institutions in Palestine connected with agriculture, would be very glad to have the Mission visit Palestine. This visit can be useful both to the Mission, which would see some of our agricultural achievements, and to us in establishing direct contact with American experts which can be continued later with mutual benefit.

Mr. Henderson explained to me that the Mission went to the Middle East by invitation of the Egyptian, Syrian, Lebanese, Iraqi, Saudi Arabian and Greek Governments. As no invitation has been received from the Palestine Government, our country has not even included in the agenda. He agreed, however, with my arguments in favor of the Mission visiting Palestine and said that he would take immediate action to bring this matter to the attention of the Mission.

I made a further point that the Mission would have to pass through Palestine while travelling from Egypt to Lebanon and it would be only a matter of some technical arrangements being prepared in advance for the Mission to spend some time in Palestine. Mr. Henderson then advised me to cable to our office in Jerusalem and to suggest that they contact Mr. Pinkerton for the necessary arrangements, which I did immediately.

Before leaving the office, Mr. Henderson raised the question of Transjordan and asked me about the Jewish reaction to an independant Transjordan. He was undoubtedly aware of the preparations in London to speed up a conclusion of the treaty between the British Government and the Emir Abdullah which took place two days later.

I told him that we regard the bilateral arrangement between the British Government and the Emir as a violation of the Mandate which remains valid as long as it has not been replaced by any other internationally recognized status. We also see the latest act of the British Government regarding Transjordan as a violation of the Anglo/American Agreement of 1924 in relation to Palestine and Transjordan. I called the attention of Mr. Henderson to Ambassador Kellogg's note of September 2, 1924 which made it clear to the British Government in no ambiguous terms as follows: "that the changes which

may be made in the administration of the territory (Transjordan) will not be of a character to conflict with the terms of the Mandate". Further, on November 10, 1924, the British Government gave the assurance that it would consult the U.S. regarding any alteration in the administrationof Transjordan.

The third point I raised was that by not consulting the Jewish Agency before changing the present status of Transjordan, the British Government has committed another violation of the Mandate. I referred to paragraph 4 which recognizes the Jewish Agency "as a public body for the purpose of advising and cooperating with the Administration of Palestine in such economic, social and other matters as may effect the establishment of the Jewish National Home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine". I went on to say how much the economic existence of Transjordan depend upon the financial support rendered by the Palestine Treasury, and that not only from a political, but also from an economic point of view, Transjordan has been one of the burdens of the Jewish taxpayer in Palestine whose interest in Transjordan has been now completely ignored.

Both Messrs. Henderson and Merriam did not suppress their indignation regarding the rapid development in settling the Transjordan matter by the British Government. Mr. Henderson repeated some of the views expressed in his recent conversation with Dr. Goldmann, the essence of which was that although they are concerned regarding the methods applied in changing the status of Transjordan from a mandated country to an independent one, the U.S. Government could not object to the actual idea of extending independence to any people or country in the world - that being one of the fundamental principles of American foreign policy.

I did not miss the opportunity of explaining what kind of an "independent" country Transjordan was or could be either from a military, an economic, or from a political point of view.

The conversation lasted 40 minutes.

KZ/EG
cc: Dr. Stephen S. Wise
Dr. B. Akzin, for Dr. Silver and Messrs. Neumann and Shapiro
Mr. Lipsky
Mr. Lourie
Mr. Weisgal
Executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine in London
Palestine

Gr. Salon

#48

March 26, 1948

Members of the Executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine
Washington/London/Jerusalem
Eliahu Epstein

Subject: Agricultural Group from Palestine

On March 18th a group of nine Jewish agriculturalists arrived in this country from Palestine to study recent agricultural achievements and to get acquainted with the modern machinery, tools and equipment applied in different fields of agriculture in America. The group consists of the following personnel-

Itzhak Levi	Beit Hanan (Moshav)
Abraham Jaffe	Nahalal (Moshav)
Shalom Friedmann	Yagur (Kibutz)
Chaim Gvati	Gvat (Kibutz)
Abraham Hacker	Sarid (Kibutz)
Otto Goldschlager	Givat Haim (Kibutz)
Benjamin Gurstein	(Tekhia-Histadruth)
Moshe Gottheif	(Farmers' Association)

On their arrival in New York the Palestine Economic Committee was kind enough to look after technical arrangements for the group while in New York, and when they arrived in Washington a few days later this office made all the necessary arrangements for the members to establish contact with the Department of Agriculture and its various divisions according to the special interests of each member of the group. Later, members of the group visited the British Embassy and were received by the Agricultural Attache to whom they had letters of introduction from the Palestine Government.

On the initiative of Mr. Robert Ogden, Chief of the Middle Eastern Section of the Office of Information and Cultural Affairs a meeting was called at the premises of the State Department which was attended by members of the group, Mr. I. Hamlin, of our office who served as a liaison between the group and various government institutions in Washington, and myself. On behalf of the State Department the meeting was attended by Mr. Robert F. Ogden, Area Division II (Near East and Africa), Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs, Mr. David LeBreton, Division of Near Eastern Affairs, Mr. Francis F. Lincoln, Division of Investment and Economic Development, Mr. Minter Wood, Inter-Departmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation, Mrs. Dorothea S. Franck, Division of International Exchange of Persons, Mr. James Boardman, Division of Commercial Policy, Mr. William Brown, Division of International Labor, Social and Health Affairs and Mr. J.C. Narewitz, Office of Research and Intelligence.

Mr. Ogden welcomed the group and expressed the wish of the American Government to see more groups like this one visiting America. I introduced the group and explained their interest in this country, indicating also our complete support of Mr. Ogden's suggestion. Then, each member of the group was asked to explain his particular interest in visiting this country. Some of the members could explain the matter themselves, others needed a translator. When the group finished

their explanations , many questions were presented to them by the members of the State Department. Most of them dealt with purely technical questions although touching indirectly on other issues such as absorptive capacity of Palestine, the benefit which Jewish agriculture brought to the Arab neighbors, etc.

The conference continued for 1-1/2 hours and was concluded by Mr. Ogden's expressions of thanks to the Jewish Agency for guiding the group in its contacts with the State Department. Mr. Gottheif, a member of the group, expressed his appreciation on behalf of the group for the hospitality extended to them by different government offices. I was told later, informally, by one of the attendants of the conference on behalf of the State Department, that the members of the group made an excellent impression both by their knowledge and personal integrity.

The Office of Information and Cultural Affairs, which took the credit for arranging the meeting, considered it as one of the successful events on the agenda of this newly established department.

After two days stay in Washington the group left for California and Florida according to the plan prepared for them by the Department of Agriculture.

AI/DG

cc: Dr. Stephen S. Wise
Dr. Akzin for Dr. Silver and Messrs. Neumann and Shapiro
Mr. Lipsky
Mr. Lourie
Mr. Goldgal
Executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine in London
Palestine

March 26, 1946

Mr. Harry Shapiro, Executive Director
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Shapiro:

A few days ago, Mr. Schulson met Tom Clark, the Attorney General, at a gathering and took the opportunity of asking him to see the two of us. When he told me about this contact, I explained that nothing much could be gained by such an interview: according to all reports, Clark would not be interested in any aspect of our problem except the purely political one, and no useful purpose would be gained by either Schulson or me trying to impress him with the political consequences of the Administration's attitude on Palestine. Such information, to make any impression on him, must come to him from well-known active Democrats rather than from representatives of the Zionist movement. Nor would there be any point in asking Clark to make friendly speeches since, if I understand the present Zionist line correctly, we will refrain from inviting any members of the President's Cabinet between now and the elections to make any speeches on Palestine. Such speeches would be the cheapest means by which the Administration could pretend to take a friendly interest in us and serve as a substitute for action; as for us, inviting members of this Administration to speak for us would make ridiculous our denunciation of the policy of this Administration. However, since he spoke to Mr. Clark in terms of an interview, I thought it wrong not to follow it up. Accordingly, Mr. Schulson made an appointment, and the two of us saw the Attorney General yesterday for about ten minutes.

During the conversation, Schulson referred to the Houston Conference and to the impression which it seems to have made in Texas. Mr. Clark seemed to have heard of it. I told the Attorney General that we are profoundly dissatisfied with the policy pursued by the Government, presumably on the initiative of the State Department, on Palestine. We believe that the State Department is wrong both as to its political interpretation of the situation and as to the legal aspects involved. Since he is the Attorney General, we wonder whether

Mr. Harry Shapiro March 26, 1946

he would not take an interest in righting these wrongs and would not discuss these matters on a Cabinet level. Mr. Clark replied that we should send him a memorandum and that he would then take it up with Mr. Byrnes and perhaps with Mr. Truman.

We will prepare here a memorandum of this sort. I will send you a copy of the memorandum and will send another copy to Mr. McGrath, whom I am going to inform of our conversation with the Attorney General. I have much more hope of what McGrath and other politicians could do with him than of whatever we might accomplish by direct contacts with the Attorney General.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:cw

WRHS AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

Mr. Hyman A. Schulson

March 26, 1946

Dr. Benjamin Akzin

I would like to suggest to the American Zionist Emergency Council to form a committee of a small group of lawyers, who are experts in international and administrative law and are informed Zionists, to make a thorough review, study, and analysis of the transcript of the record before the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry. The record should be examined particularly for any evidence of bias and prejudice on the part of the members of the Commission against the Zionist position. We must be prepared with extracts from the record and quoted statements taken from the transcript of the proceedings to substantiate such bias and prejudice. This evidence can be used with great force and effect both in statements which may be made by our Zionist leaders when the report, findings, and recommendations are issued, and also for use in editorials, newspaper articles, radio broadcasts, etc. The record should also be analyzed for the purpose of collecting substantially all the evidence which would support the Zionist position.

I suggest that the following lawyers, who are Zionists, be asked to commence work immediately on such an analysis of the record: Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Dr. Jacob Robinson, Dr. Oscar Janowsky, Prof. Max Lasersen, Prof. Milton Handler, Abe Tulin, Alexander Pekelis, Beryl Levy, Sam Duker, Herman Weisman, Ambrose Doskow, a partner of Herman Weisman, a former Cardozo secretary, and I.B. Brodie's son-in-law, Will Maslow of the American Jewish Congress, Shirley Adelson of the American Jewish Congress, I. (Shad) Polier, son-in-law of Dr. Wise, a brilliant lawyer in the field of Administrative law, and any other competent lawyers who can be coopted by this group to do this job. It is most important that Arthur Lourie forward a complete transcript of the proceedings before the Commission to date so that the lawyers can immediately commence working on such an analysis. Our attacks, if necessary, on the Commission's report will be much more effective if we have a legally prepared analysis of the record and can refer to the specific instances of bias and prejudice appearing therein.

Mr. Hyman A. Schulson

March 26, 1946

Dr. Benjamin Akzin

At the Jackson Day dinner, March 23, 1946, at the Mayflower, I succeeded in persuading Leon Henderson to give a cocktail party at his home on Sunday afternoon, April 21, 1946 in honor of Robert Nathan on the occasion of the publication of his book on Palestine by the American Council on Public Affairs. Mr. Morris Schnapper of the American Council on Public Affairs had contacted me last week to help him formulate plans and arrange such an affair, to which I naturally agreed. I talked to Mr. Nathan about it and he thought very well of the idea. Mr. Henderson is bearing the expenses of the party.

The invitations will go out in Mr. Henderson's name. Mr. Schnapper and I are meeting with Nathan this weekend to draw up a list of about 75 people who will be invited to attend the party. Mr. Henderson will give us his list of invitees. We will be permitted to invite about 10 Zionists from Washington, which will include Dr. and Mrs. Akzin, Leo Sack, Mr. and Mrs. Raphael Tourover, Edward I. Kaufman, and four or five others. This party will afford us an opportunity to meet on a social level with some of the important people in Washington whom we might later want to contact for our purposes.

March 26, 1946

Mr. Harry Shapiro, Executive Director
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Shapiro:

Isador Lubin, the former Commissioner of Labor Statistics in the Department of Labor and close advisor to the White House, has now left government service. His connection now is with the Confidential Reports, Inc., 1900 RKO Building, New York City.

He had a great deal to do with reparations, and the people in the World Jewish Congress interested in this problem may wish to contact him. Mr. Lubin still maintains important personal connections with the liberal Federal officials in Washington. It may be useful if somebody would speak to him and ascertain what, if any, help he could give us.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:cw

March 27, 1946

Mr. Harry Shapiro, Executive Director
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Shapiro:

Following up the people I met through Congressman Celler, I visited today, by appointment, Mr. Justice Douglas. At the Congressman's dinner, he had asked about possibilities of getting the question of the Palestine regime before the International Court of Justice, and we had spoken at some length about this aspect. The Justice suggested that I discuss it with Ben Cohen, which I will try to do.

I then mentioned to the Justice our unsuccessful efforts to get the Administration to adopt a positive attitude toward a Jewish Palestine as a matter of practical policy. He thought that Secretaries Wallace and Schwellenbach might be helpful in this respect and promised to speak to both of them. He will let me know the result of his conversations. Should anything come out of it, this, together with Attorney General Clark, would constitute three members of the Cabinet with whom we will have been in contact. There was no sense in suggesting to Justice Douglas that he, too, should talk to the Attorney General, since Mr. Clark's interest in the matter would have nothing to do with the substantive arguments in our favor, but only with the political implications -- an aspect of the problem which a Justice obviously could not discuss with him.

He asked me about the Committee of Inquiry, and I related our main grievances, especially those which would appeal to him as a Judge: I emphasized that the Terms of Reference of the Committee left in abeyance the matter of the vested rights of the Jewish people in Palestine, leading to the implication that the Committee might recommend an entirely new settlement, disregarding valid obligations; and the fact that the Committee's procedure was ex parte, with some sessions in camera without opportunity being given to the Jewish Agency to have access to and to rebut hostile testimony, and without our being permitted to have counsel to cross-examine hostile witnesses.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:ow

March 27, 1946

Mr. Harry Shapiro, Executive Director
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Shapiro:

I had lunch yesterday with Blair Bolles, the Director of the Washington Office of the Foreign Policy Association. I took Schulson along, since I wanted him to meet Bolles.

We had a very pleasant conversation relating to different aspects of the international situation in general and of the Palestine problem in particular. Among other things, Bolles told us that there is a Jew on the staff of the New York office of the Foreign Policy Association who stymied his efforts to write a decent piece on Palestine. He advised us to establish a friendly relationship with Mrs. Vera Micheles Dean, who heads the research staff of the Foreign Policy Association. As I told you orally some time ago, Bolles is introducing me to Mr. Lancaster, a banker and president of the Foreign Policy Association, with whom I hope to have a useful talk in the near future. Mr. Lancaster may be able to help us with the chief stockholders of the oil companies.

Schulson and I gave Bolles various items of information concerning the present situation. Of all these items, he was most interested in the Transjordan business and said that he would write an article about it in PM. I thereupon sent him some material regarding this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:ow

Benjamin Akzin

March 28, 1946

Harry Shapiro

Enclosed please find a copy of a letter published in today's Washington Post. We have prepared the letter in the office in connection with a recent story regarding the latest boatload of "illegal immigrants" to arrive in Palestine. Since I did not want to sign the letter myself, I asked Mr. Schulson to let it appear over his signature, to which he kindly consented.

BA:cw
Encl.

WRHS
AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

LETTER PUBLISHED IN THE WASHINGTON POST-MARCH 28, 1946

Tyranny in Palestine

I would like to take issue with the expression "illegal immigrants" used in a story in your issue of March 28, reporting the arrival in Tel Aviv of a shipload of Jewish refugees. I should like to question your use of the words "mobs" and "gangs" in the same story, when referring to the activities of those groups within the Jewish population of Palestine which tried to render impossible the interception of those refugees by British armed forces and the police.

The right of Jews to go to Palestine is anchored in international law and confirmed by several treaties and conventions. Brazenly disregarding these obligations, the British government has chosen to impose a unilateral document, known as the "White Paper", which curtails Jewish immigration and otherwise restricts the rights of Jews in their own national homeland. The Mandates Commission of the League of Nations has already declared that this document is inconsistent with the mandate for Palestine.

Disregarding this finding and taking advantage of the fact that there is no court in existence which could enjoin it from putting its policy into effect, the British government governs Palestine in accordance with the White Paper. What we have today in Palestine is, therefore, not a lawful government, but tyranny. It is not the Jews who go to their internationally designated homeland who are "illegal". It is the British regime which is illegal. And those citizens of Palestine who lend their support to Jewish immigrants in Palestine and interfere with the activities of the agents of a tyrannical regime are no more "mobs" or "gangs" than were the American colonists who, with arms in hand, defended right against tyranny under much less provocation.

HYMAN A. SCHULSON.

Washington, March 26.

March 29, 1946

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

Mr. Harry Shapiro, Executive Director
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Shapiro:

To acquaint Schulson with the Washington representatives of other friendly Jewish groups in Washington, he and I met today at lunch with Messrs. Dwork and Wahl, the Washington representatives of the American Jewish Congress and American Jewish Conference respectively. We had a very interesting exchange of views and decided to meet periodically in the future, possibly broadening the scope of our meetings to include friendly representatives of other organizations as well.

One of the questions discussed by us grew out of information received by Mr. Wahl that Bartley Crum, upon his return from abroad, will be interested in writing a book in connection with the Inquiry and may also be available for lecturing. All of us were of the opinion that every effort must be made to prevent Crum from becoming a speaker talking under the auspices of Jewish organizations, since this would make his views carry far less weight and might even reflect on the independence of his position as a member of the Committee of Inquiry. I believe that it would be best if discreet steps were taken, preferably by Mr. Crum's own associates and not by any group associated with us, however indirectly, to suggest Mr. Crum as a lecturer to the Foreign Policy Association, the larger universities in the country, and similar institutions.

I realize the temptation for various Zionist and pro-Zionist institutions, including the JNF, the UPA, the Hadassah, the General Zionists, etc., either to sponsor his lectures or to invite him as a drawing card to banquets and mass meetings run by them. But it is essential in the interest of the cause that this temptation be overcome. Don't you think that it may be useful, therefore, if you get in touch without delay with all of those groups and institutions and ask them to refrain for a certain time from inviting Crum to talk under their auspices?

As regards Crum's book, it would also be best if it were published by one of the principal general publishing houses of the country (MacMilan, Simon and Schuster, Little, Brown and Company, or something of that kind). If it were necessary to guarantee to one of those houses the sale of a minimum number of copies, Crum himself could give them such a guarantee, if we gave him private assurances that we would take over, if need be, a sufficient number of copies.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:cw

WRHS AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

Mr. Hyman A. Schulson

April 1, 1946

Dr. Benjamin Akzin

On the evening of March 30, 1946, I met Judge Charles E. Clark in the Mayflower Hotel Lobby and for about an hour talked to him about Zionism. Judge Clark is a Judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, sits in New York City, is a former dean of the Yale Law School, a former teacher of mine, and is a liberal Republican. I found him most sympathetic to the Zionist movement. He told me that he was a member of the American Christian Palestine Committee and thought very well of their work.

He suggested that the Zionist movement ought to explore the possibilities of bringing the Palestine question before the International Court of Justice of the United Nations. Since he is one of the outstanding legal authorities on procedure, I asked him if he could suggest a procedural method by means of which this could be done. He stated that the only suggestion he could make was that we find a friendly nation who could raise the Palestine question by pointing out how the Mandate had been breached by Great Britain through the White Paper and the policies pursued thereunder by the British Government, and the recent unilateral action of Great Britain with respect to Transjordania.

He wanted to know about the hearings before the Anglo-American Commission. I brought him up to date, told him about the biased and unjudicial procedure of the Committee, the deletion of some of Jamal Husseini's testimony, the limitations imposed by the terms of reference, our lack of opportunity of being represented by Counsel and of rebutting unfavorable testimony, some of which we do not even know about because some sessions of the Commission to receive testimony are held secretly, etc. He expressed complete surprise that such procedure was being followed, and was more surprised because Judge Hutcheson has frequently condemned "administrative absolutism" in his own opinions.

Judge Clark is a very influential person and comes in contact with important people. Two of his good friends in New York City, where he sits, are Dr. Stephen Wise and Judge Simon Rifkind. I suggest that our New York people contact Dr. Wise and Judge Rifkind and ask them to follow up in cultivating Judge Clark.

I have today mailed Judge Clark "Brandeis on Zionism" and Gervasi's book and will do all I personally can to follow up his interest.

Following up the suggestion of Mrs. Horowitz, I spent an hour with Ex-Judge Milton Strassburger, Washington, D. C., whom I used to see socially quite frequently in 1940-42. I asked Judge Strassburger to introduce me to some of his Gentile friends in Washington, whom we might orient regarding Zionism and utilize in our political work. Judge Strassburger has been a Zionist for many years, but unfortunately has not been very well during the last few years, has practically retired from practice, and has not kept up his contacts with the important people in Government service whom he used to see. I am not very hopeful that Judge Strassburger can contribute very much, but I shall see him periodically and try to get him to introduce me to some of his Gentile friends.

