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American Zionist Emergency Council, Ben Horin, Eliahu, 1945-
1946.

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MEMORANDUM

by Eliahu Ben-Horin

September 10, 1945

J'accuse

After acquainting myself with the workings of the Emergency Council, I started on the various plans outlined in my first memorandum. Mr. Shapiro assured me that the J'accuse idea was well received, and accordingly I gave it some more thought. At Mr. Shapiro's suggestion, I started preparing an outline of the book. About half of it is ready. The outline will have to be adjusted of course after we know the name of the author. Still, it gives a far better idea of the whole plan. I consulted the following people as to a suitable author for the book: Shapiro, Manson, Marvin Lowenthal. Various names were mentioned, but I do not think that we hit thus far the right name.

Oil

Following the line indicated in my first memorandum, I made the following "demarches": (a) I had a long talk with the Editor of World Petroleum. I suggested writing an article for his magazine (which is the leading magazine of the oil industry) on OIL AND AMERICAN POLICIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST. I outlined the article for him, which would prove the fallacy of a pro-Arab orientation ~~of the oil industry~~ on behalf of the government and industry. I sold him the idea. He has no space for this article in his October issue, but he is inclined to take it for the November issue. If this materializes, we shall have a feeler for the entire industry. (b) I am meeting my friend of Standard Oil of New Jersey this week. (c) I am having lunch with William Hard of the Reader's Digest next Monday. I intend to discuss with him not only his eventual writing of an article but also oil, for he has very good contacts both in the oil industry and in government circles.

Literary Agent

All those with whom I discussed the problem of penetration into magazines agreed with me that we must have a literary agent and a first-rate person at that. This is not easy to arrange. My first appointment with a literary agent of good standing - Nannine Joseph - will take place on Friday, September 14th.

Arthur Koestler & Leon Bloom

Cables were sent to Palestine and Paris asking to contact respectively the above two with a view of their writing articles for American magazines. In the cable re Bloom a suggestion was included for his writing an autobiographical book with emphasis on the last few years and the homelessness of European Jewry.

Copy
sent to Dr. Silver

Mr. Harry L. Shapiro

September 13, 1945

Mr. Eliahu Ben-Horin

Subject: The Oil Industry

You may recall what I wrote on this subject in my first memorandum. Today I had a long talk, lasting about three hours, with one of my friends in the oil industry. Unfortunately, I prefer not to mention his name, because all through our relationship for the last couple of years he insisted on strict secrecy. On the other hand, this man who occupies a high executive position in the industry and who is an authority on the Middle East with excellent knowledge of British-American relations, gave me some invaluable help in the past and may prove of great assistance in the future. I would, therefore, not risk any leakage which may eventually upset our relations, and for the purposes of this memorandum I shall call him Mr. Smith.

It was for the first time today that I spoke to him straight about the Arab-Zionist aspects of the Middle Eastern situation. I presented to him the facts of the situation, explaining to him my understanding of the reasons which brought about the adoption of a pro-Arab orientation both by the American oil industry and by the State Department. I then went on to argue why this policy is untenable not only on humanitarian grounds but also from the point of view of American trade interests in that area. I then asked for his advice as to the best way to set about enlightening the oil industry and the government circles concerned on this point. At this stage, I did not mention to him my negotiations with the editor of World Petroleum, of which I reported to you in my previous memorandum.

Mr. Smith's reaction to my expose of the situation was that I brought up a problem of first magnitude to which, ~~he~~ must admit, he did not devote enough attention and thought thus far. He was especially impressed by one of my arguments which I illustrated with the old saying that "more than the calf needs the milk, the cow wants to be milked", ~~alluding~~ ^{alluding} to the fact that Ibn Saud and the other Arab rulers are much more dependent on the oil royalties than the American companies need their oil. ~~He~~ ^{He} thought that that was an excellent description of the true state of affairs. ~~He~~ ^{He} further confirmed my contention that in the postwar era the oil industry will face a shortage in markets, not in oil. This, too, will ~~also~~ put a different complexion on the relations between the oil companies and the various oil producing ~~companies~~ ^{countries} in the Middle East.

Proceeding from this point, Mr. Smith said that with a good strategy on our part (I did not mention to him that I spoke on behalf of any organization), we may get a good hearing in the industry. However, he emphasized that the strategy should be carefully worked out, and he then suggested that the first step should be an article by me on this subject. I then told him about my negotiations with the World Petroleum, pointing out however that it would take about two months at least until such an article appears and it would

TO: Mr. Harry L. Shapiro

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September 13, 1945

FROM: Mr. Eliahu Ben-Horin

be a pity to waste two months in waiting, asking him whether he would not advise to take up contacts in the meantime with some of the people high up in the industry. He was very emphatic in dissuading me from doing so. He maintains that contacts with leaders in the industry after such an article appears would be the right thing to do. Furthermore, he offered to give me all the information necessary for the article and also to introduce me to some very important personalities in the oil industry after the article has appeared. As to the question where it should appear, he was rather inclined to prefer a general magazine of the Harper's, Atlantic or the Mercury type to an oil trade publication. But, under all circumstances the article should be the first step.

It may interest you that Mr. Smith, on his own initiative, emphasized something that Marvin Lowenthal outlined in one of his memoranda last year. In speaking about the instruments of pressure which ~~we~~ possibly could exert on the oil industry he said: "I can tell you from what I know that the American oil companies should be greatly perturbed by any threat of a campaign of Jewish ostracism, especially if it were to be directed against any single company."

As mentioned above, I found his assistance in the past of great value and his advice usually sound and wise. I, therefore, am inclined also this time to follow his advice but I would like to have your reaction to it.

In the meantime, if Akzin wants to do something in Washington in the course of his political contacts, it would be worthwhile his contacting some of the people who went to London for the British-American oil parley, to start there on September 17. The American delegation is headed by Mr. Ickes, Ralph K. Davies, deputy petroleum administrator and Charles B. Rayner, petroleum adviser to the State Department. These are the people to talk to at the government end.

The Middle East Corporation

I don't know whether you noticed the news of a big American corporation recently formed under the name of the Middle East Corporation, of which, Dan C. Moore, former regional administrator of the Security and Exchange Commission, is president, and James M. Landis, dean of the Harvard Law School is chairman of the board of directors. It has been organized on a big scale with far reaching plans. Landis, when he was the chief U. S. representative on the Middle East Supply Council, and upon his return to the U.S.A. was very friendly to the Jews. I also happen to know that the Palestine Economic Corporation had good contacts with him. On the other hand, I remember reading in one of the memoranda of Eliahu Epstein about the Arab machinations in the field of American trade, and I think that it would be worthwhile to establish good contacts with the newly formed corporation.

TO: Mr. Harry L. Shapiro

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September 13, 1945

FROM: Mr. Eliahu Ben-Horin

In this connection, I suggest that Clayton Lane, the newly appointed foreign service officer of the Department of Commerce to be attached to the American Legation at Beirut and Damascus, ~~should~~ be contacted before he leaves the U. S.



EBH:MK

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

September 28, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

You asked for my opinion on a question of many political implications which has arisen in the conversation you had a few days ago with Mr. Roy W. Howard regarding American and British policies vis-à-vis Palestine and the Middle East as a whole. It seems that the most threatening feature of the Middle Eastern situation, as seen by Mr. Howard, could be formulated as follows.

With Soviet expansionist aspirations in the Mediterranean and the Middle East being so pronounced, would not a definite pro-Zionist stand by Great Britain and the United States throw the Arabs into the arms of the Kremlin? Or, in other words, would not such a development be exactly what Soviet Russia is looking for, in order to use the subsequent Arab opposition to the Western democracies for its own aims in the Middle East?

It is needless for me to say that the question posed by Mr. Howard is one of major importance not only from a Zionist point of view. Developments in the Middle East, one way or another, are bound to deeply affect the international political scene as well as the relations among the Great Powers. It is, therefore, easily understandable why Mr. Howard is so cautious, feeling that any false move by the United States in that all-important area might have irreparable consequences.

I shall endeavor to analyze the problem before you as comprehensively and as objectively as possible on the basis of facts available as to the Soviet plans for the Middle East and of my knowledge of the area and of Soviet policies. Obviously, all that one can expect, under the circumstances, is an analysis and a surmise, for we are dealing with eventualities and future developments.

For the purpose of this analysis, let us take it for granted that the fact itself of Russia's active interest in the Middle East needs no proving. Indeed, few observers of world affairs entertain any doubts as to Soviet aspirations in that area. Moscow's designs on the Straits, Iranian oil, bases in the Mediterranean and in the Persian Gulf are by now an open secret. It is no less obvious that both Great Britain and

the United States do not welcome the prospect of active Soviet penetration into the Middle East. What is less apparent at present is how and by what means do London and Washington intend to counter this seemingly inevitable Soviet onslaught on the Middle East.

It is pertinent for us to visualize the workings of the British and American political minds regarding the Middle East before we attempt to analyze the Soviet policies and intentions. All the attempts of Churchill and Roosevelt at the time to create some counter-balance to the excessive political, military and propagandist might of Soviet Russia, have miserably failed. British and American statesmen and experts arrived at the unhappy conclusion that as far as Europe was concerned, no such counter-balance could possibly be erected. They acknowledged the fact of Russia's indisputable supremacy on the continent of Europe. After that, Britain and America pinned their hopes on the old formula of sea power versus land power. Their intention was to try to keep the Russian colossus as a land-locked Empire. The British statesmen said to themselves that if it is apparently impossible to return to the times when Britannia alone ruled the waves, Britannia and America could still do so. And whoever controls the seas (under this formula, the air forms an appendix to the seas), will still hold the upper hand in the future.

Here is where the question of the Straits and the Middle East comes in. The Western Allies tried to shelve the problem of the Straits as long as they possibly could. However, the Russians raised this question already when they renounced the Soviet-Turkish treaty. And before long the question will have to be faced and resolved. As it happens, this will be one demand of Stalin where he will stand on very firm moral ground. Whether one likes it or not, it is difficult to deny to an empire of Russia's size and importance an outlet to the warm seas, or to place it in a position of subordination to a secondary power like Turkey. However, there seems to be little doubt that both Britain and America are determined to obstruct Soviet expansion through the Dardanelles and the Middle East as long as they possibly can.

This anti-Soviet front in the Mediterranean is at present the strongest link between Britain and America. Indeed, this is the one sphere where British and American understanding and cooperation are firmly established. If American oil interests obtained sizeable concessions in the Middle East, it was obviously done with the tacit acquiescence of Great Britain. No active American penetration into the Middle East would have been possible without British consent. The motives urging Britain to invite American partnership in the Middle East are again to be explained by the Russian threat.

In responding to the British offer to come and share in the natural resources of the Middle East as well as in the political and military responsibilities for that very troublesome area, the United States seems to have also accepted blindly the traditional policies of British imperialism in the Colonial areas. That policy was essentially one of backing the reactionary and backward elements rather than any progressive elements.

In the case of the Middle East and particularly Palestine, the State Department together with predominant sections of the American Oil Industry

have thus adopted the pro-Arab orientation of the British Colonial Office. This pro-Arab orientation of American policies in the Middle East is, as you know, one of the main factors in the present unfavorable Zionist political situation.

However, we are concerned here not with the Zionist aspect of the situation but with its effects on world affairs. If Britain and the United States continue the same policy in the Middle East, namely of backing the kings and effendis and of obstructing the materialization of the recognized Jewish-Zionist aspirations in Palestine, a very harmful conviction shared now by many would be greatly strengthened. I refer to the conviction that in the present world set-up there is only one great power, Soviet Russia, which is the true bearer of progressive ideas and humanitarian principles; that Britain - now joined by America - is the upholder of die-hard conservatism, and reaction, utterly and selfishly imperialistic, and does not care in the least for "a better world."

Is America, and Britain for that matter, interested in lending credence to that conception; in further strengthening the propagandistic appeal of Soviet Russia to the hearts and minds of all the liberal-democratic circles as well as of the young generation in every land? The propagandistic appeal of Soviet Russia is terrific as it is, what with the spectacular victories of the Red Army, the heroism of the Russian people, etc., etc. A pro-effendi British-American policy in the Middle East would "clinch" the thing in the best interests of the Kremlin.

That Moscow is fully alive to this situation is to be seen from the radical change of Soviet Russia's attitude to Zionism, which took place in the last 2-3 years. You may recall my article in Harpers (April, 1944) on THE SOVIET WOOING OF PALESTINE, in which I presented an array of facts pointing to the Kremlin's inclination to make of Jewish Palestine an ally and a friend, or even possibly a spearhead for Russian penetration into the Middle East. Since that article has been published, a number of developments fully endorsed my above evaluation. You will remember the Trade Union Conference in London, a few months ago, where the Soviet delegation voted for a pro-Zionist resolution against the vehement opposition of the Arab delegate. No Soviet delegates ever express their own views. They say and do what they are told by the Politbiuro in Moscow, and that was what they were told in this case.

This does not mean that Soviet Russia neglects the Arab-Moslem angles of the Middle Eastern situation. She does not. There were many indications of Russia's courting for popularity among the Arabs and the Moslems. (Facts to this effect are mentioned in my above Harper's article). However, if Moscow were to accord 100 percent backing to Arab nationalists, there would be no cause for surprise. For that was the official attitude of Soviet Russia all through the years. They gave their open and unreserved support to the Arabs and were no less openly hostile to Zionism. The surprising element of the present Soviet attitude is that, while playing around with Arab-Moslem sentiments in a non-committal way, the Soviets officially endorsed Zionist demands on several occasions.

The conclusions to be drawn from the above are (a) That Stalin, with his usual astuteness and well-developed sense of values and realities, appreciates much better than the British-American statesmen the relative importance of the Jewish-Zionist enterprize in the general politico-economic picture of the Middle East; (b) That he also realizes the moral and propagandistic aspects of a Soviet-Jewish alliance in the Middle East, and considers such a possibility to be more favorable to Russia's standing in the world than the previous pro-effendi orientation.

Against this background, the question which perturbs Mr. Howard seems to be shaping into a clear-cut alternative. Whatever stand American public opinion and American statesmanship may take on the Palestinian issue would hardly prevent the future conflict between the Western democracies and Soviet Russia over the Mediterranean and the Middle East. Unless some miracle happens, which would transform all the statesmen of the world into selfless pacifists and determined anti-imperialists, the Middle East is bound to be the bone of contention in the forthcoming rivalry over economic and political positions. This course of events could hardly be avoided. The alternative before America (and Britain) is, whether they would fight this coming battle on strong moral ground, or they will let Russia hold all the trumps?

Granted that the present generation is hardened to the limit and even callous, moral issues still play and will play in the future a tremendous part in shaping political destinies of mankind. Only short-sighted politicians living on the sensations of the day could possibly under-estimate the importance of right and wrong in political developments. As matters stand today, when Britain does the right thing (I, for one, think that in Greece Britain acted properly), there is a hue and cry of protests and indignation against her; and when Russia does the wrong thing (Poland, policies in the Balkans, etc.), she is still glorified by public opinion here and elsewhere. This is possible as long as Britain and America are labeled the determined protagonists of the status quo ante of the old "bad" world and the Soviets appear to be the only consistent defenders of a new and better world order.

Let us go further and consider the possibility indicated in Mr. Howard's question. Britain and America have adopted a new, decidedly pro-Zionist stand on the Palestinian question. They told the Arabs where they get off, and that Palestine is to be Jewish whether the Arabs kings like it or not; that behind this decision stands the combined determination, power and prestige of Britain and America, and that no amount of pressure would alter that decision. Would not such a step, Mr. Howard asks, push the Arabs into an active alliance with Soviet Russia, and would not Russia jump on such a God-sent opportunity?

What Arabs? It will be the same Arabs who are now wooed and courted by the British and American governments, namely the kings and effendis, the muftis and the feudalistic barons. I do not say for one minute that the Soviet government, which did not hesitate to sign a pact with the Third Reich when it served its purpose, would apriori reject the idea of an alliance with the Arab reactionaries in the Middle East. However, how serious is the threat that those Arab reactionaries would really want Soviet Russia for an ally?

Let us remember that whatever country Moscow takes over, undergoes very fundamental social changes. In Russia, after the Bolshevik revolution, those changes were violent and immediate. In Poland and in the Balkans now, Moscow proceeds slower, but the changes are being introduced all the same. The Arab rulers are aware that their archaic social and economic set-up would not last very long were the Russians to gain a foothold in their territories. For this reason, despite occasional hints of flirtation with the Russians with which they try to bluff the naive young man from our State Department, the War Department and the O.W.I., they dread nothing more than an increase of Russian influence in the Middle East. Indeed, Great Britain, which insists on substantial military and political control despite the facade of native independence is also disliked and there is a growing desire to get rid of British control as well as of French domination. America is the only country which, in the minds of the moslem potentates, represents fat royalties, trading advantages, and cultural opportunities (in those cases where Arab rulers desire such opportunities, as in Syria and the Lebanon; they certainly don't desire them in Saudi Arabia or in Iraq) without asking anything important in return. A pro-American orientation is, therefore, natural to the Arab countries because of self-interest. Equally so a pro-Soviet orientation is the last thing which the Arab kings and effendis would think of even if America and Britain were to adopt a most determined pro-Jewish stand on Palestine.

As matters stand today, the pro-American orientation of the Arabs can be counted upon to continue as long as America remains the strongest and richest power in sight. Were the balance of power to shift, "loyalties" of the Arabs would change overnight. We have seen this happen in the '30s, when the Arabs gained the impression that Nazi Germany was becoming stronger than Great Britain. When this happens to America, not even the most violent anti-Jewish attitude in connection with Palestine would help us to retain Arab sympathies.

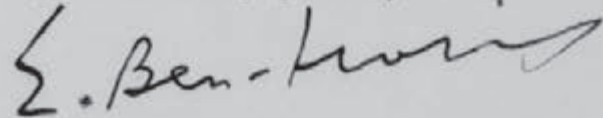
Coming back to the moral aspects and propagandistic values of one or another orientation of British - American policies in the Middle East, it is worth pointing out that a Soviet-Arab alliance in the Middle East, unlikely as it is, would provide Britain and America with all the trumps in the eyes of public opinion in the world. For once, Moscow will find itself in the most awkward moral position, while the Western democracies will have on their side all the appeal to the conscience and idealism of the old and of the young. It seems to me that there can be little doubt as to which of the two positions is to be considered more favorable.

In conclusion I would like to draw Mr. Howard's attention to the military strategic aspects of the Middle Eastern situation. A most illuminating analysis of these problems has been written in Great Britain by a military expert of standing, Mr. W. E. Hart, author of "Landmarks of Modern Strategy". In his pamphlet, "Defense of the Middle East", he analyzes the problem from a purely British Empire viewpoint. Not mentioning even once Soviet Russia by name, it is apparent to any intelligent reader that the future threat from Russia is upper-most in his mind. In a very objective, well reasoned and well informed analysis of the past faults of British strategy and its future tasks in the Middle East, Hart arrives at an objective evaluation of the different factors in the Middle East. It is significant that his advice to the policy

makers and the strategists of Britain is to orientate themselves on Jewish Palestine rather than on the Arabs. If Mr. Howard is interested in this pamphlet of Hart's, which carries also a foreword by General Sir G. le Q. Martel, K.C.B., D.S.O., etc., I shall be glad to procure a copy for him.

Hoping that the above analysis may have contributed to the clarification of the question raised by Mr. Howard, I remain

Very sincerely yours,



Eliahu Ben-Horin

EBH:FK



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
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Murray Hill 2-1160

October 1, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

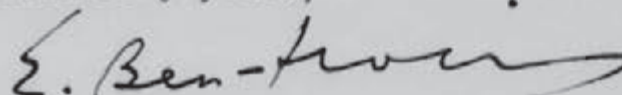
Dear Dr. Silver:

As agreed between us, I reworked and elaborated the latter part of the enclosed memorandum for Roy Howard. In addition to the original, I enclose a copy which you can send with your covering letter to Mr. Howard. The draft of the covering letter, which you read on the train is also attached as well as a copy of Howard's letter to Seltzer.

Writing on the morrow of the Madison Square Garden meeting, and not knowing whether I shall see you before you leave for Washington, I wish to tell you that your speech last night was a magnificent performance. But you know that without my saying so.

Yasher Koakh!

Sincerely yours,



Eliahu Ben-Horin

EBH:HK
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

342 MADISON AVENUE
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October 18, 1945

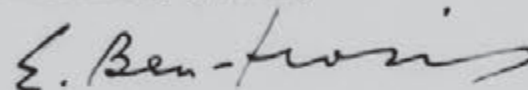
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Following our conversation over the telephone today, Mr. Lourie is preparing a memorandum for you.

I am herewith enclosing the text of an item from the New York Times which states definitely that the foreign Ministers submitted to Secretary Byrnes a memorandum on behalf of the Arab League.

Sincerely yours,



Eliahu Ben-Horin

EBH:SL
Encl.

October 24, 1945

Mr. Eliahu Ben-Horin
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Ben-Horin:

I am sure that you will be interested in
the enclosed copy of a letter which I received
from Mr. Roy Howard.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

AHS:BK
Enc.

Have the Arabs a Case?

BY ELIAHU BEN-HORIN

(For sixteen years a newspaper editor in Palestine; author of "The Middle East, Crossroads of History")

FROM the headquarters of the Arab League in Cairo resolutions, protests, proclamations, and demands are issuing in an almost endless stream. The League is pugnacious, the League is indignant, the League is eloquent; it has something to say about every problem of the Middle East, whether it be Palestine and the Jews, Lebanon and the French, or Tripolitania and the Russians. From farther east, like a distant and invariable echo, sounds the seconding voice of King Ibn Saud, who does not hesitate to threaten the Jews of Palestine, and if need be the entire Western world, with violence should the Palestinian issue be resolved in favor of the Jewish people.

From the new Labor Cabinet in London comes still another echo—the voice of British statesmen and of the British press citing Arab opposition to a Jewish Palestine as the one insurmountable obstacle preventing them from doing the right thing by the Jews. This "Arab argument" has been so thoroughly propagated that even President Truman, speaking of Palestine, finds it necessary to say that he would be unwilling to dispatch an army of 500,000 Americans to the Near East to fight the Arab revolt which might break out if the pledges to the Jewish people are fulfilled.

The idea of a herculean pan-Arabic force in the Middle East ready to rise in a *jihad* is about the most ludicrous politico-military chimera heard of in many years. Two battalions of British troops suppressed the pro-Axis military putsch of the Rashid Ali Bag Gailani government in Iraq in 1941, though it had the backing of the then all-powerful Axis. The ill-armed and ill-trained armies of Egypt and Iraq, the camel riders of Saudi Arabia, and the horsemen of Transjordan, picturesque as they are, would be an ineffective force in these days of mechanized warfare.

Before we drift too far in this misrepresentation of the military strength and unity of purpose of the Arab peoples, it seems pertinent to look closely at Middle Eastern realities and to discover precisely what call these Arab chieftains have on the democracies. Indeed, do the Arabs have a case, and what is it?

As long as the war continued, we knew clearly who was with us and who against us, who fought for civilization and who staked their future on Hitler's victory. Where the Arabs stood was no secret. When the Nazi Wehrmacht rolled across Europe, Arab soldiers in German uniforms with the inscription "Free Arabia" on their sleeves were among the conquering heroes of the Third Reich. Remnants of this Arab Legion now cool their heels in Camp Opelika, Alabama. Special Moslem divisions of the Waffen-S.S. fought the Yugoslav partisans. A red fez decorated with the insignia of a scimitar grasped in a fist flanked by swastikas was worn with their gray-green uniforms.

Amin el Husseini, the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem, and other Arab leaders appealed in the name of Allah to the Arab

Middle East to join hands with Hitler, who was described by them as "the direct descendant of the Prophet." If the risk was too great for an overt alliance they prayed for an

Axis victory. Paeans of thanksgiving rose from the mosques of Syria and Palestine when Rommel took North Africa. Not only was there a pro-Axis revolt in Iraq, but Egypt refused to lift a finger in its own defense, even when Rommel's legions invaded Egyptian territory. An Egyptian statesman carrying the plans of the British High Command in his pocket was seized by the British on the very eve of his escape to Rommel's headquarters.



Faisal Ibn Abdul Aziz
Viceroy of the Hejaz and Foreign Minister of Saudi Arabia

Ibn Saud and King Yahya of Yemen sat comfortably on the fence all through the war, waiting to see which way to jump. In Syria and Lebanon the Arabs were so delighted by Axis victories that they chanted happily, "No more mister, no more monsieur, only Allah in heaven, only Hitler on earth."

If all this is forgotten, the Arabs are still providing us with abundant evidence of their political and moral orientation. There was no need to prompt the French, the Norwegians, the Italians, the Yugoslavs to bring their traitors to trial and punishment. But the Arabs are not only unwilling to try the pro-Axis collaborationists in their midst; they are actually demanding that Amin el Husseini himself, who is now held in France as a war criminal—on the demand of the Yugoslav government—be absolved of all blame and released. These demands by the Arab League and other Arab political associations are understandable. In their eyes the Mufti is simply not a traitor. Pétain, Laval, Quisling, Degrelle, Joyce may be branded traitors by their own people, but according to the political and moral standards of Pan-Arabia, Amin el Husseini, once Hitler's official adviser on Arab affairs, is a national hero, whose only mistake was that he backed the losing horse.

Arab social philosophy and the existing forms of Arab society are in harmony with the Nazi-Fascist system rather than with our democratic ideas. For hundreds of years Arabia withstood the civilizing influence of the West. Even when Ataturk performed his miracle of a revolution in Turkey, westernizing that backward land of Islam, his modern ideas never penetrated into the Arab domains. There the reactionary clergy, the polygamist effendi, and the feudal kings, emirs, and sheiks continued to rule supreme over an impov-

erished, illiterate, and disease-ridden populace.

The fabulous oil riches of the Middle East attracted Western capital. Hundreds of millions of dollars were invested in the development of oil fields, in the construction of refineries and pipe lines, and in royalties to the various Arab governments. Did this flow of capital into Arabia benefit the masses of the people—raise living standards or improve social conditions?

Iraq provides the answer. Unlike the concessions in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, which are still in their infancy, the Iraq concession, granted twenty years ago to British-American-French-Dutch interests, has been in operation for many years. About \$85,000,000 was paid to the Iraqi government in oil royalties, gratuities, educational grants, and non-interest-bearing loans. This may not impress Americans as a large sum, but for a country of Iraq's size and population (3,500,000 inhabitants), and of Iraq's poverty, it is tremendous. Where did this money go? It disappeared into the pockets of the ruling clique, leaving no beneficial effects on either state expenditure or the living conditions of the masses. Here is how an Arab newspaper in Bagdad, the *Saut-el-ahali* (the *Voice of the People*), described life in Iraq in 1944:

It is clear that 90 per cent of the entire population of Iraq live on a subhuman level. They are condemned to a life of starvation and exposed to the ravages of epidemics without benefit of any medical assistance. And these intolerable, primitive conditions exist in the twentieth century among our own Iraqi people, who sweat and toil to make the soil yield riches which are then entirely consumed by others. . . . The government has done nothing either to mitigate the distress or to combat its causes.

Elaborating the subject, the paper divided the population of Iraq into four groups: (1) 2 per cent of the population, who control the entire wealth of the nation and its means of production; (2) 8 per cent, who form a poor middle class and hardly earn a living; (3) 75 per cent, who are chronically undernourished, live in appalling conditions, and are easy prey to every kind of sickness; (4) 15 per cent, who are completely destitute. The death rate in Iraq is high and the birth rate is low, resulting in a natural increase of no more than five per thousand. At least two million persons—more than 50 per cent of the population—are infected with malaria, and there is a high incidence of tuberculosis. Ninety per cent of the people are still illiterate.

The Iraqi government could have achieved much for its people at home, but instead it fought the Jews in Palestine and the French in Syria, promoted Pan-Arabism in Cairo, and made grandstand plays in San Francisco and Washington. And Iraq is not unique: its description applies to every Arab land in the Middle East. The last remnants of a feudal society in the world fight bitterly against any democratic or civilizing innovation. Yet in our desire to woo the Arab kings we have showered on them every kind of favor, political and material. They were admitted on the bandwagon of the United Nations when the war was virtually over. Lend-lease was supplied to them, together with military missions to train their desert armies in modern warfare. Today pan-Arabic aspirations are bolstered by both the British and the American government. President Truman even went so far—on whose advice, one wonders—as to present Prince Abdul Ilah, the Regent of Iraq, with the medal of

the Legion of Merit for his services during the war.

History sadly repeats itself. After the last war it was principally Great Britain which encouraged the pan-Arabic aspirations of King Hussein of Hejaz. Not that Britain believed in the possibility of any comprehensive unity in Arabia; on the contrary, every British expert on Arab affairs said that unity in Arabia was a phantom. Lawrence of Arabia wrote, "When people talk of Arab confederations or empires, they talk fantastically." Gertrude Bell denied the very existence of an Arab nation. As recently as September 26, 1945, a special correspondent of the London *Times* in the Middle East reported: "The difference in political, religious, and economic structure between, say, the Lebanon and Saudi Arabia is much more pronounced than between, say, Germany and France. Tribal, religious, and dynastic antagonisms are more embittered and fanatical in the Oriental than in the European world, and so far the Arab League has been more occupied with traditional eloquence than with the elaboration of constructive programs." And, "Just now the main, if not the only unifying force in the League is an ingrained and traditional xenophobia, directed, according to circumstances, against the French, the British, or the Jews."

The British encouraged King Hussein in his dreams of grandeur because they wanted above all to assure their complete domination over the Middle East, so vitally important to the maintenance of the Empire. Since then, dynastic changes have occurred in the Arab domains. King Hussein lost his kingdom to Ibn Saud and died in exile, a broken and disillusioned man. New chieftains have risen to power. But no social or economic changes of consequence have taken place. Indeed, the Arab-Jewish conflict is no less social than nationalistic in its nature. Numerous signs of an Arab-Jewish rapprochement were noted in the past. This, however, is what the reactionary effendis fear most, for they are bent on preserving their vested interests. The Mufti's clique killed numerous Arabs whose only sin was that they regarded sympathetically the social-economic progress brought to Palestine by Jewish-Zionist enterprise. Arabia remains as closed as ever to the march of civilization.