Dr. Benjamin Akzin April 1, 1946

On the evening of March 31, 1946, I attended, as a guest of Phil Schiff of the Jewish Welfare Board, a meeting of a Jewish group of men and women in Government service who live in Chevy Chase, Maryland. These meetings are held bi-weekly. The meeting I attended was addressed by Irving Posner of UNRRA who recently returned from Europe. He reported on his stay in Europe and told the group of the work the Hachshara is doing with the DPs and other Jewish refugees. He said that, although he was not a Zionist before he went to Europe, he returned a devoted Zionist because Palestine is the only hope held out for the DPs and other Jewish refugees. He praised the excellent job the Zionists were doing in preparing the DPs for Palestine and in reviving them spiritually and mentally. He said that he never saw a more determined group of Jews than in Hachshara camps and that nothing, in his opinion, would stop these people from getting to Palestine.

I met a number of Jewish men and women in this group who could be very useful to us in our work, and I am planning to see some of them personally within the next few weeks.

The leaders of this group are Phil Schiff, Joel D. Wolfsohn, Wallace Cohen, Dr. Joshua Bernhardt, Dr. Fink, a veteran Zionist, and Mr. and Mrs. Tobias Naftalin.

I suggested to Phil Schiff that, at one of their next meetings, Dr. Akzin be invited to address the group on the current Zionist political scene. He was very receptive to the idea and said that he would communicate with me when such a meeting could be arranged.

Mr. Hyman A. Schulson

April 3, 1946

Dr. Benjamin Akzin

On April 1, 1946, I conferred with Dr. Lewis L. Lorwin, Chief of the Economic Program Staff of the Office of International Trade Operations, Department of Commerce. Mr. Lorwin was a great help to me in 1940-42 when I organized the American Palestine Committee in Washington, D. C., and therefore I followed up this contact. Mr. Lorwin, while not a Zionist, is sympathetic to Palestine and is interested in its economic and social development. He has just returned from London where he represented the United States Government at the United Nations organization for the purpose of organizing the Committee on Economic and Social Action. He may be one of the American members or consultants on that committee and will play an active role on the Sub-Committee on Economic Planning.

He told me that he was very much interested in the Jordan Valley Authority project and about a year ago talked to Dr. Emanuel Neumann about his interest. He thought that it would be ideal to bring the JVA plan as a concrete project for economic planning for the Middle East to the Committee on Economic and Social Action of the United Nations Organization.

Dr. Lorwin told me that he was present in London at the session of the Assembly of the United Nations Organization when Great Britain announced its intentions regarding Transjordania. He said that the resolution on Transjordania was drafted by Mr. John Foster Dulles and was passed unanimously by the Assembly. Neither the United States nor Russia nor any other nation raised the question as to the unilateral aspect of Great Britain's action or its possible illegality. None of the representatives worried at all about its relation to the Palestine Mandate.

I am enclosing a copy of a letter I received from H. R. Baukhage, radio commentator of the American Broadcasting System, in which he stated that he twice on the air made use of the material I gave him on Transjordania and Jamal Husseini and also to be used in his column. I have written him a letter of thanks and asked him to send us copies of the references he made and a copy of his column.

I regret to inform you that the cocktail party I had arranged for April 21, 1946 in honor of Robert Nathan on the occasion of the publication of his book on Palestine by the American Council on Public Affairs at the home of Leon Henderson has been called off due to the fact that Robert Nathan is leaving for France on April 15 for a few weeks on an economic mission for the French Government. An earlier date could not be arranged because of other engagements made by Messrs. Nathan and Henderson.

COPY

BAUKHAGE

American Broadcasting Company

WASHINGTON 5, D. C.

April 1, 1946

Mr. Hyman A. Schulson
American Zionist Emergency Council
Washington Bureau
1720 - 16th Street, N.W.,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Schulson:

Thank you very much for your letter of March 19th.

It is very hard to say when I can use any particular piece of background. I have twice made use of the material in the handouts you gave me, together with some material I already had. Twice on the air, - short references - and also in a column which I do which will appear in a week or so.

I can never say in advance when an item will be used because the situation changes right up to the moment I go on the air. For instance, I had considerable comment prepared when it was announced that a treaty had been signed granting Trans Jordania independence. Unfortunately, something came up at the last moment and that part of my script had to give way to something else.

Sincerely,

/s/ Baukhage
H. R. BAUKHAGE

HRB:vcs

April 4, 1946

Mr. Harry Shapiro, Executive Director
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Shapiro:

1. In addition to my earlier report of yesterday's date, I would like to inform you that at Leo Sack's request, I had lunch on Monday with Mr. Voigt, Senator LaFollette's assistant, with whom I discussed the contents of the Senator's forthcoming speech in Detroit. I subsequently sent him some material and will prepare for him a rough draft of the speech.

2. My Schulson arranged two meetings for yesterday / , one with Malcolm Ross, who headed the F.E.P.C., the other with Philip M. Klutznick, Commissioner of the Federal Housing Authority. In our talk with Ross, whom Schulson has known for several years and who was present at one of the Celler dinners, we asked him to try to get our message across among the liberal columnists and broadcasters. He agreed that they ought to be prepared in advance of the publication of the Committee's report so that when this happens, they will be able to back the minority report. Ross thinks that Raymond Graham Swing, as the most authoritative man in this group, ought to be seen first. Thomas Stokes and others are likely to follow his lead. He will try to help us with Swing.

Ross also emphasized the need of using the political argument. He thinks that O'Neal, Hannegan's closest assistant on the Democratic National Committee and Gael Sullivan , Assistant Postmaster General, are the two key figures involved. Both would be interested in an analysis of the Jewish vote by Congressional Districts and in the possibility of carrying or losing a certain number of Congressional Districts which hang in the balance. It is the picture in these Districts, rather than the overall question of sympathy in the country which interests these practical politicians.

Sullivan is, according to Ross, the man who handles political matters for Hannegan. He comes from Chicago and is a decent fellow who might be interested in the merits of the issue as well, though, of course, his main concern lies with the political issues involved. --In view of this

information, I wonder whether it would not be useful to ask Judge Fisher or someone else of our Chicago friends who may know Sullivan and would have his respect to have a discussion with him either in Washington or on the occasion of Sullivan's visit to Chicago.

Klutznick seems to be one of the most highly placed Jews in the present Administration. He is Mr. Wyatt's right hand and has been prevailed upon by President Truman to remain in the Federal employ despite his desire to resign. He was born and grew up in Kansas City and later became a resident of Omaha, Nebraska. He is a former law partner of Mr. Monsky and a Zionist of many years' standing. This was the first time, according to him, that anyone had contacted him on behalf of Zionism.

Emphasizing the utterly confidential character of our conversation, we exchanged ideas and information. We explained to him the sources of trouble which we met in Washington and asked what he could do to help us. He stated that he found many Jewish officials in the Administration confused on the issue, and some of them rather inhibited. As for the non-Jews, they are by and large uninformed. He believes that nothing can be done by merely periodically visiting the heads of the Administration and considers it essential that an intensive day-to-day work be done throughout official circles. Of course, occasional contacts at the top level are necessary.

He had occasion to discuss the matter with Harnegan and Killian, the Treasurer of the Democratic National Committee. In both cases the Palestine issue was not regarded as the main issue affecting the Jewish vote, but merely as one of several questions regarding which Jewish sensibilities have to be taken into account. His impression, based on very good authority, is that President Truman is sick at heart because he doesn't know what is the right thing to do in connection with Palestine. The advice he gets from Jewish groups is contradictory and conflicting. While it is true that the large majority of American Jews favor Zionism, politicians are very often affected by the views of those whom they consider representative and key personnel in a community, and a large proportion of those key personnel in American Jewry are luke-warm or anti-Zionist. The fact, which has already been conveyed to the White House, that there will be a split in the Anglo-American Committee, undoubtedly makes the President feel very badly. Here is one procedure which he hoped would show him what has to be done, and again he will be faced with divided counsel. As for the role of Rosenman and Niles, he, Klutznick, considers Niles a Zionist, and only the other night, Niles suggested that Cooper's film on Palestine ought to be widely exhibited. As for Rosenman, he makes no secret of the fact that he is no Zionist, but he believes that Rosenman was eminently fair in giving the White House a correct estimate of the weight of the Jewish vote and of the importance of the Palestine issue in this connection.

We took up these different points and explained the need for emphasizing to the top political circles to what extent the largest Jewish masses in the country are concerned about the Palestine issue, even if a proportion

Mr. Harry Shapiro April 4, 1946

of the better known Jews do not care sufficiently about it. For this reason, if it is sought to impress the Jewish vote with the Administration's desire to help us in the case of Palestine, it is the views of these pro-Zionist Jewish masses, rather than the views of the so-called prominent Jews which ought to be met. The most immediate thing is to impress upon the Administration the importance of the Palestine issue for the Jewish masses, and this can be done much better by a person like him than by official spokesmen for Zionism. Once the Administration leaders are sufficiently impressed, the next question will be how to devise a course of action which would satisfy these pro-Zionist masses, and here the Administration ought to be advised not to continue to spring upon us ill-advised surprises, but to consult with spokesmen for Zionism regarding the proposed course. One of the immediate tasks will be to advise the Administration that it should back the minority report of the Committee. Here again the danger will lie in the Administration's simply going on record as backing the minority report and considering this to be sufficient to carry it through the election period. Instead of this, the Administration should be asked to go to bat with the British in favor of the minority report and to try to obtain British concurrence in fact, and action, before the elections. In view of the present international situation as between America and Britain, if our Government really wants a certain solution in Palestine, and if the British know it, they will give in.

We arranged with Mr. Klutznick to meet soon again and to keep constantly in touch. I think that, though estranged from active work in our movement, he can become very important to us in the near future. Schulson believes that he occupies a position in the Truman Administration similar to that which was held by Oscar Cox in the last years of the Roosevelt regime.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:ow

April 4, 1946

Mr. Harry Shapiro
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Shapiro:

1. During the first talk which Rappard gave in Washington on trusteeships, at a meeting of the Commission to study organization of peace, he did not mention Palestine at all. I brought up the subject in the discussion, and his passing reference to it was not particularly satisfactory. Since he is due to speak in Washington twice more, tonight at the Brookings Institution and on Monday, April 8th, at the Institute of World Affairs, I made an appointment with him this morning. We went into the question once more, and he promised me to refer to Palestine in the future in the main body of his talk and to underline that the main beneficiaries of the Palestine Mandate are the Jews as distinct from the general run of Mandates which are intended to benefit the native populations. I also hope that he will give a more correct interpretation of the British opposition to the Jewish national home which uses the Arabs mainly as an excuse, instead of implying, as he did during his first talk, that the British are unable to proceed with a national home out of consideration for the Arabs.

2. Miss Winnigrad of the APC office in Baltimore telephoned to ask me to get Professor Rappard to speak at the Baltimore APC Conference on either May 13th or 14th, for a fee. I took the matter up with Rappard, and he said that he will be glad to come provided he is still in the country. But this he considers extremely unlikely, since he expects to leave for Switzerland at the end of April.

I suggest that, after clearing the matter with APC, Mrs. Shepard should write him a note referring to our conversation and asking him formally to accept the engagement in case he is still in the country. I have already conveyed this information to Miss Winnigrad.

3. Justice Douglas' office called to inform me that the Justice has arranged for me to see Secretary Schwellenbach today (see my report of March 27th). I reminded the Secretary of his friendly attitude as a Senator and said that I would like to bring him up to date on the Palestine situation in view of the likelihood that the matter may come up for discussion in the Cabinet, possibly in connection with the forthcoming report of the Anglo-American Commission. I dealt very briefly with the merits of the case, hinted at the political implications, but went mainly into a discussion of those alleged considerations of international policy which seem to have interferred with our cause in the minds of the President and of the Secretary

of State. To this part, the Secretary listened very attentively, and I think that my refutation of the usual arguments used against us made some impression. I added that, if it were possible for the Secretary to raise the question informally with the President, the Secretary of State, or other members of the Cabinet, we would be particularly grateful, but that in any case, we wanted him to speak for us when the question reaches the Cabinet.

The Secretary replied that it will be quite impossible for him to take the initiative in discussing the Palestine matter with the President or members of the Cabinet since each of them has to stick to his own job, but that he will be glad to bear in mind my arguments when the question comes up in the Cabinet.

I asked whether he would be good enough to let me know through Abrahamson (see further) when the question would be listed on the agenda of the Cabinet so that I could give him a brief summary of our case which would remain fresh in his mind. I am afraid he saw through my tactics because he said, smilingly, that he could not do that, but would prefer me to send him whatever I have to say on the subject so that he could consult it if and when the question does come up.

Schwellenbach is terribly busy with labor problems and we can not expect him to take too much of an interest in our question. On the other hand, he is very much interested in the political picture, and this was noticeable when I mentioned this aspect. He is also one of the two most outstanding intellectual figures of the present administration and much more in tune with the rest of it than the other Cabinet intellectual, Mr. Wallace. I think, therefore, that this contact with him was quite important. I would recommend that between now and the end of April, when the question may come up in the Cabinet because of the report of the Committee, one or a few of our friends from his native state of Washington, people for whom he may have respect, should write him in the same vein and tell him that they look up to him to speak up for us.

4. Before seeing the Secretary, I went to visit his special assistant, a friend of mine by the name of A. Abrahamson. He is very close to the Secretary and I knew that he would hear from him about my visit in any case. The way in which I phrased our case was largely undertaken in accordance with the advice which Abrahamson gave me. It is also he who gave me a general insight into the character of the Secretary. A. follows closely the JDC - American Jewish Committee line. In the past, he was very anti-Zionist. Now that Schwartz and Proscauer have come to see that most Jews must leave Europe and that Palestine should be opened to Jewish immigration, he goes with us just as far as they go.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

Hyman A. Schulson

April 8, 1946

Benjamin Akzin

Report on "Win The Peace Conference"

Pursuant to instructions of Dr. Akzin, who in turn received the same instructions from Mr. Harry Shapiro, I was directed to attend the "Win the Peace Conference" at the Department of Commerce Auditorium on April 5, 6 and 7 as an observer only and not to participate actively.

Prior to the Conference, the general Washington press charged that the Conference was a "Communist outfit". Among 25 Congressmen who allegedly originally sponsored the Conference, 5 Congressmen withdrew their sponsorship, apparently because of the charges that the assembly had Communist backing.

I was informed that the 4 sponsors who signed the original invitation for the Conference were Bartley Crum, Jo Davidson, Julius Emspak, and Paul Robeson. A list of the sponsors is attached to this report. Some of the sponsors may be Communists, although I have no way of proving this statement.

I attended the meeting of the Arrangements Committee and Sponsors on April 5. My identity was not made known. My purpose in attending this meeting was to ascertain who controlled and dominated the Conference. The committees on resolutions and organization which were elected were representatives of the left-wing CIO unions and organizations reputed to be dominated and controlled by left-wingers.

I learned that the Conference was very hurriedly arranged and very little thinking and preparation had gone into the nature and content of the resolutions to be passed.

I am enclosing a copy of the program of the Conference, which covered almost every important phase of foreign relations and domestic fields. I am also enclosing copies of some of the speeches and messages and some of the resolutions, including the Palestine resolution, which were passed by the Conference. An examination of the speeches and resolutions will disclose a pro-Russian trend and adherence to the Communist party line.

Since I was particular interested in the Saturday night session, April 6, when the Middle East and Palestine were scheduled to be discussed, I shall report chiefly on this session. Originally, Dr. Stephen S. Wise was scheduled to speak on Palestine. I do not know whether Dr. Wise had actually committed himself to address the Conference. Dr. Wise did not show up, so "Palestine" was not discussed by a substitute speaker. Edwin S. Smith, former member of the National Labor Relations Board and now connected with the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, was scheduled to speak on "Iran", and he also did not attend, so Iran was not discussed. It was rumored by some of the people who ran the Conference that Mr. Smith might have received orders from the Russians not to discuss Iran in view of the fact that an agreement had been reached, and in view of recent developments before the Security Council.

Memo from Mr. Schulson
To Dr. Akzin

April 8, 1944

I received a report on the Palestine resolution while it was in the Resolutions Committee stage of formulation. I learned that the resolution was very hurriedly drafted in about 15 minutes by a Jewish friend of one of the members of the Resolutions Committee. This person was very badly informed on Palestine and Zionist aims and policies. It was also reported that a majority of the members of the Resolutions Committee were opposed to a Jewish Commonwealth resolution.

When the resolution was presented on the floor of the Conference, Julius Shatz of the Furriers' Joint Council, CIO, moved to amend that the British White Paper be described as"anti-Semitic". This motion was defeated when it was pointed out that the Arabs, too, were Semites. Mr. Shatz then moved to amend the resolution urging President Truman to withdraw the American representation on the Anglo-American Committee because the Committee was merely a delaying action and there was no sincere desire to open immigration to Palestine and to reach a just solution. This amendment was also defeated.

Mr. A. B. Chapman of Passaic, New Jersey, a delegate, moved to amend the resolution to "support a free and independent Palestine in which the Jewish and Arab peoples can jointly develop their national rights and interests in friendship, unity, cooperation, and peace." He intended his amendment to be a bi-nationalist state amendment, but was not very articulate in expressing himself. His amendment, however, was passed by an overwhelming majority. Mr. David Citron, representing a group in Peoria, Illinois, then made a motion to amend "that Palestine be reconstituted as a Jewish Commonwealth". His amendment was ruled out of order by the Chairman on the ground that the former amendment had already been passed. I first learned that Mr. Citron was present at the Conference at about 10:45 P. M. when he rose to make his amendment. I have known Mr. Citron for a number of years as an ardent and active Zionist who regularly attends Zionist Conventions and is one of the leaders of the Peoria Zionist District. I went over to Mr. Citron to say "hello". Mr. Citron was very angry because the official Zionist bodies were not officially represented at the Conference, because Dr. Wise or a substitute speaker was not present to speak on Palestine, and because the American Zionist Emergency Council did not present an acceptable resolution on Palestine through some delegate at the Conference before the Resolutions Committee. I had to explain to him the reasons for our failure to participate officially. Being an official delegate himself, he naturally disagreed with our policy, felt that the Conference is not controlled and dominated by the Communist Party line, and was of the opinion that we should have participated and utilized the opportunity to present the Zionist position on Palestine before this group which rarely hears an adequate presentation of our case.

A motion was also introduced urging that the Grand Mufti be brought to trial as a war criminal. This motion was defeated on the ground that the Conference did not have before it sufficient facts to warrant passage of such a resolution.

The Credentials Report, attached herewith, reveals that there are 712 delegates from 27 states and the District of Columbia present; 65 national organizations were officially represented; 27 national organizations were represented by local chapters.

Memo from Mr. Schulson
To Dr. Akzin

April 8, 1948

All of the sessions of the Conference were very well attended. I estimate that there were on an average of 900 people present at each session. On the whole, the speeches were very good, particularly those by Congressmen Coffee, Savage, Delaney, Patterson and Russell Nixon and Ira Gollobin. Senator Pepper's address was truly a great speech on foreign policy. During the course of his address, he spent a few minutes attacking British action regarding Transjordania as a unilateral action, illegal, and urged that it was a matter which should come before the United Nations.

HAS:cw
Encls.

WRHS
AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

Memo from Mr. Schulson
To Dr. Akzin

April 8, 1946

PERSONAL COMMENTS:

I concur with the decision that the Zionist organizations not be officially represented at the Conference. However, I think it was a mistake not to have planted a speaker on Palestine to substitute for Dr. Wise. We could have secured a person from the American Christian Palestine Committee, such as Dr. Voss, to present the Zionist point of view before a group which badly needs information on Palestine and Zionist objectives. If we had such a speaker present, I think we could have secured the passage of a favorable resolution on Palestine. Such a resolution could have been presented to the Committee on Resolutions by a man like Mr. Citron, who was a delegate to the Conference.

While I agree that we should exercise great caution before we ally ourselves with groups controlling the "Win the Peace Conference", nevertheless, I think that we missed the boat by failing to plant pro-Zionist speakers who could utilize the opportunity to get our position across to the left-wing and liberal groups.

WRHS
AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

Mr. Hyman A. Schulson

April 10, 1946

Dr. Benjamin Akzin

On April 9, 1946, I spent a half hour with William H. Stringer, Washington representative of the Christian Science Monitor, for the purpose of making his acquaintance. Mr. Stringer was interested in any authentic and reliable material we have on the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry. I told him that I could not give him anything specific at this time, but that we were gathering quite a bit of background material on the Commission which we would have ready for release as soon as the Commission's report is issued.

I gave him some material on Transjordania and the Mufti. He said that the Christian Science Monitor had carried a few stories on Transjordania and might use some of the material I gave him as background for writing up the story on Transjordania.

I also saw John Metcalfe of the New York Herald Tribune for the purpose of making his acquaintance. He told me that the New York Herald Tribune had a number of stories on Transjordania. I gave him some additional material on Transjordania which he said he would use when writing up the story of the Celler resolution on Transjordania.

I also saw James B. Hutchison of the Gannett News Service. He was very much interested in the material I gave him on the Mufti and Transjordania and promised to do a story on both for the Gannett chain.

He told me that Frank Gannett had just left for London with a number of editors who will be visiting Europe during the next few weeks. Mr. Gannett is a very close friend of Rabbi Philip Bernstein of Rochester, who is now in England on behalf of the Palestine Appeal. I suggested that Mr. Gannett might be interested in a series of articles on the refugee problem and Palestine by Rabbi Bernstein based on his recent experiences in Europe. He told me that he would communicate this suggestion to Mr. Gannett and ask him to contact Rabbi Philip Bernstein while in England.

Around 1941, the Gannett papers carried some good pro-Zionist material. I recalled this fact to Mr. Hutchison and asked him whether he would write some pro-Palestine stories as soon as the Anglo-American Commission issued its report. He told me that he would be glad to do so, if we would send him the material.

Benjamin Akzin

April 10, 1946

Harry Shapiro

Contact with LaGuardia

Under Governor Lehman, UNRAA did very little for us. Under LaGuardia, the situation may be different if we go after him and tell him exactly how we would like UNRAA to help us.

Would it not be advisable for one or a few of our friends who know Mr. LaGuardia to visit him and request UNRAA's cooperation with our efforts?

If this is decided, I suggest that some consideration be given to the specific requests to be made of LaGuardia. Consultation with our friends of the World Jewish Congress and the Jewish Agency would help to elucidate the precise points concerned.

BA:cw

WRHS
AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

Benjamin Akzin

April 10, 1946

Harry Shapiro

1. Robert Nathan's book: Mr. Schnapper, head of the American Council on Public Affairs, the publishers of Robert Nathan's book, inquired of Schulson how many books the Emergency Council is going to buy. Please let me know what your decision in the matter is, and whether you prefer to deal with it directly or through the Washington office.

2. Passports for Congress delegates: When Mr. Schulson saw Miss Shipley, Chief of the Passport Division of the State Department, in connection with passports for Mr. Tennenbaum's party, she told him that the State Department expects a tremendous number of requests for passports this coming summer and that this is likely to result in serious delays in dealing with the requests.

It would be highly useful, therefore, if you could inform the central offices of the Z. O. A., Hadassah, Poale Zion, Mizrachi, Revisionists and Hashomer Hatzair to see to it that requests for passports are not delayed until after the elections but are made as soon as possible by all those who might conceivably be going as delegates. The requests have to be made individually from the Passport Offices which are functioning in the various larger cities in the United States. It would be better that some would-be delegates make requests and then fail to follow them up than to have a last-minute bottle-neck which would make it impossible for the elected delegates to go abroad.

BA:ow

April 12, 1946

Mr. Harry Shapiro, Executive Director
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Shapiro:

Schulson and I met again yesterday with Mr. Dwork, Washington representative of the American Jewish Congress, Mr. Wahl, Washington representative of the American Jewish Conference, as well as Mr. Schiff, who is a good Zionist and represents the National Jewish Welfare Board in Washington. We had asked Elishu Epstein to come, but he could not make it.

The following were the most important matters that transpired from a mutual exchange of information:

1. Phil Schiff has frequent opportunities of meeting Secretary of War Patterson, with whom he is on a fairly friendly footing. At one of his next meetings, Schiff will try to put in a good word for us. I have asked him to do this in view of our desire to prepare as many Cabinet members as possible for a future discussion of the Palestine question by the Cabinet.

2. Ex-Chaplain Rabbi Judah Nadich, who was General Eisenhower's adviser on Jewish affairs and who is now working with the United Jewish Appeal, is reported to enjoy the respect of Eisenhower. Since the opinion of the General Staff is asked in connection with the military aspects of the Palestine situation, and since both Epstein and I found that American military circles often take an unfriendly attitude toward us, it is very warmly recommended that Rabbi Nadich be asked to meet with General Eisenhower in order to dispel in the General's mind the objections raised to Zionism from the point of view of American military interests.

I will be very happy to discuss the matter with Rabbi Nadich prior to his meeting Eisenhower, in order to give him the necessary slant, and I think that Elishu Epstein should also give Nadich the benefit of his knowledge of the subject.

3. Wahl reminded us that he had suggested to Emanuel Neumann that Max Lowenthal, who was a close friend of President Truman from the days of the Truman Senate Committee and who is reputed to be a good Zionist, would be the ideal man to talk to the President about Palestine.

If you agree that this is the case and want me to pursue the matter further, I will ask Wahl to arrange a meeting between the two of us and Lowenthal, to inform him of up-to-date developments and arguments.

4. An exchange of views within our groups resulted in some severe criticisms of the part played by David Niles. Schiff, who is a good friend of his, will arrange for all of us to meet with Niles at lunch or dinner so that we could collectively jump on him--a procedure which we believe is bound to have some good results.

5. Wahl, who, as you know, has been exceedingly helpful in introducing our friends to Mr. Crum, has telephoned a few days ago to Switzerland and held a long distance conversation with Crum who gave him information about latest developments. According to Wahl, Crum intimated that Judge Hutcheson was rather disgusted with the British point of view and is managing to hold the American members in line in demanding immediate immigration of 100,000 Jews.

Though valuing greatly Wahl's friendship with Crum, I question the wisdom of having held a long distance telephone conversation under the present circumstances. Don't you think that it might be useful to ask Mr. Lipsky to see to it that greater caution be observed in the future?

6. The enclosed memorandum was, I understand, sent by Wahl to the Central Office of the American Jewish Conference. I am glad to see that it stresses the need to keep Crum's activities entirely separated from any Jewish sponsorship. Nevertheless, I wonder whether still greater caution would not be advisable, in line with the suggestions made in my letter of March 29th. More particularly, I think that during the period that may elapse between the return of Crum to the United States and the announcement of a decision of the United States Government (not the recommendation of the Committee, but the decision of the Government), it would be better if Crum would not be encouraged to engage in any activities of a propagandistic nature that might prejudice his standing as an entirely disinterested member of the Committee. During that period, it is essential that Crum's activities be concentrated on defending his point of view in private talks with political figures in Washington.

Please let me know your decision on all of the above points regarding which I am asking for your instructions.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:ow
Encl.

April 15, 1946

Mr. Harry Shapiro, Executive Director
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Shapiro:

I assume that Ben-Horin has already given you a comprehensive picture of the Harvard Conference. All that I have to do is to add a few general impressions and specific points.

I think the Conference was a success in the sense that the only anti-Zionist voice raised was that of the Arab Dr. Totah, and he was rather weak and unimpressive. All others who spoke on Palestine took a more or less pro-Zionist attitude. The majority of the participants, however, were careful not to touch on the question at all and treated it as if it were a venereal disease. There was a great deal of tension whenever the subject was mentioned and you could feel people trying to avoid committing themselves. As a result of the Conference, it is fair to say that those who were anti-Zionist must have been slightly shaken in their belief, and those who were pro-Zionist must have been slightly re-inforced in their views. I don't think, though, that anyone was swayed to change his position radically.

Friedrich went out of his way to lean backward. One whole meeting was specifically devoted to Iran and Turkey, and there was no reason why another meeting should not have been devoted specifically to Palestine. Instead of this, he put on the agenda the subject of "Mandates in the Near East", thus making it possible for various people who spoke that evening to detour the Palestine subject and get off on other tangents. At the end of the Conference, Friedrich suggested the creation of a Middle East Review, in line with an old proposal made by Dr. Neumann. The character of the future Review will depend to a large extent on the composition of the group which will be appointed by Friedrich to pursue the matter further. It will depend on these people whether the Review will be useful from our point of view, whether it will be a neutral forum, or whether it may become another hostile medium.

Landis was the first to bring up the subject of Palestine. He put it mainly as a question of domestic pressure in America, emphasizing the importance which the Jewish element plays in this country. In political circles,

this would have been a good argument. Made by a professor to professors, it was, if anything, an unpleasant way of describing the problem. He suggested a reasonable compromise between Jewish and Arab demands and pointed out that there would be need to uphold such a compromise by force.

This was my first opportunity to talk to Albright, and I am appalled. If this is what we consider a friendly attitude, then God help us! His view (expressed in a private conversation with me) is that there will be no Jews wanting to go to Palestine in such numbers as to form a majority there, nor would the Christian countries (he said "Catholic", since he is a Protestant) agree to a Jewish majority. He wants 100,000 Jews brought to Palestine at once, and thereafter Jewish immigration should slow down. --It was Albright who insisted that an Arab participant be invited. I am glad, though, that he did. Otherwise, the Conference would have been considered a "packed" one. As it was, Totah was there and did not make any impression.

Another interesting participant was Speiser of the University of Pennsylvania, formerly of the Office of Strategic Services, a Jew. He told me that he favors Zionism and that his views are somewhere between Magnes and the Hashomer Hatzair. Everything for which we stand is to him unjustified extremism.

The really important academic people present, Holcombe, Elliott, Kirk, Nowak, etc., kept mum on our subject.

Lowdermilk was splendid; Rappard very persuasive, but a little soft when it came to formulating conclusions. On the one hand, he emphasized that the balance of equities favors the Jewish case and that the British are unfair to the Jews; on the other hand, he spoke repeatedly of a compromise solution.

There was a British official, formerly a member of the League of Nations Secretariat, Duncan Hall, who was almost continually red in the face because of persistent criticisms of British policy in the Near East. He was the only one who took copious notes, and, therefore, the British Government will be the only one to have a full record of the proceedings of the Conference.

A rather enigmatic figure was Mr. DeGollyer, an oil man from Dallas, Texas, who was the head of the American Oil Mission to the Middle East. I think his name was mentioned by Pehle and others at the St. Louis Conference as one of the most dangerous people in the Texas Company crowd. In a talk with me, he described himself as an independent oil man. He is a great admirer of Senator O'Daniel, which shows his general attitude toward things. He spoke with great confidence about oil geology of the Near East and had a lot of private contact with Elliott and others.

Ben-Horin, Epstein, Professor Gottman of John-Hopkins, and I all put in our 2¢ worth in the discussions. Each of us had several private conversations in addition to what went on during the meeting.

Sincerely yours,

BA:ow

Benjamin Akzin

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS:
Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

WASHINGTON BUREAU
1720 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Michigan 4480 ZONE 9

April 15, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
19810 Shaker Boulevard
Shaker Heights
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

As you will recall, I phoned you on April 8 suggesting that I should immediately take up the subject of Transjordan with various officials in the Divisions concerned of the Department of State, that is, the Near Eastern Division and the Dependent Areas Division. You thought at the time that I had better abstain from doing so, so as to leave the initiative in the hands of the New York committee which you appointed for the purpose of clarifying the Transjordan situation.

I wonder whether now, after almost two weeks have elapsed, you would not think it all right to give me permission to pursue the matter with the people in the State Department. You will notice from Mr. Epstein's letter to you of April 11 that there is pressure on the State Department to give indirect recognition to the new status of Transjordan by the device of direct negotiations regarding the pipe line. I suppose that the minds of the technical officials in the State Department are being gradually made up with regard to this question in some other ways as well. I hope you will agree that any persuasive contact with them at this point would be helpful and that nothing is to be gained by postponing such contacts until the New York committee decides whatever it decides.

I realize, of course, that much more importance attaches to pressure on a higher level, and the steps undertaken by various friendly Senators are, of course, far more essential. But a lot of information can be gained and some effect on the technical work in the State Department may be had by contact on the lower level. I hope, therefore, that you will rescind your former decision and give me the "green light".

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

P.S. Leo Sack advises me that the group of Senators who protested the Transjordan matter in the Senate last week have complained directly to Secretary Byrnes in writing and are awaiting an answer. They are demanding to know why the State Department is permitting Britain to seperate Transjordan.

April 24, 1946

Mr. Harry Shapiro, Executive Director
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Shapiro:

As you know, Mr. Tannenbaum asked me to intervene in the matter of the Egyptian transit visas for the members of the group visiting Palestine under Z. O. A. auspices. Upon receipt of the letter, I first suggested to Epstein that he take over the matter, since it involved primarily relations with a foreign legation, which, under the famous agreement, lies within the sphere of the Agency. But after a first talk with the Egyptians, who informed him that they cannot intervene since it is a consular matter, Epstein suggested that I take it over and handle it through the Department of State. I did so, in constant consultation with Tannenbaum, on whose initiative most of the steps were taken. I was also in consultation with Oscar Cox, to whom Dr. Silver telephoned from Cleveland concerning this matter.

I wrote Dean Acheson the enclosed letter. At the same time, Oscar Cox intervened informally in the Department of State. Senators Mead, Wagner, Brewster, and George , personally or through their offices, also telephoned Dean Acheson, as did Congressman Sol Bloom. As a result, the enclosed reply was received by me from Dean Acheson. I want to point out that Leo Sack was exceedingly helpful in getting Mr. Bloom and the Senators to act.

Congressman Bloom, before contacting Acheson, telephoned the Egyptian Minister, who promised him to cable Cairo. A few hours ago, the Egyptian Minister phoned Sol Bloom to say that there is no final answer yet, but that one is expected today. To get the latest information on the Egyptian side, I asked Epstein to keep in close touch with the Egyptians, which he very kindly did. The latest I hear from Epstein is that the reply from Cairo will probably reach the New York Consulate before it reaches the Legation in Washington.

Mr. Harry Shapiro April 24, 1946

In the meantime, I understand from Tannenbaum that the Department of State has advised the T. W. A. that it would be all right for the group to go on even without Egyptian visas. The first group is, therefore, leaving tonight. It is not unlikely that a positive reply regarding the visas will be received from Cairo in time for the second group, scheduled to leave on the 29th, to get their visas in the Egyptian Consulate in New York.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

Below
Encls.

P. S. Since writing this, the State Department has telephoned me to say that the Egyptian Government has authorized the issuance of visas on condition that the State Department gives the assurance that none of the travellers intend to stay in Palestine. A similar communication was made by the State Department to Congressman Bloom. Since the Consulate in New York is already closed, the State Department is giving such an assurance to the Egyptian Minister in Washington and is having him cable his government requesting that the visas be given in Cairo. Upon this basis, the T. W. A. agreed to let the travellers proceed.

I thanked the State Department for their efforts but told them that I proposed to take up at a later date the general issue of Egypt presuming to interfere with the freedom of communications of Jews intending to stay in Palestine.

Senator Murray was unable to intervene in the case of the thirty travellers, but seems to be interested in the general issue involved. I hope that both he and Senator Pepper will raise this issue with the Department.

COPY

April 22, 1946

Honorable Dean Acheson
Under-Secretary of State
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Secretary:

On behalf of the American Zionist Emergency Council, I have the honor to bring the following matter to your attention:

About 30 American citizens, all of them substantial businessmen and some of them very prominent in their respective fields, have made arrangements to pay a visit to Palestine with a view to jointly investigating opportunities for the expansion of American-Palestinian trade and of American capital investments in Palestine. The project is important both from the point of view of American economic interests and from the point of view of expanding opportunities for the rehabilitation of Jewish refugees in Palestine.

The flight has been sponsored by the Palestine Economic Board of the Zionist Organization of America. Space has been chartered for the members of the group on the TWA airplane leaving New York for Cairo on April 26th at 1 A.M., and arrangements have been made for them to proceed from Cairo to Palestine by way of the (Egyptian) Misr Air Lines. American passports and Palestinian visas have been secured. However, at the last moment the Egyptian consular authorities in this country refused to issue the customary transit visas, stating that they have been instructed to refuse such visas to persons proceeding to Palestine.

You will undoubtedly appreciate the points involved: the refusal to grant transit visas, contrary to established usage, represents an unwarranted interference by the Egyptian authorities with communications between the United States and Palestine. This attitude appears particularly unreasonable when viewed in the light of the recent opening of the New York-Cairo airline and reveals a tendency to use the facilities of this airline to restrict rather than to encourage international communications. If this practice is intended to prevent American citizens generally from proceeding to Palestine, it is a most unjustified interference with the freedom of movement of American citizens in pursuit of legitimate business. If it is applied in this manner to Jews only, it must be considered as an instance of discrimination practiced by a foreign government against a group of American citizens on religious or political grounds. In either case, I am certain that the Government of the United States will not acquiesce in these practices and will insist on their speedy elimination.

Honorable Dean Acheson April 22, 1946

Permit me to draw your attention to the urgent character of this matter: it is almost impossible for a large group of prominent American businessmen to make arrangements for their simultaneous departure without lengthy and complicated preparations in advance. Therefore, should the scheduled trip have to be cancelled, it is extremely doubtful whether it can take place at all, thus threatening to eliminate altogether a promising avenue for advancing American economic interests abroad and for assisting in the rehabilitation of Jewish refugees -- both projects to which, I understand, this Government is genuinely attached. In view of these circumstances, it is hoped that you will find it possible to make the most urgent representations to Egyptian officials with a view to enabling the above-mentioned group to proceed according to the original schedule, and to eliminating any future restrictions against the transit of American citizens through Egypt to Palestine.

I remain,

My dear Mr. Secretary,

Yours faithfully,

Benjamin Akzin
Director, Washington Office
American Zionist Emergency Council

BA/ea

P
Y

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON

April 22, 1946

My dear Mr. Akzin:

The receipt is acknowledged of your letter of April 22 in which you describe certain difficulties in regard to Egyptian transit visas encountered by a group of thirty business men who plan to visit Palestine in the near future under the auspices of the Palestine Economic Board of the Zionist Organization of America.

We have informed the Egyptian Minister of the above difficulties, and he tells us that although his Legation has no authority over decisions emanating from Cairo on consular matters, he will nevertheless telegraph his government with regard to the matter.

The Department is also instructing the American Legation in Cairo to make an investigation and submit a report.

As soon as further information is available, I will be glad to communicate with you again.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Dean Acheson

Mr. Benjamin Akzin,
Director, Washington Office,
American Zionist Emergency Council,
1720 - 16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

...jamin Akzin

May 1, 1948

Harry Shapiro

Attached is a copy of a letter sent yesterday to Dean Acheson to take up the general issue of Egyptian transit visas.

At Mr. Tannenbaum's request, I waited with the sending of this letter until after the first group had left for Palestine.

I am communicating with friendly Senators in an attempt to get them to cooperate in this matter.

BA:cw
Encl.

April 30, 1946

Honorable Dean Acheson
Acting Secretary of State
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Secretary:

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter of April 22 dealing with the steps undertaken by the Department of State to overcome Egyptian refusal to grant transit visas to a group of about thirty American business men who desired to visit Palestine. Thanks to the efforts of the Department, the matter was finally settled and the Egyptian authorities agreed to grant transit visas to members of that group. I should like to express the gratitude of the Zionist movement in this country for the helpful and energetic action undertaken by the Department, under your direction, in this instance.

At the same time, I should like to draw your attention to the general issue involved. It seems that the Egyptian Government arrogates to itself the privilege of virtually controlling traffic between the United States and Palestine, refusing transit visas to people who wish to settle in Palestine permanently and scrutinizing carefully whether the purposes of any one wishing to go to Palestine meet with the approval of the Egyptian Government.

The assumption of such authority by Egypt would hardly seem to conform to the principle of the freedom of international communications, a principle which, I believe, is dear to the United States Government and is also implied in the whole structure of the United Nations, of which Egypt is a member. More specifically, in controlling passenger traffic between the United States and Palestine, Egypt arrogates to itself the power to interfere with American economic interests in Palestine and with the trade between those two countries. Still more specifically, when exercised in the case of American citizens, this activity of the Egyptian Government undoubtedly constitutes an interference with the free movement of American citizens.

Honorable Dean Acheson April 30, 1946

All this would have been serious enough in any circumstances. It becomes especially serious in view of the fact that Egypt has been granted the privilege of becoming the terminal point of an important American airline, and thereby given an almost monopolistic position with respect to air traffic between this country and the Middle East. It can hardly have been the intention of this Government that Egypt should exploit its position in this respect in order to discourage, rather than to encourage international communications, or in order to exercise control over traffic between this country and the rest of the Middle East. I think it is not unreasonable to suggest that serious representations be made to the Egyptian authorities regarding the unwarranted character of their practice in this respect, and that unless Egypt modifies its attitude, this Government might recommend that the terminal of the PAA be moved from Egypt to some other spot in the Eastern Mediterranean where no such unwarranted interference would take place.

It is believed that such representations would be very much in keeping with the traditional policy of the American Government to discourage discriminatory practices. Speaking on behalf of a widespread organization in this country which attaches the greatest importance to the continuation of free and unhampered communications between the United States and Palestine, I would like to express the hope that you will agree to intervene in the interest of a satisfactory solution of this general issue, just as you agreed to intervene in the specific case which I had the honor to bring to your attention last week.