All this makes it clear that the Arabs have no case. Neither their attitude during the war nor the form of society they represent can possibly appeal to Labor Britain or democratic America. Yet the improbable and illogical seems to be happening. The rulers of Both Britain and the United States seem to be so determined on a pro-Arab orientation in the Middle East that they would rather bear the odium of betraying the Jewish people and of backing reactionary Moslem potentates at this decisive stage in shaping the future world than risk the displeasure of the Arab cliques. What is behind it all?

The usual answer is oil. By now everyone is aware of its unparalleled abundance in the Middle East. But if oil is an important factor in the "Arab case," there is much more to it than that. The Jewish-Arab controversy in Palestine cuts across the most vital issues of world strategy. The major political, economic, and strategic plans of the British-American alliance on the one hand and of Soviet Russia on the other are part and parcel of it. Once again the Middle East, which has figured so prominently in every world conflagration, becomes the bone of contention in the great powers' jockeying for positions and influence.

Palestine and Grand Strategy

BY ELIAHU BEN-HORIN

THE real reason for Great Britain's illogical and unjust Palestine policy is not the threat of pan-Arabic resistance to the development of a Zionist state but considerations of grand strategy. Soviet Russia's expansionist tendencies in the Middle East are the major factor in the shaping of both British and American Middle Eastern policy. The foreign offices of the Western democracies have no fear of Pan-Arabia, but they do fear a Soviet-Arabian rapprochement. Is the threat of an alliance between the Soviets and the Arabian effendi real, or is it just another bogey?

One of the most damaging mistakes of Jewish leaders has been their tendency to present the Palestine problem solely as a quarrel between Jews and Arabs. Nothing could be farther from the mark. There is scarcely an issue of major importance to the great powers in which Palestine does not figure, whether it be the future of world communications, trade expansion, sea power versus land power, the balance of power between East and West, or the destiny of the British Empire. The present British Cabinet, like its predecessors, measures the situation with one question in mind: in the world of today, with its swiftly changing conditions and its completely altered balance of power, what policy will best assure British control of the Middle East? Only a Cabinet prepared to liquidate the Empire and transform Britain into a third-rate power could approach Middle Eastern problems with any other yardstick.

The crucial strategic-geographic importance of the Middle East to a maritime and trading empire like Great Britain is of course axiomatic. What seems to escape notice is Palestine's special position in the picture. More than any other land little Palestine constitutes a link between the continents of Europe, Africa, and Asia. It has a long coastline on the eastern Mediterranean. It lies on the northern bank of the Suez Canal. It is the natural outlet for the oil of Arabia. Loss of Palestine would be a deadly blow to Britain.

Washington, as well as London, is acutely aware of these geo-political realities. This country has only lately acquired a world outlook, but it has already come to realize that it cannot afford to neglect the Middle East. It has a very lively interest in Middle Eastern oil, and this interest means that it needs air and naval bases in the region. In the event of war formal ownership of Arabian oil would be of little avail; the important thing would be its accessibility. To operate concessions in peace and to maintain their accessibility in war, the United States must have outposts of military power on the scene. They are the prize America hopes to obtain through its close alliance with Britain.

The American University in Beirut, the colleges in Cairo and Istanbul, the American missions, numerous archaeological expeditions, and various trading and mining enterprises bear witness to America's long-standing interest in the Middle East. However, through the years, America has been a guest there, and not always a welcome one. Now, for the first time, Great Britain regards the United States as a desir-

able partner. It would be naive to think that American oil companies acquired concessions in Arabia against the will of Great Britain, which is, after all, supreme there. Nor was Britain's compliance an act of altruism. At a time when Soviet Russia's ambitions in the Mediterranean and Persian Gulf have become unmistakably clear, Britain wants the United States to share the political and military responsibility for one of the most troublesome spots on the earth. If John Bull must sooner or later encounter the Russian bear in the Arabian desert, he prefers not to have it a tête-à-tête.

Every effort made by Great Britain and the United States to form a counterbalance in Europe against the excessive might of Russia has failed. Both Western countries have been forced to acknowledge Soviet supremacy on the Continent. A desperate Britain has therefore fallen back on the old formula of sea power versus land power, with air power viewed as an appendix of sea power. This is the true basis of the British-American alliance—to keep the Russian colossus within the boundaries of a land-locked empire. In this strategy the Middle East assumes new importance, for the future balance of power will be determined at the Straits, in the eastern Mediterranean, and in the Persian Gulf.

The Jewish-Arab Palestine controversy must be examined in this perspective. British love for the Arabs or dislike of the Jews does not enter into the question. The British know precisely where they stand so far as the Arabs are concerned. They can permit the Arabs their delusions of grandeur. No harm is done. The British know that no such thing as a united Arabia exists or is likely to arise, and that the petty kings and sheiks can be managed or bought in the future as they have been in the past.

But the United States, new at this game of colonial imperialism, apparently takes what it sees and hears at face value. Emissaries of American oil companies, naive young men from the War Department and the OWI, even State Department officials have been bluffed by the shrewd Moslem potentates. They have returned from their missions to the Middle East with alarming reports of a probable Soviet-Arab alliance through which Russia would emerge dominant in the entire area. The only way to ward off this catastrophe, they report, is to forget the pledges to the Jewish people and the demands of justice and to placate the Arabs.

King Ibn Saud and other Arab politicians must have smiled in their beards when they sold this bill of goods to the Americans. If the Arab rulers have any say in the matter, the Soviets will not penetrate far into the Middle East. They may not be learned gentlemen, but they do know that where Soviet Russia enters, political reaction and social-economic backwardness go out. There is nothing the Arab barons dread more than Soviet influence in their domains.

At the same time they dislike Great Britain, with its insistence on military and political control behind the façade of native independence, and they are also eager to get rid of French domination. The United States thus emerges as a

favorite foreign power. It is the only great power which offers large oil royalties, trading advantages, and cultural opportunities without asking anything important in return. This pro-American orientation of the Arabs can be counted upon to continue as long as America remains the richest and the least imperialistic power in sight. If the situation changed, Arab "loyalties" would change overnight. (In the 1930's, when the Arabs felt that Nazi Germany was growing stronger than Great Britain, they became definitely pro-German.) Should America or the American-British alliance suffer an eclipse, the most violent anti-Jewish attitude in Palestine would not enable us to retain Arab friendship.

My point is that Britain and the United States do not have to trade Jewish blood and Jewish suffering for Arab oil and sympathies; that fear of an Arab-Soviet alliance is fantastic. Moreover, if the Western democracies were looking for a way to increase the propaganda appeal of Soviet policies and to weaken their own moral standing, they could find no surer method than taking an anti-Jewish stand on Palestine. The conviction is spreading in a great many quarters that the Soviet Union is the true bearer of progressive ideas, and that Britain—now joined by America—upholds diehard conservatism and reaction. British-American support of the Arab kings and effendis and obstruction of Jewish aspirations in Palestine reinforces the conviction.

That Moscow is fully alive to the situation is shown by its radical change of attitude toward Zionism in the last two or three years. For nearly a quarter of a century Zionism was outlawed in Soviet Russia, and Zionists were severely persecuted. Now Soviet Jewry has been permitted to acknowledge its fraternal ties with the Jewish people. Ivan Maisky was sent on an official, and sympathetic, mission to Palestine, to survey the possibilities for further Jewish immigration. And on several occasions Soviet delegates to international conferences have voted for pro-Zionist resolutions.

Stalin, with his usual astuteness, apparently has a better understanding than British and American statesmen of the true relationship of the Zionist enterprise in Palestine to the whole politico-economic and strategic situation in the Middle East. He realizes the improbability of a Soviet-Arab alliance and sees that a pro-Jewish attitude in the Middle East would be valuable moral propaganda for Soviet Russia.

With tension mounting in Palestine, Britain and America must make a fateful choice. Either they must persevere in a course which encourages political, economic, and social reaction and the spread of xenophobia, which ignores the frightful Jewish tragedy as well as the solemn pledges given the Jews, and which compromises democracy in the eyes of the world, or they must adopt a new policy which will be progressive and just and also thoroughly sound from the point of view of grand strategy and international peace.



Reprinted by

AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE

41 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N. Y.

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

CONFIDENTIAL

November 2, 1945

Dear Dr. Silver:

When I sat down to write the suggestions I discussed with you over the phone regarding our reaction to the forthcoming visit of Prime Minister Attlee, I felt that a short summary of the situation, as I see it, is indicated. That is why I preface the following considerations to the suggestions which I intend to submit to you in this letter.

It seems to me that in shaping a plan for our immediate political actions, the following considerations should be kept in mind:

1. Our campaign of protest and indignation and of mobilization of public opinion has reached or nearly reached its crescendo. I don't say that we may relax, but I can hardly visualize any more spectacular and impressive means of verbal demonstrations than those which took place in the last 6-8 weeks. In fact, I am afraid that with all our efforts to the contrary we shall be unable to keep up indefinitely the "mass-fever" regarding Palestine. Unless we obtain some tangible results, a relaxation is bound to occur whether we like it or not.
2. As to results, I am afraid that thus far we can boast of none. The AZEC put up an excellent fight, but we seem to be unable to recover in a few weeks positions neglected or lost over a period of twenty years. This is the truth of the situation. Furthermore, there seems to be little doubt that the considerations behind Britain's and America's policies are of such fundamental impact that no usual means of pressure would carry us very far.
3. The new "out" which Attlee and Truman seem to have found - The British-American Enquiry (or Survey) Commission - is very dangerous, because it is plausible. We shall protest against it, as we did already - admirably - in the telegram to Truman, but we shall be unable to destroy its plausibility in the eyes of the badly informed and little concerned public opinion. The whole issue will be shelved again and it will contribute a moral justification for the relaxation of public (including Jewish-Zionist) indignation.

However, protests, demands and enlightenment of public opinion is the main weapon we have and we shall proceed

doing all we can in this direction. I shall outline a few proposals as to the Attlee visit, but before that I wish to recall to you my proposal regarding Moscow. I think it is timely now, and that this could eventually provide the only favorable diversion in the entire situation. I can't think of one reason why we should not try it and of many reasons why we should. After you told me that you intend bringing this question at the next meeting of the Executive, I discussed this matter with Arthur Lurie, and he, too, seemed to have liked the idea. I strongly advise to make a move on it, and to create this ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ badly needed diversion.

With regard to Attlee's visit, I would suggest the following tentative measures:

1. I read something about Attlee's addressing a joint session of Congress. If it is true, we should prepare a couple of Senators and Congressmen to ask him embarrassing and strongly worded questions.
2. To provide a suitable background for this, pickets with appropriate posters should be stationed before the Congress bldg.
3. An "Open Letter to Attlee" should be published in the Washington papers on the same day or on the eve of his address.
4. If it were possible to know beforehand the exact hour of Attlee's arrival in New York, I would strongly suggest that he be met by a very militant demonstration on the airport or wherever he arrives, with a considerable number of ex-soldiers among the demonstrators.
5. A letter should be written now to Lord Halifax, asking for an appointment with Attlee for you and Dr. Wise.
6. A similar application for an appointment for a Murray-Green delegation should be made, which would present him with a united view of America labor.
7. I would suggest also a third delegation to Attlee, consisting of 2-3 very prominent liberals whose names he knows, such as Freda Karchway, Reinhold Niebuhr, or maybe better names could be suggested.
8. Could we organize an impressive mass demonstration in Washington during Attlee's stay there?

This is all I can think of for the moment. If something else occurs to me before Monday, I shall communicate it to you.

Very sincerely yours,

Eliahu Ben-Horin

November 6, 1945

Mr. Eliahu Ben-Horin
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Ben-Horin:

Professor Yahuda is eager to be helpful. I have been in touch with him by correspondence, but I have not had the time for a personal conversation with him. I would suggest that you spend some time with Professor Yahuda, tell him that I requested you to see him, and find out from him what he believes we should do at the present moment in relation to the Arab angle of our work. Find out also wherein he thinks he himself can be helpful.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

November 6, 1945

Mr. Eliahu Ben-Horin
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Ben-Horin:

Please get out a good "Open Letter to Mr. Attlee." Make a draft of it and then talk it over with Manson. Perhaps by the end of the week you can let me see it.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK



Mr Harry L. Shapiro

November 7, 1945

Eliahu Ben-Horin

1. As I reported to you already, I made today arrangements with Mr. David Loth, concerning his writing a book on the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem, which I plan to have published both as a book and in the form of a pocket edition. David Loth is a well known author of biographical books, some of them best sellers. He is Jewish, was in Palestine, and knows exactly in what kind of book on the Mufti we are interested.

I promised him maximum cooperation on our part in providing him with material. On the other hand, I impressed upon him the urgency of the matter, and he hopes to be able to write the book in about four months time after he receives the material. The next step is to secure a speedy publication of the book. Our literary agent, Miss Mennine Joseph had already an exploratory talk with one of the heads of Simon and Shuster, and the man was interested. I shall now ask Miss Joseph to proceed with the negotiations with Simon and Shuster, or some other suitable publishing firm.

By the way, Loth is a close collaborator of Henry Morgenthau, and as far as I understand, has ghost-written for him his book.

2. I don't know whether you had time to discuss with Dr. Silver my suggestions with regard to "Palestine". However, if a reform of this publication is to be undertaken, I think that the time is now to start planning it. As you seemed to have been interested in my ideas on the subject, I suggest that we discuss the matter thoroughly with Dr. Silver when he is next in New York.

EEH:RB

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Constituent Organizations

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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

November 8, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Thanks for your letters of November 6, and the suggestions which they contained. I am writing today to Prof. Yahuda along the lines indicated by you, and I will arrange to meet him and talk with him. In fact, I intended to do so in connection with the book on the Mufti to be written by Mr. David Loth, as you may see from my memo to Mr. Shapiro, a copy of which I attach to this letter.

As to the "Open Letter to Mr. Attlee", I tried my best but, I understand, you have different ideas on the subject. I am now waiting to see what Mr. Manson will produce, and then, if necessary, I shall work on it again.

I shall follow up your suggestion with regard to the editor of the "Sun". The last couple of days were very crowded, and I couldn't do it. When I see you next week, I hope, I will tell you about the forum of the East and West Association in which I participated yesterday on the subject: "The Right to Self-Government". As you may well guess, I was the only one to defend the unpopular view in America that self-government is not a fetish, and that qualifications to self-government have to be established in certain cases. However, it was an interesting and lively discussion.

Very sincerely yours,

E. Ben-Horin

EBH:RB
Enc.

Eliahu Ben-Horin

P.S. Since I dictated this letter, I tried to get an appointment with the Editor of the Sun, & am waiting now for a communication from his Secretary.

November 12, 1945

Mr. Edwin S. Friendly
The Sun
280 Broadway
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Friendly:

I greatly appreciate your kindness in introducing me to Mr. Craig, with whom I had a good talk this morning. However, as Mr. Craig said, he is confused on the Palestinian issue and he seems to be reluctant to touch on it now. I wrote to him today as per enclosed copy, and we would feel greatly indebted to you, if you, on your part, would support our request for editorial backing by the Sun.

If the independent, straight-speaking American press will hesitate in supporting a just and highly humanitarian cause, and in voicing the predominant sentiments of American public opinion, then to whom could one possibly turn for understanding and help?

Sincerely yours,

EEH:RB
Enc.

Eliahu-Ben-Horin

November 12, 1945

Mr. George E. Sokolsky
300 West End Avenue
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Sokolsky:

My repeated efforts to get in touch with you recently were not successful. As you see, I am now working with the American Zionist Emergency Council. At the suggestion of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, I went to see Mr. Friendly of the Sun, trying to get him to publish a pro-Zionist editorial on the Palestinian problem now, when Attlee is here.

Mr. Friendly introduced me to the chief editorial writer, Mr. James E. Craig, with whom I had a long talk. However, as you may see from the enclosed copy of my letter to him, he did not display too much courage or understanding on the issue. I enclose also a copy of my letter to Mr. Friendly. Could you help us with the Sun?

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

EBH:RB

Eliahu Ben-Horin

November 12, 1945

Mr. James E. Craig
The Sun
280 Broadway
New York City, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Craig:

Upon return to my office, after our conversation this morning, I hasten to send you the material I promised, which may help you to see the various aspects of the Palestinian and Middle Eastern situation in their true lights. I enclose a memorandum submitted by the American Zionist Emergency Council to the Secretary of State in reply to the Roosevelt-Ibn Saud correspondence, and a reprint of my two recent articles in the Nation dealing with the problems we discussed.

Understanding as I do your reluctance to tackle a problem which seems to be so involved, I wish to emphasize again that the Palestinian issue is not half as complicated as some people try to make it. It was a clear-cut issue twenty-eight years ago, when the Balfour Declaration was written, and nothing happened since then to weaken the rights of the Jewish people to Palestine or to strengthen the Arab claims. On the contrary, the tragedy of Jewish homelessness and defenselessness in the world has reached its peak. Jewish achievements in Palestine represent not only a glorious chapter from a Zionist viewpoint, but also greatly benefited the Arab masses. In this war, the Jewish people rendered outstanding services to the allied cause whereas the Arabs were aligned with the Axis. Thus, from whatever viewpoint you look at it, the Zionist cause merits American support.

You are aware of the pro-Zionist commitments of the two main political parties in America. Every outstanding leader both of the Republican and Democratic parties endorsed wholeheartedly the Zionist objectives. It seems to us that a favorable editorial in the Sun could do a great deal of good at this juncture. We should therefore greatly appreciate it if you could give some more thought to this matter and support our cause editorially.

Sincerely yours,

EBH:RB
Enc.

Eliahu Ben-Horin

American Zionist Emergency Council

at Shapiro's
suggestion!
I will
airmail
you this
letter.
BH.

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Zionist Organization of America

CONFIDENTIAL

November 13, 1945

Dear Dr. Silver:

I will hand you this letter tomorrow, when you are in New York. However, not being sure that you will have the time for a talk on the latest political developments, I shall include in this letter not only a report about current matters but also some remarks with regard to Bevin's statement.

Russia

You probably read Eliahu Epstein's memorandum of November 11th about U.S.S.R.'s activities in Syria and Lebanon. Approaching the problem from the Arab angle, Epstein arrives at exactly the same conclusions as I did when I suggested the Benes-Moscow approach. I was glad to hear that the Committee of Eight approved of it. What happened since? What was London's reaction. I may add that according to a report in Newsweek, Azzam Bey intends to visit Moscow in the near future. I cannot emphasize enough the importance, in my opinion, of this demarche.

Latin America

I know that this area is not included in the terms of reference of the Emergency Council. But you are also a member of the World Executive. Another memorandum of Epstein's (of the same date) indicates that unless something is done on a large scale and efficiently in Latin America, we may lose political ground there to the intensive Arab propaganda. Before long we shall feel the repercussions of such a development also here and everywhere. I wish, if I may, to draw your attention to Epstein's sensible suggestions in this respect.

Prof. Yahuda

I sent you a copy of my letter to him. Yesterday he was waiting for you, but you could not make the appointment. Today, he phoned me, saying that before he talks to me he would like to talk over matters with you, as "he wants to know what exactly do you want of him; he being tired of giving advice and not knowing whether it is being followed." Accordingly, he said that he will get in touch with me after he has spoken to you. Before I meet him, I hope to hear from you more about your ideas and plans with regard to Yahuda.

Bevin's Statement

You do not need my evaluation of the statement, and I shall skip that. Let me only remark that it was very inconsiderate on Bevin's part to come out with such a statement on the morrow of Weizmann's report to the Emergency Council, which I did not attend but which, I understand, was an ungallant effort to sell the British Cabinet's policy under cover of optimistic rumors. Bevin should have given Weizmann a little more time.

The obvious question before us is what to do? I understand that Weizmann spoke last night in favor of accepting the American-British Committee of Inquiry with the proviso that a time limit should be set. I am sure that you agree with me that that would be the continuation of the suicide of Zionism. In the best case from six to nine months will elapse before the Committee publishes its report, and they can drag it on much longer.

However, whether we accept the Committee or do not, this step represents the officially declared policy of both Britain and the U.S.A. What is our attitude towards this fact. Do we accept it under protest and proceed to recognize its supreme authority in solving both the Jewish and Palestinian problems (carefully divorced in Bevin's statement)? Do we collaborate with the Anglo-American Committee, or we do not?

At this stage, this is the major question to be decided upon, and may I add that whatever decision is adopted upon mature consideration it must be adhered to uncompromisingly to the very end. Otherwise we defeat our own efforts. Marvin Lowenthal, in a talk between a few of us this morning, suggested that we take the path of non-cooperation with the Committee, emphasizing that the motivation of such an attitude should be well prepared, lest it is misinterpreted in the eyes of public opinion. I agree with Lowenthal. I cannot see any benefits derived from our cooperation with the Committee, submitting to them material and evidence, when we know exactly that basic premises of the inquiry are decidedly anti-Zionist, aimed to pave the way for the abolition of the Mandate. On the other hand, all our shouting against the Committee and our protests and non-acceptance of it is not worth twopence, the moment we acquiesce to it and supply it with data and witnesses. I, therefore, suggest that you consider very carefully the respective effects of cooperation and non-cooperation and if you accept Lowenthal's opinion you will have to make a stand on that issue.

Non-cooperation is one weapon left in our hands and directed both against the government of Great Britain and of the U.S.A. However, now we know clearly where we stand with the USA Government. They associated themselves fully with the British anti-Zionist stand. The battle against the American Government is wholly the job of American Zionism, and it seems to me that there is no use anymore in the usual protests and demonstrations. Zionism must align itself against the present Administration. Nothing short

of that would be effective.

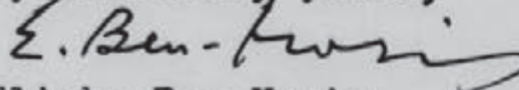
Outside of our possible activities in America, I think that three aspects of political action should be considered:

1. Russia: The present developments make it more imperative than ever to try the Russian angle.

2. Palestine: There will be no "Havlagah" in Palestine, regardless of what Weizmann or anyone may suggest. The problem before us is to direct the indignation and despair of Palestine Jewry in a manner which would not be suicidal from a military viewpoint and effective from a political viewpoint.

3. England: As in the above case of Latin America, I know that this is not within our jurisdiction. However, let me emphasize that unless the political management of Zionist affairs is placed now in determined hands on a global basis, there is very little you would be able to do in any one country alone, even if that country is as great and as important as America. If Weizmann or Weizmannism is allowed to manage political affairs in London, we are sunk. I dare say that Attlee and Bevin came out with this statement being sure that Weizmann will swallow it. They might have acted differently had they known that Zionism has a determined and uncompromising leadership. We must wage the major battle against the Attlee-Bevin policy in Britain itself and in the British Labor Party. We must bring about a revolution in the British Labor Party on the Palestinian issue. Laski is coming here in December, but we should not wait until then. I do not have to tell you that this is the emergency and we must decide on emergency measures and on an emergency tempo of political work all over the world.

Very sincerely yours,



Eliahu Ben-Horin

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Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
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Zionist Organization of America

December 20, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Baruch Haba! If your travels were not very comfortable, as I understand, you cannot complain of the reception accorded to you by the Congress of the United States. Congratulations.

I understand that we may expect you in New York early next week. However, foreseeing that you will be very busy, I wish to report to you about a couple of developments during your absence, which you should know.

First, about the Mufti affair. A few days after your departure, we had a little conference here with the participation of Professor Yahuda, Shapiro, Lourie and myself. As a result of it, it was decided that a memorandum about the Mufti be prepared by me and sent on behalf of the Council to proper quarters. I enclose a copy of the memorandum which was sent to the Secretary of State with a covering letter signed by Dr. Wise. I had a talk on this subject with Louis Adamic, and he agreed to write a personal letter to Marshal Tito. I prepared for him the draft of such a letter, a copy of which I enclose, and since then I have heard from Adamic that he wrote to Tito using my draft almost verbatim.

In addition, suitable letters enclosing the memorandum were sent, under Lourie's signature, to the Ambassadors of Yugoslavia, France and Soviet Russia in Washington. It seems to me that it was not only a very necessary action but also a timely one, for there are continuous rumors about ~~the~~ efforts to bring the Mufti back to power.

There have been also some developments with regard to the Hoover Plan. Surprisingly a much better reception has been accorded to his plan than it could have been expected. Yesterday I had talks on this subject with Julius Fohs, of whose interest in the matter I told you in Washington, and Elisha Freedman, who published a two-column letter in last Sunday's New York Times, praising the Hoover Plan.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

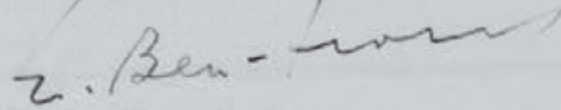
December 20, 1945

A couple of days earlier, I suddenly received a telephone call from Isaac Don Levine, from whom I have not heard for a long time. He has an idea that the best thing we could do would be to bring about a rider to the American loan for Britain stipulating that about two hundred million dollars of the loan should be earmarked for the Hoover resettlement plan. He thinks that with the proper organization and propaganda this could be achieved. Obviously, this idea could not be taken up by the official Zionist bodies, but if a suitable group could be formed to sponsor it privately, it may well be worth trying. I did not discuss it with Hoover, but I mentioned it to both Fohs and Freedman. Before doing anything more in this direction, I would like to have your reaction. It seems that the New York Times, too, took the Hoover idea seriously. I understand that Sulzberger, Adler and Company have invited Hoover for lunch, probably to try and talk him out of it. I do not know yet what happened at that luncheon, which was supposed to have taken place last Monday, but I will try to find out.

I was very much interested to hear from Shapiro what you told him about your impressions of the Yishuv. I hope to hear more about it when I see you next week.

Looking forward to seeing you, and with kindest regards,

Very sincerely yours,


Elishu Ben-Horin

EBH:EB
encs.

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

January 7, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:


I enclose the first draft of the advertisement, and I shall expect to hear from you tomorrow, for if we intend doing something, it has to be done immediately.

I hear that the New Zionist Organization of America has decided, at its conference last night, to rejoin the Zionist Organization. I don't know the details yet, but I believe that this resolution was passed by forty votes against eighteen.

Yesterdays Times carried a two column letter by Elisha Friedman, in favor of the Hoover plan, in reply to an earlier letter by Dr. Khalil Totah of the American Institute for Arab Affairs. Friedman is making some reprints, when I shall send you a copy.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,



Eliahu Ben-Horin

EBH:RB
Enc.

P.S. 1. - The State Dept writes to Dr. Wise, in reply to the Mufti's memorandums, that they communicated with the Amer. representative on the War Crimes Com., asking for exact information on the Mufti's statements.

2. - As I am now engaged in writing editorials for the next issue of "Palestine" I would like to have your opinion on the last issue.

DRAFT OF ADVERTISEMENT

SEVENTEEN COMMISSIONS OF "ENQUIRY"

When Mr. Ernest Bevin, Foreign Secretary of Great Britain, made his statement on Palestine in the House of Commons, on November 13, 1945, announcing the formation of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, the reaction of organized Zionism as well as of world Jewry was one of misgivings and mistrust. All through the years, the British Government, instead of implementing the obligations assumed under the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate, appointed one commission after another to find some semblance of justification for Britain's betrayal of its pledges to the Jewish people. There have been sixteen commissions of enquiry in 25 years; Mr. Bevin appointed the seventeenth.

A SHELIVING DEVICE

The predominant sentiment among Jews and Zionists was to completely ignore this new Committee. We knew, all too well, that there was nothing to enquire into that had not already been thoroughly studied by innumerable experts and commissions. No amount of enquiries could change the fact that Palestine was promised to the Jewish people by fifty two nations under a binding international covenant, and then tightly closed in the face of Jews fleeing for their lives. Nor could enquiries whitewash the ~~immoral~~ policy of Britain under the illegal White Paper of 1939. Nor would enquiries make the Jewish survivors in Europe give up their overwhelming desire to find security and life of self-respect in Palestine. The new Committee was clearly a device on the part of Britain further to shelve the Palestine problem and to lend some respectability to their treacherous policy with regard to Palestine and the Jewish people.

IN DEFERENCE TO AMERICA

If, however, we did not boycott the Committee, it was mainly because for the first time, the United States lent its name and authority to an enquiry on Palestine. We thought that it would be only fair on our part to cooperate with

a Committee which is half-American. That is why our representatives will come before the Committee to submit the facts regarding the Palestine problem and the position of what is left of Europe's Jewry.

A NEW BREACH OF PROMISE

But while the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry was in the process of organization, the agents of British colonial imperialism did not remain idle. Immigration into Palestine was completely stopped. Even Mr. Bevin's meager promise of 1,500 immigration certificates per month until the end of the enquiry has been shamelessly broken. If there were any doubts as to Britain's honesty and sincerity in relation to this enquiry, the complete stoppage of Jewish immigration into Palestine should eliminate such doubts.

THE MORGAN EPISODE

The second step of Britain's agents has been to try to distort the position in Europe with regard to the Jewish survivors there and their overwhelming desire to go to Palestine. Lt. General Sir Frederick E. Morgan, chief of operations in Germany of UNRRA, seemed to have been entrusted with this task. In an openly anti-Semitic statement General Morgan tried to convey the impression that the reports of the Jewish tragedy in Europe were no more than a fairy tale; that the survivors of Hitler's torture chambers and extermination camps were rosy-cheeked, well clothed and well fed, with plenty of money in their pockets; that pogromist actions in Poland against the returning Jews were a Jewish invention; that Jews flee Poland in search of immigration to Palestine only because there exists a worldwide Zionist conspiracy organizing their clandestine exodus to Palestine.

The UNRRA dealt promptly and sternly with the Morgan episode, asking for the General's immediate resignation. However, it is obvious (that General Morgan should not carry the entire blame for his vicious statement. He was performing a service for the British Colonial Office.) The timing of General Morgan's statement - on the very eve of the first meeting of the Committee of Inquiry - is significant. So is the reaction of the British press to the dismissal of the

General by UNRRA. The British press is simply indignant at America's refusal to swallow the anti-Semitic propaganda of the British General. This time the British have failed in their attempt, but the fact that the vicious attempt has been made remains.

BRITISH TERROR IN PALESTINE

While immigration into Palestine is stopped by Great Britain, and while in Europe the remnants of Jewry are subjected to massacres and beatings in Poland and to indignities at the hands of British supervisors, the British administration in Palestine has introduced a reign of terror. Having made Palestine their main military base in the Middle East (with a strong garrison in attendance) the British shoot and kill Jews on the slightest provocation and without provocations. Grown-ups and children have been killed and wounded by the British on ^{numerous} many occasions. Behind it is a frank desire to intimidate the Jewish people into submission to the cruel and illegal White Paper policy and into acceptance of the stoppage of Jewish immigration. In Palestine and in Europe, the British are engaged in an organized crucifixion of the Jewish people.

TERROR PROVOKES TERROR

There is little wonder that in response to this (inhuman and treacherous) policy of Britain, Jewish youths in Palestine are driven to despair and throw bombs at British officials or blow up British governmental buildings. Anti-British terror in Palestine is Britain's doing. Jewish youth was the best friend Britain had in peace and war. The Jewish people ^{wishes} wants to remain Britain's friend, but not at the cost of its own (physical and) national survival. (It is up to Great Britain to offer us friendship in return.) Stoppage of Jewish immigration into Palestine, betrayal of pledges solemnly given to the Jewish people, a reign of terror in Palestine and statements like that by General Morgan are not conducive to friendship.

WE LOOK HOPEFULLY TO AMERICA

What Mr. Bevin wanted the Committee of Inquiry to accomplish we know beyond doubt. He wanted it to sanction all the illegalities and atrocities committed

by the British regime in Palestine. This is obvious from both Mr. Bevin's original statement and from British policies and actions since. The British members of the Committee will do their government's bidding. If this were a purely British Committee, the submission of evidence on our part would be an act of folly, for no amount of facts or persuasion could change the minds of men influenced by a directive of their Government.

It is up to the American members of the Committee to form their views on the basis of the evidence submitted and the salient facts of the situation. They will be subjected to official and unofficial pressure by their British colleagues as well as by certain anti-Zionist influences in this country. We trust that they will remember not only (Jewish contributions to civilization in war and peace,) the pledges issued to the Jewish people by all the nations of the world, and the unparalleled Jewish tragedy of our day, but also the traditional pro-Zionist stand of the United States, recently confirmed in a concurrent resolution of both Houses of Congress.

America, the world's symbol of liberty and compassion, will not let down the one people that needs liberty and compassion for its very survival on God's earth.

C O P Y

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
COMMISSION ON LAW AND SOCIAL ACTION


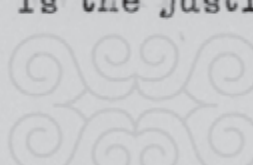
January 8, 1946

Standard Oil Company of New Jersey
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York City

Dear Sirs:

We have received several inquiries regarding the authenticity of reports that the United States and the Standard Oil Company are constructing military and commercial bases for the Saudi Arabian Government and that that government has requested, and obtained assurances, that no persons of the Jewish faith would be employed in the construction of these bases.

Will you be good enough to let us know what factual basis, if any, there is for such reports, and if they are founded in fact, what is the justification for this discrimination against Jews.



Very truly yours,

Will Maslow
Director

The above letter has also been sent to the Director of the Office of Near Eastern Affairs, Department of State, Washington, D. C.

Harry L. Shapiro

January 8, 1946

Eliahu Ben-Horin

You may recall the memorandum you received some time ago from Dr. Aksin regarding the Iranian Institute. I also communicated to you later what Mr. Gourevich told me about a new Institute which is being formed, on his initiative, for African and Middle Eastern affairs, to be headed by Dr. Alvin Johnson. In a conversation I had with Mr. Gourevich today, when he told me that Dr. Johnson has been officially elected to head the Institute, I asked him what he knows about Johnson's anti-Zionist letter recommending Elmer Berger's book. Gourevich then said to me that Johnson is anti-Zionist and so is he, Gourevich. This latter fact was new to me. However, after listening further to Gourevich's talk, explaining that he was responsible for the Hebrew Nation Ideology of the Bergson group, I saw no reason for our taking any positive interest in the new Institute or in Mr. Gourevich.

However, it seems to me that if a new Institute is formed by anti-Zionists like Gourevich, it would be advisable for us to be on the alert and to have all the information regarding this venture. If it meets with your approval, I will contact Eliahu Epstein and ask him to find out all he can through his sources of information and then we shall know what is before us.

EBH:RB

Harry L. Shapiro

January 8, 1946

Eliahu Ben-Horin

The Editorial in "Life"

I told you of my trying to get in touch with Raymond L. Buell, who is now one of the editors of Fortune Magazine. I was told that he was sick. This morning I received a letter from him, in which he states that he has been in the hospital for an operation on his eye and that he would like very much to see me to discuss the Middle Eastern situation. I shall probably see him some time next week, as he is still in bed.

Manson probably told you that when we discussed the matter of "Life" with George Sokolsky, he expressed the opinion that Henry Luce should be approached by no one else but Dr. Silver himself. Both Manson and I thought that was good advice, and I therefore did not try to obtain an appointment with Luce for myself. I spoke about this matter today to Dr. Silver over the phone, and he agreed to see Mr. Luce if an appointment could be arranged. It seems that Mr. Luce is now in the South recovering from an illness. However, we shall probably be able to make an appointment in a couple of weeks.

It seems to me that my idea to see Mrs. Luce and suggest to her that she write in "Life" a pro-Zionist piece has merits. I mentioned it at the time to Dr. Aksin, and I think he should be reminded of it, especially in view of the excellent speech in Congress by Mrs. Luce during the resolution debate. I am sending a copy of this memorandum to Dr. Aksin, and I hope that he will be able to follow it up.

Miss Hannah Arendt's article in The Menorah Journal

Hannah Arendt's article "Zionism Reconsidered" in the last issue of the Menorah Journal was the subject of many talks in our office. It was felt that this article, written in an extremely hostile spirit, should be answered. Mr. Lourie spoke about it to the editor of the Journal, Mr. Henry Hurwitz, and arranged for me to meet him. Today I had a long talk with Mr. Hurwitz and I am going to have a second talk with him this Friday evening. I think it will result in his asking me to write an article for the next issue. However, as I told him, I do not intend to write an answer to Miss Arendt, but rather to write an independent piece on "Zionism Reconsidered" discussing the Jewish, Arab and British aspects of the problem.

Johannes Steel

In connection with one of his broadcasts I wrote to him, drawing his attention to some misconception in his analysis of the Palestine situation. He now answered my letter suggesting that we meet for lunch and have a talk on the subject. We are meeting next week.

I.F. Stone's articles on Bi-nationalism in Palestine

Following my discussions in the office with you and Mr. Manson, I had several talks over the phone with Lillie Schultz of the Nation. She agreed with me that Stone's articles should not only be answered but as she put it "devastated". She promised to discuss the matter with Freda Kirchway, and let me know. Her personal viewpoint was that the article in the Nation should be signed by a very prominent Christian, because she considers Stone a "big name". Although I disagreed with her on this point, I did not think it advisable to make an issue of it. I asked her whether Senator Wagner would be the right man to sign the article and she said that in her opinion it would, but she wants to have Miss Kirchway's reaction first. Since then, I haven't heard from Miss Schultz, although I tried several times to get in touch with her. At the moment she is sick, but I hope to clear up this matter with her by the end of the week.

Manson dealt with the PM end of the same problem. As far as I know, he didn't receive any definite answer from them as to whether they would be willing to publish an article or two in reply to Stone. I still think that it is important not to leave Stone's articles unanswered, and I saw in the mail that some of our people in the periphery feel the same way about it.

Randolph Churchill

I have noticed lately that Randolph Churchill, the son and heir of Winston Churchill, has come out strongly in favor of Zionism. He, of course, does not represent much by himself. He even lost his seat in the House of Commons, but he is Winston Churchill's son and writes a column for the Scripts-Howard Press. I wonder whether we can use him or his name in some way?

BBH:BB

Dr. L. Horin

January 14, 1956

Mr. Eliahu Epstein
Jewish Agency for Palestine
2210 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Epstein:

I want to inform you of a certain development which may be of interest to you. I also hope that you might be able to get additional information on the subject from your channels.

I understand that an African-Middle East institute is being formed. I don't know whether this is the exact name of the new institute, but it describes approximately its sphere of studies. Dr. Alvin Johnson, the former head of the New School of Social Research, is supposed to be the president of the new institute. The moving power in the whole scheme is Adolph Gourevitch.

Now, I don't know whether you are aware of Alvin Johnson's change of attitude towards Zionism. You probably are. The fact is that, after having been pro-Zionist in the past, Johnson recently warmly recommended the book of Elmer Berger in a long letter extremely hostile to the Zionist ideology, associating himself with the views of the Council on Judaism. Gourevitch, on the other hand, a former Zionist and Revisionist, is ideologically aligned with the Bergson group and their theory of a Hebrew nation.

It seems to me that this formation might be very harmful and that a thorough and timely investigation is indicated.

Kindly let me know what you think about it and what information you have on this matter.

Sincerely yours,

EBH:SS

Eliahu Ben-Horin

C O P Y

STANDARD OIL COMPANY
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York

January 11, 1946

ROOM 1626

Mr. Will Maslow
American Jewish Congress
212 W. 50th Street
New York 19, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Maslow:

In reply to your letter of January 8, obviously we cannot speak for the United States Government but, speaking for ourselves, we can state categorically that we are not constructing military or commercial bases for the Saudi Arabian Government and have no agreement with this Government or any other Government regarding the religious faith of those employed in construction work.

We have no idea where such reports could have originated and assure you that any such policies or actions are completely at variance with our long established policy of non-discrimination in our employment and business practices.

Sincerely,

G. H. FRYERMUTH

C O P Y

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Washington

January 14, 1946

In reply refer to
NE

My dear Mr. Maslow:

Your letter of January 8 has been received regarding the authenticity of reports that the United States and the Standard Oil Company are constructing military and commercial bases for the Saudi Arab Government and that that Government has requested and obtained assurances that no persons of the Jewish faith would be employed in the construction of these bases.

I presume that these reports refer to the airport which is under construction by the United States Army at Dhahran, Saudi Arabia. A careful review by the Department of State and the War Department of the negotiations between this Government and that of Saudi Arabia reveals no reference whatsoever to the nationality or religion of the workers employed on this construction project.

Insofar as the Department is aware, there is no agreement to which any agency of this Government is a party prohibiting the employment of workers in Saudi Arabia on the grounds of nationality or religion.

Sincerely yours,

LOY W. HENDERSON
Director, Office of
Near Eastern and African Affairs

Mr. Will Maslow, Director
American Jewish Congress
Commission on Law and Social Action
212 West Fiftieth Street
New York 19, N.Y.

Dr. Silver

January 15, 1946

Professor A. S. Yahuda
162 Bishop Street
New Haven, Conn.

Dear Professor Yahuda:

I wish to inform you that Mr. Arazi is now on his way from Paris to New York. When he arrives, we shall receive, I hope, the exact information as to the Mufti affair. It goes without saying that I shall keep you informed.

In one of our conversations, you mentioned having spoken to Del Vayo about me. I don't remember the connection, but I would like to contact Del Vayo and talk to him about the Palestine problem.

Would you be able to introduce me to him, or advise me of the best way to meet him?

With kindest regards to you and Mrs. Yahuda,
I am

Sincerely yours,

EBH:BW

Elishu Ben-Horin

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date January 17, 1946

From Eliahu Ben-Horin

Enclosed please find an extract from the stenographic report on
Dr. Niebuhr's evidence dealing with the Hoover Plan.

*I also enclose a copy of my letter to
Mrs. Hoover.*

EBH:RW
Encl.



Extract from Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr's evidence before the
Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry

Questions and Answers

DR. AYDELOTTE: ...You would be inclined to take Herbert Hoover's solution that we move some of the Arabs across the Jordan, would you?

MR. NIEBUHR: Yes. Not necessarily forcible removal. I would say that the Arabs ought to have a quid pro quo, partly through an economic development of the Arab world -- soil conservation. I don't say that is an easy thing and I don't claim to be an expert, but I think there ought to be a solution, though it may not appeal to the Arabs as being immediately just. I don't know of a way of solving this problem without the loss of some sovereignty in some part of Palestine. To have a bi-national state with one of the parties entering having its own hinterland, makes it something less than a bilateral state, and I don't think that would work out without friction. So I am assuming that it is possible to give a long-run quid pro quo for the Arabs but not a short one.

DR. AYDELOTTE: Really by the investment of capital in Arab lands outside of Palestine?

MR. NIEBUHR: Yes.



January 18, 1946

Honorable Herbert Hoover
Waldorf Astoria Hotel
50 Street and Park Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

You may be interested in the following quotation from the broadcast of Elmer Peterson over station KFI (Los Angeles) on January 11, 1946.

"...And there is increasing attention now to the proposal of Herbert Hoover, who sometime ago, proposed the irrigation of Iraq in the Middle East and the transfer of the fertile acres of Iraq of the Arabs of Palestine. This irrigation problem, as outlined by Mr. Hoover, would it is estimated cost a \$100,000,000. On the question of who would pay for this, the argument is raised that the homeless Jews of Europe are entitled to some reparation, inasmuch as the property of some 7,000,000 Jews was destroyed by the war in Europe. Or it is suggested that the resettlement of the Arabs could be financed by the United Nations loan. In general therefore Mr. Hoover has made an interesting suggestion, with the argument that the millions of Arabs in Palestine would be better off this way by resettlement."

Sincerely yours,

EBH:EW

Eliahu Ben-Horin

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date January 18, 1946

From Elishu Ben-Horin

You may recall having received a copy of my letter to Mr. Sulzberger of the New York Times, dealing with Currivan's report on the Mufti and his dispatches in general.

I enclose a copy of Mr. Sulzberger's reply, which I intend following up by producing the necessary proof regarding the biased reports of Currivan.

EBH:RW
Encl.



C O P Y

The New York Times
Times Square

January 16, 1946

Dear Mr. Ben-Horin:

I have your letter of January 10th and agree with you that, from everything that is known about the ex-Mufti, it would negate the need of the use of the word "alleged" in speaking of him as an Axis collaborator.

Naturally I take issue with your statement that "Time and again, we come across vicious statements and interpretations in the dispatches of Gene Currivan from Palestine," although I agree with you that "Palestine is a sore spot" and that "there is enough tragedy in the Palestine-Jewish situation as it is."

If you have any specific charges to make against Mr. Currivan, I should be glad to hear them.

Faithfully yours,

(SIGNED)

Arthur Hays Sulzberger

Mr. Elishu Ben-Horin
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

L

C O P Y

January 22, 1946

Mr. Johannes Steel
Loew's State Building
Broadway and 45 Street, Room 1207
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Steel:

Thanks for the excellent lunch. I greatly enjoyed the talk I had with you.

May I repeat that I would be glad of any opportunity to be helpful to you in your broadcasts in the future, particularly on Middle Eastern and Palestinian topics.

I herewith enclose a reprint of my articles in the Nation which you wanted to have.

Within the next couple of days, I will prepare a draft for your broadcast on the Trans-Jordania affair hoping that you may be able to make good use of it.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

EEH:RW
Encl.

Eliahu Ben-Horin

1/23/46-RW

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

January 22, 1946

CONFIDENTIAL

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I hope you will forgive my once again raising the question of Transjordan. Yesterday you told me of the cable to London, to be sent by the Committee of Eight. Today, the J.T.A. gives us already the reply to this cable. The Executive in London has decided not to issue any statement on the Transjordan affair, leaving the decision in the matter to the Executive in Jerusalem.

Frankly, I am not only greatly perturbed by this attitude, but I am also baffled. Even from the viewpoint of our political super-minimalists, Bevin's statement on Transjordan was an excellent opportunity to gain some bargaining power. Even those who would accept partition should have realized that if they protest the unilateral breach of the Mandate and expose the phoney independence which Britain intends to proclaim, they represent a certain amount of nuisance value, which will help them when they will want to make a deal on Palestine. As to those who do not belong to the camp of the minimalists, their swallowing the Transjordan intrigue without raising hell all over the world is one of the gravest political mistakes they could possibly commit. Here we have a chance to emerge from the state of political defensive into which we have been maneuvered of late, and we let it pass. We allow public opinion to gain the impression that Transjordan is no concern of ours, that it is a purely Arab-British affair to be settled between the two, in which we have neither legal standing nor interest.

This position will do us a terrific amount of harm in the international field as well as on the Jewish-Zionist front. It took official Zionism a long time to emerge as the authoritative spokesman of uncompromising political Zionism. Not only the Bergson group was left behind as opportunists who were ready to compromise on ideological issues for the sake of expediency but even the N.Z.O. was placed in a position that they had to reiterate official Zionist statements, possibly in a sharper tone. Now, however, the N.Z.O. and the Bergson group are again ideologically in the lead, for they both took up the Transjordan matter with alertness and political wisdom while official Zionism keeps mysteriously silent.

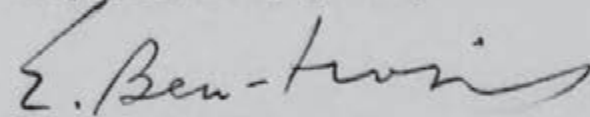
January 22, 1946

While writing you all this, I am aware of the answer which you can give me, namely, that you know all this perfectly well; that it is up to the Executive to decide in such matters; and that we can only regret if they adopt an unwise course. Believe me that I realize under what handicaps you have to work and that I do not underestimate the difficulties. Nor would I suggest anything that might jeopardize the maintenance of the present course and leadership in American Zionism. But I wish to draw your attention to the obvious fact that the radical change in policy of world Zionism did not come by itself. It was American Zionism that forced this change -- from defeatism and opportunism to the Biltmore program and the Jewish Commonwealth formula. What I want to say is that the time has not arrived yet for an ideological relaxation of American Zionism. The Transjordan episode is a case in point. Left to themselves, London and Jerusalem are apt to give in again.

This raises of course again the question of the political management in London and Jerusalem and the question of your personal influence on the march of events in your capacity as member of the Executive. Let me, however, state frankly that as long as you remain an overseas member your personal influence in matters of policy is tightly interlinked with the ideological influence of American Zionism. Thus we come back to the urgent necessity to have American Zionism in the political lead. Don't you think that the decision in London might have been different, if Weizmann, Ben-Gurion and the others would have received a number of cables from U.S.A. urging them to take the proper stand on the question of Transjordan? Indeed, the situation is hopeless if American Zionism relinquishes at this stage its ideological-political leadership in Zionism.

We lost a few very valuable days with regard to the Transjordanian affair, but it is not too late now to come out with a powerful campaign in America on this subject. The rank and file are wholeheartedly for it. Indeed, to whomever I speak is bewildered by the silence of our official bodies. Excuse my insistence, but I feel that you should not endorse this line either by active association with it or passive submission to a decision adopted in your absence. If your representations to London and Jerusalem on this matter are strong and energetic enough, they will adopt your position, not only because this is the only logical and proper position to take, but also because they know the temper of American Zionism and Jewry and realize that the masses will back you up to the limit.

Very sincerely yours,



Eliahu Ben-Horin

EBH:RW

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
342 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date January 24, 1946

From Eliahu Ben-Horin

I herewith enclose a copy of a memorandum which I prepared to be used by some speakers at the forthcoming Christian Palestine Conference in Houston, Texas. Abe Tuvim asked for such a memorandum outlining the aspects of the Middle East oil situation which might appeal to the independent producers.

I thought you would be interested in receiving this memorandum.

EBH:RW
Encl.



7/15

COMMENTS ON THE MIDDLE EAST OIL SITUATION
by Elishu Ben-Horin

The Oil Riches of the Middle East. Before outlining the various aspects of the Middle Eastern oil situation which are of direct concern to America, let us state in brief the essential facts about the petroleum reserves in the Middle East.

By now, most people are aware of the fact that the Middle Eastern area has very considerable oil deposits, but few know the extent of these deposits in relation to the total oil deposits in the world. Only three years ago, the Petroleum Administrator in Washington, estimated the Middle East reserves at 15.5 billion barrels out of an estimated world total of about 50 billion barrels. A year later, however, an American Oil Mission dispatched to the Middle East stated upon its return that the reserves of the Middle East amount without question to 26.5 billion barrels. Off the record they added that they would not be surprised if it were proved that the Middle East reserves amount to between 50 and 100 billion barrels. In other words, it seemed plausible to them that the Middle East's oil deposits might exceed the reserves of all the oil producing countries in the world put together.

The exact amount of oil deposits in the Middle East has not been established, because wide areas reportedly rich in petroleum have not yet been explored. This applies not only to lands and regions in which oil prospecting has not taken place as yet, but even to some oil producing lands in the Middle East in which the areas of exploitation have been artificially restricted by the concessionaires. Thus, for example, in Iraq the British interests which are predominant in the Iraq Petroleum Company, have refrained from developing numerous fields near the Persian Gulf. If these fields were developed, their oil would challenge the place in markets of Eastern Asia now held by the products of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in which the British Government holds the controlling interest.

The Political Background of the American Concessions. American oil interests today hold the following concessions in the Middle East. Standard Oil of California together with the Texas Company, through their subsidiary, the Arabian American Oil Company, jointly own the concessions in Saudi Arabia and in Bahrein. The U. S. Gulf Oil Company operates the Kuwait Concession jointly with the British (the Anglo-Iranian Company.) Standard Oil of New Jersey together with Socony Vacuum hold 23.5 percent of the Iraqi Concession, the rest being divided between British, British-Dutch and French interests. This was the first American position in the Middle East attained despite the active opposition of the British in the years following World War I, but the Americans in Iraq are still no more than a junior partner in a British-controlled concern.

It was in Saudi Arabia and Bahrein that American oil interests acquired an exclusive position. For many years this active American penetration into an area completely dominated politically, militarily and economically by Great Britain was most unwelcome to the British Government. But since World War II the attitude of the British has changed radically. Indeed, the British Government and British oil interests have given many signs of welcoming the United States in the Middle East. Close cooperation between the two Powers has been established, with the British paving the way for the creation of an American sphere of influence in the

Middle East to which Saudi Arabia now obviously belongs.

The reason for this change of heart on the part of Britain is apparent. Britain realized that she would be unable to withstand by herself the impact of Soviet Russia's policies in the Arab lands, and she preferred to have the United States on her side in case of any future conflict with Russia. That is why Britain has tried to facilitate American oil investments in Saudi Arabia as well as the development of the American concessions there and in Bahrein and the construction of the Trans-Arabian pipeline from the Persian Gulf to the Eastern Mediterranean. This pipeline crosses British-governed lands, and could not be built against British opposition.

Cartels. Though Britain was forced by major political and military considerations to give up its absolute monopolistic position in the Middle East and to share the wealth of that area, and its political and strategic values to some extent with the United States, Britain nevertheless managed to take good care of its oil interests in the area. Before giving the green light for the construction of the Trans-Arabian pipeline project, Britain delegated its ablest men to negotiate the Anglo-American oil agreement in Washington. It is noteworthy that among the British negotiators were Sir Frederick Godber, representing the Shell Combine and Sir William Fraser, who is chairman of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and also represents the Burma Oil Company.

The British oil magnates were primarily concerned with the question of post-war markets and prices and the prevention of over-production in the Middle East which might adversely affect their interests. For this reason they were interested in preserving the status quo in Iraq - i.e. the exploitation of only one restricted area of Iraq's oil fields, while the other fields were left in their present dormant state. As far as cooperation with American companies was concerned, the British preferred to deal with two or three of the largest American oil companies. They did not want to see the Middle East penetrated by smaller American companies or independent producers who might not be amenable to cartel agreements.

Shortage of Oil or of Markets? When early in 1944 the U. S. Government launched the Trans-Arabian Pipeline Project, the main argument of the advocates of the project was that America was running short of oil. There seemed to be no doubt that what we were facing was a shortage in oil reserves, not in markets. Those who opposed spending the taxpayer's money on a pipeline which would serve the interests of two oil companies, were not convinced of this allegedly impending shortage in oil.

The crisis to be faced soon in the Middle East will be of a diametrically opposite nature: an abundance of oil, a scarcity of markets and an over-production situation. That such a crisis is pending is now obvious to all who watch oil developments in the Middle East. During the war oil production, as well as the refining and piping capacities of the various concessions in the Middle East, was considerably enlarged. The process of expansion is still going on; new refineries are being built, new pipelines laid. On the other hand, devastated Europe and the war-torn Far East can hardly be expected to expand their consumption of oil products in the next few years. Indeed, it is doubtful whether

they will be able to maintain their pre-war purchasing power. An over-production situation is likely to arise, causing the various rival concessionaires in the Middle East to cut down production. For it should be kept in mind that it has never been expected that the Middle East would supply oil to the Western Hemisphere.

Oil and American Policies in the Middle East. When the over-production situation arises, it will become obvious how unjustified was the adoption of a pro-Arab orientation by our Administration under the pressure of our alleged oil requirements and the vested interests of the oil companies. There seems to be little doubt that the behind-the-scenes influence of some of the big oil companies was responsible to a considerable extent for the change in the traditional pro-Jewish and pro-Zionist stand of America on the question of Palestine. When I say "America", I mean the Administration, for the people of America remained faithful to the pro-Zionist tradition. Wherever American public opinion has had a chance to express itself on the Palestine issue, its sentiments have fully been invariably pro-Zionist. But the Administration seems to have accepted the pro-Arab orientation of the British Colonial Office, and to have used the oil situation as a salient argument in justification of that policy.

The fact of the matter is that America has at no time been dependent on Middle Eastern oil and, that furthermore, the Arab potentates in the Middle East are in no position to threaten America with oil sanctions - as has repeatedly been reported - in case of America's adopting a pro-Zionist policy with regard to Palestine. Ibn Saud and the Sheikh of Bahrein are dependent on American capital, industry, oil royalties and various other subventions. Nor do they have anyone else to turn to to take the place of the American concessionaires. As mentioned already, Britain acquiesced in America's penetration of the Middle East, and for obvious reasons Britain would not now compete with the United States in case of a political conflict between America and the Moslem potentates. Soviet Russia, on the other hand, is absolutely unacceptable to the Arab chieftains on political and social grounds, even if Russia were in a position to outbid America in commercial terms. There is an old saying that "More than the calf wants the milk of the cow, the cow needs to be milked"; this was never truer than in the case of the relationship between American oil interests and the Arab potentates in the Middle East. Thus, even from a purely commercial viewpoint, there was no necessity for America's entering a deal which seems very clearly to amount to the bartering of Jewish blood and Jewish suffering for Arab oil. America would have gotten the oil for the asking.

January 24, 1946

Mr. Elishu Ben-Horin
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

My dear Ben-Horin:

Thank you for your kind letter of January 22. I believe that we shall do something about it in the very near future.

I have asked Dr. Akzin to prepare a memorandum, and in all likelihood we will send an official delegation to Washington in the next few days. We have still not heard officially from London. The report in the J.T.A. bulletin is certainly a "whopper".

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:GR

C O P Y

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
Commission On Law And Social Action
212 W. 50th St., New York 19, N.Y.

Telephone Circle 5-5434

January 28, 1946

Mr. Emanuel Neumann
Room 1903
521 Fifth Avenue
New York City

Dear Mr. Neumann:

Dr. Petegorsky suggested that I send you copies of our correspondence with the State Department and the Standard Oil Company in regard to the Saudi Arabia affair. He feels that the denials by the Department and the Company are not conclusive and that you might have further sources of checking.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Leo Pfeffer

LP tw
ences

January 28, 1946

Mr. Eliahu Ben-Horin
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Ben-Horin:

I am enclosing herewith a copy of a letter which I received from Judge Levinthal. I wish that you would get in touch with Dr. Voss or Le Sourd of the American Christian Palestine Committee and ask them if they can get some Catholic to write a reply. If not, perhaps you yourself can think of one.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:BK
Enc.

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date January 30, 1946

From Eliahu Ben-Horin

The day before yesterday, I had lunch and a very good talk with J. Alvarez del Vayo. My idea in approaching him was this. In the page which he writes in the Nation, "The People's Front," he promotes the alignment of progressive forces in the world and fights against all vestiges of reactionary and pro-Fascist policies. I wanted to draw his attention to the Middle East situation from this very viewpoint. Obviously, del Vayo, as the former Foreign Minister of Spain and a prominent figure in European liberalism, potentially carries much more weight than that of a journalist and editor of the Nation.

Del Vayo was extremely interested in what I had to tell him on this subject and very favorably disposed to our ideas and position. He would have accepted a suggestion I made to him that he take the initiative in arranging a small gathering of liberal statesmen and writers for the purpose of a thorough discussion of the Palestine and Middle East problem on the background not of the Jewish-Arab controversy but of the larger issues of world policy involved. He agreed with me that such an intimate discussion would prove very useful both for the clarification of the views of the participants and for a better understanding of the Zionist position.

Unfortunately, he is leaving next week for London and Paris, and therefore cannot undertake it at this stage. On the other hand, he wanted to remain in contact with me, and stated that he would be at our disposal wherever he could be useful in Europe. This is rather important, because del Vayo has very good connections with many European statesmen now active in and around U.N.O. This contact with del Vayo could and should be used by us.

You may be interested in some side-lights of our talk. Speaking of Bevin, whom he knows well, del Vayo said: "He is a much stronger and more stubborn man than Churchill. Not that I compare them in greatness. But Churchill was more elastic whereas Bevin, once he makes up his mind, is not amenable to any considerations of reason or justice." He further said that the foreign policy of the Labor Government in Britain is at least as reactionary as that of the Conservatives. Del Vayo is, of course, a great believer in Russia, and he agreed with me that the United States had no reason whatsoever to blindly back Britain's reactionary foreign policy because of the Russian threat, as there ~~was~~ ^{is} no cause for an American-Russian conflict.