I would greatly appreciate an opportunity of discussing the matter with you in the course of a brief interview and would be grateful if you could let me know when it would be possible for you to receive me.

Respectfully yours,

Benjamin Akzin
Director, Washington Office
American Zionist Emergency Council

Enclosure

May 2, 1946

Mr. Harry Shapiro, Executive Director
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Shapiro:

In the course of our enlightenment campaign among columnists, I visited last night Sumner Welles, who kept me for an hour and a half.

He believes that the report is very bad and cannot understand how the American members, especially MacDonald and Crum, could have acquiesced in a report which says the exact opposite of what they believe to be true, except for the sake of reaching unanimity on the admission of the 100,000. He thinks that this was a great mistake on their part: insofar as American pressure will be exercised on Britain, he thinks that Britain would have to admit the 100,000 even if the report had not been unanimous. And if there is a way to wiggle out of admitting them, the British will wiggle out despite the unanimous recommendation. Because of the domestic situation in America, he thinks that sufficient pressure is likely to be exercised, and that, therefore, the 100,000 will come in.

In bringing about such pressure, a great deal depends, in his view, on the extent to which American public opinion will be aroused against the report. He wanted to know what is our official stand on it and why he had seen no statement of ours in the papers.

I told him that he will find the statement in today's press, and that it will be somewhat toned down because of our feeling that a lot depends now on the President's willingness to go to bat for the actual admission of the 100,000 and on his refusal to endorse the negative recommendations, and in order not to jeopardize the President's statement and his future activities. But there is no reason why our friends should not feel perfectly free in saying about the report whatever they feel. I gave him Hanson's analysis and my supplementary pages as background material.

Mr. Harry Shapiro May 2, 1946

He said that he will do his best to express his view of the report. It will be technically impossible for him to devote a column to this matter before the 15th, but then, as well as in his Baltimore speech on the 14th, he is going to deal with the matter.

In discussing the problem, Mr. Welles showed that he is still attached to the idea that arrangements should have been made in the past or at least now for the admission of large numbers of European Jews, together with non-Jewish displaced persons, in various countries of Latin America. I did my best to argue him out of it, but I think it essential that those of our friends who will see him in Baltimore should continue explaining to him the dangers of such a course.

Of the other points touched upon by Welles, I will only mention that he thinks that at present we should concentrate on the report and leave Transjordan alone. On the other hand, he thinks that the issue of the Egyptian visas should be forcefully kept alive and should be argued mainly on the basis of discriminatory practices undertaken against American citizens. He wanted to know more about this matter, and I promised to show him copies of our correspondence with the State Department on this question. Toward the end, Mr. Welles inquired particularly about Dr. Wise and asked whether he was coming to Washington one of these days.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:ow

Mr. Hyman A. Schulson May 3, 1946

Dr. Benjamin Akzin

During the week of April 21st, I spent practically all of my time seeing newspaper men, columnists, and radio commentators, indoctrinating them with the Zionist point of view preparatory to the issuance of the report of the Anglo-American Committee.

On April 30, after 2:00 P.M., pursuant to instructions from Dr. Akzin and Harry Shapiro, I personally distributed about 60 copies of the "Brief Analysis" of the "Report" to the leading newspaper men, columnists, and radio commentators and utilized the opportunity of stressing the important points of the "Analysis" which we wanted carried in their stories and comments. Miss Pierce and Mrs. Bobys of our office distributed the "Analysis" to about 30 other newspaper men. We all did this without revealing the source of the "Analysis", and when questioned about this source, we replied that it emanated from "Zionist experts". Practically all the people we contacted were delighted to receive the "Analysis" because it was most timely and presented the weaknesses of the "Report" very briefly and was of great help to them.

An examination of the newspaper and columnist stories which emanated from Washington will disclose that the "Analysis" was used as background material and was also quoted by James Reston of the New York Times and other stories.

I spent May 1, 2, and 3 seeing Barnet Nover, William P. Simms, Ed Harris of the St. Louis Post Dispatch, Walker S. Buel of the Cleveland Plain Dealer, and Baukhage, to thank them for their stories and to answer their questions with reference to the "Report".

Morris Schnapper of the American Council on Public Affairs telephoned me on May 2nd that he was planning to print a book containing the full text of the "Report" and public opinion, i.e., newspaper articles and editorial comment and columns, Congressional statements, statements by organizations, and important statements by Jews and Christians--both favorable and unfavorable to the "Report". He said that he had telephoned Dr. Emanuel Neumann in New York about his plan and that it had Dr. Neumann's general approval. Mr. Schnapper asked me to help him collect whatever newspaper articles, columns, and statements were made on the "Report". I shall extend to him whatever help I can.

Mr. Theodore Granik of the American Forum of the Air asked me to inquire whether the American Zionist Emergency Council and Hadassah would like to order any reprints of the transcript of the debate on Palestine on the American Forum of the Air, in which Mrs. Judith Epstein and Dr. Carl Voss and 2 Arabs participated. If quantities of this transcript are desired, I suggest that Mr. Shapiro and the Hadassah office communicate with Mr. Theodore Granik, American Forum of the Air, 1627 K Street, NW, Washington, D. C.

EXCERPT FROM "BAUKHAGE TALKING" BROADCAST OF WEDNESDAY, MAY 1, 1946

- 0 -

There was no celebration today at Zionist headquarters over the report of the Palestine Committee. No official report was available but a statement of criticism, said to be the opinion of a group of responsible Zionists, was issued. They consider the report favorable in three respects: 1) recommendation to admit 100,000 displaced Jews of Europe into Palestine; 2) repudiation of two British White Papers, thus making further Jewish immigration possible without Arab consent, and; 3) lifting of the ban on Jewish land purchase in a major part of Palestine.

These Zionists feel that there is much still to be desired since no comfort is offered to the rest of the million Jews in Europe who want to go to Palestine. They also say that the recommendation that Palestine be neither Jewish nor Arab, since it is also a Christian Holy Land, is repudiation of the very basis of the Balfour declaration and Palestine mandate which was supposed to give the Jews a nation of their own.

They say the "Christian interest" in Palestine spoken of in the report really means the interest of the British Empire. They don't like taxing the Jews to raise the Arab standard of living. These and others, comprise the 14 points of objection raised by the unofficial Zionist statement.

According to reports from New York a number of Jewish leaders there praised the report.

As to the Arabs -- their office in Jerusalem said the affect of the report would be to drive the entire middle east into the bosom of Soviet Russia. A symbolic protest strike by Arabs is expected throughout Palestine tomorrow or Friday.

The Secretary General of the Arab League in Cairo said his group would take all measures to prevent the report from being accepted. The head of the Moslem League in New Delhi calls the report a betrayal of promises made to the Arabs.

All of which makes understandable the plaint of the London Daily Mail that "no immediate prospect is held out that the United States or other nations will share with Britain the cost, sacrifice of life, and odium which rule in Palestine inevitably entails.

Most of the other British papers voiced a qualified approval of the report. It might be modestly mentioned that the U.S. is bearing considerable expense and will probably come in for their share of odium in connection with the remaining Jews unable to leave the American Zone in Germany.

- 0 -

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS:
Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

WASHINGTON BUREAU
1720 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Michigan 4480 ZONE 9

May 6, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
19810 Shaker Boulevard
Shaker Heights
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

At Mr. Shapiro's request, I address to you this summary report of the conversation I had this morning with the new Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Krug. The purpose of my visit was to ask for his friendly intervention if and when the Palestine question should come before the Cabinet. I gave him a summary of our need for Palestine, of the legal situation, of the British attitude, and of the answers to the various objections raised against us (oil, Russia, military complications, United Nations, absorptive capacity). The Secretary assured me that he favors us. He was particularly interested in the reasons which I gave him and which showed why America does not need to fear a pro-Russian orientation on the part of the Arabs. Since he is known to be interested in the power development projects in this country, we discussed this matter at some length, and he believed it important that we should carry out or at least develop in blue-print the development projects prior to the mass immigration into Palestine, so as to make impossible any argument that Jewish immigration is bringing chaos into Palestine economy.

The Secretary pointed out specifically that he very much disliked those recommendations of the Inquiry Committee which may be interpreted as meaning permanent American responsibility for the defense of Palestine. He thinks that any such idea would do us a great deal of harm in this country, and that we ought to find a formula which would make such special responsibility on the part of the United States unnecessary. I replied that at present there is no need to call on American troops, since the British can rely on Jewish manpower and since the Arabs are in no position to do any real damage; and that in the future, the defense of a Jewish Palestine against aggression would be neither more nor less an international responsibility than that of any other small country under the United Nations Charter.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver May 6, 1946

The Secretary said that the President had already discussed the Report of the Palestine Committee at a recent meeting of the Cabinet and had stated that, in his view, the 100,000 should be admitted, and that this should represent only a first small step in the right direction. I asked to what extent the Secretary had the feeling that the President is quite convinced that no valid objections exist against this policy. The Secretary replied that, in his view, the President was not quite certain that the policy which he advocated was not open to serious objections on the grounds of international policy, and advised us to take steps to explain to the President our reasons for believing that such objections cannot be validly raised.

After leaving the Secretary, I had a pleasant talk with our friend, Mr. Joel Wulfson, the Assistant Commissioner of Lands, who was very close to Mr. Ickes and is still closer to Mr. Krug.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:cw

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS:
Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

WASHINGTON BUREAU
1720 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Michigan 4480

May 6, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
19810 Shaker Boulevard
Shaker Heights
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

As I informed you over the telephone, I had a lengthy talk on May 4th with Mr. Oscar Cox. We planned our talk around the question of the Egyptian visas, but the discussion veered to the problem which, we both felt, is rapidly becoming the most dangerous and urgent one -- the problem of the Arab appeal to the United Nations. Since we were in substantial agreement on this point, there is no need to go into our analysis of the situation other than to refer you to my memorandum of today's date in which this analysis is fully set out.

What we considered mainly was the kind of immediate preventive action that would preclude any formal or informal commitments on the part of our Government to go along with the suggested appeal before they have heard from us. As you know, we have devised the following plan of immediate action: Mr. Cox will try to explain the position within the next 48 hours or so to Mr. Niles for the benefit of the President, to Mr. Acheson for the State Department, as well as to Mr. Wilder Foote, the closest adviser of Mr. Stettinius, the American representative on the Security Council. At the same time, Professor Handler, who is well-acquainted with Stettinius, would try to convey the position to him and to Abe Feller, the American General Counsel of the United Nations.

The point is that we are fully within our rights in discussing the problem with representatives of the White House and the State Department. But to try to reach the American delegate on the Security Council directly and over the heads of the American Government is a somewhat extraordinary procedure and can only be justified because of our fear that the American delegate might commit himself before he had time to get instructions from his Government; this is why the approach to Stettinius has to be along the lines of personal and informal conversations conducted by people who are friendly with him or with his closest adviser.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver May 6, 1946

As you know, I telephoned you immediately after my conversation with Cox on the 4th, and it was only after your approval of that program that I asked Professor Handler to act in this matter.

You will have noticed that these urgent matters are taken only with reference to the American Government and the American Delegation in the UNO. Nothing is being done by us, of course, with regard to foreign delegations in the UNO, or the UNO as a whole, since this would fall under the jurisdiction of the Jewish Agency.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:ow

WRHS AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS:
Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

WASHINGTON BUREAU
1720 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Michigan 4480 ZONE 9

May 6, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
19810 Shaker Boulevard
Shaker Heights
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

The attached memorandum has been prepared by me as a result of the discussion at the meeting of the Executive Committee on May 3rd.

The procedure suggested under I is largely based on that discussion. The suggestions put together under II represent mainly my own analysis of the situation, reinforced by the talk I had on the 4th with Oscar Cox.

I should like to emphasize that the idea of postponing for the time being a direct request of an Export-Import Bank loan stems from Mr. Cox.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:cw
Encl.

MEMORANDUM

May 6, 1946

SUGGESTIONS FOR A PROGRAM OF ACTION

FOR SUBMISSION TO THE PRESIDENT AND OTHER GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

I. 1. We do not identify ourselves with the Report and reserve to ourselves the right to criticize and combat its recommendations and incidental statements.

2. We continue to express our utmost appreciation of the position taken by the President in his statement and assure him of our gratitude.

3. We accept fully the President's division between the immediate recommendations (admission of 100,000 and abrogation of White Paper, the latter involving abolition of land restrictions and principle of immigration without need of Arab consent) and the long-range objectives.

NOTE: If questioned, we should explain that we fully agree that the lifting of Arab economic and educational standards is desirable, but do not commit ourselves to the detailed views of the Committee which make the lifting of such standards a Jewish responsibility and a burden on Jewish taxation. However, we do not take the initiative, at this point, in raising the question.

4. We urge the President to continue pressing for the immediate physical transfer of 100,000 Jews to Palestine, rejecting any conditions and tie-up with the other recommendations of the Committee.

5. We ask for "American help" in connection with such admission, this help to take two forms: (a) technical assistance in providing actual transportation with the help of Army rolling stock, trucks, and transports; (b) diplomatic assistance by having American representatives in Great Britain and the Middle East instructed to convey to local governments the knowledge that the United States favors this movement.

We take the view that such help is all that the United States must do in compliance with the recommendations of the Committee and all that the British Government is reasonably entitled to ask for.

6. It is best not to raise at this point the question of an Export-Import Bank loan for development purposes. To do so now would mean that we have to ask the President to do something which might be somewhat embarrassing to him, thus running the risk of dampening his ardor all along the line. In addition, if we raise the question of the loan in connection with the 100,000, this can be interpreted as meaning that unless the loan is forthcoming, the 100,000 cannot be absorbed; we would thereby risk making the admission of the 100,000 dependent on the grant of a hypothetical loan. It is far better to reserve the question of the loan until a later date, where it could be advanced as a stimulus and argument to get British consent to additional Jewish immigrants over and above the first 100,000.

7. Whenever the question of military assistance comes up, we must be careful not to hedge on it. This would give the impression that such military assistance will be required, but that we don't want to admit it.

We must state emphatically that there is no need for American military assistance for the following reasons:

(a) As long as the British have full control of Palestine, in their capacity as sole Mandatory, they should bear the sole responsibility for maintaining peace. What they try to get from us is to share the responsibility without sharing the authority -- an indefensible request.

(b) The position might differ should the British ever consent to a joint trusteeship or a direct United Nations Trusteeship over Palestine. If so, the responsibility for maintaining peace would be shared by all those Powers or international agencies which would have authority over the country.

(c) If the British request for military assistance is meant to have the United States underwrite an anti-Jewish policy -- America would not lend itself to this purpose. If, on the other hand, American assistance is sought to help keep down Arab unrest in connection with the actual admission of Jewish refugees, American troops for this purpose are not needed. The British would have at their disposal, for this purpose, in addition to the 100,000 British troops now in Palestine, the Jewish formations in the British Army (Jewish Brigade, etc.), as well as any number of Jewish youth in Palestine which could be organized under British officers to ensure their disciplined behavior.

(d) If Britain is perturbed over the possibility of large-scale Arab unrest in Palestine, it is up to her to reduce the likelihood of such unrest by ceasing to favor the resumption of political activities and the immunity from past acts of treason of such figures as Jamal Husseini and the former Mufti of Jerusalem. As long as Britain encourages the activities of these elements, it cannot reasonably ask America to assist militarily in the suppression of an unrest which Britain's own policy is helping to encourage.

(e) As far as hostile action of Arabs from surrounding countries against Palestine is concerned, an analysis of their military impotence and lack of logistic opportunities should be emphasized along the lines expressed in Akzin's and Lourie's memoranda of last October. In any case, either the British troops now in Palestine or the Jewish manpower available on the spot and commanded by British officers should be amply sufficient to take care of that threat.

(f) Insofar as American troops are meant to demonstrate to the Arabs complete American solidarity with Britain regarding the immediate admission of 100,000 Jews, this purpose has already been achieved by the President's statement and would be further enhanced if American diplomatic representatives abroad were instructed to make plain this attitude of the United States.

II. The most important obstacle facing us is the likelihood of an appeal to the United Nations Security Council to consider the situation in Palestine, resulting from the Report of the Committee, as a threat to international peace or as a dispute or situation apt to disturb international relations, within the meaning of the Charter. I believe that the present Arab talk about war which, of course, they have no way of waging, is merely a preparation for such an appeal. It must be considered that the appeal would not embrace only the long-range recommendations of the Committee, but would particularly specify that the admission of the 100,000 Jews would represent the danger to peace against which the appellants would protest.

Despite the talk of a Russian initiative, it is more likely that the appeal would be introduced by Egypt on behalf of the Arab members of the United Nations. The burden of their appeal would be that pending a study of the problem by the Security Council, no effect be given to any recommendations of the Inquiry Committee, and that efforts would be made to extend such a study up to the point where it will merge with a future consideration of the terms of a Palestine trusteeship, thus shelving the immediate recommendations of the Inquiry Committee.

We cannot count on Britain opposing this request. Nor can we count on Russia's opposition to it. On the contrary, aside from Russia's desire to appear as the friend of the Arabs, the Soviet Government was indignant about the Anglo-American attempt to settle the Palestine question by a bi-partite procedure, by-passing Russia, and would be only too happy to show that this attempt has failed and that nothing can be done concerning Palestine without Russian cooperation. Because of this, the Russians may even accede to the Arab request and take the initiative of presenting the appeal. But they are practically certain to support the request for a United Nations examination of the Palestine situation.

The following tactics would seem to offer the best chance of coping with this danger:

The U. S. delegates in the Security Council should be asked to recommend the same division of the Report's recommendations which was adopted in President Truman's statement. They should consent to a United Nations study of the long-range proposals of the Committee, linking it up with the forthcoming British submission of a trusteeship draft for Palestine to the United Nations; but should take the view that the immediate admission of 100,000 Jews and the abrogation of the land laws are within the jurisdiction of Britain as the Mandatory and that, on the basis of ~~his~~ the President's statement of last week, and on the basis of the joint inquiry conducted in the interval, such immediate measures do not represent any threat to international peace and, therefore, delaying their execution would be unwarranted.

If this point of view could be made to prevail, it would present the added advantage of getting President Truman out of the difficult position in which he put himself by implicitly promising in his statement to make a decision about the long-range recommendations of the Committee at some future date. President Truman could then argue that the long-range recommendations of the Committee should become material for consideration for the United Nations in connections with its examination of the terms of the future trusteeship.

Procedurally, such a conclusion would be favored by the provisions of the Charter. Under the Charter, a majority vote, including the unanimous vote of the Big Five is required for the acceptance rather than for the rejection of an appeal to place a situation or a dispute on the agenda. Thus, the United States, by agreeing to place one part of the appeal on the agenda but by refusing to give consideration to another part of the appeal, could effectively restrict the area of the appeal to the so-called long-range recommendations only. To take

the edge from such a unilateral position of the United States, our representatives could informally suggest to the Government that, among others of the Big Five, the Chinese representatives could easiest be induced to support this kind of a division, thereby avoiding the unpleasant connotations of a veto by one Power. I take it that our representatives will do their utmost to see to it that a few of the non-permanent members of the Security Council would go along on this basis. Australia, Poland, and Mexico would probably be our best bets. The help of the Prime Minister of New Zealand would have to be enlisted in getting Australian cooperation.

The position outlined here would appear reasonable to American public opinion inasmuch as it does not rule out entirely the Arab appeal: it merely provides for the consideration, in an orderly fashion, of the long-range and political questions involved, while excepting those recommendations which American public opinion has recognized as either urgent humanitarian measures (admission of 100,000) or as correcting a manifest unlawful practice by the Mandatory (abrogation of land laws). Should the above procedure prove not unfeasible, the next best line of defense would be American consent to a sub-committee of the Security Council, which would be instructed to report, within a very brief period of time, whether and to what extent the Arab appeal should be placed on the agenda, prior to a consideration by the Council of the merits of the appeal. In that sub-committee, the American representative, supported by the representatives of the other countries suggested above, ought to try to divide the subject along the same lines as suggested above, inviting a consideration of the long-range recommendations at a later date, when the trusteeship draft will be submitted, but rejecting the contention that the immediate measures represent any threat to peace.

This is the last line of defense available to us on the United Nations front. Anything less than that is bound to compromise our position most grievously.

It is suggested that this situation be explored by leaders of American Zionism in friendly discussions with the United States Government and the American Delegation to the Security Council. It is important to forewarn them against the fatal consequences of any error of judgment on their part in dealing with the Arab appeal, which might be expected any day. Failure on our part to do so immediately may result in the American Government committing itself to some line of comprehensive UNO inquiry into the Palestine situation, and thereafter it would be far more difficult for it to reverse its attitude.