EEH:RW

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
342 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date January 30, 1946

From Eliahu Ben-Horin

I recently sent you copies of my letter to Mr. Sulzberger of the New York Times and his reply.

Enclosed herewith please find a copy of my letter that I sent to Mr. Sulzberger yesterday, which may be of interest to you.

EBH:RW
Encl.



Dr. Silver

January 29, 1946

Mr. Arthur Hays Sulzberger
New York Times
229 West 43 Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Sulzberger:

Thank you very much for your letter of January 16. I have been delayed in answering it by out of town lecture engagements which kept me away from New York for several days. I appreciate your agreeing with me on the question of the ex-Mufti as well as your very natural request for substantiation of my charges against Mr. Currivan. However, before doing that, allow me to return to the Mufti affair, which in itself is an essential part of my charges against Gene Currivan.

It is hard to believe that Mr. Currivan, who has spent some time in Palestine and the Middle East and who, furthermore, must have acquainted himself with the problems and developments in that area before embarking on his assignment, is unaware of Amin el Hussein's war time record. Yet, he finds it possible or necessary to put in the word "alleged" every time he mentions the ex-Mufti's collaboration with the Axis. You will have to admit that this is indicative of the writer's bias, coloring his reports. As a writer myself, I have no undue illusions, as to the value of one word more or less in a story, but this "alleged" was not accidental. It had meaning and was expressive of the writer's desire to misdirect the reader.

While I am on this subject, may I respectfully inquire how this repeated "alleged" passed unchallenged through the hands of the rewrite man or the Foreign Editor, who should have known better?

Coming back to Mr. Currivan's dispatches from Palestine. With your permission, I shall quote cases of minor inaccuracies as well as of major misinterpretation, all of them obviously intended to prejudice your readers against the Jews.

1. - In a dispatch dated November 13, dealing with Mr. Bevin's statement on Palestine in the House of Commons, Mr. Currivan gives us his speculation as to the reaction on the Arabs and says: "...There is bound to be a strong reaction when the full import of the latest paper reaches the entire Arab world." Now, there could be no two opinions as to the expressly anti-Zionist and pro-Arab character of Mr. Bevin's statement. Yet, Mr. Currivan prepares the readers for Arab, and not for Jewish, opposition.

January 29, 1946

2. - On November 25, Mr. Currivan reported that "Jewish armed terrorists, believed to be Zionists, blew up two Coast Guard stations north of Tel Aviv." In the same dispatch he says there were unconfirmed reports that terrorists had warned the occupants of the tower by telephone that the place was to be blown up, but that the guards had disregarded the warning. Other press association reports of the same date stated that the attackers had warned the occupants of the tower, but Mr. Currivan felt reluctant to admit that they did. Only on January 4, in a subsequent report, did Mr. Currivan have to admit flatly: "...The attackers telephoned the police warning them that the places were to be blown up."

3. - In his report of November 27, Mr. Currivan accepts the anti-Jewish version with regard to what happened at Hogla, saying: "...The moment the shot was fired, Jews who were concealed on the flanks opened fire with automatic weapons and rifles." But when he gives the Jewish version which denied any shooting on the part of the Jews, he merely states "authoritative Jewish circles said." He leaves no doubt in the mind of the reader as to which version he accepts.

4. - Mr. Currivan's report from Jerusalem of December 27, describing the blowing up of the Civil Investigation Department Building in Jerusalem, clearly betrays his prejudice, for he accepts the assertions of Government officials without hesitation and reports them without further investigation. Thus he lets Inspector Giles speak: "This is the work of our friends, the Haganah." Three days later, after protests in Palestine and in America, Mr. Currivan in a dispatch from Jerusalem attempted to undo the damage done to the name of the Haganah. He began by stating: "There are three highly organized bands capable of such terroristic acts as Thursday nights bombing, but the police do not seem to know which was responsible," though on December 27 Inspector Giles was sure it was the Haganah.

5. - In describing the "three highly organized bands" Mr. Currivan states: "There is the Haganah, an underground gangster group concerned principally with expediting illegal immigration."

Though the other quotations from Mr. Currivan given above, can be accounted for partly by Mr. Currivan's inadequate acquaintance with local conditions and partly by his obvious anti-Zionist leanings, this description of the Haganah must be conceded to be a vicious statement on his part. As Mr. Currivan himself states in his reports from Palestine, the existence of the Haganah has been an open secret all through the years. Yet, even British officials in Palestine never dared to represent the Haganah as a gangster group. Indeed, if an illegal organization can be described as "legitimate," the Haganah is such an organization. Its existence, functions and aims are well known in Palestine. Whenever anti-Jewish riots broke out anywhere in the country, the Haganah would appear to defend Jewish lives and property. As soon as the riots were over, the Haganah would again disappear below the surface. Furthermore, during the last war, in the days of the El Alamein crisis, long and detailed negotiations went on between British Headquarters in the

Mr. Arthur Hays Sulzberger

- 3 -

January 29, 1946

Middle East and the Haganah Headquarters in Palestine regarding the creation of a Jewish underground force which would fight the Wehrmacht in case of a Nazi invasion of Palestine. The Haganah was to conduct this underground warfare and to be in full charge of it as well as of post-Nazi occupation military intelligence in Palestine on behalf of the British High Command. It was this highly organized "legitimate" defensive force of Palestine Jewry that Mr. Currivan describes as a group of gangsters.

I am afraid that my letter is already much too long. However, I wanted to make use of your kind invitation to present my case against Mr. Currivan's reports from Palestine. I leave it to you to judge whether my charges against Mr. Currivan were justified.

Sincerely yours,

EBH:RW

Elishu Ben-Horin

P.S. On second thought, I did not list the inaccuracies which I found in Mr. Currivan's reports in this letter, for those have no bearing on the question under discussion.

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date February 1, 1946

From Eliahu Ben-Horin

You may be interested in the following quotation from Sidney Walton's broadcast over Station WHN on January 30, dealing with the reinstatement of Morgan.

"General Sir Frederick Morgan has been reinstated as UNRRA Chief in Germany by the Director General of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, ex-Governor Lehman. Ralph Ingersoll of PM thinks Governor made a mistake in reinstating General Morgan because he represents an official British point of view which is prejudiced by the current difficulties in Palestine. Of that there is no doubt, but I think Mr. Ingersoll has seen only half the story. If General Morgan represents the official point of view, does Governor Lehman represent only himself? As a Presidential appointee administering the huge Federal expenditure, does he not represent the White House?

"This highly publicized visit of General Morgan's - was it purely personal? The long talks between them - were they purely personal? Were not these two men meeting and acting as representatives of two governments that find it absolutely necessary to get along together in this particular matter? I think if Mr. Ingersoll were to stop and think about it for a moment, he would agree that Governor Lehman's nod to General Morgan's supplications was neither accidental nor personal. General Morgan represents the British War Office and Downing Street. Governor Lehman represents the White House. The matter had to be patched up, and that's all there was to it."

EBH:RW

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 1, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I wish to report to you the developments with regard to your letter of January 28, 1946, dealing with the anti-Zionist article which appeared in the Catholic World. I took this matter up with Dr. Voss, who was on the point of leaving for a three week vacation. He thought that the best man to answer this article would be Professor Francis McMahon. Mrs. Shepard consequently contacted Professor McMahon on behalf of Dr. Voss, who, however, seemed to be reluctant in writing such an article. He thought that it would be best for a prominent Jewish leader to write a reply. However, he promised to think about it and let us know early next week.

Next, Mrs. Shepard contacted Dr. Emanuel Chapman, who stated that there is a great deal of confusion in the Catholic circles with regard to their stand on Palestine and that he doubted whether any Catholic would write a reply. He, too, suggested that a reply be written by a prominent Jewish leader.

The position at the moment seems to be as follows. We shall wait until Monday to hear from McMahon. If his reply is in the negative, as it may be expected, I think that a reply should be written by a prominent Jew, preferably a rabbi. Do you have any suggestions as to the right name for this purpose?

The article is very vicious and its author is an Arab. The closing date for the February issue of the Catholic World is February 15.

I sent a copy of this letter to Judge Levinthal of Philadelphia who wrote to you on this subject.

With very best regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Elihu Ben-Horin
Elihu Ben-Horin *per Kul*

EBH:RW
cc: Judge Levinthal

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

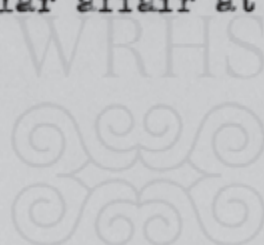
Date February 4, 1946

From Elishu Ben-Horin

1. - I enclose herewith a copy of a letter from Julius Fohs to Elisha Friedman which may be of interest to you.
2. - In connection with a letter which you received a few days ago from a woman Zionist in Worcester, Mass., criticizing my address in the debate at the local Foreign Policy Association, you may be interested in reading the following extract from a letter I received this morning from Professor Dwight E. Lee of Clark University, Worcester, Mass., who is president of the Foreign Policy Association there. He writes: "...I hope the Providence meeting went off as well as our Worcester session. Everyone told me that it was a most successful meeting from the point of view of the members. ...Incidentally, I think you were altogether too hard on the British in your talk here in Worcester."

He mentions Providence in his letter, because two days after the debate in Worcester, I had a similar affair at the Foreign Policy Association in Providence.

EBH:RW
Encl.



C O P Y

January 30, 1946.

Mr. Elisha ^{M.} Friedman
41 Broad Street
New York 4, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Friedman:

Thanks for your letter of January 25th. I think the matter quite worth following. I do not now expect to be in New York soon. However, I make the following suggestions:

1. Start getting a technical committee together, on which I shall be glad to serve.
2. Raise the \$25,000 and get the matter started, - the committee to allot the funds necessary toward the technical side, and partly toward publicity. Perhaps hold up on the latter until the technical side has developed a sufficient background.
3. I have in my possession most of the technical data available in this country. I could, on short notice, bring my report, which summarizes the important data, into shape as a background.
4. Mr. Howell at Washington may have some recent data that is helpful. I am writing him. He may also have some additional maps that are necessary, or can advise where they may be obtained.
5. Once the committee is formed, studies can be made along two lines:
 - (a) Check of the irrigation plans.
 - (b) Check of hydro-electric possibilities.

I am in touch with engineers who could work with us in making these checks, - then after this is worked up, one or both engineers might be sent to Iraq for a check on the ground of the latest developments.

With kind regards.

Sincerely yours,

FJF:IW

(SIGNED)

F. Julius Fohs

cc Mr. Eliahu Ben-Horin

February 4, 1946

Mr. Eliahu Ben-Horin
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

My dear Mr. Ben-Horin:

Why don't you suggest to del Vayo to see some of our people while he is in London. At the same time, write to our people in London to get in touch with him when he arrives. He may be very useful in contacting the Liberal Groups in London.

Perhaps he can see the Pro-Russian Groups in London and carry on friendly work for us among them. From the testimony before the Committee of Inquiry it appears that the British Communists have gone "all out" in their Zionist opposition and this is very disturbing, particularly if they reflect a new attitude on the part of the Soviet Government.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:GR

P.S. What reply did you get from Mr. Sulzberger to your letter of January 29.

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

CONFIDENTIAL

February 5, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

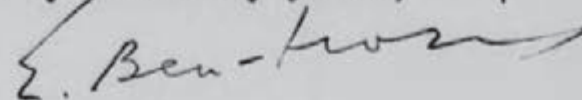
Dear Dr. Silver:

Following our conversation over the telephone today regarding the Hoover Plan developments, I again spoke to Mr. Elisha Friedman. Here is the record of our conversation. I told Friedman: (a) that the \$25,000.00 is now available; (b) that this is the absolute limit as far as this financial source is concerned; (c) that this money is given on condition that more money will be forthcoming from other sources; (d) that the Plan should be worked -- as it has originally been planned -- as an absolutely independent group, predominantly Gentile, with a few individual Jews on it, and with Hoover as its active head; (e) that under no circumstances should it be allowed to take the form of another Jewish, or predominantly Jewish group which would agitate for transfer, and possibly do more harm than good.

We then touched on the question of Grossman. I explained to Friedman that the major difficulty in this respect was Grossman's being officially committed to transfer. He, therefore, will want to be in the foreground of this affair, whereas the Emergency Council is vitally interested in keeping any Jews, especially Zionists who may be active in the Hoover Plan, as far in the background as possible.

I went to great pains to make our position absolutely clear to Friedman, in order to avoid any misunderstandings in the future. He repeated a summary of all the points I made, and it was a correct one. We then decided that we shall have to wait for the meeting of the little group of engineers to be called by Mr. Fondiller, and that perhaps one of this group would be able to become the moving power of the whole affair. In the meantime, we shall look for a suitable executive director or coordinator. I consulted Mr. Manson about it today, and I shall look around.

Very sincerely yours,



Elisha Ben-Horin

EBH:RW

Dr. Silver

February 6, 1946

Mr. Eliahu Epstein
Jewish Agency for Palestine
2310 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Epstein:

After having read the nice letter you received from Major General V. Velebit, Yugoslav Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs, I thought that by way of reciprocity for the services you rendered to them in the past and which General Velebit seems to appreciate so much, you could write to him about the Mufti affair and ask for better cooperation of the Yugoslav Government in this matter.

Of course, now that Yugoslavia withdrew the name of the Mufti from the list of the war criminals, it is difficult to see what they can do. There is no harm in trying, however, if you feel that you are in a position to write to Velebit on this subject.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

NBH:RW

Eliahu Ben-Horin

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Zionist Organization of America

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

February 7, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I will follow the suggestions contained in your letter of February 4, 1946. I understand that del Vayo is leaving for Europe tomorrow or the day after. I will advise him that our people in London will get in touch with him.

As Arthur Lourie is not in London at the present time, there is no one there to whom I could write because I have no personal contacts with any of the people in Great Russell Street. I am writing to Epstein in Washington today and enclosing a copy, asking him to forward the necessary information to London together with your suggestions. In addition to the enclosed letter to Epstein, I spoke to him today over the telephone, in order to obtain the names of people who would approach del Vayo in London or in Paris, because I wanted to give del Vayo the names while he was still in this country. Epstein promised to take care of it immediately, and that in London it will be Berl Locker and in Paris Mark Yarbloom.

I attach a copy of a letter received in reply to my last letter to Mr. Sulzberger. Thus the matter is now in the hands of Edwin James, the managing editor. I do not expect to hear from Mr. Sulzberger again until Mr. Currivan provides ~~him~~ ^{me} with some new material.

I personally do not think that the stand of the British Communists before the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry reflects a new policy of the Kremlin. The American Communists, for instance, came out recently with a very pronounced pro-Zionist stand. It appears to me that Moscow did not lay down the law on this problem and that is why various groups take different positions.

Today's news about the wild shooting by British soldiers in Holon near Tel Aviv confirms what we knew all along that the British took off their gloves in handling Palestine Jewry.

Very sincerely yours,

E. Ben-Horin
Eliahu Ben-Horin

EBH:RW
Encl.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

- 2 -

February 7, 1946

P.S. The last letter from the Times could not be found at this moment. It probably has not been filed yet. It was a letter from Mr. Sulzberger's secretary saying that in the absence of Mr. Sulzberger, she takes the liberty of passing on my letter to the managing editor.



February 7, 1946

Mr. Elisha Epstein
Jewish Agency for Palestine
2210 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Epstein:

I enclose a copy of a memorandum I sent to Dr. Silver, reporting my conversation with J. Alvarez del Vayo. I also attach a copy of a letter I received this morning from Dr. Silver, containing certain suggestions as to how del Vayo could be used by our people in London.

As I personally have no contacts with the London office of the Jewish Agency, I wrote to Dr. Silver saying that I am forwarding all information on the subject to you with a request that you contact the London office and draw their attention to del Vayo.

I shall speak to del Vayo before he leaves for Europe, advising him that he will be contacted in London by our people.

Sincerely yours,

EEH:RW
Encls. (2)

Elisha Ben-Horin

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date February 8, 1946

From Elishu Ben-Horin

You will be interested in the enclosed copy of a broadcast dealing with the reinstatement of General Morgan as UNRRA's Chief of Operations in Germany. It only goes to show, as it could be expected, how the reinstatement of Morgan will be used against us.

I also attach a copy of my letter to the commentator.

EBH:RW
Encls. (2)



AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

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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:

At the last meeting of the Executive Committee, I again raised the question of a political Weekly for our movement in America, which I previously discussed orally and in writing with Emanuel Neumann, Shapiro, Manson, Marvin Lowenthal and others. If I write to you again on this subject, it is because I feel very keenly that (a) Without a Weekly we are and shall remain badly handicapped in our political and propaganda work; (b) A movement of the size of the Zionist movement in the U.S.A. can afford at least one good political Weekly; (c) We have the necessary literary and editorial forces for such an undertaking; (d) Even from a financial viewpoint, the matter can be arranged satisfactorily, especially in the case of the New Palestine. Today I had a talk with Manson, who as the publicity chief in our office is naturally very much concerned with this matter, and he fully concurs with my suggestion.

To let things drag on is, of course, the easiest thing to do. This is probably the main reason why the new Administration of the Z.O.A., while introducing a new spirit and editorial changes, continues the New Palestine as a monthly. Thus we are fortunate in having the monthly Palestine, the monthly New Palestine, the monthly Jewish Frontier, the monthly Hadassah Newsletter, not to speak of some more monthly publications, and remain without a single weekly magazine which would fight for the Zionist cause in a systematic manner and on a high political level. For the life of me, I cannot understand the reason for such an illogical procedure. All I know is that at the present tempo of Palestine and Middle Eastern development, one cannot possibly put^{up} an effective

February 13, 1946

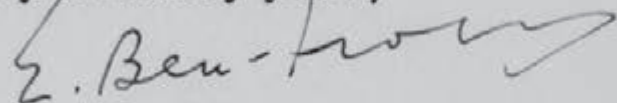
political fight at monthly intervals. It is absurd. I saw, moreover, that when I spoke about it at the Executive Committee meeting, my argumentation in favor of a Weekly was sympathetically received by many of those present. Now then, what prevents its materialization? Party patriotism, lack of funds, lack of journalistic forces, or what?

I submit to you and to Mr. Neumann -- to whom I send a copy of this letter -- that we possess everything we need for a successful establishment of a Zionist Weekly and that if you were to adopt this course and transform the New Palestine into the Zionist Weekly in America you will find that in the long run (a) You have rendered a great service to the Zionist cause in America; (b) You have enhanced the position of the Z.O.A. as the leading political force in American Zionism; and (c) That this will be one of the outstanding achievements of the new Administration.

Various schemes could be suggested with regard to the financial-administrative aspects of my proposal. Let me mention just one. If the subscription fee to the New Palestine is divorced from the membership dues and the publication can claim a bona fide circulation of 150,000, it will become an important advertising medium providing a very tangible income.

Kindly give this matter some thought. It seems to me that it deserves it.

Very sincerely yours,



Eliahu Ben-Horin

EBH:RW

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
342 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date February 14, 1946

From Elishu Ben-Horin

You may be interested in reading the enclosed copy of Julius Fohs' paper on "Development and Land Settlement Potentialities of Iraq."

EBH:RW
Encl.



DEVELOPMENT AND LAND SETTLEMENT POTENTIALITIES OF IRAK

By

F. Julius Fohs



DEVELOPMENT AND LAND SETTLEMENT POTENTIALITIES OF IRAK

by
F. Julius Fohn

SUMMARY OF POSSIBILITIES

Irak offers principally agriculture and petroleum but no other consequential resources.

1. The Tigris-Euphrates-Shatt el Arab Delta, which, with proper additional irrigation works, can be made to produce much food, ample for home use and for export; also greatly increase cotton for export. In addition, there is a farming area in the Mosul region, and also additional irrigable lands on the upper Tigris and Euphrates rivers and their tributaries. The irrigable lands represent the greatest single undeveloped area in the Middle East and their early and steady development is highly important as a place of habitation for a considerable increase in population, as set out below.
2. It can produce cattle, horses and sheep on its grazing areas, - principally sheep and goats, ample for its meat supply, chiefly in northern and western Irak.
3. It has ample petroleum for its own use and for export, to supply diesel and electric power, and as a basis for chemical industries for a long period. A refinery at Kirkuk and others just over the border at Abadan and Kermanshah assure all petroleum products. The petroleum reserves are very large, one-third to one-fourth of the Iran-Irak field, which is part of the Persian Gulf oil reserve, one of the two greatest undeveloped oil reserves of the world.
4. Hydroelectric power might possibly be developed from mountain streams in northeastern Irak or else in the mountains just eastward in Iran. Damming for this purpose would conserve much water for land reclamation in Irak.

5. It will necessarily build up a certain amount of trade and services which will employ its urban population.

6. In addition to textile plants for its own products, it may build other industry only by importing raw materials, partly from Turkey, Iran and India. It will have to depend, as in the past, largely on brick for building, but may use some native stone, and a cement plant using native limestone and fuel oil should be built.

7. A highway has been built connecting Beyrouth, Damascus to Rutba; also Haifa to Rutba, and thence from Rutba to Bagdad. This was built during the war. Also the connecting link of the railroad between Nusaybin and Bagdad was completed, thus giving direct rail communication from Palestine, Lebanon and Syria to Irak.

8. Its agricultural possibilities are such that it can support a rural farming population of at least 9,000,000 in addition to a nomad group of 250,000. Using the factor of 2.5 for industry and services, a population of 31,750,000 is possible in the foreseeable future.

A more detailed program for immediate settlement is outlined below.

LAND CLASSIFICATION OF IRAK

By

F. Julius Fohs

	<u>Ha.</u>	<u>Rural Families</u>
Irrigable Lands:		
Tigris above Samarra	300,000	100,000
Euphrates above Ramada	149,000	30,000
Lower Tigris and Euphrates:		
Canal fed	2,680,000	1,072,000
Machine fed	920,000	306,667
Cultivable Lands	3,021,000	274,500
Grazing Lands*	2,779,000	17,790 *(10,000)
Desert	24,000,000	<u>(40,000)</u>
TOTAL FAMILIES		1,800,957
Nomad Families		50,000

*Includes estimated 10,000 nomadic families.

- - -

Rural Population Estimated (5 per family)	9,000,000
Nomads	250,000
Service and Industrial Population at 2½ Times	<u>22,500,000</u>
Total Potential Population	31,750,000

Total presently irrigated lands amount to only a few hundred thousand hectares, and may be as low as 200,000 hectares. Total present population about 3,750,000, mostly on the land.

Counting available mean flow from delta at Bagdad at 70,752 million cubic metres and annual requirements for irrigation, population and industrial use of approximately 31,000 million cubic metres, all water requirements can be met with ease for the estimated population of 31,750,000. With another 5,000,000 hectares of reclaimable irrigable land available, ample water and land appears for greatly increased ultimate population over these figures.

Sir William Wilcox proposed 1,410,000 hectares be covered by irrigation works, and Mr. A. Burton Buckley in 1918 proposed additional selected works of 550,000 hectares. By combining these recommendations and taking into account work already done, we arrive at the following:

Diyalah	320,000
Falluya-Hindia and downstream extension	800,000
Hai (downstream from complete Koot dam)	250,000
Beled	170,000
Narwan	200,000
Amara	80,000
Basra (tidally watered)	<u>61,000</u>
	1,881,000

To carry out the program necessary to complete these works would probably require an expenditure of \$175,000,000, and would care for a rural population in excess of 4,500,000 on irrigated land. About half the cost is for agricultural works. This takes into consideration canal-fed irrigation ditches. The cost would be greatly reduced and a 50% higher efficiency obtained, with less water consumed, and hence a larger population served where the sprinkler system is substituted for direct irrigation; it would be applied over part of the area only.

An immediate irrigation development program would involve:

1. Completion of regulations for registration and determination of individually owned and state owned lands. Actually title for most of these lands of Irak, including the irrigation districts, remains in the State.
2. Obtaining a loan to cover completion of necessary canals, drainage ditches, pumps and irrigation ditches or sprinkler installations to cover districts in which the main flood prevention works and larger canals are already completed. Included is Koot dam, completed at considerable cost to make available 250,000 hectares for irrigation in the Hai district, but for which no irrigation ditches have yet been supplied, and hence no advantage taken of the investment already made. Concentration over the next five to ten years on works implementing those already completed; later follow with other works as planned by Wilcox and Buckley.
3. The necessity of importing people to build up future Irak is unquestioned, both to develop its land and to bring experience to cover necessary methods, as present workers are inadequately prepared. The leaven would eventually raise the standard of all. An added necessity is the establishment of experiment stations and district agents for advising on up-to-date

methods, especially on cotton, soybeans and other new crops.

It is clear that Irak offers the most promising field for agricultural development of any state of the Middle East, and the greatest unused fertile lands.

Arabs from Palestine and other Middle East states could find in this development a much higher standard of living, and Irak would greatly benefit from such immigration.

Maps

Under separate cover I am forwarding:

Map of Palestine, Transjordan, Lebanon Republic, Syria, inclusive of Latakia and Djebel Druze, and Irak, prepared from a study of all available sources, scale 1:1,000,000.

(SIGNED)

F. Julius Fohs

Houston, Texas
January 3, 1946.

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date February 14, 1946

From Elishu Ben-Horin

On February 8, I sent you a copy of Robert Hurleigh's broadcast over Station WGN (Chicago), dealing with the reinstatement of General Morgan, as well as a copy of my letter to Mr. Hurleigh.

I enclose now a copy of Mr. Hurleigh's letter which I received today, together with a copy of my second letter to him.

EEH:RW
Encls. (2)



C O P Y

WGN Inc.
444 North Michigan Avenue
Chicago 11, Ill.

February 11, 1946

Mr. Eliahu Ben-Horin
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Ben-Horin:

I want to thank you for your letter of February 8, in which you comment on my news broadcast of January 31.

My respect and appreciation of Herbert Lehman caused me to withhold any comment until his decision regarding the "Morgan Incident" had been published, and only then did I indicate any thoughts that I might have had on that obviously unfortunate happening.

I say that General Morgan did not exhibit great wisdom in making his original statement, but I do not believe that because he made such a statement (a statement which has been proved beyond question to be true) that he should, ipso facto, be condemned, insulted and publicly branded as "another Hitler."

Intolerance -- even the alleged intolerance of General Morgan -- should not be answered by intolerance. And I believe you will note in my script that I, too, mentioned the statement made by Judge Rifkind that the Jews do not wish to live in Germany or in any part of it. Why quote to me statements which I used in the broadcast and in which we are in agreement. I am assuming, of course, that you have the full text of the January 31st broadcast, and you must know that I did not take exception to the Jewish organizations blasting General Morgan. That is your right -- that is one of the reasons for your being. But good heavens, man, let's understand one another! I wasn't discussing the Palestine question. I was taking exception to the silly, intolerant blatherskites who went off half-cocked, mouthing foul charges which have been proved empty.

General Morgan has been re-instated and Mr. Lehman has voiced his confidence in the General's religious impartiality. If you don't like it, then write to Mr. Lehman. And when you quote from my broadcast, allow me to believe you have not ignored my statement that "the complaints lodged (against General Morgan) by the Jewish organizations could be rightly expected and understood."

And wherein, please, have I indicated that I believe something mysterious or underhanded is going on? I should like your answer as to whether the Jewish exodus from Poland is prompted solely by a desire to leave the scene of bitter memories, or if it is being hurried along because of continued persecution by Fascist-minded Poles. And if you agree in part to the latter, then you must admit that the Russian-sponsored Polish government hasn't allayed the Jewish fears that this persecution will not be quickly ended.

I so much want you to understand how I feel. But my compassion for the homeless Jews of Europe is not to be confused with my indignation at the intolerance of individuals in this country, whoever they may be. Your over-all ideals are the highest. I believe you muddy the waters in attempting to defend those who have exhibited intolerance even as they attempt to blacken another's character with the same word.

If you are ever in Chicago, I do hope you will stop by and have lunch with me. You're going to be surprised to learn that we're not too far apart in our ideals....only in the methods to be used to attain these ideals.

Sincerely,

(SIGNED)

Robert F. Hurleigh/fc

Robert F. Hurleigh
Director of News.



February 14, 1946

Mr. Robert Hurleigh
Station WGN
444 North Michigan Avenue
Chicago 11, Illinois

Dear Mr. Hurleigh:

Thank you very much for your kind letter of February 11. I was certainly glad to read the last passage of your letter, and I shall look forward to meeting you if and when I am in Chicago. Should it happen that you will be in New York first, I hope you will give me the privilege of treating you to lunch and having our talk here.

As to the essence of your answer, let me first make it clear that it was not my intention to justify every expression used in the condemnations of Morgan's statement. Only a few people possess the ability to measure their words and it is only natural for some to exaggerate. However, one can easily understand even the excessive protests, if one keeps in mind that the statement was made by an UNRRA official. Could you imagine what would have been the reaction of the British, if in the days of Dunkirk a man in charge of relief for the repatriated army would stand up and say about the down-trodden British soldiers what Morgan said about the Jewish DP's?

I wish to assure you that I very carefully read the report of your broadcast and also the passages quoted in your letter. It is true that you did not discuss the Palestine problem, but, nevertheless, it was nothing else but the Palestine problem that was behind Morgan's statement. That is why I could not possibly avoid the Palestine problem in my criticism of your broadcast.

It seems to me that the only passage in your broadcast which I did misinterpret was the concluding one. I read into it something you did not intend to say, and for that I apologize.

Very sincerely yours,

EBH:RW

Elisha Ben-Horin

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 15, 1946

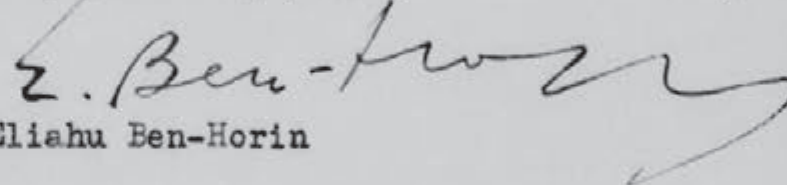
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I followed your suggestion with regard to Walter Lippmann. After reading his column and remembering what Akzin wrote recently about his futile efforts to get an appointment with Lippmann in the name of the American Zionist Emergency Council, I thought it best to write to him on my personal stationery and on the basis of mutual interest in the Middle East. I enclose a copy of my letter, which I hope you will approve and I will keep you informed of further developments.

You may be interested to know that yesterday I received an invitation from Professor Friedrich to participate in the forthcoming Middle East Conference of Harvard University, which, of course, I am going to accept.

Very sincerely yours,


Eliahu Ben-Horin

EBH:RW
Encl.

February 15, 1946

Mr. Walter Lippmann
1525 - 35th N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Lippmann:

I read with considerable interest your column on "U.S.A. in the Middle East," which touched upon the very crux of the present complications between the great powers and the growing rivalry for positions of power and influence. I do not know whether you ever came across my writings on the Middle East: my book and articles in Harper's, American Mercury, The Nation, etc. If you did, you will understand my great interest in your last piece.

Within the limits of a newspaper column, you certainly covered the subject admirably. But I do not have to tell you that you left some "loose ends" in your otherwise excellent analysis. Do you intend to pursue this subject in your forthcoming articles?

May I take the liberty of suggesting that a talk between us might be of mutual interest. Speaking for myself, I would welcome an opportunity to discuss Middle Eastern problems with you on the background of world policies. If you feel the same way about it, kindly let me know and also indicate the date or dates suitable to you. I intend to be in Washington before the end of this month and could schedule my visit to suit your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

EBH:RW

Elisha Ben-Horin

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
342 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date February 15, 1946

From Eliahu Ben-Horin

In my last letter to you, I mentioned Friedrich's invitation for me to participate in the Middle Eastern Conference. For your information, I enclose herewith a copy of his letter together with my reply.

You will notice that I introduced there the subject of Akzin's participation in the Conference. I did this after consulting the colleagues in the office as well as Akzin and Neumann.

EBH:RW
Encls.



C O P Y

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
Department of Government
Littauer Center M-31
Cambridge, Mass.

February 13, 1946

Mr. Eliahu Ben-Horin
254 West 82nd Street
New York City

Dear Mr. Ben-Horin:

We are planning to hold a Conference here at Harvard University on March 15th and 16th to discuss Middle Eastern affairs and the problem of an American policy towards this crucial area of world politics. I am enclosing a tentative outline of the topics to be considered. There has been no discussion by a group of competent scholars of this range of problems since the Conference held under the Harris Foundation at Chicago University in 1942. Because the problems are complex and not familiar to the general public it seemed best to organize such a Conference on a "restricted" basis. Attendance is going to be by invitation only so as to keep the Conference down to working proportions. We are inviting a group of scholars and students of the Middle East who have made significant contributions towards the understanding of its various aspects.

Because of the central importance of the problem of dependent peoples to this area we feel very fortunate in having been able to persuade Professor William E. Rappard, Rector of the University of Geneva and for a number of years vice chairman of the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations to participate in this Conference and to discuss the experience of the Mandates Commission and its approach to the problem of Trusteeship with special reference to Palestine, on Friday evening.

We are very anxious to have you yourself as a member of this Conference. Your views would be of great value and we are hopeful that you will participate actively in all the discussions. There will be no formal papers except for the participants leading off in the discussion who may give a more extended expression of the range of problems to be considered at that particular session. I have indicated on the program who will open the respective discussions. We are hopeful that you can give the Conference the benefit of your experience and study and invite your suggestions as to where you might prefer to be listed as a more active participant.

I am happy to say that we will be able to pay your travelling expenses. Please let us know at your earliest convenience whether you will be able to participate in this conference and what kind of arrangements you might wish us to make for your stay in Cambridge.

Sincerely yours,

(SIGNED)

Encl.

Carl J. Friedrich
Chairman, Middle Eastern Conference

2/15/46-RW

February 15, 1946

Professor Carl J. Friedrich
Harvard University
Department of Government
Littauer Center M-31
Cambridge, Mass.

Dear Prof. Friedrich:

Thank you very much for your letter of February 13, 1946 and the invitation you extended to me to take part in the Middle Eastern Conference, which I willingly accept.

Among the topics to be discussed at the Conference, as outlined in the program, there are two in which I am most interested, namely, "Great Power Conflicts in the Middle East," and "Oil Interests in the Middle East." If I can make any contribution to the discussion, I believe that it would be primarily on the above two subjects.

Any arrangements you may make for my stay in Cambridge, would be satisfactory to me.

I do not know the list of those invited to participate in the Conference. In all probability, Dr. Benjamin Akzin, is among the invitees. If he is not, however, may I take the liberty of suggesting to you that Dr. Akzin's participation in the Conference would be desirable. I specifically have in mind the problem of the League's Mandates and America's Foreign Policy in the Middle East -- two subjects to which Dr. Akzin devoted considerable study.

Very sincerely yours,

EBH:EW

Eliahu Ben-Horin

C O P Y

2702 Alton Road
Miami Beach, Florida
Feb. 22nd. 1946

Dear Mr. Ben-Horin,

I hear that Leon Blum is coming to this country, and I think that he must be approached about the Mufti. He, who has experienced the treachery of Hitler whom he appeased when he was Premier, might understand what it means to appease the Mufti. When he became Premier, I sent to him a mutual friend to tell him, that he was the man to break Hitler's might by telling France, that as the nation who has declared "the right of man" must break relations with Germany; And force Germany to oust Hitler. At that time Herriot was in favor of breaking relations with Germany, and thus Blum did not need to expose himself as a Jew, because there were plenty of Christian Frenchmen who would take the lead in such a campaign. It is certain that America would follow, because it transpired that Roosevelt wanted to recall his Ambassador when Hitler came to power. This was an opportunity for Blum to act as a Jew and a Frenchman, and counter-act Great Britain's support of Hitler. But his reply was: "Parceque je suis un Juif, je veux montrer a Hitler, comment un Juif agit quand il est au pouvoir..Je veux acheter Hitler." And he negotiated a loan with Schacht.

Perhaps he has learned a lesson of "buying Hitler," and he may do something to prevent the Arab Hitler from returning to Palestine. Because his return would mean a wave of pogroms in all Arab lands, the like of which has never been seen.

I suggest that the Emergency Council should present him with a memorandum setting forth the danger of the man. The French know that the followers of the Mufti had a hand in the troubles against France in North Africa; and only a clique of the Quai D'orsai is upholding him to use him against Great Britain, if need be. And if he will be delivered by France to the British, the British will use him against us and against France. Therefore, the only way to get rid of him is to deliver him to Nuremberg to the War Crimes Commission.

I would be interested to know what Mr. Arzi has done in the matter of the Mufti. If he is still in NewYork, you may ask him to write to me. I must tell you that I gave all my materials to M. Boncour in San Francisco, and that he sent it by Special Messenger to Paris, because he realized how important it was.

I think that the Emergency Council should send a reminder to the StateDept. to find out, whether they received a reply from War Crimes Commission. The Arabs are doing everything ~~in~~ to get his release; and we must leave no stone unturned to get him indicted.

Have you received a reply from Adamic?

With kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

(SIGNED)

A. S. Yahuda

P.S. I think it would be advisable to send a copy of my letter to Dr. Silver. Del Vayo told me that he met you and that you were sending him your book. I think that he can serve our cause, and I shall speak to you when I see you. As to the Transjordan material, it is not complete, because Meyerowitz got only a part of it.

ASY

February 19, 1946

Mr. Leo Pfeffer
American Jewish Congress
212 West 50 Street
New York 19, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Pfeffer:

Mr. Emanuel Neumann forwarded to this office copies of the correspondence which the American Jewish Congress had with the Department of State and Standard Oil of New Jersey regarding the report of American-Saudi Arabian contracts prohibiting the employment of Jews.

I want to draw your attention to the fact that in writing to Standard Oil of New Jersey you addressed yourself to the wrong party. It is Standard Oil of California, an entirely different company, that is a part-owner of the American concession in Saudi Arabia.

I, therefore, suggest that if you wish to pursue this matter, you should write to Standard Oil of California.

Sincerely yours,

EEH:RW

Elisha Ben-Horin

cc: Mr. Emanuel Neumann

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 25, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

In reply to my letter to Walter Lippmann, a copy of which I sent to you, I first received a notification from his secretary that he was not in Washington, and the next day, the following letter from Lippmann: "When you come to Washington, let me know in advance where to reach you, and if I am here, which I probably shall be, I shall be very glad to have a talk with you."

Accordingly, I shall give Lippmann a ring in a couple of days and will probably go to Washington one day this week to see him.

Sincerely yours,



Eliahu Ben-Horin

EBH:RW

February 25, 1946

Prof. A. S. Yahuda
2702 Alton Road
Miami Beach, Fla.

Dear Professor Yahuda:

Thank you for your letter of February 22. How is your state of health? I hope that the rest and cure in Florida will do you a world of good.

I am sending copies of your letter to Dr. Silver, Dr. Akzin in Washington, and Mr. Eliezer Epstein, head of the Washington Office of the Jewish Agency. If Leon Blum is coming to the States - and I, too, have heard that he is - he obviously should be approached with regard to the Mufti as well as other Zionist affairs. I feel sure that this will be done.

Whether Blum will be able to do something about it and, if so, how much - is another question. I have not heard from Adamic, but we were informed officially by the Yugoslav Embassy that Yugoslavia withdrew the Mufti's name from their list of war criminals. Under whose influence they did it, we can well guess. We, on our part, are writing from time to time to the State Department and I understand that a communication on the subject was also addressed to Justice Jackson. Thus far, all we received from the State Department was several non-committal routine letters.

I am writing you this in order to bring you up to date on the state of affairs. We shall continue our pressure and I hope that the same may be said about the Jewish Agency who is recently much more alive to the danger of the Mufti's return than it was before. Whether our combined efforts will succeed, or we shall once again be the victims of "too little and too late" remains to be seen. I shall keep you posted on any developments in this respect.

Thanks for the Del Vayo contact. He promised me to be helpful to our cause in Europe, and our people in London and Paris were advised of my talk with him and of his departure

Prof. A. S. Yahuda

- 2 -

February 25, 1946

to Europe.

With my best wishes for a speedy recovery and
kindest regards to you and Mrs. Yahuda, I am

Sincerely yours,

KBH:RW

Eliahu Ben-Horin

cc: Mr. Eliahu Epstein



MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date February 26, 1946

From Eliahu Ben-Horin

You may be interested in reading the enclosed copies of correspondence between Mr. Carveth Wells, Los Angeles radio commentator, and myself.

I also attach a copy of Cecil Brown's recent broadcast about Palestine, which is quite outspoken.

EEH:RB
Encs.

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Y

CARVETH WELLS
Bermuda Cottage
346 N. Bowling Green
Los Angeles 24, California

February 21st, 1946

Dear Mr. Ben-Horin:

I must apologise for this tardy reply to your kind letter of January 25th enclosing the interesting reprints of your articles in the Nation.

I have just torn up a long letter I wrote in reply to yours, because I have come to the conclusion that nothing that you or I or the Zionist Movement can do, is going to change the future of Palestine or any other part of the earth.

I am so disgusted with the recent course of events in the world and the apparent total absence of international morality that I feel like entering a monastery and getting as far away as possible from my fellow men.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Carveth Wells

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January 25, 1946

Mr. Carveth Wells
Station KFI
Los Angeles, Calif.

Dear Mr. Wells:

I hope you will allow me to make some comment on your broadcast of January 10, 1946 dealing with the Palestine problem.

First of all, I would like to correct one mistake in your figures. You say: "...In 1922, the number of Jews was 23,790, and in 1944, the number had jumped to 560,000." The lowest number of Jews in Palestine was in 1918 at the end of World War I. At that time, after the deportation by the Turkish authorities of about 15,000 Jews from Palestine in punishment for pro-Allied sentiments and activities, there were 65,000 Jews in Palestine. Since then, their numbers were constantly increasing. Accordingly it would be true to say that the Jewish population has increased ten fold over the last twenty-five years.

Now, it seems that you are laboring under a misconception when you state: "...There is little doubt that Great Britain would be glad to let go her hold on that hot potato (meaning Palestine-EBH) as soon as possible." It should be obvious to any observer of international affairs and of British policies in the Middle East, that the last thing Britain wants is to relinquish her control over Palestine or any other region in the Middle East. You could not help noticing, I am sure, that Britain is willing to hand over to the U.N.O. the mandates over certain territories in Africa, but not the mandate over Palestine and Trans-Jordania. Indeed, Britain is so determined to continue her hold over these territories that she would rather employ subterfuge by granting "independence" to Trans-Jordania, which would of course remain under tight British control, than to stand the risk of any other power sharing in a trusteeship over that area.

I take the opportunity of enclosing herewith a reprint of my two recent articles in the Nation which deal partly with this problem and the major factors of the situation. I hope that you may find them of interest.

Sincerely yours,

EBH:RW
Encl.

Eliahu Ben-Horin

C
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BROADCAST BY CECIL BROWN

February 22, 1946

SPECIAL for AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

JEWISH NATIONAL STATE ULTIMATE AIM OF ORGANIZATIONS IN PALESTINE

Cecil Brown, at 11:00 A.M. over WEAN (Providence) and Mutual Net.:

"The British say that they would prefer to share their trouble in Palestine with other countries. Of course they are not keen to see Russia enter into the affairs of the southern shore of the Mediterranean, stretching from Turkey to Egypt. But the British do want the Americans to help solve the crisis in Palestine. It is obvious that the British are not going to be able to settle the affair of Palestine. They have never been able to do so because the British have always refused to make a decision. Now a decision is being forced on the British.

"Some of the Jewish organizations in Palestine, just as some of the outfits in India, propose to keep right on fighting until the British are forced to get out. There is no reason to suppose that those groups are going to be satisfied now with anything less than the independence of India, and for Palestine, a Jewish National State. Tempers are too sharp and desperation is too great to offer much help for the sort of patching and fixing and repairing by which the British used to stave off the final showdown."

February 28, 1946

Mr. Eliahu Ben-Horin
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

My dear Mr. Ben-Horin:

I am enclosing herewith extracts of an article which appeared in the ROSICRUCIAN MAGAZINE of November 1945, which was sent to me.

You might wish to write to the editor to ask that an answer from us be printed in the magazine. It isn't an important magazine and I suppose it reaches largely people on the lunatic fringe. Nevertheless, such matters should not be ignored.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:GR
Enc.

254 WEST 82ND STREET
NEW YORK 24, N. Y.
SCHUYLER 4-9172

March 4, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

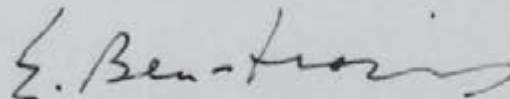
I hope you will allow me to ask your advice on a matter of a strictly personal nature. As you probably know, I am a Palestine citizen. All through the war, my passport has been prolonged from year to year. However, I understand that now the British Consulate here demands of all citizens either to return to Palestine or to face the loss of their citizenship. I don't have to tell you that I would hate to lose my Palestine citizenship. The only remedy I can see would be for me to go to Palestine, to stay there a few weeks and thus resume my residence there. When I leave Palestine after that, I will again have in my pocket a Palestinian passport valid for several years.

In addition, I also have a second personal problem and that is my daughter in Palestine, whom I have not seen for nearly nine years. The two problems could be solved, if within the next few months, I would be given an opportunity to go to Palestine for a short stay there. Could you visualize any such opportunity for me in the course of my work for the Emergency Council?

I don't have to add that any advice you may be able to give me in this matter would be very gratefully appreciated.

With kind regards, I am

Sincerely yours,



Eliahu Ben-Horin

EBH:RW

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

March 5, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Yesterday, the meeting of the group of engineers called by Mr. William Fondiller took place at the New York University Club. In addition to a few leading Jewish engineers, two prominent non-Jewish engineers participated in the meeting. The latter two were Professor Boris A. Bakhmeteff, professor at Columbia, former Russian Ambassador to the United States and recently elected honorable member of the American Society of Civil Engineers (I understand that this is a very high honor); and Mr. Eugene Halmos, an outstanding irrigation engineer of Greek descent. The five Jewish engineers were Mr. Fondiller, Lazarus White, a leading engineer and contractor for irrigation projects, Philip Sporn, winner of last year's medal for physics, Mr. Heyman and Col. Eljachar, a Palestinian who lives here for many years.

Elisha Friedman could not participate in the meeting, for he was in Washington on urgent business. It therefore fell to me to introduce the subject and to answer the various queries. Of the two non-Jews, Mr. Halmos, frankly stated that he was interested in this project only as an engineer because he thinks that this is one of the few great projects of irrigation left in the world and if he were engaged in it professionally he would be very glad, but he did not display any other interest in the matter. Professor Bakhmeteff, on the other hand, emphasized that what interests him is the humanitarian and political aspects of the project because it seems to him to be the most sensible way out from a very involved situation and probably the best solution for the Jewish-Palestinian problem.

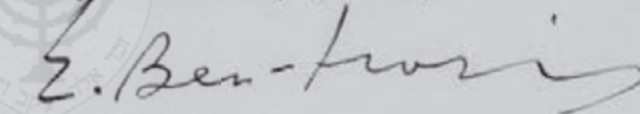
March 5, 1946

At the beginning of the meeting, the engineers went into a heated discussion of the engineering aspects of the problem, and of course they soon arrived at the conclusion that the data before them was insufficient. Bakhmeteff took the optimistic view that one may take it for granted that such a project could be materialized. Halmos stated that no engineer of repute would lend his name to such a project unless all the necessary research and planning is done to prove that the quantity of water required is available, etc., etc. After a discussion which lasted for some time, they all agreed that the first thing to do would be to assemble all the data available on the subject and to prepare a summary of that data.

I then brought them back to the suggestion made to them by Fondiller at the opening of the meeting that a sub-committee meet with Herbert Hoover, who could give them a great deal of information with regard to the sources which he used in studying the problem. This was agreed upon. The matter was left in Fondiller's hands who will contact Mr. Hoover (Hoover is out of town now and will be back by the middle of the month). The sub-committee will probably consist of Fondiller, Professor Bakhmeteff and Sporn.

This is as far as we went yesterday. I am meeting Colonel Eljachar this week and with Mr. Friedman's return from Washington, we may be able to formulate our next plans.

Very sincerely yours,



Eliahu Ben-Horin

EBH:RW

March 7, 1946

Mr. Eliahu Ben-Horin
254 West 42nd St.
New York 24, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Ben-Horin:

I am sure that the Emergency Council could give you a leave of absence to go to Palestine in order to renew your citizenship and to see your daughter. While there I am sure there will be some helpful work that you can do for the Emergency Council. Please let me know when you plan to go and I will so inform Mr. Shapiro.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date March 7, 1946

From Eliahu Ben-Horin

CONFIDENTIAL

I know that you are perturbed by the recent pro-Arab pronouncements on the Moscow radio and of the Moscow New Times. I, too, was greatly worried by these sudden developments and gave the matter considerable thought. I would like to submit to your analysis the conclusions at which I tend to arrive.

It seems to me that the above Soviet pro-Arab utterances are of little import, if viewed in light of the basic tendencies of Soviet expansion in the Middle East, which in my opinion must, in the long run, bring about a Soviet-Arab conflict rather than a Soviet-Arab alliance. Furthermore, also the classic techniques of Soviet penetration speak for a conflict and against an alliance.

Let me explain myself more clearly. Russia's main adversary in the Middle East is Great Britain. This is the ultimate adversary. The immediate adversaries are Turkey and Iran, two Moslem states. The Arab League, on the other hand, is not only a British creation but it must remain a British-orientated body. It may now and again shout against Britain, back up anti-British grievances and demands of its various Arab state-members, but its very existence depends on Britain. The League, moreover, and especially some of its members (specifically Iraq) have already adopted an anti-Soviet orientation on the major issues of the Middle East. For there is no other interpretation for the Iraqi-Turkish negotiations and the intensive propaganda for the League's eventual joining the Saadabad Pact of Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan. In other words, both on the ground of the League's and its members' dependence on Britain and on their alignment with the three older Moslem states of the Middle East, the Arab League is bound to become an integral part of the anti-Soviet block in the Middle East.

Now, what are the techniques invariably employed by Russia. In the case of Turkey as well as in the case of Iran, Moscow uses national minorities in order to drive wedges in their names: Armenians, Kurds, Azerbeidjanians. This technique hangs like a Damocles sword over the Arab rulers, particularly over Iraq. Mustapha Mulla, the Kurdish chieftain who conducted the anti-Iraqi revolt is now in Russian-controlled territory. In Baghdad the fears of his return with a Soviet-backed force mount high. Indeed, Iraq is now afraid of Russia more than of anyone else.

This seems to be the basic logic of the situation and if it is so, I for one refuse to be impressed by accidental broadcasts or articles in

March 7, 1946

Moscow which appear to be pro-Arab. It is only natural for the Soviets to bolster the Arabs as long as such a policy adds to Britain's immediate difficulties, but this can have no effect on the ultimate policy of Soviet Russia in the Middle East, which will be based not on temporary expedients but on the logical alignment of forces between the two competing powers. In that alignment Russia is bound to find the Arab States among its active enemies, and then we shall hear different songs emanating from Moscow.

If my reasoning is sound - and I shall eagerly await your judgment - then it is more important than ever that we establish early contacts in the right quarters.

EBH:RW



March 7, 1946

The Editor
New York Times
229 West 43 Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

Clifton Daniel, in his report on the Cairo session of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine published in your issue of March 6, reflects a widespread tendency to greatly exaggerate the numbers of Arabs and Mohammedans in the world. Thus Mr. Daniel speaks of 400,000,000 Moslems, whereas the true figure would be about 260 million. Indeed, even official Arab propaganda, interested as it is in presenting Pan-Islam as a great force, never went as far as Mr. Daniel. The Arabs usually operate with the 300,000,000 figure.

Here are the true, if approximate, figures, for the various Mohammedan communities: India - 80 to 90 million; East Indies - 40 million; China - 30 million; Russia - 20 million; Turkey - 18 million; Egypt, Sudan, French North Africa and other African lands - 33 million; the Iran, Afghanistan and the Arab Middle East - 40 million. This will give us a gross total, not exact but extremely generous, of from 261 to 271 million Moslems in the world.

Very truly yours,

EBH:RW

Eliahu Ben-Horin

P.S. I should appreciate your publishing the above letter in one of your next issues.

cc: Dr. Abba Hillel Silver✓

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date March 7, 1946

From Elishu Ben-Horin

I do not know whether the Jewish Agency office in Washington keeps you well informed on the developments with regard to the Mufti. Yesterday, I had a long talk with Mr. Arazi, the man of the Jewish Agency who recently came from Palestine via Paris and London where he attended to the Mufti affair. He gave me a comprehensive account of the situation in France in this respect. Mr. Shapiro thinks that you may not know about it, and I shall therefore recount to you here the information that I received from Mr. Arazi, with whom by the way, I established a good contact.

Arazi discerns three stages in the French attitude towards the Mufti. First, immediately after the Mufti landed in French hands, the French thought that he was a godsend for them, to be used as a bargaining point in their struggle against the British over Syria and Lebanon. Then, the Anglo-French Agreement was made, and Arazi is convinced that this Agreement also covered the question of the Mufti. It allowed the British to answer all inquiries in the same way, namely, that the Mufti is detained in France and there is nothing the British can do about it, while the French, on their part, could answer all inquiries and criticisms by saying that the Mufti is only their detainee, but they, the French, have nothing against him. Then came the third stage, when the Anglo-French Agreement over the Levant was broken, and the French saw no more reason to serve British ends with regard to the Mufti. Furthermore, in the meantime, the French arrived at the conclusion that the Mufti is not that kind of "customer" who could be induced to abide by French interests. According to Arazi, this is the French position today.

He also told me about a vigorous campaign in the French press against the French Foreign Office and the Intelligence Services, instigated by Arazi, hammering at the question of the Mufti. The result of this campaign was that French publications emphasized the point that the Mufti was under French detention and that the French authorities are responsible for guarding him and preventing his escape.

I gave Arazi some of our material on the Mufti for the indictment which is being prepared now by the Agency. However, it was my impression that they have no clear conception as to how to proceed about it. When I asked him as to their plans in view of the fact that the Jewish people is not a member of the U.N.O., and therefore is in no position to directly indict the Mufti, Arazi first said that they may do it through the British Government. This is obviously nonsense, for the British would be the last to take the initiative in this matter or to accord us any support. Then he said that they may look for some friendly government in Europe to place the indictment in their name. Arazi did not know,

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

- 2 -

March 7, 1946

moreover, that the Yugoslav Government withdrew the Mufti from its list of war criminals. On the whole, one is simply bewildered by the lack of coordination between the Agency and the Emergency Council even in such urgent matters as the Mufti affair.

Kindest regards.

EBH:RW



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

March 8, 1946

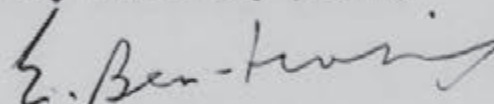
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

The anti-Zionist piece in the Rosicrucian magazine, a copy of which you sent to me, bears witness to the aptness of your description of the magazine "as reaching largely people on the lunatic fringe." I doubt very much whether this magazine will publish our reply. However, I wrote to the editor inquiring whether they would, and when I hear from them I shall let you know.

On this occasion, let me report to you about Walter Lippmann. After speaking to him over the telephone last week, I went to Washington hoping to be able to see him there, but, of course, I could not tell him that the purpose of my going to Washington was my talk with him, because my correspondence and conversation over the telephone with him was strictly personal without mentioning the Emergency Council. Unfortunately it so happened that he was busy the entire day, mostly out of his office, and was leaving Washington the next day. So my trip was in vain. Furthermore, I was told that he is leaving for Europe at the end of this week. Nevertheless, I telephoned him again yesterday. He said that he was departing any day and was extremely busy and so we had to postpone our talk until his return from Europe in a few weeks time.

Very sincerely yours,



Eliahu Ben-Horin

EBH:RW

March 8, 1946

Mr. Arthur Hays Sulzberger
New York Times
229 West 43 Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Sulzberger:

With your permission, I would like to come back to our exchange of letters some time ago with regard to the reports from the Middle East. The enclosed copy of a letter I wrote to your editor, which I hope he may consider fit to publish, is another example of sloppy reporting from that region. It is really astonishing how a newspaper of New York Times' standing could publish figures without checking them. In this case, Clifton Daniel added over 100 million people to the Moslem community in the world, and surprisingly there was nobody in your New York Times office who questioned this highly exaggerated figure.

If this were a simple lapsus on the part of Daniel and your editors, all one had to do would be to correct the figure. However, it is much more than that. It is part of a build-up for the Arabs in their fight against Zionism, and that is why such exaggerations add to the existing confusion. It seems to me that because of the intense strife in the Middle East, conscientious correspondents should go to great pains to be scrupulously exact in their reports.

I hope that you will share these sentiments.

Sincerely yours,

EBH:RW
Encl.

Eliahu Ben-Horin

cc: Dr. Abba Hillel Silver ✓

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

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342 MADISON AVENUE
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March 13, 1946

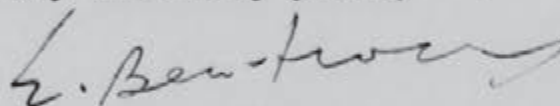
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Your idea of bringing together a few of our friends in the oil industry in order to take counsel on the entire oil situation and its effects on American policies in the Middle East is an excellent one. Kindly read the enclosed copy of letter to Dr. Akzin and let me have your reactions.

It is important for me to know whether you would be interested and willing to participate in that little conference. I think that the political importance of the subject would merit your personal participation. Furthermore, if I could invite these people in your name, promising that you would take part in the conference and that you want to hear their advice on the problem - we shall stand a much better chance in bringing them together and in arousing their active interest. If you agree to participate in the conference, please let me have one or more dates suitable to you and I shall then go after these people.

Very sincerely yours,



Eliahu Ben-Horin

EBH:RW
Encl.

March 13, 1946

Dr. Benjamin Akzin
American Zionist Emergency Council
1720 - 16 Street, N.W.
Washington 9, D. C.

Dear Akzin:

Your lengthy letter to Shapiro of March 4, describing the Standard Oil influence behind American policies in the Middle East; your letter to Shapiro of March 11, communicating Dr. Silver's suggestion with regard to a conference of a few Jewish oil men; and your memorandum to me, quoting Dr. Silver's letter to you on this subject - all reached me at the same time. It is needless to say that I read them with great interest.

I very much welcome Dr. Silver's idea of convening a few Jewish oil men to discuss the problem with them. I would add to this one qualification: the invitees should be not only Jewish but Zionists. This is important, if we wish to speak in full freedom.

After I read the various letters, I consulted Shapiro and Tavin. You may not know it, but Tavin, in the course of his work for the Houston Conference, dealt a great deal with the problems of oil and Middle Eastern policies. It is true that the angle in which he was interested mostly was the relationship between the independent producers and the big companies and how the traditional rivalry between the two could possibly be used for our purposes. However, he did some good work, and established valuable contacts.

As a result of my conversations with Shapiro and Tavin, I would suggest the following names for the planned conference: Julius Fohs, Julius Livingston, Sidney Herold, Mr. Danaiger, Sol Brachman, Herman P. Traubman and Mr. Travis. They are all oil men, except Sidney Herold who is a lawyer working for independent

Dr. Benjamin Aknin

- 2 -

March 13, 1946

oil companies, and who is supposed to be a very devoted Zionist with a good mind. If you, or Dr. Silver, to whom I send a copy of this letter, can suggest any more suitable names for this conference, kindly let me know. It would be desirable that this conference take place within the next 2-3 weeks because of the pending hearings in Washington with regard to the claims of the independent producers.