It is, therefore, suggested that the President, Mr. Acheson, and Mr. Stettinius be acquainted with the implications of this problem without the slightest delay.

At the same time, if this line is considered a correct one, representatives of the Jewish Agency could take up the matter with the Chinese, Polish and other delegations with a view to securing their support. As far as the Chinese are concerned, they would probably go along if they were informally assured beforehand that the United States Government is going to take the same attitude.

III. In the present situation, it might be best to confine our direct discussions with the President and with other Government officials to the merits of the Palestine problem. Further mention by us of the domestic political implications of the American attitude, in connection with the November elections, etc., should better be avoided for the moment. At the same time, our Democratic friends on the Hill should be encouraged to continue stressing that aspect of the situation, and people like Hannegan, Niles, etc., should be made aware of the fact that the mere fact that the President has gone on record favoring immediate admission would not undo Jewish feeling of dissatisfaction, but that this feeling will only be alleviated by the actual physical admission of the refugees.

AKJm

May 7, 1946

Mr. Harry Shapiro, Executive Director
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Shapiro:

Further to my letter to Dr. Silver of yesterday's date, I want to inform you that Mr. Cox has discussed the matter of an Arab appeal to the United Nations both in the White House and in the State Department. In the White House, he contacted two men, one of whom was Mr. Niles.

Mr. Cox has good reason to believe that the need for adequate instructions to the American representative on the Security Council has been explained already to the President and to Mr. Acheson.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BAkzw

May 7, 1948

Mr. Harry Shapiro, Executive Director
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Shapiro:

Further to my conversation with Henderson about the Egyptian visas, I spoke last night to Mr. Merriam of the State Department, who has the matter in hand. He informed me that the Egyptian Consul General in New York is again holding up the visas of two groups of Jewish visitors to Palestine, one of them going under the auspices of Mr. Seisgel. Merriam is again taking up the matter with the Egyptian Minister in an attempt to clear up the trouble.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:ow

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS:
Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

WASHINGTON BUREAU
1720 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Michigan 4480 ZONE 9

May 7, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Dr. Silver:

Judging by press reports, the Arabs contemplate raising the issue of the Palestine Mandate before the International Court.

If true, this is a Godsend to us. Of all the possible arguments that can be made in our favor, the legal argument is by far the strongest. We would have sought a judicial interpretation of the Mandate long ago, but not being a government, we could not do so.

If the International Court is really going to get the Palestine issue, every effort ought to be made to gain for the Jewish Agency, as a party in interest, the right to present a brief and oral argument.

It is essential that the Agency case be well prepared by people well versed in international law, as well as in our problem. With or without modesty, I most earnestly suggest that I be one of the people who should be asked to work on it. Others in this country who are well qualified to help are Dr. Jacob Robinson, Mr. Abraham Tulin, and Mr. Oscar Cox. I would also recommend engaging the services of Professor Philip Jessup, of Columbia University, to be of counsel. He is far better than either Mr. Dulles or anyone else whose name has been mentioned in our midst, and his reputation, though perhaps not known to our people, is far greater with the members of the International Court.

I would also advise against cluttering the legal issue by appointing too many people to work on the case whose knowledge of the specific problems involved is only tangential and who may easily confuse the problem instead of clarifying it.

Of the people outside of the country who, on the basis of my knowledge of the subject and the personalities involved could be very helpful in this connection, I would propose Mr. Leonard Stein of London and

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver May 7, 1946

Mr. Sperber, K. C., of Montreal. Despite the undoubted reputation and competence of Professor Lauterpacht of Cambridge University, I would emphatically advise against retaining his services, since his interpretation of Zionism is Magnesian at best.

As bases for elaborating our case, I would suggest the use of Mr. Tulin's pamphlet analyzing the Palestine Mandate, and of my article on "The Palestine Mandate in Practice" from the Iowa Law Review.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:ew
cc to:
Dr. Nahum Goldmann

WRHS
AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

May 14, 1946

Mr. Harry Shapiro, Executive Director
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Shapiro:

Enclosed please find copy of a letter received from Mr. Merriam, Chief of the Near Eastern Division of the Department of State, in reply to my letter to Acheson of April 30th. In connection with the recent discussion of the matter of Egyptian visas at the meeting of the Executive Committee, I would like to remind you of the formal letters exchanged between me and the Department of State in this matter, which letters you have in your possession. They are as follows:

my letter to Mr. Acheson of April 22;
Mr. Acheson's reply of April 22;
my letter to Mr. Acheson of April 30; and
Mr. Merriam's reply of May 8.

I again spoke to Mr. Merriam on the telephone yesterday, and he informed me that instructions have been dispatched to the American Delegation in Cairo to obtain from the Egyptian Government a satisfactory settlement of the transit visas question. Merriam gave me to understand that the Legation has been instructed to represent to the Egyptians that the matter involves the issue of freedom of travel by American citizens and that, should the Egyptians fail to modify their stand, this Government would consider the need of splitting the air route to the Near East by providing an alternative terminal, and of taking a similar stand in connection with various shipping routes now envisaged, thus depriving Egypt of the advantages which it would enjoy if it were on the main terminal line of American air and shipping lines in the Near East.

He also told me what you probably know already, namely, that thanks to Mr. Henderson's personal efforts, the S. S. Volcania has been routed to Palestine. Since I have the unpleasant task of frequently engaging

Mr. Harry Shapiro

May 14, 1946

in rather acrimonious discussions with Henderson, I would like to take this occasion to send him a very polite note of thanks on behalf of the Zionist movement in this country. Please ask Dr. Bernstein to let me have enough details about the Volcania incident as to enable me to write such a note intelligently.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:cw

WRHS
AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

COPY

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

May 8, 1946

Dear Mr. Akzin:

I was very glad to receive by reference from Mr. Acheson, your letter of April 30, and to learn that the matter of the Egyptian transit visas for the group of American businessmen en route to Palestine had been satisfactorily settled.

You may be sure that the Department of State is giving careful consideration to the various aspects of the problem raised by the Egyptian attitude towards the travel of American citizens through Egypt to Palestine.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Gordon P. Merriam

Gordon P. Merriam
Chief
Division of Near Eastern Affairs

Mr. Benjamin Akzin,
Director, Washington Office,
American Zionist Emergency Council,
1720 Sixteenth Street, Northwest,
Washington, D. C.

May 14, 1946

Mr. Harry Shapiro, Executive Director
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Shapiro:

One day last week I had an hour's conversation with Harold Young, the Solicitor of the Department of Labor, Commerce and Secretary Wallace's right hand. It was a very useful conversation in the sense that I was able to explain to Young the details of the present situation.

Yesterday I saw Secretary Wallace, who told me that the Palestine issue was never raised at any Cabinet meeting which he attended, and that of all recent Cabinet meetings, he was absent at only one. He doubts whether the President will bring up the matter at one of the meetings, since all Presidents have a tendency to avoid discussing controversial questions at Cabinet meetings. We went over the main points of the present situation, and he was interested in our reasoning as to why American soldiers are not needed in Palestine. That the Arabs are afraid of the Russians and their talk about a Russian orientation is only a bluff is something which he had already figured out for himself.

He showed me a memorandum which he had given to Henry Ford, III, a few days ago favoring the Jordan Valley Authority. In this memorandum, Wallace says that the Jews have as much right to a state of their own as any other people, but that this is not the issue. The issue is that even after 100,000 Jews are admitted to Palestine, a million and a half still face ruin unless they can go to Palestine; and that if a Jordan Valley Authority is established, the Greater Palestine Area could eventually absorb this million and a half Jews in addition to raising the economic standards of the Arabs and in freeing them from their feudal masters. I was promised a copy of that memorandum, which I will send you as soon as I have it.

Mr. Wallace remarked that Roosevelt was not very keen on Zionism, that, to put it plainly, he was not a Zionist, and that Truman may be expected to favor Zionism much more than the late President, because there

Mr. Harry Shapiro May 14, 1946

is so much Senatorial feeling in favor of Zionism. In this connection I remarked that even he, Wallace, does not express himself on Palestine as strongly as a man of his character would ordinarily, and that I am very anxious to discuss with him those doubts and mental reservations which prevent him from identifying himself with Zionism more clearly. He said that as long as Jews are divided on this question, he cannot take it upon himself to decide that he is a Zionist.

After leaving Wallace, I went in to see Harold Young once more, who told me that Wallace is scheduled to speak soon in Brooklyn and who left me with a clear impression that he is working to get Wallace back into the Presidential picture.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:ow

WRHS
AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

May 14, 1946

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American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

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Mr. Harry Shapiro May 14, 1948

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Benjamin Akzin

BA:ow

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS:
Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

WASHINGTON BUREAU
1720 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Michigan 4480

May 14, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
19810 Shaker Boulevard
Shaker Heights
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Pursuant to our conversation of last week concerning the Transjordan resolution which Senator Myers has been meaning to introduce at Mr. Gillette's request, I want to inform you that I saw the Senator on Friday, May 10, when I argued with him that (a) the introduction of the resolution ought to be postponed until the question of the admission of 100,000 has been settled or at least is nearer settlement; and (b) ~~that~~ its wording is inaccurate and ought to be changed.

The Senator admitted the force of the reasons in favor of postponing the introduction of the resolution and said that he will consult me again before definitely deciding when to introduce it. In the meantime, he asked me to send a draft for a revised wording which he wanted to have by today.

I enclose copies of the original draft as well as of my changed version.

I do not think that I will be able to persuade the Senator to postpone the introduction of the resolution for any appreciable length of time. Indeed, should the question of the admission of the 100,000 become enmeshed in a lengthy procedure of American-British-Arab consultations, perhaps a resolution on Transjordan might serve a useful purpose as an additional gadfly and bargaining point. Anyhow, I will do my best to persuade him to wait awhile.

Since Judge Leventhal was very helpful in getting Senator Myers to agree to receive me, I am sending him copy of this report to keep him informed about the situation.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BAkes
Encls.

Original Draft (Gillette-Bergson?)

RESOLUTION INTRODUCED IN SENATE BY SENATOR FRANCIS J. MYERS (PA.) MAY 9, 1946

for

ARTHUR CAPPER (KANSAS); JOSEPH F. GUFFEY (PA.); EDWIN C. JOHNSON (COL.); BRIEN McMAHON (CONN.); WARREN G. MAGNUSON (WASH.); JAMES E. MURRAY (MONT.); CLAUDE PEPPER (FLA.); BOB LaFOLLETTE (WISC.); GLENN H. TAYLOR (IDAHO)

WHEREAS Article 7 of the Convention between the United States and Great Britain in regard to Palestine, dated December 3, 1924, provided that "nothing contained in the present convention shall be affected by any modification which may be made in the terms of the mandate, as recited above, unless such modification shall have been assented to by the United States" and

WHEREAS the Government of Great Britain without the assent of the Senate or the Government of the United States has, by unilateral action, attempted to terminate all the provisions of the Mandate over a large part of the Palestinian territory known as Transjordan by placing it under the rule of a potentate selected by Great Britain, and

WHEREAS the entire territory of Palestine has been entrusted to Great Britain by the League of Nations in order to facilitate its restoration as the national home of the Hebrew people, and

WHEREAS THE Government of Great Britain acted without consultation or consent of the United Nations thus violating Chapter XII of the United Nations Charter, now therefore be it

RESOLVED that it is the sense of the Senate of the United States that pending further constitutional action by the United States regarding Palestine, the Government of the United States is bound to continue to regard the territory known as Transjordan as part of the area included in the Mandate over Palestine, subject to all the provisions of the Convention of 1925, and be it further

RESOLVED that the Senate of the United States request the Executive Department to take no action which in any way recognizes the Transjordan area of Palestine as an independent state and that it so inform the United Nations, and that the United States representatives on that body be instructed to present the entire question of Palestine to the United Nations.

Akzin Draft

RESOLUTION INTRODUCED IN SENATE BY SENATOR FRANCIS J. MYERS (PA.) MAY , 1948

for

ARTHUR CAPPER (KANSAS); JOSEPH F. GUFFEY (PA.); EDWIN C. JOHNSON (COL.); BRIEN McMAHON (CONN.); WARREN G. MAGNUSON (WASH.); JAMES E. MURRAY (MONT.); CLAUDE PEPPER (FLA.); ROBERT M. LAFOLLETTE (WISC.); GLEN H. TAYLOR (IDAHO)

WHEREAS Article 27 of the Mandate for Palestine confirmed by the Convention between the United States and Great Britain in regard to Palestine, dated December 3, 1924, provided that "The consent of the Council of the League of Nations is required for any modification of the terms of this mandate"; and

WHEREAS Article 2 of the said Convention provided that "The United States and its nationals shall have and enjoy all the rights and benefits secured under the terms of the mandate to members of the League of Nations and their nationals, notwithstanding the fact that the United States is not a member of the League of Nations"; and

WHEREAS Article 7 of the said Convention provided that "Nothing contained in the present convention shall be affected by any modification which may be made in the terms of the mandate, as recited above, unless such modification shall have been assented to by the United States"; and

WHEREAS the rights enjoyed heretofore by the United States and the former members of the League of Nations in respect of the entire territory under the Palestine Mandate are safeguarded by Article 80 of the Charter of the United Nations which provides that "Except as may be agreed upon in individual trusteeship agreements, made under Articles 77, 79, and 81, placing each territory under the trusteeship system, and until such agreements have been concluded, nothing in this Chapter shall be construed in or of itself to alter in any manner the rights whatsoever of any states or any peoples or the terms of existing international instruments to which Members of the United Nations may respectively be parties"; and

WHEREAS pursuant to Article 25 of the Mandate for Palestine, the Government of Great Britain, by arrangements made in 1922 and 1923, has delegated some of its powers of administration over the larger part of Palestine known as Transjordan to a ruler selected by Great Britain, which arrangements did not, however, affect the character of Transjordan as an integral part of the territory under the Palestine Mandate; and

WHEREAS without obtaining the consent of either the Council of the League of Nations or of the United States and without concluding a trusteeship agreement for the territory under the Palestine Mandate in accordance with the provisions of the United Nations Charter, the Government of Great Britain has concluded an agreement with the British-selected ruler of the Transjordan area purporting to separate that area from the rest of Palestine and to set it up as an independent State, to terminate the Mandate with respect to that area, and to establish a special relationship between that area and Great Britain which would not be subject to international supervision, thereby violating the provisions of Chapter 12 of the Charter of the United Nations and American rights under the Convention of 1924; now therefore be it

RESOLVED that it is the sense of the Senate of the United States that pending further constitutional action by the United States regarding Palestine, the Government of the United States is bound to continue to regard the territory known as Transjordan as part of the area included in the Mandate over Palestine, subject to all the provisions of the Convention of 1924, and be it further

RESOLVED that the Senate of the United States request the Executive Department to take no action which in any way recognizes the Transjordan area of Palestine as a separate or independent state and that it so inform the United Nations, and that the United States representatives on that body be instructed to seek the postponement of the international determination of the status of the Transjordan area until such time as the future status of Palestine as a whole will be determined (in accordance with S. Con. Res. 44 and H. Con. Res. 113 of 1946).

May 16, 1946

Dr. Benjamin Akzin
American Zionist Emergency Council
1720 - 16th Street
Washington, D. C.

My dear Dr. Akzin:

The enclosed memorandum of Mr. Steinberg may be of interest to you in connection with the Resolution which Senator Myers is planning to introduce in the Senate on Transjordania. If he is determined to proceed, he may wish to introduce his Resolution on May 25.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:CR
Enc.

COPY

Form A.L.

DAY LETTER

MAY 18, 1946

HONORABLE DEAN ACHESON
ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

ON APRIL 30, 1946, THE PRESIDENT ISSUED A STATEMENT EXPRESSING HAPPINESS THAT HIS REQUEST FOR THE IMMEDIATE ADMISSION OF 100,000 JEWS INTO PALESTINE HAD BEEN UNANIMOUSLY ENDORSED BY THE ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY AND DECLARING THAT THE TRANSFER OF THESE UNFORTUNATE PEOPLE SHOULD NOW BE ACCOMPLISHED WITH THE MAXIMUM OF DISPATCH.

DESPITE THIS CLEAR AND UNEQUIVOCAL STATEMENT ON THE PART OF THE PRESIDENT WE NOW LEARN FROM REPORTS IN THE PRESS THAT THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ARAB STATES HAVE BEEN INFORMED BY YOU THAT IT IS THE INTENTION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO CONSULT WITH ARABS AND JEWS BEFORE TAKING ANY DEFINITE DECISION RELATIVE TO THE COMMITTEE'S REPORT. THIS PROPOSAL FOR CONSULTATION HAS BEEN WIDELY INTERPRETED AS APPLYING NOT ONLY TO THE LONG TERM RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE BUT ALSO TO THAT FOR THE IMMEDIATE ADMISSION OF THE HUNDRED THOUSAND DISPLACED AND STATELESS JEWS.

THE DECISION TO CONSULT WITH ARAB AND JEWISH LEADERS IS APPARENTLY BASED ON THE STATEMENT BY SECRETARY BYRNES OF LAST OCTOBER THAT THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT REACH FINAL CONCLUSIONS ON ANY PROPOSALS WHICH WOULD "CHANGE THE BASIC SITUATION IN PALESTINE" WITHOUT SUCH CONSULTATION. THAT STATEMENT WAS ISSUED AT A TIME WHEN THE PRESIDENT WAS PRESSING FOR THE IMMEDIATE ENTRY OF THE HUNDRED THOUSAND DISPLACED AND HOMELESS JEWS INTO PALESTINE AND IT WAS A CLEAR INFERENCE THAT FULFILLMENT OF THAT PROPOSAL TO WHICH REFERENCE WAS IN FACT MADE IN SECRETARY BYRNES' STATEMENT, WAS NOT TO BE REGARDED AS CHANGING THE "BASIC SITUATION" AND SHOULD NOT THEREFORE BE SUBJECT TO THE FURTHER CONSULTATION PROPOSED.

SO OBVIOUS INDEED DID THIS CONCLUSION APPEAR THAT IN THE COURSE OF A MEMORANDUM TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE DATED OCTOBER 23, 1945, OUR COUNCIL STATED AS FOLLOWS: "WE TAKE GRATEFUL NOTE THAT THE STATEMENT OF SECRETARY BYRNES INDICATES THAT MEASURES TO FACILITATE IMMIGRATION INTO PALESTINE OF SUBSTANTIAL NUMBERS OF THE SURVIVORS OF EUROPEAN JEWRY SHOULD, AND CAN BE UNDERTAKEN FORTHWITH, AND THAT SUCH

IMMIGRATION DOES NOT AFFECT THE 'BASIC SITUATION' IN PALESTINE."

WE ARE ASTONISHED AND DISMAYED THAT DESPITE THESE FACTS, DESPITE THE ADMITTEDLY URGENT NEED FOR ACTION TO RELIEVE THE TRAGIC PLIGHT OF THE JEWISH SURVIVORS OF THE NAZI TERROR, DESPITE THE LAPSE, FURTHER, OF MORE THAN EIGHT MONTHS FROM THE PRESIDENT'S INITIAL REQUEST TO THE PRIME MINISTER FOR THEIR ENTRY INTO PALESTINE, AND FINALLY DESPITE THE UNANIMOUS REPORT IN THIS CONNECTION OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY SUPPORTED BY THE PRESIDENT'S OWN UNQUALIFIED STATEMENT OF APRIL 30, INSTEAD OF IMMEDIATE ACTION TO IMPLEMENT THE RECOMMENDATION OF THE COMMITTEE THERE IS APPARENTLY GRAVE DANGER THAT UNDER COVER OF THE ALLEGED NEED FOR CONSULTATION THE WHOLE MATTER MAY BE FURTHER DELAYED AND CONFUSED.

WE ACCORDINGLY URGE THAT IT BE MADE IMMEDIATELY CLEAR THAT THE PROPOSED CONSULTATIONS DO NOT INVOLVE THE RECOMMENDATION OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY FOR THE IMMIGRATION FORTHWITH OF THE 100,000 JEWS; AND THAT OUR GOVERNMENT, WHICH GIVES ITS FULL SUPPORT TO THAT RECOMMENDATIONS, WILL ASSIST IN SECURING ITS FULFILLMENT AND LOOKS TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT FOR ITS PART, LIKEWISE TO DO WHATEVER LIES IN ITS POWER TO IMPLEMENT THIS RECOMMENDATION OF THE COMMITTEE. IN THE LIGHT OF THE PRESIDENT'S REPEATEDLY EXPRESSED DESIRE FOR ACTION ON THIS EVER MORE URGENT MATTER, ANY OTHER COURSE WOULD IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES BE INCOMPREHENSIBLE AND WE EARNESTLY ASK FOR AN IMMEDIATE PUBLIC ASSURANCE IN THIS REGARD.