Obviously, it would be best for us to formulate our policy prior to that, so that we should know what to ask of our friends in Houston. On the other hand, I do not think that it would be easy to bring to New York those few but very busy people. However, I shall try. Let me have your reactions to the above.

Cordially yours,

EBH:RW

cc: Dr. Abba Hillel Silver ✓

Eliahu Ben-Horin



AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
342 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date March 14, 1946

From Eliahu Ben-Horin

You may be interested in reading the enclosed report of my conversation with Major George Fielding Eliot.

EBH: RW
Encl.



Mrs. Blanche J. Shepard

March 14, 1946

Elisha Ben-Horin

I am going to report to you here about my talk yesterday afternoon with Major George Fielding Eliot. But before reporting our conversation, I must say that I am somewhat bewildered by the obvious discrepancy between what I expected of this talk (on the basis of Dr. Voss' and others' intimations) and what actually transpired. Someone slipped somewhere, for Eliot went out of his way to be extremely friendly to me personally and agreed with me almost on every point we discussed. This was, of course, a very pleasant surprise, but in view of what Dr. Voss told me I now do not know whom to trust in this situation. I suggest that we get a very comprehensive report of Eliot's forthcoming speeches and utterances in Detroit, and we shall then be able to know what is what.

Now as to our conversation itself. I started by saying that, judging by the reports I read and by what Mr. Tuvim told me, Houston must have been a grand affair. He agreed, saying that of course he was non-partisan and just told them the facts as he sees them. I then questioned this "objectivity" of any writer, adding that even if one states the facts, he still states them the way he sees them. Eliot had to agree with me on that.

Eliot then said that he expects that the Anglo-American Inquiry Commission will result in the establishment of an Anglo-American trusteeship over Palestine, and that he believes that this is what Truman has in mind. He added that America must share in the responsibility for Palestine and the Middle East. To this I replied that to the best of my understanding an American-British alliance in the Mediterranean and in the Middle East is an established fact, though unannounced. Eliot very heartily agreed with my statement, stating that this is the view he takes in the book on America's Security System which he just finished writing. When I said that I was glad that my views on these matters of grand strategy coincide with the views of such an authority as he is, he very emphatically assured me that I was no less an authority on these problems.

I mention to you this fact not because I want to repeat Eliot's praise for me, but because this contradicts so strongly what Voss said about Eliot's utterance on this subject in Houston. Now, Eliot does not have to play up to me; nor did he impress me as being this kind of person. This detail is part of my bewilderment.

To come back to our conversation, I spoke to him of the one grave error of Britain's foreign policy, namely its over-all orientation on the reactionary and backward elements in the world, mentioning that the Jews, despite all their grievances against Great Britain, are still among the best and the most loyal friends Britain has in the world. Eliot, who is pro-British himself, tried to convince me that this fault of British foreign policy has to be ascribed not to the British people but only to its rulers. He mentioned a conversation he had a short while ago with Herbert Morrison, whom he told that one of the first tasks of the Labor Government should

March 14, 1946

have been to throw out of the Foreign Office and Colonial Office all the permanent officials who are primarily responsible for the reactionary foreign policy of Britain. To this I said that I was glad to hear it, but that thus far nothing has been done by the British Government in this direction and that they continue to back the Arabs in the Middle East whose value is nil from a military, political, economic and any other viewpoint. I was glad to note that Eliot agreed with this statement of mine.

Eliot then asked me to explain to him several aspects of the Palestinian problem and especially the question of the Zionist stand towards the grant of self government to Palestine, pointing out that if America should join Britain in a trusteeship over Palestine, it would be very difficult to oppose the demand for self government in view of the popularity of this slogan in America. I explained to him the Zionist position in this respect, stating that Zionism is not against self government for Palestine but that self government should come into being at the end of a process of development by when a Jewish majority would be established in Palestine. I explained to him that this also was the original intention of the Balfour Declaration quoting to him Lloyd George's evidence before the Royal Commission.

On the whole, I found my talk with Major Eliot very satisfactory. There is no doubt that the Houghton Conference, in which he participated, and the talks which he had there with our people contributed a great deal to his Zionist education.

EBH:RW

cc: Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

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Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

WANT A REPLY?

"Answer by WESTERN UNION"
or similar phrases may be
included without charge.

3-15-46

ELIAHU BEN HORIN
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

WOULD MONDAY AFTERNOON AND EVENING APRIL FIRST BE A SUITABLE TIME FOR MEETING
OIL PEOPLE? KINDEST REGARDS.

SILVER



MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date March 18, 1946

From Eliahu Ben-Horin

With reference to my previous letter to the Editor of the New York Times, of which a copy was sent to you at the time, enclosed please find copies of the Times' reply and of my second letter to them.

EBH:RW
Encls. (2)



C O P Y

The New York Times
Times Square

March 14, 1946.

Mr. Eliahu Ben-Horin
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

Your letter of March 8 addressed to Mr. Sulzberger has been referred to me for reply in his absence.

I cabled to Mr. Clifton Daniel on your complaint and asked him where he got the figure of 400,000,000. I have from him the following reply:

"The 400,000,000 figure is commonly used by Moslem leaders such as Bakri, who so testified in Cairo, and Haid, who so testified in Jerusalem."

Very truly yours,

(SIGNED)

E. L. JAMES
Edwin L. James
Managing Editor

HA

3/18/46-RW

March 18, 1946

Mr. Edwin L. James, Managing Editor
New York Times
229 West 43 Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

Thank you for your letter of March 14, 1946, quoting Mr. Clifton Daniel's reply to you with regard to the sources for the figure of 400 million Moslems.

The fact that Bakri and Abdul Hadi (Daniel must have referred to Hadi and not Haid as stated in your letter) speak of 400 million Mohammedans cannot carry as much weight as the figures which speak for themselves. I gave you those figures in my previous letter, and I hope that in future, when faced with similar exaggerations of Moslem leaders, you may apply to them the sober yardstick of realities.

Sincerely yours,

EBH:AR

Elihu Ben-Horin

cc: Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
342 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date March 19, 1946

From Eliahu Ben-Horin

The reply I received from the editor of the Rosicrucian Magazine, a copy of which is herewith enclosed, fully corresponded with our expectations. However, there was no harm in trying.

Best regards.

EBH:RW
Encl.



C O P Y

THE
ROSICRUCIAN FELLOWSHIP
MT. ECCLESIA
OCEANSIDE, CALIFORNIA

March 14, 1946

Eliahu Ben-Horin
342 Madison Ave.
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Friend:

Your letter of the eighth in regard to an article we published in the November, 1945, issue of THE ROSICRUCIAN MAGAZINE has been received, and we regret that you consider our attitude "hostile to the Zionist Movement."

However, as the object of "Monthly News Interpreted" is simply to interpret current happenings in the light of The Rosicrucian Fellowship Teachings, it would be entirely contrary to our established purpose and policy to enter into any controversy concerning the matters considered.

You of course have the same privilege that we have: of printing your viewpoint in your own publications.

We might add that our attitude is purely universal, beyond the confines of any particular group or creed. We believe that UNIVERSAL BROTHERHOOD is a goal to be achieved by the human race, and it can come only through the breaking down of all racial and nationalistic barriers.

With cordial good wishes, we are

Very sincerely yours,

THE ROSICRUCIAN FELLOWSHIP

(SIGNED) W

3/19/46-RW

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

March 22, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

In continuation of our telephonic conversation today with regard to Mrs. Yarden's information, Mrs. Yarden will find out whether Mr. Gutierrez will remain in the States until Saturday, March 30th, and if so, she will try to arrange a meeting between you two.

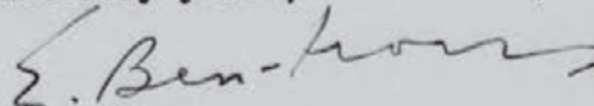
In the course of our conversation, Mrs. Yarden raised, of course, the question of lack of activity on our part with regard to UNO. You can well guess what my reply to that was. However, Mrs. Yarden far from being satisfied with my reply, pointed out that there is one aspect of the work which not only should be done by American Zionism but could not possibly be done by any other agency. She pointed out the importance of social contacts with the delegates of the various countries and their personnel, which should be established mainly in New York by people of the American Christian Palestine Committee as well as by leading local Zionists. There is no doubt that this is a very prudent observation and that social channels can be very effective in promoting the necessary influences rather than outright political approaches.

I promised to bring this to your attention. From what Mrs. Yarden told me, I further see that the neglect on the part of those directly concerned with this job is really very grave. In other words, nothing is being done where very intensive work should have been in full swing. You will know best how to act in this situation, but there is little doubt that something has to be done urgently in order to improve matters.

Thus far we have seven acceptances for the St. Louis Conference and we are working very energetically to have all those people who could make a real contribution to the discussion attend.

My very best regards.

Sincerely yours,



Eliahu Ben-Horin

EBH: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

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

March 25, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

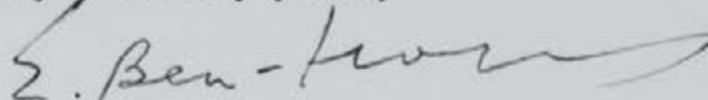
Dear Dr. Silver:

I enclose a copy of a letter which I wrote today to Alf Landon. I used his speech on oil in order to resume contacts with him, as this may be useful also in other respects.

The enclosure I mention in my letter to Landon is the memorandum which I prepared for the Houston Conference of the American Christian Palestine Committee, a copy of which I sent to you at the time.

With best regards, I am

Very sincerely yours,



Elishu Ben-Horin

EBH:RW
Encl.

March 25, 1946

Honorable Alf Landon
Topeka, Kansas

Dear Mr. Landon:

I have been thinking of writing to you for some time, and when I read of your address before the Kansas Oil Association, I decided to postpone it no longer. I have not seen the full report of your speech, but judging by the excerpts I read you sized up the situation extremely well.

In this connection, you may be interested in the enclosed comments of mine on the Middle Eastern oil situation, which I prepared a couple of months ago for the American Zionist Emergency Council, which which I am now associated. I would be very much interested in having your reaction to my evaluation of the situation.

I have not seen you for two years now and I hope that everything is well with you, Mrs. Landon and family.

With kindest regards, I am

Very sincerely yours,

EBH:RW
Encl.

Eliahu Ben-Horin

cc: Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

March 25, 1946

Dr. Benjamin Akzin
American Zionist Emergency Council
1720 - 16 Street, N.W.
Washington 9, D. C.

Dear Akzin:

The following news item which I read in a bulletin of the Independent Jewish Press Service, confirming from an authoritative Arab source the active participation of the U. S. Ambassador to Egypt in the organization of the Arab League, may come in handy in your talks with Loy Henderson.

Here is the story. "U. S. British Ambassadors Linked to Arab Propaganda Offices by Arab Newspaper" New York (JPS) The Arab Information Offices in London and Washington, official conduits of Arab propaganda in Britain and the United States, were organized by Musa Al-Alamy, Palestine representative of the Arab League in Cairo, with the assistance of Lord Kellern and Finckney Tuck, British and United States Ambassadors to Egypt, respectively, it was disclosed in an article in the Arab weekly "El Vheda," of Jerusalem, by Dr. Al Haldi, former Mayor of Jerusalem.

The article, which is quoted in a dispatch from Davar, largest Hebrew daily in Palestine, gives excerpts from the constitution of the Arab Offices, which specify that the United States branch must not have any connection with anti-British circles, that the head of the London office be "irreproachably pro-British, and that each of the offices must have at least one British advisor at a regular salary."

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

EBH:RW
cc: Dr. Abba Hillel Silver ✓

Eliahu Ben-Horin

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

March 28, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:


In order to be certain that you will see the enclosed material before you go to Washington to meet Leon Blum, I shall leave it for you here in New York in the hands of Miss Hager.

We shall not be able to use the utterance of the Mufti quoted in the letter of Dr. Bowen in public, until we get all the information outlined in my letter to Mr. May. However, you may be able to use it in your conversation with Blum.

I am very sorry that I will not be able to be with you at the Bnai Zion Dinner, for I shall be in Duluth, Minnesota, at that time, speaking to the fair ladies of Hadassah.

With best regards, I am

Very sincerely yours, .



Eliahu Ben-Horin

EBH:RW
Encl.

C O P Y

March 27, 1946

CONFIDENTIAL

Mr. Mortimer May
May Hosiery Mills
436 Houston Street
Nashville, Tenn.

Dear Mr. May:

I am writing to you at the suggestion of Mr. Harry Shapiro, in the hope that you may be able to help us in a matter which may be of considerable importance in our public relations work in behalf of the Zionist cause.

I enclose copy of a letter which the American Christian Palestine Committee received a few days ago from a Dr. Barbara Bowen, now connected with Bob Jones College, Cleveland, Tennessee. The American Christian Palestine Committee sent a reply to Dr. Bowen, giving her the information she wanted about the activities of the Committee. However, you will easily understand that we are greatly interested in what the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem told Mrs. Bowen and her husband, as quoted in her letter.

The question before us now is this: who are the Bowens? Are they people of substance and integrity whose testimony with regard to the above utterance of the Mufti could be properly used in public?

Could you ascertain this for us in a discreet manner and let us have the maximum information you can obtain. After we hear from you, and if the information is favorable, we may try to obtain written affidavits from Dr. Bowen and her husband. But the first step obviously is to learn who these people are.

Sincerely yours,

EBH:MH
Enc.

Eliahu Ben-Horin

3/28/46-RW

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date April 3, 1946

From Eliahu Ben-Horin

I believe to have sent you at the time a copy of my letter to Alf Landon. You might be interested in reading the enclosed copy of his very friendly reply. Of course, the question before us is how can we use now this contact with Landon. Do you have any ideas on the subject?

Best regards.

MBH:NF
Encl.



C O P Y

ALF M. LANDON
TOPEKA

March 28, 1946

Mr. Eliahu Ben-Horin
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Eliahu:

I have frequently had the interesting experience of thinking about someone whom I haven't seen or heard from for a long time. Then up jumps the devil either by letter or in person.

Several times recently when I have been out horseback riding I have thought of you and I am glad to have your letter of the 25th.

Thank you for your comments on my discussion of the Anglo-American Petroleum Agreement. I read yours with much interest.

As to the oil riches of the Middle East, I am not sufficiently informed to comment, although I know that area is considered to be very productive.

I think you sized up the political background and the rest of the economic situation excellently and accurately.

I think you perhaps placed too much stress on oil influence as being responsible for the double cross Zionist received from the Roosevelt-Truman administration.

Mrs. Landon and the family are all very well, thank you, and I hope yours are also.

Please write me your views of the present International situation.

With highest personal regards and best wishes,

Sincerely,

/s/ Alf M. Landon

AML:JR

April 9, 1946

Mr. Eliahu Ben- Horin
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

My dear Friend:

In St. Louis you spoke of the Congress platform of the ZOA. You thought that a more dynamic statement is called for. I would very much appreciate if you draft such a statement, say of two or three strong paragraphs, and let me have it.

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

342 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
M U r r a y H i l l 2 - 1 1 6 0

April 11, 1946

PERSONAL

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
East 105 Street at Ansel Road
Cleveland 6, Ohio

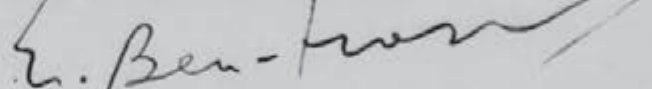
Dear Dr. Silver:

I was very glad indeed to receive your letter of April 9, 1946. The two meetings of the Executive of the American Zionist Emergency Council which took place since my return from St. Louis have provided me with additional arguments in favor of a stronger platform for the Z.O.A. I know that you received reports about the discussion which developed at the meetings regarding the major issues, and I feel sure that you would agree with me.

I enclose a draft in accordance with your request.

My best regards.

Very sincerely yours,



Elishu Ben-Horin

EBH:RWS
Encl.

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date April 12, 1946

From Eliahu Ben-Horin

I sent you at the time Alf Landon's letter to me. Enclosed is my reply. It seems that our people here have nothing immediate to suggest as to how we could now use the Landon contact. However, I want to keep the contact alive for future use.

Best regards.

EBH:RWS
Encl.



April 12, 1946

Honorable Alf M. Landon
National Bank of Topeka Building
Topeka, Kansas

Dear Mr. Landon:

I was away from New York for a couple of weeks, first lecturing in Minnesota and then attending a conference in St. Louis, and upon my return I found your extremely kind letter of March 28, 1946. I don't have to tell you that I was very pleased indeed to have it and read it.

Recently I had the occasion to submit my evaluation of the Middle Eastern oil situation, as expressed in the paper a copy of which I sent you at the time, to oil men and with first-hand knowledge of the Middle East, and I was glad to note that our views fully coincided.

From what I know of the behind-the-scenes influences in Washington and also from direct expressions of these influences, I must say that there was no exaggeration in my estimation of the oil factor in the anti-Zionist policies of the Department of State and the White House. The fact that the pro-Arab orientation could not be justified either from the viewpoint of the respective oil interests or from the larger viewpoint of America's state interests just goes to show how little those in charge know of the issues involved in foreign lands in general and in the Middle East in particular.

I wish I could respond to your suggestion and express my views on the present international situation. However, this would make a very long story and I am, so to say, between trains. Having just returned to New York, I am leaving early tomorrow morning for Cambridge, Massachusetts, to attend a Middle Eastern Conference which is being convened by Harvard University. I am, therefore, afraid that I will have to leave this for some other occasion. I would like very much to see you and have a thorough talk on many subjects. Do you intend by any chance to come out East in the near future?

With my kindest regards to you and Mrs. Landon, I am

Very sincerely yours,

EBH:RWS

Eliahu Ben-Horin

cc: Dr. Abba Hillel Silver ✓

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
342 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date April 19, 1946

From Eliahu Ben-Horin

I enclose for your information a copy of Judge Herold's letter.

Best regards.

EBH:RWS
Encl.



C O P Y

SIDNEY L. HEROLD
Shreveport, Louisiana

April 16th,
1946.

Dear Mr. Ben-Horin:

I beg to acknowledge your letter of April 10th, which correctly sets out the record of the deliberations of the informal meeting at St. Louis on April 8th.

I have been giving very careful thought to this matter. After a trip into Texas which I propose taking this week with the view to interviewing sources which I believe will be productive of valuable information, I shall call a meeting of the Committee to decide upon concrete plans, after which you will, of course, be notified.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

(SIGNED) SIDNEY L. HEROLD

Mr. Eliahu Ben-Horin,
New York,
N. Y.

4/19/46-RWS

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date April 24, 1946

From Eliahu Ben-Horin

You will remember the copy of a letter from Dr. Barbara Bowen regarding the Mufti's utterance to her and her husband, and also a copy of my reply to Mr. Mortimer May, whom I asked to get information about Mrs. Bowen.

Today, I finally received his reply, a copy of which I attach. It sounds as if Mrs. Bowen and her husband are trustworthy people of standing. I wonder how we could make use of the piquant quotation from the Mufti. Have you any ideas?

Best regards.

EBH:RWS
Encl.

C O P Y

MAY HOSIERY MILLS
436 Houston Street
Nashville 10, Tenn.

April 22, 1946

American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Att: Mr. Eliahu Ben-Horin

Gentlemen:

You will please pardon the long delay in reply to yours of the 27th of March referring to a Dr. Barbara Bowen now with Bob Jones College at Cleveland, Tenn. This letter reached me when I was taking a little vacation in Miami Beach and I had no means of answering it or of getting any information from that end. Upon my return, about ten days ago, I sat out to see what I could find. I have heard from one individual who lives in that community and I might say, by the way, that it is quite a distance from Nashville, that Dr. Barbara Bowen was well thought of and had brought some kind of a museum, which he estimated might be worth a half a million dollars to Cleveland. Further, however, there was no information about her antecedents which this informant knew.

I am making inquiry through another friend which I hope may be a little bit more fruitful and as soon as I hear, will again let you know.

Regretting that I have not been able to be more helpful,
I am

Sincerely yours,

(SIGNED) M. May

Mortimer May:IM

4/24/46-RWS

April 24, 1946

Mr. Mortimer May
May Hosiery Mills
436 Houston Street
Nashville 10, Tenn.

Dear Mr. May:

Thank you very much for your letter of April 22, 1946 and for the information contained in it.

We should very much appreciate receiving any additional information on the subject which you may be able to obtain. From what you write, it seems that Mrs. Bowen is a trustworthy person, but we would like, of course, to know more about it.

Sincerely yours,

MBH:RWS

Eliahu Ben-Horin

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
342 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date April 30, 1946

From Eliahu Ben-Horin

Enclosed is a copy of a letter which I wrote today to
Judge Herold.

Best regards.

EBH:RWS
Encl.



April 30, 1946

Mr. Sidney L. Herold
1626 Slattery Building
Shreveport, La.

Dear Mr. Herold:

I wish to report to you about several conversations I had with regard to the oil situation.

Today, I had lunch with Robert Szold, and told him of the St. Louis Conference and of our plans. He was greatly interested and wants to be helpful. He suggested that an approach to Aldrich may be more promising than to Rockefeller, because the first is the strong man in the family and reputed to be very smart. He further maintains that it would be worthwhile to approach the Morgan group, especially Lamont, to whom ~~he~~ ^{we} may find an avenue of contact. Mr. Szold has another idea, of which I would prefer to report to you orally when we meet.

Three days ago, I had a long talk with Abraham Tulin, who is very friendly with Harold Sheets, his classmate in Yale, who is chairman of the board of Socony Vacuum. Tulin is going to arrange for me to meet Sheets with Tulin's participation, when we could discuss the problems involved. All I expect of Sheets is to possibly get some useful pointers.

I had a talk with Julius Fehs today, who is in New York for a couple of days. He told me of his talk with you over the telephone and that he is waiting to hear from you with regard to the meeting of the Committee. So am I.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

EBH:RWS

Elisha Ben-Horin

cc: Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

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.
M U r r a y H i l l 2 - 1 1 6 0

April 30, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I do not know exactly when you will return to New York. On the other hand, there are two urgent matters which I would like to bring to your attention.

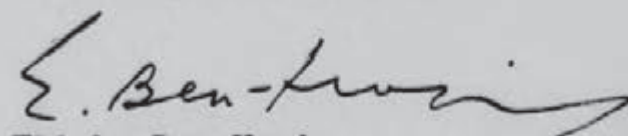
Today's Morning Journal carries a cable from Paris to the effect that the Soviet Ambassador there paid a visit to the Mufti, had a talk with him for 1½ hours, and then reported about it to Molotov. It is needless to say that this is a very perturbing piece of news, although one can understand that in the present mutual intrigues between the great powers, everything is "kosher," and, therefore, no exaggerated significance should be attributed to it. However, we must continue with our pressure in the Mufti affair.

The second matter which I must discuss with you is the Awad situation. It seems that matters have now reached such a stage that he is willing to come out into the open - after the disappointing results of Spellman's demarches - and now it is very much up to us whether he will be used in the proper manner, on the American scene, or not.

On this occasion, I would like also to mention that today, while discussing with Manson the list of commentators, columnists, etc. to be approached by us with a proper interpretation of the forthcoming report (using the excellent analysis of it prepared by Manson) I raised the question of two people with regard to whom we would like to have your guidance. One is Roy Howard. Do you think that Manson's analysis should be sent to him? Or this plus an additional paper? If so, under whose signature should it be sent?

The second man is Walter Lippmann, whom, I understand, you recently met on the battleship. Did you establish any contact with him and would you feel like writing to him, or should we look for different lines of approach?

Very sincerely yours,


Eliahu Ben-Horin

EBH:RWS

Mr. Harry L. Shapiro

May 1, 1946

Elihu Ben-Horin

I attach a quotation from Biron's column in the bulletin of Seven Arts Syndicate of March 29, 1946.

This will recall to you the story we heard a couple of months ago regarding the United States Government's acceptance of Ibn Saud's "Judenrein" clause in the agreement concerning the air base. Only this time, Biron (Joe Brainin) quotes chapter and verse, naming a concrete case. It seems to me that this is a matter of importance offering us a very strong position for an attack on the Arab policy of the State Department.

EBH:RWS

cc: Dr. Abba Hillel Silver ✓
Dr. Benjamin Akain

WRHS



THE CASE OF SOL FELDMAN AND SAUDI ARABIA

(Quotation from "Tidbits from Everywhere" by Phineas J. Biron in Seven Arts Feature Syndicate of 3.29.46)

ATTENTION, STATE DEPARTMENT:

The case of Sol Feldman should be investigated....
We suggest that our readers peruse his story carefully, and ask their Congressmen to look into it...
We give it to you in Mr. Feldman's own words: "I am employed by the TWA Airlines in Abadan, Iran... I have recently been discharged to accept employment with them....I have a story that I think the American people should know about....My contract with the company has ended and I signed a contract with the Civil Service for six months to work the new air base at Saudi Arabia....This job would have given me a start in life, after serving with the armed service for two years, of which I spent a year and a half overseas....The day after the contract was signed, the Army officer who signed me up came to me and told me he could not accept me and asked me for the contract back....I asked the reason, and this is what he told me: He said that because I am a Jew the Arabian Government wouldn't let me into the country, even though I am an American citizen....Now I don't see why the American Government does business with a country that doesn't even accept their own Americans....."



May 1, 1946

Mr. Eliahu Ben-Horin
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

My dear Mr. Ben-Horin:

Thank you for your letter of April 30.

1. Mr. Walter Lippman was not on the Aircraft Carrier, and I have never met him. I would suggest that he again be contacted. I understand that Akzin had made some overtures.
2. Inasmuch as you had contact with Roy Howard, I do not know why you should not send the analysis to him as coming from one who has made a careful study of the document.
3. In the case of Awad, please get in touch with Eliahu Epstein. In our judgment it would be advisable to make use of Awad's material, since he is now willing to come out into the open. Let me know what he says.

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

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

May 2, 1946

CONFIDENTIAL

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Yesterday I spoke to Eliahu Epstein, who was in New York, about the Awad affair. Once again, the main question which interested him was not the essence of the thing - Awad's readiness to start an open campaign on behalf of Christian Lebanon against Pan-Arabia, etc. (which would be more than timely at this particular juncture) - but why did Awad come to me again. I tried hard to switch the conversation to the subject matter, but Epstein was all worked up about Awad's asking advice from me when he knew that he was to come to him. "Ani agaresh oto," when he comes to me next, and that's what you should have done, - he told me. I answered that this is not my practice, to "legaresh" people, and that I doubt whether it would be the right thing for him to do. I added that I can't see any damage caused by Awad's coming to me for advice, particularly in view of the fact that I do not give him any advice without referring the matter to him, to Epstein.

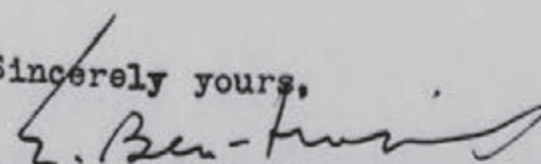
However, Epstein was very determined on this point that, if and when Awad comes to me again, I should tell him that I do not deal with this matter any more, that he should not come to me any more, and that the matter rests in Epstein's sole charge. This I am going to do, unless I hear from you to the contrary.

Still, I consider it my duty to draw your attention to the probability of our losing a good and timely weapon on the American scene because of Epstein's attitude. Judging by what he further told me as to his plans in this matter, he is far less determined to use Awad himself than to preclude us from using him.

Kindly let Shapiro or me have your decision in this matter. Shapiro asks me to add that, in his view, it is imperative that the matter be taken up in the Committee of Eight, without delay.

With best regards, I am

Sincerely yours,


Eliahu Ben-Horin

EBH:RWS

May 2, 1946

Mr. Sidney L. Herold
1625 Slattery Building
Shreveport, La.

Dear Mr. Herold:

In continuation of my last letter, this morning I received from Robert Szold a copy of the "Notice of Annual Meeting" of the Texas Company, which lists their Board of Directors, etc. Among the names of their directors, there are Harry T. Klein, Director and President of the company, who receives an annual salary of \$100,000; and M. Halpern, Vice-President with a salary of \$58,500. Klein may be Jewish or German, but there is no doubt as to Halpern.

I thought I would pass this information on to you and the other members of the Committee to whom I send a copy of this letter as I do in the case of the other letters to you.

I spoke to Mr. Aaron Baroway, Vice-President and General Secretary of the Palestine Economic Corporation this morning, and he told me that Louis Franklin of Houston, Texas, who participated in our Conference in St. Louis, departed yesterday for Palestine to do some oil exploration work there in connection with Palestine Potash. This, too, may be of interest to you.

Sincerely yours,

EBH:RWS

Elihu Ben-Horin

cc: Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

May 3, 1946

Mr. Roy W. Howard
230 Park Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Howard:

You may recall the conversation you had, late last year, with Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, on the question of Palestine and American policy in the Middle East, as well as the memorandum which I prepared at the time for Dr. Silver, and a copy of which he forwarded to you. Since then, the Middle East came to the forefront of world events and, at present, is practically behind every issue of importance in the Councils of U.N.O. and in the relations between the Big Three.

From this larger viewpoint, the Report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine is only one small item. However, it both cuts across the larger issues involved and affects the very tragic situation of our people.

You may be interested in reading the enclosed analysis of the Report, prepared by a Zionist expert. This should not be treated as an official expression of Zionist opinion and should not be quoted as such, but it does point out the essential features of the Report.

I also enclose the last issue of Palestine, a publication of the American Zionist Emergency Council, containing a reprint of an article in the London New Statesman and Nation on British-Soviet rivalry in the Middle East. It is a very outspoken examination of the problems involved and, coming from a British source, extremely revealing. This may be of special interest to you in view of the doubts raised by you during your conversation with Dr. Silver.