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

STEPHEN S. WISE

JOINT CHAIRMEN

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

AL:lm

Hyman A. Schulson

Benjamin Akzin

May 22, 1946

I had lunch on Wednesday, May 22, 1946, with a close friend of mine at the State Department and discussed the latest State Department maneuver of delay in requesting briefs on the Palestine Report. My friend stated to me that President Truman has permitted the Near East Division of the State Department to take away and carry the ball and call the signals with reference to the Report. This was accomplished by Loy W. Henderson. Mr. Henderson sold Acheson on the proposition that the United States do nothing regarding the Report without consultation with Arab and other groups and recalled to Mr. Acheson Roosevelt's statement on Arab consultation in the Ibn Saud correspondence and reminded Acheson of State Department precedent of Arab consultation on Near East matters. Acheson then told Henderson to prepare a memorandum on the suggestion. Since all the technical details of drafting and so forth are handled by Henderson, Mr. Henderson prepared a memorandum for Mr. Acheson outlining the position of the United States Government, which Mr. Acheson released on May 21st. It was very clear to my friend that the White House has let action on the Palestine Report get out of its hands into the hands of the Near East Division of the State Department and has failed to carry the ball with respect to the 100,000.

HAS:cw

G. Selves

May 24, 1946

Mr. Harry Shapiro, Executive Director
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Shapiro:

In the course of my conversation yesterday with Senator Brewster (see my letter to today's date to Dr. Silver), the Senator asked me whether I knew Mr. Epstein and inquired about him and the Jewish Agency for Palestine whom he represents in Washington. I explained, of course, the relationship in which we stand to the Jewish Agency and the fact that it enjoys our full support and backing, and warmly recommended Mr. Epstein personally.

The Senator then told me about the interesting document on Saudi Arabia which Mr. Epstein gave him, and asked whether it would be safe to use it. I explained that Epstein is particularly well versed in Arabian questions, that he is a scholar, and that full reliance can be placed on any such document presented by him.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:cw

B. Silver

May 24, 1946

Mr. Harry Shapiro, Executive Director
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Shapiro:

Enclosed for your information is copy of a letter of mine which appeared in today's Washington Star.

There was more to it, but the editor of the Star cut away the rest.

This is all the publicity we got in the Washington press today. The railroad strike has taken up so much space that nothing appeared in the local press concerning yesterday's Conference.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:cw

Letters to The Star

Dr. Akzin Doubts Danger of War In the Near East

May 24, 1946

To the Editor of The Star:

Constantine Brown, in his column in The Sunday Star of May 19, has performed a veritable public service by bringing out in the open whisperings which have been going around Washington for a long time. The whisperers maintain that the entry of 100,000 Jews, or of any larger number of Jews, into Palestine would unleash a full-fledged war between Great Britain and all the Arab states; that Russia openly or discreetly would support the Arabs; that sizable American military contingents would be needed to support the British, and that, in the end, even these contingents would not suffice, and America would find itself involved in a major war for the sake of the Jews. As long as these fears never were stated openly, one could not refute them. Every State Department official to whom the matter was mentioned always professed to think nothing of it. Nevertheless, anonymous persons went on spreading the rumor, which was impossible to combat, as whispering campaigns usually are.

Without taking a personal position on this rumor, Mr. Brown at last has put it down in writing, and an open discussion of the points involved seems now in order.

In the form related in Mr. Brown's column, it is conceded that local Arab disorders in Palestine present no military problem, since British troops together with Jewish self-defense forces available on the spot are "sufficient to cope" with the situation. But even this concession represents a gross exaggeration. Arab disorders in Palestine during 1936-1938, supported as they were by the German and the Italian governments, never had more than 3,000 participants, equipped with small arms. Since British troops in Palestine number around 100,000 and the Jewish formations are said to be near the 70,000 mark, both incomparably better armed, this statement is like saying that a tank brigade "would be sufficient to cope" with a rifle company.

The plot, however, thickens with the threat that the "entire Middle East would become ablaze." Here again, it is conceded that "a division of British troops equipped with tanks and planes could control several hundred thousand natives who were provided with only rifles and a few machine guns." But even this statement tends to exaggerate the Arab military potential. Egypt, the most populated and developed Arab-speaking country, has an army of 22,000 ill-armed and ill-trained conscripts, without armor, without an air force and without warships. A full-fledged pro-Axis "war" waged by Iraq against Britain was suppressed easily by two British battalions in a couple of weeks. Saudi Arabian rifle-armed horsemen are very picturesque, but cannot be taken seriously in these days of mechanized warfare. A Syrian army is beginning to be formed, under British instructors. The Trans-Jordan "army" is commanded by British officers. No wonder that, when questioned on this point by the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry two months ago, the British commanding general in Palestine stated that, even if the British troops were to withdraw, the Jewish self-defense formations could hold the country against any combination of Arab forces for several years without any outside support.

Another bogey recorded by Mr. Brown concerns the danger that Arabs would obtain munitions from the Soviet Union, thereby augmenting their military potential. Since the only routes over which such munitions could reach the Arabs lie through pro-western Turkey, through British-garrisoned Iraq, or, on sea, through British-controlled ports, such as Alexandria, Port Said, Haifa, Beyrouth and Tripoli, it is difficult to see how this could be done unless the British wished it to happen.

In this analysis the political and economic factors also are of primary importance. The likelihood of a war against Britain and America on the part of the Arab states can be measured by the following facts: Trans-Jordan and Iraq are under effective British control, with British forces stationed there. The rulers of Iraq and Egypt derive tremendous benefits from British oil royalties, and the major part of Ibn Saud's income comes from British subsidies and American oil royalties. Most of those countries are dependent on the import of a great many necessities, including food, which can reach them only from British and American controlled sources and in British or American controlled ships. In addition, the ruling groups in all those countries are mortally afraid of any increase of Russian influence in that part of the world and look upon Britain and America as their only safeguards against this danger.

The reader now can form his own conclusions as to the likelihood of the Arab states beginning a "war" against one or both of the great western powers in of their call[illegible] Soviets to help them.

AKZIN.

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS:
Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

WASHINGTON BUREAU
1720 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Michigan 4480 ZONE 9

May 24, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
19810 Shaker Boulevard
Shaker Heights
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

In accordance with your suggestion, I put in writing the account of my conversation yesterday with Senator Brewster. The Senator said that he discussed the situation with Senator Vandenberg and obtained from him the following picture:

The consultations which are going on at present are not the most serious obstacle facing us. The British are bringing in a formal request for a considerable number of American troops to be stationed in Palestine, before the British could agree to admit the 100,000 Jews. The U. S. Government will thereupon ask General Eisenhower for a report on the number of troops deemed necessary for such an operation. The people in the War Department, who have already started thinking about it, will prepare a report indicating the need for two infantry divisions, two armored divisions, two fighter plane groups, and one mixed brigade (these are also the figures forecast by Constantine Brown in his article in the Washington Star of May 19). The War Department will add that under the draft program now contemplated, such troops could not be found, and that in order to make them available, the draft program of the United States would have to be especially broadened.

It is considered in British, as well as in unfriendly American Government circles, that when this fact is made public, public opinion will react violently against any further American involvement in the Palestine picture.

As we know from bitter experience, it is impossible for us to disabuse the minds of the chief military and diplomatic officers regarding this question after they have received so-called expert reports from their underlings. If this is done, they might indicate to their underlings that they would not stand for any biased reports or distortion of facts. But if we wait once more until the technical reports are in, we will again be licked.

beforehand.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

May 24, 1946

The key personalities in this connection are General Eisenhower, Secretary Patterson, and Dean Acheson.

Since Rabbi Bernstein, who is on good terms with General Eisenhower, is now abroad, I take the liberty of reminding you again of my suggestion made several weeks ago that Chaplain Nadich, who is also reputed to enjoy the respect of General Eisenhower, be asked to confer with him regarding this matter. Secretary of War Patterson would probably be best reached by some of the people who were associated with him during his work as United States Circuit Court Judge in New York. As for Acheson, Brewster is of the belief that Frankfurter would be the best man to explain to him the military situation.

If you agree to the suggestion that Mr. Frankfurter, Mr. Nadich, and some acquaintance of Secretary Patterson be asked to intervene, I would suggest that opportunity be given to me to explain in detail the technical arguments involved to all three gentlemen.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:ow

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS:
Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

WASHINGTON BUREAU
1720 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Michigan 4480 ZONE 9

March 26, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
19810 Shaker Boulevard
Shaker Heights
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I thank you very much for your letter of March 24. As soon as Senator Magnuson returns to Washington, I will try to arrange a meeting with him. As regards the letters to be written to Mr. Bromfield and Miss Chatterton, I am waiting to hear from Mr. Shapiro whether the letters will be written from the New York office or whether he wants me to write them.

I was very happy to see that you believe that one person ought to be made available immediately to visit a number of universities. I think that Mrs. Yarden would be the best person for this task, with Miss Sirkin as a second choice.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:ew

Benjamin Akzin

May 28, 1946

Harry Shapiro

I enclose the attached memorandum from Schulson for the attention of Lourie and anyone else who would be dealing with a formal letter to the Department of State.

I would also suggest that we drew the attention of the State Department to the fact that Acheson's note of May 17 to the Arab States merely promises to consult "before taking any definitive decision relative to the Committee's Report". If the State Department wants an out, it can interpret that promise as meaning that a definitive decision may not be rendered prior to consultation, but that an interim decision regarding a particular point in the Report may be rendered prior to such consultation.

Both my point and Schulson's point will probably lead to nothing, since the consultations have already been instituted. Our efforts should not be concentrated on dividing the Report as to action after consultations, rather than as to submitting it to consultation. I therefore send these memos to you without much hope that they will lead to anything.

BA:lgw

Hyman Schulson

Benjamin Akzin

May 28, 1946

In drafting the reply of the American Zionist Emergency Council's memorandum to the State Department's invitation to consult on the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry's Report, I suggest that the following legal argument be used in the text of the reply:

> Since the transference of 100,000 Jews as recommended by the Committee and previously by the President is a matter of such urgency and should proceed with greatest dispatch, the State Department should be urged to take action at once on the 100,000 purely on the grounds of "equity" in the legal sense. In law, there is a doctrine which invokes an immediate equitable remedy in extraordinary situations where time is of the essence and where delay in granting such equitable remedy may prejudice the substantial rights of the complaining party. Equity courts in such cases will grant relief immediately without discussing or considering the substantial questions raised by allied issues. This remedy is granted frequently in injunction cases and in contract cases involving specific performance and in all extraordinary situations where delay will prejudice the rights of the party aggrieved. The remedy at law in such cases is inadequate and too long-drawn out, and that is why a court acts quickly in order to do justice and equity. Similarly, we should argue that the immediate entry of 100,000 Jews is based on principles of equity and should be accorded an appropriate immediate equitable remedy in view of the conditions under which these 100,000 are now living and in view of the urgent need for immediate action to relieve the tragic plight of the Jewish survivors of Nazi terror.

This argument could be used in addition to the "change in the basic situation in Palestine" argument used in the letter to Dean Acheson on May 18, 1946.

I advance this equitable theory because it is one which might appeal to lawyers like Byrnes and Acheson and others who might read our memorandum.

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS:
Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

WASHINGTON BUREAU
1720 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Michigan 4480 ZONE 9

May 31, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
19810 Shaker Boulevard
Shaker Heights
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Since my report of May 24 concerning the request for American troops and asking in accordance with your telephonic instructions, I have asked Eliahu Epstein to inform Mr. Mowrer of this matter, while ~~you~~ Ben Horin to do the same thing with George Fielding Elliot, and while trying myself to get the stuff to Pearson. Incidentally, at late reports, none of us was as yet able to do so.

In the meantime, Epstein telephoned me last night to tell me that, according to his information, the British request has already been made and that they asked specifically for two and a half divisions of American troops. According to Epstein, the officials in the United States War Department to whom the request was referred replied that, in their opinion, there is no need for additional American troops. On the basis of this information, Epstein suggested to me that we should withhold communicating the story to the press until we learn more about it.

Leo Sack and I lunched today with Constantine Brown, one of the best informed newspaper men in Washington. He gave us a somewhat different picture. According to him, it is true that the British have made such a request, but that thereupon, the President merely asked the War Department whether this number of troops can be made available. The reply of the War Department dealt with this specific issue only and stated that there are no such troops available unless the country extends its draft program. He added that various experts in the War Department believe that there is no need for any American troops since the British have enough on hand to keep the situation under control but, having never been asked to give their opinion on this point, they did not include it in their official reply. (--Brown added that another question submitted by the British to our Government was whether we are ready to face a revolt of the Moslem world from Morocco to India and to send the necessary number of troops. According to him, the number of troops necessary to subdue such a revolt would amount to 2 million men.)

To be on the safe side, I think we ought to take Brown's version as correct. In any case, I think that we should not postpone for one single moment our efforts to draw the attention of the press to the fact that the British are trying to lull our Government into inactivity by a request for large numbers of American troops when the truth is that no such troops are needed. It is more essential, to my mind, to put this argument before the public as early as possible than to fill in some lacking details later on.

Incidentally, Schulson discussed the subject today with Mr. Reston of the New York Times who suggested that Hanson Baldwin should also be acquainted with the story. I will telephone tomorrow to Ben Horin to convey the suggestion to him.

You will have received today's letter from Leo Sack concerning Senator Kilgore's conversation with the President. Leo also succeeded in getting Senator Wheeler to agree to send a letter to the President and to Secretary Byrnes regarding the situation. At Leo's request, I am preparing a draft of the letter, which Leo will take to the Senator tomorrow.

Gilbert phoned me today to ask that I communicate to you the latest developments regarding the loan situation. In order that the details of that important question should not get lost in transit, I suggested that he should telephone directly. You will probably have heard from him before you get this letter.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:ec

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL • 1720 SIXTEENTH STREET, N. W. • WASHINGTON 9, D. C.

MEMORANDUM

FROM Benjamin Akzin **DATE:** June 10, 1946

TO: Dr. Silver

SUBJECT:

Supplementing today's earlier memoranda, I have just found out from an unimpeachable source that Grady's appointment has nothing at all to do with the admission of the 100,000. This question will be dealt with by the delegation to London which will be in direct communication with the Departments of State and War.

Mr. Grady is to be appointed as a substitute for Secretary Byrnes on the Cabinet committee which is to consider the other nine recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee. Since he will act for the Secretary of State, the senior of the three secretaries, Mr. Grady will in effect be the Deputy Chairman of the committee.

Mr. Grady has informed an acquaintance that he expects to finish the job within 60 days. I am afraid that the long-range recommendations are threatening to become more immediate than the short-range recommendation.

B.A.

June 11, 1946

Mr. Harry Shapiro, Executive Director
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Shapiro:

I want to confirm in writing the information which I gave you orally last week: it has been confirmed to me on most reliable authority that the British request for 2½ Divisions of American troops was considered by American military authorities, and that they came to the conclusion that the British have more than enough forces to cope with any possible Middle Eastern problem, that the military strength of the Arabs is negligible, and that there is, therefore, no need for any American troops to be sent to that part of the world.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:cw

Benjamin Aksin

June 12, 1946

Harry Shapiro

It strikes me that my Washington reports, involving as they do a great deal of extremely confidential material, should not be circulated in the New York office on the same basis as the reports on organizational activities which make up most of your daily mail file. I think that they ought to be read only by the top officials of the office, who may have to deal with political matters.

I hope you will agree with this thought. If you don't, I think I ought to reduce my reports so considerably that they would not tell the story at all. Since these are the same reports which go to Dr. Silver, and since it is extremely inadvisable to use the long-distance telephone for indiscreet revelations, that would mean that you, as well as the heads of the Movement, would get a rather unsatisfactory picture of the situation.

In the meantime, I will send this and the rest of my reports to you in an envelope marked "Personal".

BA:ow

Dr. Silver -
Don't you think so, too?
B. A.

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS:
Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

WASHINGTON BUREAU
1720 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Michigan 4480 ZONE 9

June 12, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
19810 Shaker Boulevard
Shaker Heights
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Congressman Celler spoke to me today to complain about the fact that when it comes to large-scale public meetings in New York, he is never invited to speak.

I think the Congressman has a very justifiable complaint. He is, without doubt, by far the most actively pro-Zionist member of Congress, who fights on our behalf whenever we ask him and quite often without waiting to be asked. Because of this, we should have understanding for his feeling of being hurt because he is always overlooked when it comes to calling applause and taking the bows in public. After all, he is a politician who needs this and who richly deserves it.

I do hope that in the very near future he will be asked to speak at a Madison Square Garden meeting should such a meeting take place under our auspices. Please let me know whether I can give him encouraging words to that effect.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:cw

Benjamin Akzin June 14, 1946

Harry Shapiro

Pursuant to Manson's request over the telephone, I have arranged for the sending of a cable by Senators Wagner and Mead to Mr. Bevin. The draft which Manson gave me was slightly changed by the Senators, but I think that in its final form it is just as good.

The text of the cable is being released tomorrow morning on behalf of Senators Wagner and Mead.

Enclosed please find copy of the cable and of the release.

BA:ew
Encls.

WRHS
AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

June 14, 1946

Dr. Benjamin Akzin
American Zionist Emergency Council
1720 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Washington 9, D.C.

My dear Dr. Akzin:

I agree with you that the memoranda which you sent to me of a confidential nature should not be indiscriminately circulated in the New York office. I think that Mr. Shapiro ought to arrange for a more confidential circulation of important material. I shall keep in mind what you wrote to me about Congressman Celler.

I believe that the first approach to Mr. Grady ought to be carefully planned. Perhaps there should accompany you also someone like Robert Nathan who would represent the technical angle, along with one other who would represent the American Jewish Conference.

I am waiting to receive from Mr. Oscar Cox, with whom I spoke this morning, the draft of a statement which could be issued by a impressive number of U. S. Senators expressing their indignation at the delay, etc. As soon as I get the report, I will get in touch with you and Mr. Leo Sack.

President Truman's statement this afternoon is helpful. The British Foreign Office, judging by newspaper accounts, is also trying to soften Mr. Bevins' blow and has neutralized the categorical character of his pronouncement.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:HK

RIGHT HONORABLE EARNEST BEVIN
FOREIGN OFFICE
DOWNING STREET
LONDON, ENGLAND

JUNE 14, 1946

AS UNITED STATES SENATORS ELECTED BY THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK, WE ARE SHOCKED BY YOUR RECENT PUBLISHED STATEMENT THAT AGITATION IN THE UNITED STATES FOR THE ENTRY OF 100,000 JEWS AROSE BECAUSE "THEY DID NOT WANT TOO MANY OF THEM IN NEW YORK". WE ARE AMAZED THAT THIS FALSE AND ANTI-SEMITIC UTTERANCE SHOULD COME FROM A LEADER OF THE BRITISH LABOR PARTY WHOSE POLICIES WE HAVE ALWAYS ADMIRED. THIS ECHO FROM NAZI DOGMA IS A MOCKERY OF THE DECENT PRINCIPLES

(cont'd)

CABLE TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE EARNEST BEVIN JUNE 14, 1946

FOR WHICH OUR TWO PEOPLES WAGED WAR. SUCH A GRATUITOUS INSULT WILL NOT BE EXCUSED OR FORGOTTEN BY THE FAIR-MINDED PEOPLE OF OUR STATE AND OF EVERY STATE, -- MEN AND WOMEN OF EVERY CREED, RACE AND COLOR WHO HAVE SHED THEIR BLOOD AND PARTICIPATED IN GENEROUS AND COMRADELY AID TO BRITAIN, IN THE COMMON CAUSE OF WINNING THE WAR AND THE PEACE. NOR CAN THEY SQUARE YOUR REPUDIATION OF THE UNANIMOUS RECOMMENDATION OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY, ITSELF ESTABLISHED AT BRITAIN'S SUGGESTION, WITH YOUR OWN EARLIER DECLARATION TO THE COMMITTEE IN LONDON THAT A UNANIMOUS REPORT WOULD RESULT IN THE IMMEDIATE IMPLEMENTATION OF ITS RECOMMENDATION. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE OVERWHELMINGLY BELIEVE THAT LAME EXCUSES AND NEW CONDITIONS, INCONSISTENT WITH THE PLEDGES OF THE MANDATE AS WELL AS THE RECENT COMMITTEE REPORT, ARE ESPECIALLY UNBECOMING TO THOSE SPOKESMEN LIKE YOURSELF WHO JUSTLY EMPHASIZE THE INTEGRITY OF INTERNATIONAL UNDERTAKINGS AND THE SANCTITY OF HUMAN RIGHTS AT THE BAR OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AND OPINION. WE SUBMIT THAT YOUR STATEMENT WAS HARDLY COMPATIBLE WITH THE FRIENDLY UNDERSTANDING THAT SHOULD EXIST BETWEEN OUR TWO PEOPLES.

ROBERT F. WAGNER
JAMES M. MEAD
UNITED STATES SENATORS

Benjamin Akzin

June 14, 1946

Harry Shapiro

Enclosed please find copy of the letter which was sent June 12th by Congressman Sabbath to the President.

The letter has also been published in yesterday's Congressional Record.

BA:ow

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AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

COPY

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES U.S.

Committee on Rules

Washington, D. C.

June 12, 1946

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:

There has just been brought to my attention the following dispatch by the Reuters News Agency from London:

"British Foreign Minister Ernest Bevin said today at the annual Labor Party Conference:

"'The agitation in the United States and particularly in New York for 100,000 Jews to be admitted to Palestine is caused by the desire not to have too many of them in New York."

An Associated Press dispatch further quoted the Foreign Minister as having said:

"If we put 100,000 Jews into Palestine tomorrow, I would have to put another division of British troops there. I am not prepared to do it".

This reckless and unjustifiable outburst with its alarming overtone of anti-Semitic bias cannot but alarm and disturb me and millions of other Americans; it would seem to forecast the refusal of the British Government to accept the recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, as the British government has refused to carry out the solemn promises of the Balfour Declaration.

Naturally, the Foreign Minister's statement adds to the concern caused by your own reference the other day to the danger that the admission of 100,000 Jews to Palestine or of any further Jewish immigration into that country might lead to large-scale violence in the Middle East, as a result of which numerous troops, perhaps 500,000 of them, would have to guard the peace in that part of the world.

I understand that this question has been thoroughly investigated by competent parties who have reached the conclusion that any such danger is entirely out of the question. Arab rioters in Palestine never numbered more than 5,000, and could be taken care of by routine police operations.

The armed forces of the Arab States are small and ill-equipped. Egypt, by far the most important Arab State, has only a badly-trained army of 22,000. The few troops of Iraq, Syria, and Transjordan are controlled and even commanded by British officers. Saudi-Arabian troops are mostly cavalry men, totally unfit for modern war, and lack the facilities to conduct military operations in Palestine, several hundred miles north of their home grounds. Whatever modern armaments are found in those countries have been given to them by the American and British Governments.

Because of this situation, the experts agree that Great Britain, with its Palestinian garrison of close to 100,000, and with its troops, warships, and air force in general control of the Middle East, is more than able to take care of any disorders that might take place in that area without needing a single additional British or American soldier. I think that if you ask the opinion of the General Staff, they will probably agree with this conclusion. As a matter of fact, the British Commanding General in Palestine told the Anglo-American Committee that even if the British were to withdraw their troops, the Jewish self-defense formations in Palestine could hold the country for several years against the combined forces of the Arab countries without any outside support.

The economic and political situation makes large-scale Arab disorders even more unlikely. All Arab countries are dependent on American and British good will in many ways: subsidies, royalties, munitions, food, shipping space, etc. In addition, they are frightened to death at the possibility of increased Soviet influence in their countries and, therefore, though they talk glibly about calling on the Soviets for help, they are more than ever anxious to remain in the good graces of the two Western Great Powers. I have made careful and exhaustive inquiries in many quarters to ascertain whether or not Russia is furnishing any war materials to the Arabs, and I can assure you I have been unable to find any evidence to support such charges.

I think, therefore, Mr. President, that you can set your mind at rest regarding the danger to international peace involved in the admission of Jewish immigrants to Palestine. No such danger exists, and there is no need to send to Palestine even one American dough boy. Our British friends must know it very well, and if they keep talking about American troops, I am afraid that we must set it down to their usual cleverness in raising imaginary objections and difficult conditions in order to avoid doing something which they don't feel like doing.

I think you can safely disregard this and continue advocating Jewish immigration to Palestine on its merits. In doing so, you will endanger neither world peace nor the lives of any American citizens, and will only earn the gratitude of a great many people for the help which you give in a tragic humanitarian problem.

Respectfully yours,

A. J. Sabath, M. C.

WRHS
AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

BENJAMIN AKZIN
1720 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington 9, D. C.

June 14, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
19810 Shaker Boulevard
Shaker Heights
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I have noticed that the meeting of the Executive Committee of May 29th decided to request the Committee of Eight to consider the problems arising out of parallel activities of the Jewish Agency and of the Emergency Council in Washington. At a later meeting of the Executive Committee, at which you were not present, Dr. Goldmann also agreed that such a reconsideration of the work in Washington is desirable.

In this connection, I think that it would be very fitting if both Mr. Epstein and I were invited to the meeting of the Committee of Eight at which this question would be discussed. If Mr. Epstein attends these meetings anyhow, I certainly believe that I ought to be present when this matter is taken up. The attempts in the past to delineate the spheres of activities of the Agency and the Council in Washington suffered from their being too theoretical. Only if the people who are on the spot take a hand in the delineation can there be any hope that it would work out in a practical manner.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:ow

June 16, 1946

Dr. Benjamin Akzin
~~Zionist Organization of America~~ American Jewish Emergency Council
1720 - 16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

My dear Dr. Akzin:

In my last letter to you I expressed the thought that when you see Mr. Henry Grady that you have along with you one or two other people. This morning I received word from Rabbi Lelyveld that Dr. Louis I. Newman of New York is a close and personal friend of Grady for the past thirty-five years. In fact, they were school-mates at the University of California. Dr. Newman has offered to do what he can to be helpful insofar as Mr. Grady is concerned.

I suggest that your first approach to Mr. Grady be in the company of Dr. Newman and of Robert Nathan, or Bernstein. Please contact Dr. Newman and invite him in my name.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:GR

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS:
Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

WASHINGTON BUREAU
1720 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Michigan 4480 ZONE 9

June 17, 1946

Confidential.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
19810 Shaker Boulevard
Shaker Heights
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Mr. Newman phoned me this morning to discuss whether it would not be useful to send to London somebody to be present during the current technical conversations between the delegates of the State and War Departments and the British representatives. He had in mind somebody who is familiar with federal officials and could speak their language. He wanted to have my opinion as to whether it should be done and who might be the right candidates. I promised him to communicate with you when I had reached certain conclusions.

It seems to me that there is no need per se to be represented in London for the purpose of these technical negotiations. Of the four American delegates, one, Mr. Wilson, is against us to such an extent that no delegate of ours would be able to sway him to anything more than a grudging acceptence of Mr. Byrnes' instructions (you will recall these instructions, a resume of which I gave you last week). The other three, representing as they do General Hilldring's Division in the State Department and the War Department, are impatient to get rid of Jewish refugees in the American zone of Germany. They will, therefore, do everything possible to impress the British with their readiness to help to transport those Jews to Palestine. Anything beyond that would exceed their instructions, and no representative of ours could move them to that extent.

As for the British, they have made abundantly clear that these technical negotiations are not going to lead to anything. A spokesman for the British Foreign Office has stated that the negotiations regarding transportation of the refugees to Palestine would only lead to action if the British Government decides to admit the 100,000 Jews. Whether such a decision will be reached by the British is obviously to be made dependent on the broader negotiations with the newly appointed American Cabinet Committee, during which, as the British hope, it will be possible to discuss not only the 100,000 but also other issues relating to Palestine.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver June 17, 1946

The sending of our representative to London at this time would appear to me, therefore, to make sense only in so far as we would be taking advantage of an excuse to do something which we wanted to do all along, namely, to send to London a good man who would strengthen the political representation of Zionism there. If this is so, a man like Robert Nathan would be ruled out because, despite his qualifications, he has consistently tried to stick to economic questions, has tried to avoid controversial political questions, and, where he could not do that, always took the most easy-going line regarding Zionist policies, a line which, if it is not entirely that of Magnes, is certainly no more than a Weizmann line. I do not know where Bernard Bernstein stands in this respect, and I therefore cannot make any suggestion about him. I suppose that Oscar Cox would be an excellent choice, but I doubt whether he would agree to undertake the trip. Wahl, who now represents the American Jewish Conference in Washington, is very shrewd and shows certain indications of being a good political Zionist, but I think that a great deal of coaching and more definite information regarding his loyalties would be necessary before he is entrusted with a mission which would only make sense if he would bring to it a correct understanding of the internal Zionist situation involved. For the moment, I cannot think of any people with the required familiarity with federal bureaucracy other than the above-mentioned.

On the other hand, it appears to me to be of the very greatest importance that one or a few men should consistently cultivate the deputy members of the Cabinet Committee while they are here and accompany them to London should they undertake such a trip. It is with these three people, rather than with the four technical negotiators now in London that the American policy on Palestine rests in the next few weeks and months. My idea was that Milton Handler, who is a fellow anti-trust lawyer, should undertake the liason with Mr. Rodd; that Oscar Cox and Bernard Bernstein, who are close personal friends of Ed Foley, should be in contact with him; and that I would try to establish good personal relationship with Grady. I have already suggested to Shapiro that he ask Handler to approach Rodd, and I have similarly asked Cox to talk to Foley. I on my part was to have met Grady today, but, acting on your instructions, I postponed the meeting until tomorrow when Rabbi Newman and perhaps somebody else will be present (I did so despite my feeling that a much more intimate relationship could have been established by me were I to meet him tete-a-tete, and that any personal friends of Grady would reinforce that relationship if they, too, were to meet him individually).

As a result of these preliminary contacts, the situation would crystallize sufficiently for selecting somebody to go with the group to London should such a trip materialize. If neither Cox nor anybody else acceptable to you could undertake the trip, it would always be possible to introduce the deputies of the Cabinet Committee to Lourie or Gerold Frank and have one or both of them repeat the performance which they did so well when they accompanied the Anglo-American Committee.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:ew

cc to Dr. Emanuel Neumann

Mr. Harry Shapiro, Executive Director June 17, 1946

We will continue, of course, to watch the situation, and should there develop any testimony during the hearings which would call for rebuttal, we will strongly urge that such rebuttal be given either by members of Congress or by representatives of our movement. But for the moment, my advice is to agree to Mr. Bloom's request and not to force our witnesses on him.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:ow
Encl.

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American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS:
Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

WASHINGTON BUREAU
1720 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Michigan 4480 ZONE 9

June 18, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
19810 Shaker Boulevard
Shaker Heights
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Dr. Louis I. Newman and I had an hour's conversation with Messrs. Grady and Dorr, the deputies for Secretaries Byrnes and Patterson on the Cabinet Committee. They informed us that they intend to stay in Washington until the end of July, and thereafter to proceed to London. For the time being they do not envisage having to go to any other place abroad. They said that Mr. Rodd, who was on the staff of the Anglo-American Committee, serves as their secretary. They also have four research assistants, one of whom was in the room. He is Mr. Horwitz, whom I know as one who had taken a strong anti-Zionist stand during his period of work with the Middle Eastern Section of the Office of Strategic Services.

Though the commissioners didn't say so expressly, I gained the definite impression that they have no specific instructions to see to it that the 100,000 Jews should get to Palestine. What they said was that while priority ought to be given to the question of the 100,000, it ought to be considered in conjunction with other parts of the Report.

They mentioned that the War and State representatives who are now in London are going to discuss technical questions such as housing and transportation. They themselves were more interested in the political difficulties. Specifically, they asked whether it would not be necessary to try to obtain Arab good will or agreement prior to the admission of the 100,000. They also referred to the need of considering the Palestine problem "in the light of American foreign policy". Furthermore, they asked me to explain the points involved in our protest against the recent statement by the Department of State regarding consultations.

In answering their questions, we explained the basic factors in the Arab discontent, the fact that the strength of Arab opposition is grossly exaggerated, the bias of the British Government, and the Russian

problem. It was that Russian problem which seemed to interest them most. Half-gestingly, Grady said at one point: "You talk about the Russians flirting with the Arabs; perhaps the Russians are flirting with you." Since the Russian aspect is a special hobby of mine, you may rest assured that I dealt with it rather thoroughly.

Regarding the British bias, they assured us that they will take no views for granted, but will look into them. As for the alleged conflict between the President's statement and the Department of State attitude, Grady said that he does not see any necessary contradiction between the two.

The main point which I made was that we would like them to give us an opportunity to answer any objections against our point of view and to submit our views regarding proposed conclusions before they make up their minds. I explained all the trouble which arose from the Government putting us before established facts and then having to try to correct erroneous decisions after they have been reached and made public. Turning to Dorr, I added that in court proceedings, counsel for a party in interest have an opportunity to rebut hostile evidence before a decision is reached, and expressed the hope that the same opportunity would be given to us. The commissioners repeatedly stated that they would like me to submit to them material on any point which seems to be relevant, and that I may contact them when I think it advisable, but they pointedly evaded my main request -- that they let me know when anything comes up on which they believe that our views should be heard.

Dr. Newman, who seems to be bound to Mr. Grady by a close friendship dating back to college, introduced the discussion and contributed several important remarks dealing mainly with the human side of the problem and with the fact that the masses of American Jewry stand fully behind us. He also introduced me to them very handsomely, so as to facilitate future contacts.

The commissioners emphasized in conclusion that theirs is only an advisory role. They would recommend a solution to the three secretaries.

They informed us that they had a telephone call from Dr. Goldmann this morning, who is coming to see them tomorrow morning. They asked us about the relationship between the Jewish Agency and the Emergency Council. They expressed the hope, in conclusion, that "not too many people will come to see" them.

If they are at all instructed, which I doubt, they have certainly received to date no clear mandate to proceed on the assumption that the 100,000 Jews must be brought into Palestine. In effect, therefore, it is another investigating committee which should first prepare an action report recommending what action and in what sequence should be taken as a result of the Report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry. After their recommendations will have been approved by the three secretaries and the

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver June 18, 1946

President, they will go to London and try to get whatever British negotiators they will face to agree to as much of their program as possible. In other words, I don't think that anything very good or very speedy will come out of their work.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:ow

WRHS AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

Editorial

From The Washington Post

June 22, 1946

To the House is now remitted the task of passing upon the financial agreement with Britain. We hope the agreement will be considered on the merits which were advanced so convincingly by the House committee when it recommended the credit by a 20-5 vote. Unfortunately an extraneous issue has arisen which is said to be persuading some pro-loan Congressmen to switch their position. These second thoughts reflect only a desire to rebuke Mr. Bevin for his unaccommodating speech of June 12 on the problem of Palestine. It is an unworthy desire to try to take it out on the British people for a puerile speech by their Foreign Minister. Aside from that, however, it attests a lack of sense of proportion. Two issues are not canceled out when one is used to club the other. On the contrary, they are made worse, and those Congressmen who are reviewing their vote on the credit bill in the light of the Bevin speech ought to bear this in mind.

The issue raised by Mr. Bevin's speech has been misrepresented in the Zionist messages with which Congress has been deluged. Mr. Bevin did not shut the door on any consideration of the entry of 100,000 Jews into Palestine. He said he would not agree to their admission immediately. As we have said before, the problem need not have arisen if the British government had accepted the recommendation of the Anglo-American Commission forthwith. But the present fact is that British and American delegates are now engaged in discussions on Palestine. In some congressional circles, aided and abetted by Zionist extremists, it is argued that the best way to put pressure on the British is to impoverish them by refusing the loan. Nothing could be more mistaken; no self-respecting nation responds to such crude tactics. What would happen in London if the House, in a fit of pique over the Bevin speech, were to refuse the credit, is that the Palestine negotiations would be terminated. They would be terminated abruptly by a people outraged by an attempt at blackmail. The chances are that the British would then be thrown into the arms of the Arabs, and the issue over Palestine would widen and deepen, with the rift extending to British-American relations.

Our object in London is to try to persuade the British that any risks (which they have themselves increased by their own hesitation) entailed in carrying out the recommendation of the Anglo-American Commission are less than they think. The Palestine Commission was their idea, and the recommendation to admit the 100,000 Jews was made unanimously, by both British and American members. The American members at the time had reason to think that the British government approved the decision of its members. But the British, harassed by responsibilities greater than their power, seem to have taken fright. It is the job of our negotiators in London to recall them to their own pledges and to encourage them to take any risks there may be in living up to them. However, an adverse vote on the loan in the House, far from sustaining the hand of our delegates, would ruin it.

The general situation that would be created by an adverse vote on the loan deserves also to be pondered. The House would be biting off our nose to spite our face. In taking it out on the British people, Congressmen would be taking it out on America. The British would be left to fend for themselves. That is to say, they would retain and, in order to make ends meet, would have to intensify, all the trade and financial restrictions the abolition of which is the quid pro quo of this loan. The restrictions take the form of exclusive arrangements between Britain and other countries. Altogether they cover 50 per cent of the world's trade. Clearly there would be loss of trade and influence for the United States in any perpetuation and strengthening of this bloc. This would be the case throughout the Middle East, where all the Arab countries are members of the British bloc. It follows that an Arab slant in British policy would be fortified by our enforced maintenance of the British bloc.

The problem should be considered, however, as more than a dollars and cents problem. If Britain, for lack of the financial aid she requires in order to come into our world system, is left to go her own way, the world will lapse into a permanent condition of economic war, with

From The Washington Post - (Con't)
June 22, 1946

three blocs of nations forever raiding each other for trade advantages. The House, we hope, will look at the financial agreement on its own merits, instead of on the demerits of Mr. Bevin's silly and thoughtless speech.

The dispatches from London and Ankara are especially important.

B-G.

CONFIDENTIAL

Dr. Silver

#63

Members of the Executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine
Washington/London/Jerusalem

Eliahu Epstein

Attached are copies of three dispatches sent to a prominent newspaper in New York from its correspondents in London, Cairo, and Ankara respectively on the Palestine situation.

WRHS
AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

EE/HG
cc: Dr. Stephen S. Wise
Dr. B. Akzin for Dr. Silver and Messrs. Neumann and Shapiro
Mr. Lipsky
Mr. Lourie
Mr. Weisgal
Executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine in London
Palestine

LONDON DISPATCH

June 22, 1946 - Received June 22, 1946

Palestine Situation

It is an undisguised fact that Britain is on the verge of an Anglo-Jewish war in Palestine. Westminster lobbies ring with muttered warnings and fears of pro-Jewish Labor members. Everything piles up to transform what was an Arab-Jew conflict into Anglo-Jewish. The longer the British government delay their decision, the more inflammable becomes the situation.

Ernie Bevin's Bournemouth speech (particularly the passage: "If we put 100,000 Jews into Palestine tomorrow, I would have to put in another division of British forces - and I am not prepared to do this") is generally taken as having been the signal that fired off the recent Jewish outrages in Palestine. Jews here angrily declare that Palestine is a British armed camp as it is; that even if there weren't a single Jew in all Palestine Britain would still pour in her forces, treating it as her only Middle East base once she starts evacuating Egypt; while white-haired, bushy-browed, kindly but hard and shrewd Palestinian Jewish leader David Ben-Gurion, Chairman of the Executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, says in a letter to the London Times (June 20): "More military forces...are now used to prevent Jews from coming to Palestine than may be required in case of their admission...."

Daily the British government is bombarded by leaders from both Jews and Arabs, each pressing their case. The Arabs fiercely reject the Commission's report, but behave in the smugly confident manner that Britain will come to heel. Jovial, wisecracking Arab Office Secretary Edward Atiyah rubs his hands in satisfaction as he chuckles that there is no pro-Jewish element among the British advisers. Arab representatives here pride themselves on the strength of Arx Anglo-Arab cooperation both in the Middle East and in London.

London Arabs, i.e. Arab League chiefs and Ministers from seven Arab countries, legations and embassies, speak strongly against U.S. "interference", declare they will contest it at every point and try to influence the British government accordingly. If they can't win 100% over the Commission's report, they declare they will take the matter to UNO. Said one Arab chief: "We've got seven votes from the Arab League to start with, and Russia will be with us. Britain won't want it to go to UNO, nor can she afford to antagonize the Arab world. But We will fight - and we will win."

The Jewish attitude is equally strong. The majority of moderate Jews that used to back up Weizmann is diminishing, and swinging over to the increasingly extreme Jewish Agency under the leadership of Ben-Gurion. Emotionally, the Jewish Agency Jews in London are ready for anything. They still abhor terrorist activities of the Stern gang and Irgun - who were responsible for the kidnappings, but it is significant that the blowing up of the Jordan bridges and railway workshops at Haifa were the work of Agency-controlled Haganah, which to date has obeyed Ben-Gurion's rigid rule against violence of this kind. To Bevin's suggestion that Jewish brains should be distributed throughout the Arab world, Ben-Gurion replies 1) the Jews are set on returning to their own "national home"; and 2) the Arab countries would be "the last place in the world." London Jews emphasize that every one of the present British government leaders, with the

exception of Bevin (who has always been more engrossed in trade union activity than anything else) have pledged themselves to Jewish claims in Palestine until they came to office. But now they are continuing the coalition government's Palestine policy. According to a leading Jew in negotiations, the cabinet attitude is absolutely negative: "We're bound for a tragedy," said this Jew, "while the British cabinet keeps this attitude. It is not only Palestinian Jews who will fight for their 'national home' but the Jews in European camps too. Every camp has its organisation. The British government can stop this thing only by exterminating the Jews."