With best regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

EBH:RWS
Encls. (2)

Elisha Ben-Horin

cc: Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

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.
M U r r a y H i l l 2 - 1 1 6 0

May 3, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

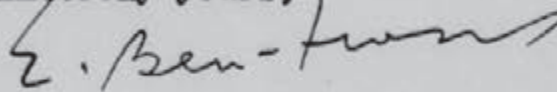
Thank you for your letter of May 1, 1946.
In the meantime, you surely received my letter of
yesterday reporting my last conversation with
Epstein on the subject.

I shall write to Roy Howard. As to Walter
Lippmann, I learned this morning that he just
returned from Europe. It was not Akzin but I who
was in touch with him. I shall try to contact
him again.

You may be interested in the enclosed col-
umn of Eliot which appeared today. It is a result
of my talk with him yesterday, and bears only a
slight resemblance to what he originally intended
to write.

With my very best regards, I am

Sincerely yours,



Eliahu Ben-Horin

EBH:RWS
Encl.

U. S. Urged to Aid, Not Discuss, Jewish Entry Into Palestine

Asked to Guarantee Support to the British in Providing Haven for 100,000 by Peaceful Methods or by Force if Necessary

Harold Tribune
5/3/46
By George Fielding Eliot

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First reactions in Washington to the report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine afford a fresh example of the naive idea which so many of our statesmen seem to cherish, that we can go about in this world giving good advice and talking of noble purposes without assuming any definite and practical responsibility for translating our fine words into actual accomplishment.

The immediate problem to be dealt with is the admission of 100,000 Jewish immigrants into Palestine. This is the matter that has to be attended to now. These lives must be saved, and only immediate action will save them. This figure of 100,000 represents the most urgent cases among the 1,000,000-odd remaining Jews in Europe, the survivors of Hitler's organized massacre; if they are not rescued now they will be dead next spring.

Very largely these are the Jews who are now in camps in Germany, who have suffered all through the horrors of Hitlerian savagery, who have managed to survive during thirteen years of unspeakable frightfulness, and who are now managing to keep alive a little spark of vitality in the lingering hope of getting away from the land of death and fear into the brighter future which Palestine seems to offer them. To them Palestine is indeed the Promised Land. From their point of view there is no argument possible. It is Palestine or nothing. If that door of hope is closed to them, they will lie down in black despair and perish, for they will have nothing left to live for. They have already endured too much.

Transportation Could Be Obtained

The Committee of Inquiry proposes, after thorough examination of all pertinent facts and after having heard witnesses representing every conceivable point of view, "that 100,000 certificates be authorized immediately for the admission into Palestine of Jews who have been the victims of Nazi and Fascist persecution," and that this be accomplished as far as possible in 1946. So far as transportation, etc., is concerned this can be done. The difficulties are political.

The British Prime Minister has told the House of Commons that Britain cannot be expected to carry out this recommendation unless the United States government is willing "to share the resulting additional military and financial responsibilities." Meanwhile, from Jewish quarters come objections which, boiled down, say, "Taking in the 100,000 is fine, but what about the remaining Jews in Europe, and what about the future status of Palestine?" while the Arab Higher Committee has called a general strike, and proposes to mobilize Arab youth for "emergency service" and to institute Arab "civil disobedience."

The settlement of the political future of Palestine will be a long and difficult task. The Committee of Inquiry has made many recommendations, centering on the eventual establishment of a United Nations trusteeship. But we must remember that the U. N. Trusteeship Council is not even in existence at present and cannot come into existence until next September at the earliest, when the General Assembly, which must create the Trusteeship Council, next convenes. It will be too late for many of the 100,000 Jewish victims if they have to wait until then before their removal to Palestine can even begin; and, of course, there would be

other delays even after the Trusteeship Council is formed. Eventually Palestine will become a United Nations responsibility, but in the mean time something must be done about these urgent cases. Otherwise, at this time next year, the citizens of this country will have an uneasy feeling about having innocent blood on their hands.

Arab Opposition Cited

As for Arab opposition, the British are quite right in pointing out that this cannot easily be overcome by their own forces alone. As a practical matter of military force, they might be able to beat down armed resistance, but only—in all likelihood—at the cost of creating additional troubled waters in which the Soviet Union would know how to fish. A situation might arise in which it would be possible for the Russians or some other power to say that a threat to world peace and security existed in the Middle East and as a result the whole thorny problem of rival claims in the Mediterranean area might be thrown into the lap of the Security Council, with Palestine all mixed up with the Dardenelles, the Dodecanese Islands, Tripolitania and Trieste. This would not only be no help to the desperate 100,000 Jews in German camps but it would be a serious prejudice to the progress of the vitally important Paris negotiations.

It gets back to a question of the application of force to accomplish good. This proposition to admit 100,000 of the neediest cases to Palestine immediately originated with President Truman. It is supported by American public opinion almost unanimously, as far as can be judged. It can be vastly aided by the Jewish organizations in this country, which are currently raising \$100,000,000 under the auspices of the United Jewish Appeal for the aid of the distressed Jews of Europe. But we cannot just recommend, and smile benignly, and walk away. We cannot say—as some in Washington have said—"Oh, yes, we are for this, we think it is a fine idea, but we are not—of course not—going to use American troops help to carry it out. That is a British job."

Probably we would not actually have to use American troops at all,

but we must be prepared to do so: and our government must, if our fine words mean anything, say right now that we will give the fullest support, in every way that may be necessary, to the British as the mandatory power in Palestine in order to carry out the proposal to move 100,000 Jews from German camps to settlement in Palestine. We must make it clear that such responsibility as we may thereby assume in Palestine is temporary; that eventually the United Nations must assume that responsibility; but that, recognizing that human lives are at stake, we are not prepared to admit of any delay in this particular matter and that we intend to see it through. By peaceful means, if possible, by force if we must.

May 5, 1946

Mr. Eliahu Ben-Horin
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

My dear Friend:

A few days ago Mr. Norman Littell telephoned me from Washington, inviting me to a dinner meeting at his home for the following evening, where a group of men, including Wallace, would be present to discuss American oil policy. He was anxious for me to come.

I could not leave for Washington. I suggested that I might ask Mr. Julius Fohs to attend the meeting. I finally traced Mr. Fohs down in New York and I suggested that he get in touch with Mr. Littell to find out what it is all about. This morning I received the enclosed letter from Mr. Fohs. I feel that you should know these facts. You might wish to contact Mr. Fohs and Mr. Herold--perhaps also Mr. Norman Littell himself to find out more about the subject.

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

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

CONFIDENTIAL

May 6, 1946

Dear Dr. Silver:

I am typing this letter myself and I intend showing to no one but Shapiro. It will deal with the question which I raised time and again in the last few months; Russia.

Let me, first of all, recall to you several facts: (1) The march of events (the Iraq-Turkey Treaty; the position of the Arab League in the question of the Lybian trusteeship, etc.) fully confirmed my contention, as outlined in the memorandum I sent you on March 7th, that the Arab League must land in the anti-Soviet block in the Middle East. (2) At an earlier stage, when I urged the sounding out of the Kremlin, I laid much emphasis on the right technique, suggesting an approach via Benes. The soundness of this suggestion has been confirmed when Sumner Welles, in a conversation with Akzin, made independently the very same proposal. (3) Nahum Goldman did exactly nothing to implement what he undertook in Jerusalem. Instead of going to Prague, he met Masaryk in London, had a talk with him, and there the matter rests.

The upshot of the matter ^{was} that we lost most valuable time and maybe also possibilities, which we may or may not be able to recover. The proper time for us to approach Russia was when the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry was appointed (when you, in Atlantic City, asked the question why Russia was not a party to the Inquiry). Now, we are being maneuvered once again into the silly position of being, so to say, the upholders of the Report, while the Arabs shout that they will invite Soviet intervention. This is, of course, an idle threat, but the British won't fail to make proper use of it in frightening Messers Truman and Byrnes into submission.

Why do I write to you all this? I am perfectly aware of your having been alive all the time to the importance of the Russian angle. I also know, however, that in this matter, like in many others, you must submit to the limitations of your jurisdiction and prerogatives. But allow me to point out that situations arise when a man of your calibre must find a way to act above and beyond prerogatives. I regret that you were not present at the last meeting of the AZEC Executive and you did not hear Goldman speak (a) On the question of Attles's statement and the desirability of us asking for America's full-fledged responsibility in Palestine (including military responsibility); (b) In reply to Neuman's query with regard to our activities in UNO and Latin America. If you were here, you would have witnessed a display of childish talk on political problems and of criminal neglect in discharging responsibilities of paramount importance to the future of our cause. Is all this to be covered up indefinitely by "preroga-

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M U r r a y H i l l 2 - 1 1 6 0

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tives?".

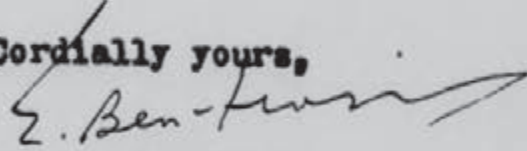
Coming back to the question of Russia, I have a suggestion to make. I suggest that you ask me to go to Prague, on my way to Palestine, and talk over this matter with Benes. My going there could be kept secret. If I achieve nothing, it can remain a secret; but if my visit to Prague results in a possibility of sending a delegation to Stalin, then both you and I will be forgiven for undertaking this informal inquiry.

In this connection, I wish to ~~advise you~~ inform you of a forthcoming article of mine "The Cockpit of the Middle East", which will appear in Harper's (July issue), and which will be accepted by the Russians as a favorable analysis of the Middle Eastern issues from their viewpoint (Azerbaijan, Iran, oil, Lybia, etc.). If you wish, I shall send you a carbon copy of this article, which the editors of Harper's "were delighted" to receive, and which, even if I say so myself, will be of great importance from the Zionist viewpoint. However, I could find a way to draw the attention of the Russians ~~xxx~~ to this article, which may make of me, if not a persona grata with them, a thoroughly acceptable agent for ~~xxx~~ the initiation of the negotiation with them.

I am mailing this letter today in the hope that you may give it some thought, and that, by Thursday, we may be able to discuss it orally.

With my very best regards, I am

Cordially yours,


Eliahu Ben-Horin

American Zionist Emergency Council

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Zionist Organization of America

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

CONFIDENTIAL

May 16, 1946

Dear Dr. Silver:

Here are the things I wanted to tell you in the talk which did not take place:

1. Eliahu Epstein informed me of the state of the Awad affair. He said that he is working now, together with Moukarsel and Awad, on the organization of the Lebanese here, and that for this purpose Awad is writing a pamphlet, which should be published shortly. He is also planning a trip by Moukarsel to the Lebanon, to influence in the right way the forthcoming elections there. Epstein thinks that Moukarsel would be better for this mission than Awad, because of his being the President of the American Lebanese Society (whatever its official name is) and Editor of "Al Hoda". The Agency is willing to finance his trip. Epstein further told me that by the middle of June the time will be ripe for breaking the story in the newspapers and radio, and he intends then to call us in (Manson and myself).

This is what he told me, asking me to inform you of these developments. I did not comment on it, but stated that we shall be glad to cooperate.

2. I had a conversation with Arthur Lourie, which I want to report to you. It bears both on the question raised ~~XXXXX~~ during our last meetings and many times before (political work in London) and on my trip. Lourie read my forthcoming article in Harper's and liked it very much. I told him that I was going to Palestine in July and asked him whether it would not be a good idea for me to stop for a couple of weeks in London and talk to British statesmen and Parliamentarians not about Palestine, Zionism, pledges and justice, but about Middle Eastern grand strategy, British-Soviet relations in the Middle East (along the lines of my article), and on this basis influence them in the direction of a pre-Zionist rather than pro-Arab orientation. I mentioned certain speeches made recently in the House of Commons in the same spirit, the article in the New Statesman and Nation, a recent speech by Churchill, etc., and added that: "I know that all the efforts of Dr. Silver to inject new blood into our political work in London are being rejected because of internal party jealousies. I therefore ~~am~~ do not suggest that this be treated as an official mission on behalf of the Emergency Council. But I do think that it would be a pity if we did not make use of my trip, coinciding so nicely with the publication of my article, for the advancement of our political positions in London."

Lourie's reaction was that he fully agreed with me as to desirability of my visit to London for this purpose; that our political work in London was, in his opinion, ineffective; that there are few people in the Zionist headquarters capable to conduct political negotiations and talks on a high level; and what do I suggest as to how the thing should be worked? He added that he would rather approach Shertock than Locker, because of the latter's narrow partisanship. I then said that I don't doubt that you would approve of my stop-over in London for this purpose, and that I leave it to him, to Lourie, to get the consent of the Agency the way he considers best. The upshot was that he promised to write today to Shertock, enclosing a copy of my forthcoming article.

I don't have to explain what motivated me in approaching Lourie with this proposal. In addition to the value of such talks in London (and I do believe that those could be of considerable value), this would provide a legitimate reason for my spending some time in Europe. I hope that this demarche meets with your approval.

3. I am having lunch today with Hart (the British military writer), together with Lourie. If anything of interest develops, I shall inform you.

4. I don't have as yet Hoover's reply. Yesterday, it did not look promising, but I have to phone to Washington this afternoon, when I shall know definitely his reaction.

My very best regards.

Sincerely yours,

E. Ben-Horin

Eliahu Ben-Horin

*p.s. I apologize for the bad typing -
it is "sin37 03/24"*

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
342 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date May 17, 1946

From Eliahu Ben-Horin

Enclosed please find copy of telegram I received today from Herbert Hoover. So, he is out as far as the "Appeal of 100" is concerned. As to his estimation of the number of survivors, I don't think that it could carry more weight than that of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry.

Best regards.

EBH:RW

Encl.

C O P Y
of
Telegram

WESTERN UNION

NBM 2 NL PD-WASHINGTON DC MAY 16
ELIAHU BEN-HORIN
342 MADISON AVE

I AM OFF TO SOUTH AMERICA SO AM UNABLE TO TAKE PART IN YOUR QUERY.
I DO SUGGEST THAT YOU OVERESTIMATE THE JEWS WHO ARE ALIVE IN EUROPE
OUTSIDE OF RUSSIA BY ABOUT TWO THIRDS. I THINK THE HOLOCAUST WAS
WORSE THAN EVEN YOU STATE



5/17/46-RW

American Zionist Emergency Council

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Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

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

CONFIDENTIAL

May 17, 1946

Dear Dr. Silver:

1. Yesterday, I had a long talk with Louis Adamic with regard to my forthcoming ~~speech~~ trip. After he promised me to keep it strictly entre nous, I told him as much of the story as I had to in order to obtain his cooperation. This I got in the form of a promise to give me introductions not only to Tito, but also to Mr. Kardelj, the Vice-Premier and the brain behind the throne; and to Col. Dedier, Editor of the "Borba" (the governmental publication), a leading partisan and a power in the inner circle. Adamic said that Tito is much more important for our purposes than Benes. He was very much interested in what I told him of my article in Harper's and wanted to see it at once with a view of possibly quoting from it in a book he is now writing "Dinner in the White House." This reminds me; would you kindly mail me the copy of the article you have.

2. I draw your attention to the fact that the repeated news dispatches of Soviet-Arab rapprochement, invariably launched from Arab sources as part of the scheme to scare the Americans, are being invariably refuted a couple of days after publication. This applies to the story of the Soviet Ambassador's alleged visit to the Mufti; the story of the promise given by the Soviet Minister in Syria to back the Arabs in UNO, etc. I think that this is illuminating and, incidentally, substantiates my contention (in the analysis of the problem which I sent you many weeks ago) that in this case, like in many others, the yardstick of logic must prove a better guide than impressionism.

With my very best regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

E. Ben-Horin
Eliahu Ben-Horin

May 20, 1946

Mr. Eliahu Ben-Horin
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

My dear Mr. Ben-Horin:

I received your two letters. I am pleased that you will stop over in London and that Lurie is contacting Shertock about it. Also, that you will receive introduction for Louis Adamic. When do you plan to leave?

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:GR

254 WEST 82ND STREET
NEW YORK 24, N. Y.
SCHUYLER 4-9172

May 23, 1946

Dear Dr. Silver:

I am writing this letter on my personal stationery as a reminder or suggestion that on matters pertaining to my trip to Europe and Palestine it would be better if you addressed your letters to my home. &

I missed you yesterday in Washington, and I shall therefore report to you, in a separate letter, about my talk with Norman Littell. Here, I wish to inform you of Dr. Akzin's talk with Sumner Welles regarding the introduction to Benes. This is what Akzin writes to me :

"...Welles said that he would not like to by-pass the American Ambassador in Prag, Laurence Steinhardt, a personal friend of Welles and a man of excellent and independent judgment. He said he would give you a letter to Steinhardt, asking him to arrange the interview with Benes and to tell him that this is being done at Welles' request. He also said that we need not assume that Steinhardt would report about it to the Government, though, of course, he may do so. ...I said that I would like to report his suggestion and to let him know our reaction.

"My opinion is that Welles' advice is not good. Steinhardt will certainly report about your visit, even if he helps you, and he may (being a Jew and knowing the ticklish USA-Russian relations) even refuse to do so.On the other hand, there is no point in rejecting Welles' offer, and so, if you agree, I'll ask him to give you a letter introducing you to Steinhardt, but without mentioning Benes."

Then, Akzin adds that "Welles understands that this is highly confidential, and he won't mention it when talking to other Zionists." Since then, I spoke to Akzin, telling him that I agreed with the procedure suggested by him, and adding that with my letter from Harper's on the one hand and your letter, on the other, I would be able to reach Benes with Steinhardt's intervention. Furthermore, even if I use Steinhardt's services in order to come to Benes, I shall be going to him as Harper's correspondent, and that is all he would be able to report to the State Dept. With this reasoning Akzin agreed, and I hope that it meets also with your approval.

With my very best regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

E. Ben-Horin
Eliahu Ben-Horin

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Constituent Organizations

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Zionist Organization of America

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May 27, 1946

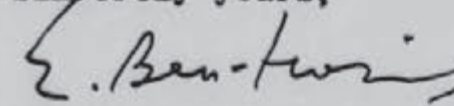
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Before going to Washington, last week, I asked Arthur Lourie to phone Norman Littell and introduce me to him. That he did, and when I came to Washington I got in touch with Littell. We first had a talk for an hour in his office, and then he invited me to dinner at his place with a few important people. Among those present were Senator Austin of Vermont with wife; Munos Marine, Chairman of the Puerto Rico Senate, and one of his colleagues; Thomas Hamilton, one of the New York Times' correspondents; a State Department official from Byrnes' entourage with wife, and a few others.

Before and after dinner I was given a good hearing on Middle Eastern and Palestine questions, and I established a couple of good contacts. Mr. and Mrs. Littell are undoubtedly extremely valuable friends of our cause, whose contacts in the political Washington and not only in Washington could be extremely useful. They are very interested in the oil aspect, and Littell seems to have been one of the main springs in defeating the Pauley nomination. He knows, of course, all the dirt about it, and the way he tells it, it makes a fascinating story. The appointment of Pauley as Assistant Secretary of the Navy was to be only the first step in a very ambitious plan. Shortly afterwards, Forrestall was to resign to be replaced by Pauley. Then, Pauley, as Secretary of the Navy, would have withdrawn the Navy's objections to a unified command at the price (not openly of course) of Pauley's becoming Secretary of War-Navy. Pauley, being owned body and soul by the Standard of California, would then proceed to act in the Middle East and elsewhere in their interests and on their instructions. As you see, it is quite a story.

Sincerely yours,



Eliahu Ben-Horin

EBH:RW

American Zionist Emergency Council

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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.

M U r r a y H i l l 2 - 1 1 6 0

June 13, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

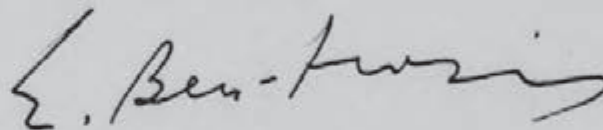
You may be interested in the enclosed copies of my correspondence with Mr. Fred Davies, president of the Arabian American Oil Company and of my letter which I wrote today to Judge Herold.

I wish to draw your attention to a new development in Washington, namely the Institute for Middle Eastern Studies, which is being formed under the auspices and active participation of the Department of State. All the people mentioned as head participants in it, starting with Col. Hoskins and Mr. Willard, are known as pro-Arabist and anti-Zionist. Although it is called "Institute for Studies," there is not the slightest doubt that it will be an instrument of political propaganda and political influence, especially as they intend to publish also a magazine. This, linked with the activities and attitudes so well known to us of the people in charge of the Middle East in the Department of State, presents undoubtedly a threat of creating an official or semi-official agency for Pan-Arabic activities in the United States.

I submit to you that this demands immediate counteraction on our part. We might land again in a situation when we cry over spilt milk. In this connection, I would like to raise again the question of Norman Littell about whom I wrote to you in one of my recent letters. It seems to me that now, more than ever, it is urgent to have established in Washington a man of Littell's standing working in our behalf.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,



Eliahu Ben-Horin

EBH:RW
Encls.

C O P Y

ARABIAN AMERICAN OIL COMPANY

F.A. DAVIES
President

200 Bush Street
San Francisco 4, California

June 10, 1946

Mr. Eliahu Ben-Horin
254 West 82nd Street
New York 24, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Ben-Horin:

I regret that I was unable to see you or to acknowledge your letter of May 28 while I was in New York recently. As I believe you were informed, I was completely tied up with meetings while I was there. I had hoped to have a few free days before my departure and to see you at that time, but I finally had to leave earlier than expected - either the day I received your letter or the following day. I have heard quite a bit about you, have read your book, and would have liked very much to discuss the oil situation in the Middle East with you.

I believe you have had meetings in the past with our Mr. Duce in Washington, but I would suggest that if there is some particular information you would like to have, you see him again as I am sure he will be able to give you the oil picture as we see it. As you may or may not know, he has just recently returned from there so should have a complete up to date picture.

Again, I am sorry that I did not get to meet you and hope that I may have that pleasure during some future visit in New York. If you are writing to Mr. Elson I would appreciate it if you would extend my kind regards to him.

Sincerely yours,

(SIGNED) F. A. DAVIES

6/13/46-RW

June 13, 1946

Mr. F. A. Davies, Pres.
Arabian American Oil Company
200 Bush Street
San Francisco 4, Calif.

Dear Mr. Davies:

Thank you very much for your kind letter of June 13, 1946. I was rather discouraged by the fact that my several efforts to reach you proved unsuccessful. However, I fully realized how preoccupied you were.

I had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Duce in Washington, when we had lunch together and a long talk, but I must frankly state that I found this talk with Mr. Duce and another gentleman associated with your company, whose name evades me at the moment, disappointing in many respects. The fact of the matter is that at the moment, I think I am as well informed on the oil developments in the Middle East as any outsider can be. It is, therefore, not in search of information that I wanted to see you.

This body, the American Zionist Emergency Council, which is the united political arm of all the Zionist organizations in America, is greatly concerned and perturbed with certain aspects of the oil situation and its effects on American policy in the Middle East in general and especially in application to Palestine and the Jewish problem. It was this subject that I wanted to discuss with you, and I do not have to repeat how sorry I am that our meeting in New York did not materialize. If you feel that a talk with Mr. Duce on this matter would be of use, I would be glad to try and obtain an appointment with him for this purpose.

As you mention in your letter having read some of my writings, I would like to use this opportunity to draw your attention to a forthcoming article of mine in Harper's Magazine, July issue. It deals with all the current problems of the Middle East and covers also to some extent the oil aspect. I hope that you will find it of interest.

Thanks for your regards to Mr. Elson, which I shall certainly transmit to him.

Sincerely yours,

EMH:RS

Elihu Ben-Horin

cc: Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

June 13, 1946

Mr. Sidney L. Herold
1625 Slattery Building
Shreveport, La.

Dear Mr. Herold:

You probably recall the account of my efforts to see Mr. Fred A. Davies, president of the Arabian American Oil Company and of his lack of response.

Yesterday, after your departure, when I came home I found a letter from Mr. Davies, a copy of which I enclose. I also attach a copy of my reply. As you will note, I thought it best, in light of your contacts and negotiations in New York, to come out into the open and to tell him what was the purpose of my approach to him. I felt also that it might be useful for your future encounter with Davies and Duce, if I state how disappointing I found Mr. Duce's manner of discussion. This may make them unbend when you talk to them. I hope that my way of answering Mr. Davies will meet with your approval.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

EBH:RW
Encls. (2)

Elisha Ben-Horin

cc: Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

MEMORANDUM

To

Mr. Harry L. Shapiro

Date

June 14, 1946

From

Eliahu Ben-Horin

This morning I had the long expected talk with Walter Lippmann. On the whole, he agreed with the main points of my argumentation regarding the Middle East. He remarked, however, that he does not know much about that area, adding that he felt all along that there is no hope for settlement of the Middle Eastern problems as long as America has no policy of its own in that region but follows Britain. From this viewpoint, he thinks that if in some way America would obtain a foothold of its own in Eastern Mediterranean, small as it may be, it would make a great deal of difference in the entire situation.

I told him for the first time (for all my correspondence with him was strictly personal and on my personal stationery) of my association with the Emergency Council. After that I was free, of course, to give him our entire line of approach. He did not commit himself on this subject, but I do think that I have sown some good seeds in his mind with regards to the goings on in the Palestine question. We shall remain in contact, as he asked me to send him some material, and he wanted to see me again after I return from my trip.

EBH:RW

cc: Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

June 16, 1946

CONFIDENTIAL

Mr. Eliahu Ben-Horin
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York, 17, N. Y.

My dear Mr. Ben-Horin:

In reply to your kind letter of June 7, I agree with you about Littell. Could Fohs make the necessary arrangements?

I enjoyed the meeting very much with Judge Herold and Taubman.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:GR

American Zionist Emergency Council

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June 17, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

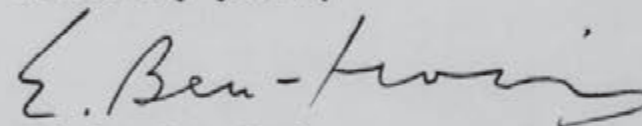
Dear Dr. Silver:

As you probably know, it is part of my job to read all the verbatim reports of the broadcasts dealing with Palestine and the Middle East and to correspond with the commentators. You will be interested to know the reaction to Bevin's statement of all the radio commentators was unanimously violent in condemnation. Many of them quoted at length from your speech and the speeches of Crum, Wise and Johnson in Madison Square Garden.

I enclose a copy of one broadcast which may be of particular interest to you, because of the intelligent analysis of Bevin's statement and its possible political repercussions. The under-scoring in the text is mine.

With best regards.

Sincerely yours,


Eliahu Ben-Horin

EBH:JM
Encl.

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.
M U r r a y H i l l 2 - 1 1 6 0

June 17, 1946

CONFIDENTIAL

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Thanks for your letter of June 16th. I am glad that you approve of the Littell proposition. However, Fohs would be the wrong party to make the arrangements. I discussed this matter today with Shapiro and Tuvim and we all agree that either you or Emanuel Neumann should make the necessary arrangements with Littell. Would you do it, or do you want me to talk it over with Neumann and leave the matter in his hands?

This morning, Lourie finally received a reply from London to his cables concerning my trip. They cabled that they had no objection to my visit to London, although "they doubt whether it will have practical results". What these people understand under "practical results" from political talks, is beyond me. However, their reply makes my visit to London thoroughly "kosher", and that is all I wanted.

You may be interested in the enclosed copy of a letter from Judge Herold, which I received today. It is only a courteous note, but I am glad that he felt pleased with the way we treated him here.

With my very best regards.

Sincerely yours,

EBH:JM
Encl.

Elisha Ben-Horin

COPY

HEROLD COUSIN & HEROLD
Law Offices
Slattery Building
P.O. Box 1467
Shreveport, Louisiana

COPY

June 13th, 1946

Mr. Eliahu Ben-Horin,
American Zionist Emergency Council,
342 Madison Avenue,
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Ben-Horin:

I want to tell you of the great
pleasure I have had from our association, and
trust that it may continue.

Whether or not my efforts in New
York will be productive of any good, only time will
tell, but I am grateful for the opportunity at
least to have attempted some service.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

SLH/mb

(s) Sidney L. Herold

copied
6/17/46-jm

June 23, 1946

Mr. Eliahu Ben-Horin
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

My dear Mr. Ben-Horin:

In reply to your letter of June 17, I would suggest that you ask Mr. Neumann and Mr. Shapiro to make the necessary arrangements with Mr. Litell.

Mr. Shapiro will take care of the other matter which you discussed with me yesterday afternoon.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:GR

Best regards
E. B. H.

Reprinted from
HARPER'S MAGAZINE

THE COCKPIT OF THE MIDDLE EAST

ELIAHU BEN-HORIN

SOME months ago, an office in Washington, interested in news from and about the Middle East, placed an order for such material with a clipping service. At the end of the first month, the man in charge was amazed and greatly perturbed by the size of the bill. It amounted to over ten thousand dollars.

This furnishes a tangible illustration of the place occupied by the Middle East in current world developments. The range extends all the way from a local rebellion by a Kurdish chieftain in Iraq to the fear of a new conflagration over the Soviet-Iranian conflict in the UN's Security Council in New York. Or does it end there? Is there a single issue among the many perturbing the world today that does not cut across Middle East realities?

Though this may sound like a hyperbolic statement, it is far from that. In some cases, the crucial importance of the Middle East has become clear to everyone. In others, observers at a distance fail to detect the explosive potentialities until the eruption actually takes place. It takes time to see the connection between disturbances in Azerbaijan and two hundred years of Anglo-Russian rivalry in Persia; between demands presented to Turkey on behalf of the Georgians and Armenians and Russia's need for a free outlet to the warm seas if she is not to remain a landlocked empire;

between anti-French riots in Damascus and British-French disagreement over European issues; between terroristic outbursts in Palestine and Britain's determination to maintain its dominating position in the Middle East; between the sudden declaration of Transjordanian independence and the UN's plans for trusteeships over mandated lands; between an American airfield in Saudi Arabia or an American trans-Arabian oil pipeline and Mr. Byrnes' indignant speeches on Russia's failure to withdraw her forces from Iran.