The latest alarm in Jewish circles is the discovery of an alleged anti-Jewish campaign plan of the British Middle East military staff (broadcast by Haganah's "Voice of Israel" radio) providing for big-scale shelling of Jewish settlements, break-up of Haganah, and the arrest of a "black-list" of 5,000 leading Jews, including the Jewish Agency Executive (among them Chairman David Ben-Gurion and treasurer Eliezer Kaplan, Political Department head Moshe Shertok and the Mayor of Tel-Aviv, Israel Mokessch. So far the British War Office has issued no denial of this plan. It is known that the Middle East staffs had an emergency plan, but it is doubtful if such a large-scale campaign had the official sanction of the British government - the Jewish Agency here declare they would readily impute it to the violently anti-Zionist Middle East military circles, who are quite capable of carrying it out; but they specifically declare they don't think Bevin and Attlee are behind the scheme, or even know of its actual provisions. In consequence of this plan, Haganah are reported here to be setting up a "second third and fourth underground" to continue to fight in case of a major blow is dealt their main force.

The Jews in London declare they are not getting a square deal from the British press. The extremists' terrorism is damning their cause in British eyes, but - probably, according to the Jewish Agency, on Foreign Office hints - the British press is ignoring other cables reaching Britain with stories of British troops' rough handling of Jewish settlements: for instance, according to the Palestine Telegraphic Service, during a search by British troops of Beth Hasarva settlement for terrorists this week, 12 Jewish settlers were injured when men of Oxford and Bucks Light Infantry cordoned off the village and ordered the men to enter a barbed-wire enclosure. The women, some with children, refused to be separated from their menfolk. Whereupon the police and soldiers were reported to have beaten up both men and women.

The Jews in London welcome U.S. cooperation, and are depending heavily on Jewish pressure inside America.

The British government's dilemma is the main topic of the cabinet this weekend. The cabinet's uncertainty was clear from the fact that Attlee, when questioned in the House this week for information on the British government's attitude on the Mufti and on Palestine, asked for a week's grace in which to find an answer. On the one hand, they are confronted by the Arab League octopus, with a threat that yet another lever may be introduced to widen the Anglo-Russian gap; simultaneous is the fact that Bevin refused to sack current civil service chiefs until he can find replacements and present officials continue the traditional pro-Arab policy. There is practically no pro-Jewish element in either the Colonial or the Foreign Office; it is almost entirely pro-Arab or anti-Zionist. Nearly every official has had a career in Arab countries, and spent his social life among upper-class Arabs. Example: Charles William Baxter, Foreign Office Counsellor and Chief of the Eastern Section that handles Palestine; formerly of

Teheran; backed by Captain Vyvyan Holt, formerly in the Iraq political service and for a time attached to the suite of the late King Feisal. Nationally these and similar names mean little in Britain, but they are the higher official level that works its pressure steadily and daily on its political chiefs. Of outside advisers, one of the leading men is 63-year-old Sir Kinahan Cornwallis, Ambassador in Baghdad since 1941, with background of Cairo and Iraq. London Arabs regard him as a firm friend.

On the other hand, Britain is confronted by what is probably the most highly organized resistance movement ever known in the Jewish Haganah. According to our main Jewish leader here, more than 80% of the Palestine population is actively behind Haganah. Say the Jews here: "The Arabs win over the British government not by reason but by force. The time has come when we must do the same." Britain's cabinet knows Haganah is not a force to be trifled with. Further, they have an eye on American opinion, influenced by her Jewish population.

A third consideration before the British cabinet is the pressure of the Labor party. For the last 20 years the party has been committed to backing the Jews. There are several eloquent Jewish members in the House, strong patches of pro-Jewish feeling in the party, and the influential Jewish publisher Victor Gollancz, who has swayed public opinion heavily in favor of Labor over the past ten years. Nevertheless, if the cabinet should be influenced finally by the official Foreign Office and Colonial Office pressure and Britain should find herself at war with the Palestine Jews, at first there would be a good deal of support for it among the British people, who have got a strong streak of anti-Semitism; especially as a result of refugees Jews setting up in shops and jobs during and since the war, and following the activities of many Jewish people among black marketeers. It would only be when they realized the scale of hostilities that they would repeat.

Meanwhile the situation is so hot that even Churchill declares he will not press for a parliamentary debate yet.

From Cairo - sent June 23, received June 23, 1946

Palestine Situation:

The difference in methods of the two most powerful organizations of the Jewish underground was clearly demonstrated yesterweek, when Haganah paralysed Palestine's communications with the rest of the Middle East, by blowing up railway lines and frontier bridges, while Irgun Zwai Leumi kidnapped five British officers and held them as hostages.

Following the Mufti's dramatic escape from France to the Middle East, Arabs spoke of another "Holy War" against Zion, and the Mufti would come to lead them again. The object of Haganah in its lightning attack on the country's communications was to show Arabs, inside Palestine as well as abroad, that they would have to fight this time a modern, highly trained, disciplined and well-armed force able to foil even Britain's toughest battle-tested divisions. The Jews are no longer the clay pigeons they had been in '36.

For the last ten days the underground has been broadcasting on a secret transmitter "Voice of Israel" a British plan for countrywide search for arms, and disarmament of all Jews fallen into their hands. Yesterweek, probably earlier than they had planned, the British Army secured settlements north and south for Haganah wreckers, as well as for the officers kidnapped by Irgun, as well as arms. Farmers opposed the searchers, stubbornly blocked gates with tractors, called in neighbors from miles around, and former human barriers. When the British used mine detectors, they found a mine had been buried in the fields to fool them.

The only find of any consequence was at week's end, in one of the least suspected places, the plant of the British-backed Palestine Potash Company on the Dead Sea, which has always shunned visitors on the pretext of guarding trade secrets. Mortars, sub-machine guns and an enormous hoard of ammunition were found.

Irgun's purpose in kidnapping the officers was to prevent British Commanding General Sir Evelyn Barker from confirming the death sentence passed by military courts on two gunmen and abduction of the administrators, therefore, be less effective. It was even reported that the British found a "snatch list" which included Barker himself.

Chadwick is reported to have led the search for his captors in the Bakhuran quarter northwest Jerusalem. Result is not known yet, though it is learned that Chadwick has left Palestine already.

ANKARA DISPATCH

From Ankara - June 4, 1946 - Received June 17, 1946

PALESTINE SITUATION:

The possibility of wide-scale disturbances depends greatly on what final decision of policy is made by the combined efforts of the American and British governments. The delaying tactics of further consultations with Arab and Jewish leaders haven't fooled anyone in the country who has recognized in them a desperate effort on the part of Britain to hold on to something mighty close to the Suez Canal as a potential base of operations. The longer a decision is held off, the more chance Britain has of establishing camps, headquarters, etc. in Palestine and determining what is best in the long run for maintaining that base. America's position depends to a degree on how vital she feels Britain's position is in the Middle East to allow her to stay on there in strong strategic defense of communications. If Truman, Byrnes and Eisenhower feel that such waterways and lines of communication should be internationalized, as was proposed for European waterways, England would not long be able to remain in the Middle East with both Russia and America sniping at her. The High Commissioner in an OFF THE RECORD interview said that what he wants in Palestine from America is money and troops. He refused America any right in the administration, saying that joint administration was bad and costly. It was pointed out to him that America would not commit troops in any area where she did not have a right to say what policy would be carried out, and he countered with the statement that England and that States could agree on a policy and allow England to work it out. That didn't go down too well. He felt that UNO could not handle the Palestine situation and in fact belittled UNO 's work up to date as showing little possibility of having strength or character for the job it had undertaken.

Incidentally, and just rambling on, the High Commissioner is General Sir Alan Cunningham, who was responsible for one of the great fiascos in the desert, was sent home from Cairo post-haste and broken from a Lieutenant General to a Lieutenant Colonel in the Home Guard. He later rose back to rank and served fairly well in Europe. He is a suave army officer but with little background or experience in diplomacy or statesmanship.

The Arab threat of a united military front against the powers that implement the Anglo-American Inquiry recommendations backed up even by Glubb Pasha's fire-eating statement is not unduly worrying the British authorities in the Near, though the High Commissioner in that same OFF THE RECORD interview said he didn't believe Britain had enough troops to counter such a threat in the East. The Lebanese would certainly not fight; Farouk would not commit Egyptian troops in such a venture because it would open Egypt up to grave accusations from Britain and other powers of using military force in another State's internal affairs; leaving only the ultra-nationalist Iraqis and Syrians to battle it out. The Saudi Arabians are too far away and so are the Yemenites to matter much in such a campaign. What the campaign would be, in theory, is a terrific guerrilla with Syrians and Iraqis leading the fray. An interesting comment on this was made by Gold Meyerson, who is on the Executive Council of the Labor Party (and a former Milwaukee girl). She was asked whether she would welcome American troops in Palestine and she said, "I don't want a single American or British soldier to lose his life for the Jewish cause here. We can take care of ourselves. If the Americans or British wish to help us, good. If not, we can do it on our own." Personally, not for the records and "not for attribution", I think the Jews in Palestine can.

Politically, as I mentioned in one of my cables, Palestine has moved out of Jerusalem as a center. The battles now being fought are being fought elsewhere in London, Washington, Moscow, Cairo and Damascus. They will move in on Palestine only when a decision is made. The disturbances that have marked the country for the past two years from the side of the Jews will continue sporadically. There will probably be considerably more tension between the troops and the population and a lot of people will be hurt. But that won't have the same meaning as a general uprising, once some final decision is made. Even now people speak a little disapprovingly of Truman taking the British slap on his request for a hundred thousand immigrants more or less lying down. Then there has been a considerable number of contradictory statements from big shots in Washington on Palestine policy that haven't done the American cause any good. It gives rise to an often-expressed thought that Americans foreign policy, or better still its broad international policy, is one of hit or miss, made up one day to be discredited the next. It gives people to wonder a great deal out here, not only in Palestine.

Incidental intelligence notes: George Allen, our Ambassador in Teheran, is evidently only a temporary appointment to fill very quickly the hole made by Murray's resignation. There is a small little battle for the permanent appointment between George Wadsworth in Beirut and Loy Henderson in Washington. Or so I am told. Wadsworth seems anxious to take over there and if he does Jimmy Moose, now in Baghdad, will become Minister in Beirut when, as and if Lowell Pinkerton, now Consul-General in Jerusalem, takes over his Minister's job in Baghdad. There has been no appointment to Jerusalem, now considered a key post in the Near East, and people are talking of Joe Satterthwaite, formerly second secretary in Ankara and now in the Near East division, as the likeliest candidate.

People think Abdullah has knocked the Greater Syria idea into a fine how-do-you-do by becoming the little King. It was first planned that Abdullah would be "regent of Palestine and Transjordan", Abdul Illah regent of Iraq, and Shukri Kuweitly, now President of Syria, Regent of Syria and Lebanon, all working for the other little king, Feisal of ~~X~~ Iraq, now elev and studying English in England. With Abdullah a king, what now? People say he has ambitions of working with Abdul Illah of Iraq to merge Iraq and Transjordan and Lebanon (the Lebanese would prefer that to a merger with Syria) and call himself king of it all with powers delegated in Iraq to Abdul. Illah and little Feisal, in Lebanon to one of his sons. Abdullah's chess gets better all the time, but his political reality stumbles a little.

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS:
Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

WASHINGTON BUREAU
1720 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Michigan 4480 ZONE 9

June 25, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
c/o Sherman Hotel
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Dr. Silver:

I think I ought to draw your urgent attention to the attached story from today's STAR. I don't believe that the Hagana leadership said anything of the sort, but knowing some of our friends in high positions now in Palestine, the authenticity of the story can hardly be doubted. It seems that they have again succumbed to the dangerous notion that if they throw out enough hints that partition would satisfy them, they may get it. They still don't seem to realize that the moment partition appears on the horizon as a Jewish desiratum rather than as a British compromise proposal, they won't get even partition.

I wonder whether, by taking immediate suitable private or public action, you could not stop these irresponsibles from getting us even deeper into trouble than they have already done.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:cw
Encl.

THE EVENING STAR, WASHINGTON, D.C.
June 25, 1946

JEWS REPORTED READY TO CONSIDER DEAL TO PARTITION PALESTINE

By Royal Arch Gunnison
North American Newspaper Alliance

JERUSALEM, June 25--On the best authority, I am told British Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin has been sent an invitation to visit and examine Palestine on completion of his signing of the Anglo-Egyptian treaty in Cairo. At the same time, a high-ranking United States observer also may be invited.

Highest Jewish officials here as well as members of the underground resistance movement, Haganna, tell me that they now are willing to make a "deal" with the British and the Arabs for the "most sensible partition" of Palestine. This is the first time such open willingness has been evident on the part of the Jews, since there are many economic objections to partition.

However, revision of the Transjordan-Palestine border involving a shift of 900,000 Arabs, would remove one of these objections. Secondly, as in the Nile Valley in Egypt, a proposal for joint operation of water power under a Jordan Valley Authority would also be helpful in removing a cause of friction.

The whole idea of a Jewish homeland is poison to the Arab League and it is felt by some Jews that the partition proposal, at the time of Mr. Bevin's visit, when tension caused by hatreds and emotions are bound to be higher than now, would be a wise and strategic political gesture. If the British can make Palestine and Transjordan into a Gibraltar of the Eastern Mediterranean, you are told by both Jew and Arab, then--and each one says it--why can't we have our own national state? British officials, pushed to the wall by violence and threat of more violence on the part of both Jews and Arabs, are beginning to shake their heads and to wonder if partition is not a good idea--"after United Nations trusteeship under Great Britain for, say, 5 or 10 years."

The most important feature of this present partition idea is that it is now up to the Arabs to make the next conciliation move or to offer something better. This is seen as giving the Jews the jump in the international pressure field while waiting upon the London and Washington reports by the Anglo-American Palestinian inquiry.

Plea to United Nations Possible.

If today's tension continues unabated and sweeps into Arab outbursts of violence, there is a plan ready to take the issue before the United Nations Assembly next September.

If the United Nations meeting should not be held in September due to the Paris Peace Conference, the Jews are likely to request the Foreign Ministers to the United States and Great Britain to meet with Jewish and Arab leaders to speed up action on increased immigration into Palestine.

The Arabs, under Azzam Pasha, secretary of the Arab League, up to now are not opposed to humanitarian immigration except in so far as it may preclude Jews inching

Arabs out. Thus, the action now which the Jews are attempting to force with terrorist activities, is to secure British and Arab suggestions for a meeting of minds in what would almost amount to a peace treaty.

To the Westerner, all this maneuvering seems like mystery book intrigue but to the Middle East, the Asiatics have a long tradition in action and negotiation of this type. The only word of warning in this situation here comes from Americans: "Uncle Sam had better watch out or he will get more deeply stuck and involved than he intends in his natural desires along humanitarian lines."

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AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL • 1720 SIXTEENTH STREET, N. W. • WASHINGTON 9, D. C.

MEMORANDUM

FROM Benjamin Akzin DATE: June 25, 1946

TO: Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

SUBJECT:

Supplementing my letter to you of yesterday's date, I enclose for your information copy of a memorandum prepared by Mr. Bernstein on his conversations with Messrs. Grady, Dorr, and Foley.

BA.

BA:ew
Encl.

WRHS
AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS:
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Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

WASHINGTON BUREAU
1720 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Michigan 4480 ZONE 9

June 25, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
c/o Sherman Hotel
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Dr. Silver:

Enclosed please find an interesting column in today's Washington Times-Herald by Frank Waldrop, the editor of the paper.

I also enclose copy of an editorial on the same subject which appeared in last Saturday's Washington Post.

Late last night I got a telephone call from Louie Dembitz, a nephew of the late Justice Brandeis and an official of the Federal Reserve Board within whose province it is to deal with international loans. Mr. Dembitz, whom I have not seen nor heard of for several years, called me up for the special purpose of telling me why the Zionists should not oppose the British loan. I told him that we have taken no public stand on this question, whatever some of us may feel about it in our hearts.

I understand that at yesterday's meeting of the House Rules Committee no rule was issued yet for the British loan bill. A further meeting of the Committee is scheduled for today.

Confidentially, Dr. Goldmann informed me this morning that the British Ambassador cabled London to the effect that a statement regarding the intention of the British Government to admit the 100,000 Jews to Palestine would be helpful to the loan.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

A BUM DEAL

By FRANK C. WALDROP

FROM within the United States Treasury comes news of official discovery that the British have kidded us again, and about big money.

A person who was a member of then Secretary of the Treasury Vinson's original staff for handling the British proposal for a $4,400,000,000 "loan" discloses that Britain's claims of poverty are false, and recommends the loan be cut back, accordingly.

This analysis has been furnished to top governmental authorities. It is so important that we reprint it here in full without attempting to translate. It's plain enough, anyhow. Here it is, dated June 19:

"THE British loan should be re-examined and cut down to size.

"Actual trade developments since VE-Day—as distinguished from the guesstimates made by those responsible for negotiating the loan—now demonstrate that the British do not need anything like the sum agreed on by the negotiators.

"As of last August the British claimed that in the first year following VE-Day they would incur a balance of payments deficit of three billions and in the next two years a further deficit of two billions.

"The British estimate for the balance of payments in the crucial first year of transition was as follows (Mr. Clayton's testimony, Senate hearings, SJ Res. 138P118): (In billions of dollars.)

	Imports	Exports
Minimum imports, austerity level	5.2	
Commercial exports		2.6
Net balance on war expenditures	1.3	
Net balance on invisible items		.6
	6.5	3.2

Deficit: 3.3 (billions of dollars).

"TEN months have now elapsed since VE-Day and actual export and import figures are available against which to check the estimates made last August.

"British imports are actually running at a rate one billion dollars less than they estimated. On the other hand, British exports are running at a rate one billion dollars more than they estimated, thus reducing their estimated balance of payments deficit by two billion dollars.

"No information is currently available as to the actual developments with respect to the net war expenditures or the net balance on invisible items, but both these are very probably more favorable than was estimated last August.

"Taking into account the actual flow of commodities it is perfectly clear that the balance of payments deficit in the first year after VE-Day will amount not to the 3.3 billions assumed in August of last year, but to no more than and probably much less than 1.3 billions.

"THIS conclusion is confirmed by the British holdings of gold and dollar balances. During the last 10 months when the British expected a deficit in their balance of payments to cut sharply into their holdings of gold and dollar balances, nothing of that sort has occurred.

"According to British figures, their net holdings of gold and dollar balances at the end of the war amounted to $1,840,000,000. The latest figures supplied by the British show that nine months later their net holdings were still $1,750,000,000.

"The decrease is accounted for by settlement of a Canadian account.

"It may be noted that as of April, 1941 the British reported a net balance of gold and dollar exchange of zero.

"During the war and by reason of lend-lease and troop payments made to Americans throughout the empire their net balance of gold and dollar exchange increased to a level of approximately 1.9 billion.

"There can be no doubt that during the war this country made a very powerful contribution to the improvement in the British gold and dollar balance position.

"THE loan should be referred back to committee and cut down in size.

"The figures cited above demonstrate the British balance of payments is actually very much more favorable than assumed by the Administration when it negotiated the loan. If the loan was proper on the basis of the estimates made in August, it is obviously too large in the light of actual developments.

"The Administration has failed to supply the committees of Congress with information showing the actual course of trade developments. This was not the only item on which they have failed to tell the whole story.

"They did not point out that empire countries during the war enormously increased their holdings of gold and dollar balances. South Africa alone holds 900 millions, three times her prewar holdings. Nor did the Administration indicate what it knew to be true, that the British liabilities to empire countries would be substantially reduced.

"The British owe India 4.5 billion, Egypt 1.5 billion and Palestine 550 million. These sums, the Administration has been informed will be settled just as lend-lease was settled, at a small fraction of the nominal indebtedness.

"IN THE light of these considerations a cut in the British loan is clearly indicated. Indeed, there is reason to believe that quite apart from any loan or gift the British can receive all the assistance they may need in their balance of payment problem through the international fund.

"Through that fund, it may be recalled, the British can get without any struggle at all 350 million every year to total 1.3 billion. If necessary they can, of course, receive much more than that."

THERE it is. Nobody in his right mind can misunderstand that memorandum. Nobody with the best interests of the United States at heart will ignore it.

The House of Representatives this week begins final consideration of that so-called "loan" to Britain. The memorandum quoted in full above shows as plain as day why that "loan" is a bum deal for the U. S. A.

Instead of merely cutting it down, Congress will throw the "loan" out entirely if it wants to serve America first. At any rate, just remember what you read here. If the "loan" goes through there will be big trouble to follow—and never let it be said that "we didn't know."

June 28, 1946

Benjamin Akzin

Harry Shapiro

With my report of June 14th, I sent you copy of Congressman Sabath's letter to the President.

Enclosed please find copy of the reply, dated June 17th, which Congressman Sabath received from the White House

BA:cw