More than any area on earth, the Middle East is a jigsaw puzzle with enough pieces in it to cause bewilderment even to experts at the game. Yet this puzzle, like all others, has a solution. All the pieces can be made to fit.

SOME of the components of the Middle East puzzle are tangible or visible. Here they lie before us in utter disorder: Arabs and Jews; Christian minorities of all churches, including some whose very existence is unknown to most Americans (Melkites, Nestorians, Chaldeans, etc.); Moslems of a variety of sects; Assyrians and Armenians; Druzes and Kurds and even sun-worshipers; the Suez Canal and the Persian Gulf and also the Dardanelles—the latter to be included in the Middle East if we take this term to cover also the

Eliahu Ben-Horin lived for many years in Palestine, where he was editor in chief of the Palestine News Service for four years. He is the author of The Middle East: Crossroads of History, published in 1943.

Near East. There is more oil in the Middle East than in any other single region of the world; its strategic and communications values are unparalleled. This is where the invisible components of our puzzle come into play: the interests of the great powers in whose hands the local factors are no more than pawns. The stake in this game of rival imperialisms is the domination of a region which holds one of the keys to world power.

The ingredients of internal strife, apt to produce worldwide repercussions, are present in the Middle East in great abundance. Azerbaijan was not invented in the Kremlin, and if tomorrow the world is faced with the question of the Kurds and their demand for the formation of an independent Kurdistan, this, too, will not be the invention of some evil mind. There are Kurds in the Middle East, some three million of them, and they were even promised, after World War I, that they would have an independent state of their own. In other words, the pawns have been there all the time, but their moves are timed and directed by world interests.

Because of the Middle East's crucial importance in the world picture, it would be of little use to analyze any single local problem on its limited merits. They are all interwoven in one pattern, the threads of which do not end in the Indian Ocean in the east or in the Dardanelles in the west. The threads go on to London, Moscow, and Washington. It would be futile to try cutting the knot in Cairo, Jerusalem, or Teheran.

There is enough dynamite amassed in the Middle East to explode into a worldwide conflagration. On the other hand, wise statesmanship could use the dynamite as a lever in a great constructive effort on behalf of humanity. Oil moves tanks and bombers, but it also feeds tractors and diesels. A diversity of national and religious groups can easily breed trouble, but it can also produce a more colorful civilization.

II

OIL is now on everybody's lips. Oil is seen behind every clash and difficulty in the Middle East. The existence of nearly thirty billion barrels of petroleum

in the ground of the Middle East lands has indeed been established beyond doubt. Fairly competent guesses speak of an additional seventy billion barrels. This is a very respectable amount of oil, far exceeding the total home reserves plus the Caribbean reserves of the United States, and probably equaling the combined known and undiscovered reserves of the Soviet Union. Yet, I venture to say, the importance of the oil factor in Middle Eastern rivalries is both over-emphasized and over-estimated.

On the face of it, it was Russia's desire for oil concessions in northern Iran that was the cause of all the recent agitation in the UN's Security Council. However, a sober analysis of the Soviet-Iranian conflict would prove that oil played but a minor part in the development of events. Does Russia need Persian oil so badly as to risk a serious clash between the Big Three? Is it known with any degree of certainty that there are substantial petroleum reserves in Iran's five northern provinces, and do the Western powers entertain any ambitions of their own with regard to the oil of that area?

The honest answers to all the above questions would be in the negative. Without mentioning her present control over all the oilfields of eastern and central Europe, Russia has enough oil within her own boundaries, not only for her current needs but also to fuel an extensive program of reconstruction and industrialization. To be sure, Russian oil production suffered during the war, and new sources would be welcome. But the need is hardly acute enough to warrant war. Britain and the United States have no reason whatsoever to oppose a Soviet concession in northern Iran, a region which traditionally belongs to the Russian sphere of political and economic influence and which is virtually inaccessible to profitable exploitation by any other power. This region, moreover, is as yet unexplored and its petroleum potentialities have never been established. The British own the rich oilfields of southwest Persia and the Americans have tried to get a concession in the southeastern part of Persia. In addition, Britain and America control all the oil reserves of the Arab lands. No British or American com-

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pany wants concessions in northern Iran, for the simple reason that it would not pay.

A look at the map will show that the five northern provinces of Persia—Ghilan, Azerbaijan, Astrabad, Mazanderan, and Khorassan—are so cut off from world markets that an oil industry there could not compete with other producing areas. These provinces lie near the Caspian Sea and Russian developments in that region. The conclusion is indicated that no oil concession to any nation is practical politics in this area, unless it is obtained and worked with Russia's consent.

If it was not oil that caused all this trouble, what was it? The truth of the matter is that none of the great powers was half so interested in obtaining the oil of northern Iran, as in not letting the other fellow have it. Russia does not need the oil, but she would hate to see Britain established so close to her borders and to the Caspian Sea. Britain does not need the oil of northern Iran, but she is determined to prevent or to slow down Russia's thrust toward the Persian Gulf.

THE real crux of the problem is this: Who is to control the strategic heights in the Middle East? All the rest is camouflage, not always artistically executed, but widely used by both parties. British-American indignation over Russia's use of Azerbaijan to achieve its aims in Persia or to create a Soviet-dominated puppet state can hardly be taken seriously in the light of Britain's own record. One could recall the case of the Assyrians after World War I. Britain raised the question of the Assyrians, when she demanded that the Mosul district be cut off from Turkey because the Christian Assyrians could not be safely left under Turkish rule. But as soon as Mosul was incorporated in Iraq and the British secured for themselves the oil of Mosul, they forgot the Assyrians completely—even to the extent of condoning their mass massacre by the Arabs of Iraq.

We do not have to go as far back as that. At the very time that the Security Council was preoccupied with the Soviet-Iranian controversy, the British government in London announced the independence of Transjordan. This land lying east of the Jordan, an integral part of the area under

the jurisdiction of the Palestine mandate of the League of Nations, was suddenly transformed into a sovereign kingdom. Who had taken the decision to abolish the League's mandate? Not the League of Nations; not its mandates commission; not the United Nations; not even a conference of the Big Three. It was done unilaterally by Great Britain. It was done, moreover, in great haste, without waiting for the recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine or for the decisions of the UN's Trusteeship Council which is supposed to take over the League's mandates.

To be sure, Transjordan will be no more independent now than before. Granting it the nominal status of "kingdom" and its ruler, Emir Abdullah, the title of "king," will not change the basic conditions of its national existence. There will still be only about 300,000 inhabitants, mostly nomadic illiterate Bedouins, with no industry, little commerce, poor communications, no cultural institutions, no economic development. Transjordan and its "king" will still be totally dependent on Britain politically, militarily, and financially. If Britain were to stop its subsidy to "King" Abdullah and his Arab Legion of 16,000 (British-officered) men, the king and his soldiers would have to beg for alms.

One is entitled to ask: If Britain may set up a puppet state in Transjordan, in disregard of international covenants, why should not Russia be allowed to do the same with Azerbaijan today, or Kurdistan tomorrow, or a larger Soviet Armenia the day after?

III

THE sun does not set on the British Empire. Nor, for that matter, does it set on the Russian Empire. A Labor government in Britain and a Soviet regime in Russia cannot change these physical realities. Mr. Attlee and Mr. Stalin are engaged, not in an ideological dispute between Socialism and Communism, but in a clash of two mammoth empires. The main scene of their duel is the Middle East. Nothing happens today in the cockpit of the Middle East without being affected by this over-all rivalry between Britain and

Russia. Its ultimate outcome must be either the most annihilating war in history or peaceful collaboration between the two empires, with America as a third partner and arbiter. There seems to be no middle way.

This is the light in which the various Middle Eastern issues, big and small, must be seen. An American expert who possesses first-hand knowledge of Persia and the Middle East recently tried to take the bull by the horns and offer a solution for the Iranian problem, which, if accepted, would set the pace for a peaceful and constructive settlement of the many complicated problems of the entire Middle East. I refer to the statement issued in April by Dr. Arthur C. Millspaugh, of the Brookings Institution, who served as administrator general of Persia's finances from 1922 to 1927 and again from 1943 to 1945. What Dr. Millspaugh suggested was an American-British-Soviet guardianship over Iran for twenty-five to seventy-five years as the only alternative to competitive concession grabbing and the only way to establish a progressive and enlightened administration in the interests of the masses of the people rather than of a few feudal lords.

Here is how Dr. Millspaugh describes conditions in Iran:

... Discontent and disloyalty are widespread. The government neither represents nor serves the people; and, without outside control, it is, in my opinion, incapable of doing the things that are necessary if Iran is to establish stability at home and command respect abroad. In Iran, neither independence nor self-government is a reality; and neither can become a reality if it is assumed that Iranians are now politically capable of solving their own problems. What Iran needs for a time is more foreign interference, but interference of a new and constructive kind.

If this is true of Iran, an independent and self-governing state for thousands of years and, in the past, a conquering empire, how much truer must it be of the many little states of the Middle East to whom nominal independence was indiscriminately granted after World War II, regardless of their qualifications for statehood in general, and progressive self-government in particular. We have mentioned the case of Transjordan. Syria and Lebanon, as well as Iraq, are in the same category. So is Lybia, where, it seems, a

similar plan for nominal independence and factual dependence on Britain has been set in motion, as a counter-move to the Russian demand for sole trusteeship over that ex-Italian colony. By now it should have been clear to Britain's statesmen that the setting up of satellite-states is a double-edged weapon. Two can play at this game, and in this kind of politics the Kremlin certainly lacks neither ability, nor experience, nor connections, nor appeal to the imagination of the masses.

INDEED, what the dispassionate expert, Dr. Millspaugh, has suggested with regard to Iran, was recently advocated, if not explicitly, by a leading British weekly. In a penetrating analysis of the forces at play in the Middle East, the *New Statesman and Nation* arrives at the conclusion that present British policy is suicidal. After describing the elimination of France from the Middle East with Britain's active support and the erection of the Arab League—once again with active British support—the paper says:

... From the Soviet point of view, the only conclusion that can be drawn from British policy is that it is an effort to organize the Middle East against the USSR. They have plenty of material to justify this view, just as the British can cite much Soviet propaganda and intrigue to prove that Russian policy is to destroy the British Empire. ... In deciding to found their future on a presumably anti-Soviet Arab bloc, British policy appears to us to be founded on sand. The Arab League is of no military account; its economic resources are small; it is beset by internal rivalries; and there is not the slightest reason to believe that it will remain "loyal" to the British Empire. ... In our present bid for Arab support we British can only go a certain distance before we cut our own throats. Anglo-American commitments of all kinds are such that we cannot offer the moon. The Russians can always go one better; the strength of the Russian appeal in the long run is that it offers the miserably poor Arab peasants the hope of a modernized economy and the end of landlord exploitation.

I apologize for this extensive quotation, but the *New Statesman and Nation* has stated so succinctly the relative positions in the Middle East and the dangers inherent in present policies that I have not been able to withstand the temptation of borrowing its description. On the strength of this apology, I should like to reproduce the concluding passages of the article, as well:

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... If the rising tide of pan-Arabism, set in motion by ourselves, but now also fostered from Moscow, submerges the Jewish establishment in Palestine and the Christian Lebanon, the only friends whose loyalty has never wavered will have been sacrificed to the romantic chimera of a great Arab union, resuscitating the glories of the Caliphate, linked to Britain by bonds of gratitude and amity.

This has never been an intelligent dream, and it does not take account of present reality. It would surely have been wiser for both the British and the Russians to maintain the original policy of Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin, which was, verbally at least, to accept the facts of each other's power, co-operate on the basis of respect for each other's interest, and work together to improve the living standards of backward peoples.

Thus Dr. Millspaugh's detached American approach and the British weekly's concern for the future of the empire dictate the same conclusion. Anti-Russian intrigue by Britain will produce payment in kind by Russia. If the present clash is allowed to continue, it must lead to a catastrophe. Anglo-Soviet-American co-operation in the Middle East would seem to be a far more "intelligent dream."

IV

UNDER existing conditions, any adjustment in the Middle East can be no more than a temporary expedient liable to break down under the impact of either Soviet or British-American onslaught. As long as mistrust and hostility continue to dominate the relations between the two empires, there cannot be even a minimum of stability in the recently proclaimed independence of Transjordan, in the statehood of Syria and Lebanon, in a new British-Egyptian Treaty, in a British-American decision with regard to Palestine, in a UN-negotiated settlement of Soviet-Persian relations, in an international agreement with regard to the Straits, in any number of other decisions and agreements about Lybia, Greater Soviet Armenia, Azerbaijan, oil, Kurdistan, Georgia, Eritrea, Sudan, the Suez Canal.

Should the Big Three, however, adopt the wiser policy of co-operation, the problems could be solved in a manner which would at once safeguard the legitimate interests of the big powers and assure justice for the small peoples. Analysis of the major problems will substantiate this.

Let us, first of all, formulate the chief legitimate interests of the great powers. Britain's interest in the Middle East has priority from the viewpoint of both oil and communications. Unlike Russia, Britain has no petroleum at home. Unlike Russia, the British Empire is not a compact land-mass but a chain of possessions spread all over the globe. Accordingly, if Britain is to exist as a great power and retain her empire, she must be sure of her oil supplies and line of communications.

Russia has two main concerns in the Middle East: she needs an outlet to the warm seas and fears an anti-Russian or anti-Soviet *cordon sanitaire* in the Near and Middle East. The first consideration is responsible for the Soviet maneuvering in Persia with an eye on the Persian Gulf and for the Russian, Armenian, and Georgian demands on Turkey—demands actually centered on the Straits. The second consideration motivates all Russian intrigues against Britain and the Empire.

Both the United States and France are interested in Middle Eastern oil and other economic resources, and have religious and sentimental attachments to the area.

THESE legitimate aspirations of the great powers are not wholly irreconcilable, while their harmonious co-habitation would benefit the peoples of the Middle East—and I mean the peoples, not the ruling cliques—much more than the present system.

A genuine agreement between the great powers would easily dispose of the three major international assets of the Middle East: oil, the Suez Canal, and the Straits. As far as oil is concerned, if mutual fear and mistrust are eliminated, there should be no difficulty in the division of exploitation areas among the various parties. There is enough oil in the Middle East to satisfy all needs. These natural riches, moreover, could and should contribute to the welfare of the Middle Eastern peoples themselves. As matters stand today, the Arab fellah, the Bedouin, or the Persian peasant derive hardly any benefit at all from the abundance of liquid gold in their soil. The nearly one hundred million dollars paid by the oil companies to Iraq have not improved the lot of that

country's downtrodden masses. The same is true of the oil royalties paid to King Ibn Saud, or to the sheiks of Kuwait and Bahrein. Actually, these Moslem potentates can do nothing with their oil unless it is developed, produced, refined, piped, shipped, and marketed by Western capital and industry. It is well within the capability of the Western world to see to it that the capital invested in Middle East lands be used for a program of development which would elevate the masses from their present misery.

If the questions of the Straits and Suez are treated together rather than separately and the same yardstick is applied to both, a just and logical solution can easily be reached. Each is an international waterway in which one major power is primarily interested. The Suez Canal is the chief artery of Britain's naval communications, while the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles are Russia's only outlet to the Mediterranean. There is a third essential similarity between these two waterways: both lie within the geographic boundaries of small states. In fact, the Suez is probably the main obstacle in Egypt's way to independence and the Straits constitute the main danger to Turkey's national security. These slices of international power are too large to rest safely in the hands of small peoples. The Straits were once internationalized, after World War I, but later were returned to Turkey's jurisdiction. The Suez Canal, now in Britain's hands, should revert, by 1968, to Egypt's possession and full control. The solution lies, of course, in the establishment of international administrations over the two waterways, with a Briton at the head of the Suez administration and a Russian at the head of the Straits administration. Egypt and Turkey should get their revenues from the traffic in the waterways, but neither of them could expect or should desire to be charged with the sole responsibility for strategic positions of such international significance.

V

IF THE same principle of international collaboration could be applied in good faith to the local problems and conflicts

of the Middle East, all of them could be resolved. The former Italian colonies in North Africa, Lybia, and Eritrea, will continue to cause an international headache as long as Britain tries to prevent Russia's penetration into the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. Russia had demanded sole trusteeship for herself over Lybia, probably as a bargaining device in the controversy over the Straits. Britain encourages the Arab League to ask for the independence of these territories, which is a mere joke, for these desert countries are utterly incapable of exercising statehood. An American-British-Russian trusteeship, with a possible cession of part of Eritrea, including an outlet to the Red Sea, to Abyssinia, is the only regime which could develop these lands economically, culturally, and politically in the interests of the local populations.

Continuing our examination of local problems from the fringes of the Middle East to the center, we come to the question of the Azerbaijanians, Kurds, Armenians, and Georgians. Today, the demands of these groups for national self-determination or for more *Lebensraum* sound very much like Soviet intrigue. They may be, but there is no way of proving it and certainly no justification for refusing Azerbaijan or Kurdistan what is granted to Lybia or Transjordan. As in Lybia, so in Azerbaijan and Kurdistan, condominium administrations by the Big Three would be the best remedy. As to the demands of the Armenian and Georgian Soviet Republics, an international inquiry into the historic background and present conditions should precede any decision. However, it should be remembered that there is only one large group of Armenians outside of Russia: over 100,000 in Lebanon. If the question of Lebanon is solved in such a way as to safeguard the existence and development of its Christian communities, the problem of these hundred thousand Armenians would lose its urgency.

We have still to consider three major Middle East groups: the Moslem Arabs, the Jews, and the Christian minorities other than the Armenians. All three now face a common enemy—fanatical Pan-

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Arabism, promoted by reactionary chieftains, feudalistic landlords, and backward clergy, and sponsored by Great Britain. Pan-Arabism today stands opposed not only to a Jewish Palestine and a Christian Lebanon, but also to the vital interests of the Arab masses. The adverse effects of Pan-Arabism on the relations between the great powers have already been mentioned. Its effects on the progress of the Middle East are no less detrimental. That there is anti-foreignism among the Arabs—as among many other peoples—cannot be denied; but if the Arab League were deprived of the artificial aid given it by the conflict of rival imperialisms, it would remain with very little real power, whether political, military, economic, or religious.

The fear of Pan-Arab reaction is often cited as the main reason for the non-fulfillment of the Balfour pledge to the Jewish people. If it were not for that fear, most people would agree that Palestine was promised to the Jews and that the Jews are entitled to a homeland. The failure of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine to offer a plan for the final solution of the problems, was, once again, due fundamentally to the fact that Soviet Russia was not invited to share in the inquiry and in the responsibility.

BRTAIN shows no inclination to transfer Palestine to the jurisdiction of the UN. Not only the proclamation of Transjordan's independence militates against this, but also the fact that at the liquidation session of the League of Nations in Geneva, in April of this year, Lord Robert Cecil, speaking for the British government, state that while Britain was willing to hand over her mandates in Africa (Tanganyika, the Cameroons, and Togoland) to the UN, the question of the Palestine mandate had to be postponed. Britain, moreover, is busy building extensive military installations in Palestine at the cost of many million dollars, enlarging her garrison there, and showing every sign of

transforming Palestine into her main military and naval base in the eastern Mediterranean. This stands to reason, in the light of the pending withdrawal of Britain's forces from Egypt.

The establishment of a British-American-Russian trusteeship over Palestine and of a French-British-American administration in Lebanon would solve the Jewish and Christian problems in the Middle East, as no other device could. In twenty or thirty years, Palestine would become a predominantly Jewish republic and the Lebanon a Christian state. Both of them would be loyal collaborators with progressive humanity. Both of them could be trusted to respect the legitimate interests of the great powers and take care of the social and economic needs of their working masses. All they need is a chance, and that can be given them only by the great powers acting in concert.

ONCE the civilizing influences of the great powers and of Jewish Palestine and Christian Lebanon were firmly established, the way would be open for progressive promotion of Arab statehood in Iraq, Syria, and the Arab Peninsula. For in cases such as these, formal concepts of independence are without practical meaning. In the words of Dr. Millspaugh, what these states need is "more foreign interference, but interference of a new and constructive kind." Great power condominiums over the Arab states would make possible not only the utilization of their petroleum resources for the benefit of the Arab masses, but also the inauguration of development programs of historic magnitude. The prerequisites for such development are there; they have been waiting many centuries for intelligent and well-meaning administrators to come and set to work.

The fate of humanity is now being determined in the cockpit of the Middle East. Which is it to be: a new Armageddon or a better world?

Eliahu Ben-Horin published his book *THE MIDDLE EAST: CROSSROADS OF HISTORY*, in 1943. In it he wrote, "A little more interest in the Middle East in times of peace might go a long way toward the prevention of wars." Now, almost a year after the end of World War II, the importance of the Middle East can hardly be escaped, and in this article Mr. Ben-Horin offers a constructive plan for the solution of the most pressing Middle Eastern problems.

His first article in *HARPER'S* ("The Soviet Wooing of Palestine," April, 1944) was one of the earliest, if not *the* earliest, prophecy of the postwar rivalry between Britain and Russia in the Middle East. Since then he has written for *WORLD PETROLEUM* and other magazines, as well as for *HARPER'S*, about Middle Eastern oil and the conflicts which would inevitably arise over demands for oil concessions.



Ben Horan

The discrepancy between the magnificent success of our colonization in Palestine and the constant deterioration of our political positions is to be squarely faced. The vacillation of leading figures in the higher councils of world Zionism is largely responsible for our political failures.

Also now, after the bitter lessons of the last years, the forces of appeasement and compromise are still strong in Zionism. There are still people and groups who would accept partition or bi-nationalism or any other minimalist program which provides no permanent solution for the Jewish and Palestinian problems.

It is from America that the Biltmore Program was issued. Its materialization depends on American Zionism. The ZOA is the one force in the world Zionist movement which can be depended upon to reject partition, to reject bi-nationalism, and to reject any surrender of the full-fledged Zionist rights and aspirations. The ZOA stands for the Biltmore Program in its entirety.

Give us your votes, and we shall give you a world leadership which will not rest until Palestine, the whole of it, becomes a Jewish State.

MEMORANDUMby Elishu Ben-HorinIntroductory Remarks

Having had only short conversations with Rabbi Silver and Mr. Shapiro, I cannot claim at present any intimate acquaintance with either the past activities or the immediate plans of the Emergency Council. Consequently, for all I know, some of the suggestions contained in this memorandum might have been discussed, acted upon or discarded. I think that, at this stage, I shall better disregard such eventualities, in order to present my ideas on the subject in as orderly a manner as possible.

In the talk I had with Rabbi Silver, he said something to this effect: "... The next 12-18 months would be decisive for the ultimate fate of Zionism, and America's position may well prove to be the determining factor in the situation." Proceeding from this point, I dare say that unless American Zionism launches an all-out political offensive the chances are that the newly acquired extensive American influence in world affairs would be exercised not in favor of Zionism but to its detriment.

A Political Offensive

Keeping in mind the time element, the offensive should be directed in the first line not towards the masses of the people but at the "upper ten thousand," those who shape American public opinion as well as its foreign and domestic policies, namely: politicians, leaders of industry and labor, writers, intellectuals, publishers, journalists, columnists, clergymen, radio commentators and military leaders.

The work entrusted to me - introducing Zionist matter into magazines, cultivating editors, writers and columnists, developing contacts with the oil industry, etc. - forms part of the above political offensive. However, I wish to emphasize that the usual methods of Zionist propaganda and diplomacy would

hardly meet the demands of the present situation. necessary as it is to talk to senators, State Department officials, diplomats, editors and writers, trying to influence them in favor of Zionist demands, I am afraid that this alone would prove ineffective and, at best, too slow a process. The present does not favor appeals to sentiments, idealism, humanitarian feelings and the sense of justice. It is my conviction that if we want to get a fair hearing we must find some shock measures and to mobilize every bit of influence which we may potentially have in the world. We may have to reverse the usual process of creating public opinion: instead of reaching the masses through their leaders, it may prove more practical to create such indignation among the people, which would force the leadership to take notice of the situation.

Plan of Work

In accordance with the above, I suggest that the plan of work for my department should be divided into two: 1. Emergency Plan; 2. Normal Plan. It is obvious that even if there were no war and no emergency whatsoever, the Zionist headquarters in America should have had a department dealing with all the tasks assigned to me. It is equally obvious that the present situation may demand heroic measures, and that is why I suggest the above distinction, which may be applied also to other departments.

Emergency Plan

1. It seems to me that nothing could have a greater effect on American public opinion than a vigorous "J'accuse" written by some very outstanding American. What happened to us in the last few years represents one of the greatest tragedies in world history. This tragedy together with the terrific injustice of British policy and the story of America's position and responsibility must be told in such a manner that it would reach every American home. It must be a very frank

book, outspoken to the limit, without regard for anybody's sensibilities - as a "J'accuse" should be. But above all, this book must bear the name of an American whose moral standing and authority could be neither ignored nor challenged. It is needless to say that the official author of the book would not be expected to write the book. It could be written for him, or the major part of it, but he must lend his name to it. Could such an American friend of Jewry and Zionism be produced?...

If we could find such a man and produce such a book, I feel certain that any amount of effort and expense would be justified by the effect on American and British public opinion and policies.

2. If we succeed in accomplishing this task, it might be followed up by a mass-manifesto, backing up the "J'accuse," and signed by hundreds or thousands of leaders in all spheres of American life. If we fail in finding any one suitable individual for the book, we may still attempt such a mass-manifesto.
3. Without connection with the above, how do we stand with Albert Einstein? Could he possibly be induced to lend his name to an article on Zionism or a strong-worded pronouncement?

Normal Plan

1. Let me start with the special task assigned to me: the oil industry. As matters stand today, oil plays an important part in shaping American policies in the Middle East. The fact that the Arab lands are extremely rich in oil deposits, partly entrusted already to American oil interests and partly coveted by them, led the U.S. Government and the oil industry to adopt a pro-Arab orientation in all Middle Eastern problems, Palestine included.

It is unfortunate that the very influential oil industry was neglected by American Zionism all through the years. We shall have to feel our way now among the different oil interests until we find those who could be our allies

in promoting a pro-Zionist stand both in the industry and in government circles. If it meets with your approval, I intend to proceed about it in the following way:

(a) To contact first the Standard Oil of New Jersey and Socony Vacuum, where I have some connections. Those two companies ~~are~~ are the joint owners of the American share (23 $\frac{1}{2}$ percent) in the Iraq Oil Concession. They have had considerable experience with the Arabs and have no high regard for them. Together with the entire oil industry, except the three companies directly concerned (The Texas, Gulf and Standard Oil of California), the above two companies opposed at the time the Transarabian Pipeline Project.

(b) A second feeler which should be tried is to place an article on OIL AND AMERICAN POLICIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST either in one of the magazines of the petroleum industry or in some leading economic publication.

(c) In the process of the above negotiations and in the reactions to the above article, if published, we may find further openings for our work in the oil circles.

2. The work of my department among writers, columnists, radio-commentators, etc. should be conducted not on a theoretical level, but be adapted to current issues and events. If, for instance, at the present moment the question as to whether the Arabs represent a serious military force or a menace to peace is of topical interest (following President Truman's pronouncement), writers and columnists who might be interested in this aspect should be approached. This of course does not exclude the regular cultivating of all those who belong to the above categories.

3. I envisage serious difficulties in the magazine field. Some magazines are reluctant to touch upon the Zionist issue or any Jewish topic. As certain editors told me frankly, they feel safer in avoiding those issues completely. Then, the number of Zionist writers who know how to write for the general reader or who have a flare for magazine writing is extremely limited. As to America's writers and journalists of standing, most of them lack both interest in and knowledge of the Zionist problem.

In light of the above shortcomings, a thorough and systematic job will have to be done in building up interest in the Zionist problems and in mobilizing a cadre of suitable writers. This will necessarily take considerable time, which we can ill afford to lose. There may be another way for breaking through the indifference or reluctance of the American magazines. If the subjects would not attract them, we may be able to offer them attractive names. I would suggest to investigate the following possibilities:

Arthur Koestler: I understand that he is once again interested in Zionism and that he recently was in Palestine or may still be there. I have also heard the disquietening news that he associated himself with the Peter Bergson group, but I do not know whether it is true or serious. His is a great name in contemporary journalism. He rightfully exercises very considerable influence in the intellectual circles of Britain and America. Anything of his pen on the Palestinian problem would be of great importance.

Harold Laski: Dr. Silver told me that he was contacted during the recent London Conference, but probably in his capacity of leader in the Labor Party. Could he be induced to write on the Palestinian problem for American magazines?

Leon Blum : He was pro-Zionist in the past. His sad experiences in the last few years must have intensified his Zionist sentiments. In addition, he probably lost his wealth and ^{he may} be interested in earning some good American dollars. He still has a name which would carry weight in most American magazines.

William Hard: He is definitely pro-Zionist. I know him and shall try to induce him to write an article for the Reader's Digest.

Frank Gervasi: His several articles in Collier's on Palestinian subjects were thoroughly fair and pro-Zionist. However, he writes only for Collier's. It might be a good idea to have him write a book on Palestine. It would be superficial, but favorable and may do some good.

Louis Bromfield: He is a very outspoken friend of Jewry and Zionism. We should try to have him write on the Palestinian issue.

If we succeed with any of the above, especially the first three, we shall have the spearhead which will clear the way for our penetration into the magazines.

Literary Agent:

*Requested
BH to suggest
agent & build
cont. etc.*

I think that it would be advisable to enlist the services of some literary agent for placing articles in the magazines. Obviously, the magazines could not be approached with articles by the Emergency Council. The stuff must be sent to them through ^{the} usual channel. As the agent will in this case have to do a lot of spade work, we shall probably have to offer him a fixed remuneration in addition to the accepted percentage.

Name

I gave some thought to the question what name should be given to the department entrusted to me. Various tasks were assigned to me, but not one of

them offers a suitable name for the department as a whole. Those assignments fall into various fields: political, literary, propaganda, public relations. I suggest that we choose a name which may not cover the field of my activities but which would be good camouflage, providing me at the same time with a suitable title: Middle Eastern Department.

