



## Abba Hillel Silver Collection Digitization Project

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### **MS-4787: Abba Hillel Silver Papers, 1902-1989.**

Series I: General Correspondence, 1914-1969, undated.

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

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American Zionist Emergency Council, Lourie, Arthur, including  
excerpts from confidential reports of Lourie's meetings in Paris,  
Cairo, Jerusalem, Geneva, and Montreaux, 1945-1946.

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

## MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date July 27, 1945.

From Arthur Lourie

I attach copy of a notice sent out April 19th with reference to a proposed amendment to the Constitution of the American Zionist Emergency Council.

To date, 14 voted for, 8 voted against, and 4 failed to record any vote. As this does not reflect a two-thirds majority of all the members of the Council, I take it that the proposed amendment is to be regarded as having been rejected.

AL:LB  
Encl.

*A.L.*



# *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

April 19, 1945

To the Members of the American Zionist Emergency Council:

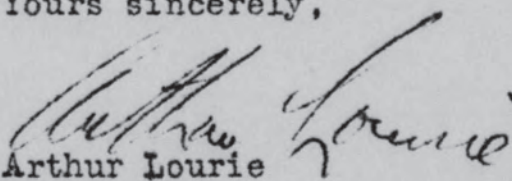
At a meeting of the Emergency Council on Monday night, April 16, it was moved that Article IV of the Constitution be amended to read as follows:

"The officers of the Council shall consist of a Chairman, a Secretary and a Treasurer, and such other officers as the Council shall, from time to time, elect. Elections of officers shall take place annually at a meeting of the Council of which at least two weeks notice shall be given and which shall be held not later than December 1st of each year. There shall also be an annual election of a Chairman of the Executive Committee, and a Chairman of the Administrative Committee if any, which shall take place not later than December 1st of each year."

As the vote on this motion was not unanimous, approval in writing of the proposed amendment by a two-thirds majority of the membership of the Council is required for ratification.

Please indicate on the enclosed card whether or not you favor ratification.

Yours sincerely,

  
Arthur Lourie

AL:LB  
Enc.



September 5, 1945

Mr. Arthur Lourie  
American Zionist Emergency Council  
342 Madison Avenue  
New York 17, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Lourie:

Thank you for sending me two copies of the completed draft memorandum. It is very good.

I would suggest that Paragraph VI on page 9 be tightened up a bit by the addition of a clear cut statement that the Zionist movement does not and never intended to set up a theocratic state in Palestine. The Zionist movement believes in the separation of Church and State. Under the constitution of the Jewish State full equality and rights will be granted to all the inhabitants without distinction of religion or race. The term "Jewish State" does not mean Jewish Religious State. It simply means that the Jewish people will constitute a majority of the country. All communities within Palestine will enjoy full autonomy in the administration of their religious, educational, cultural and social institutions, and all citizens will have the privilege of voting and of holding office within the State.

Please have about fifty copies typed and send me about a dozen.

With all good wishes for a very happy new year, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK



# 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

AIRMAIL

September 26, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

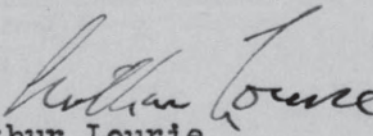
Dear Dr. Silver:

I have received the following telegram from Shertok with reference to the report in Davar:

"AMAZED BY DAVARS VERSION STOP HAVE NO INFORMATION WHATSOEVER WARRANTING IT STOP BG MYSELF SENT STRONGLY WORDED CABLES PALESTINE DEMANDING EXPLANATION="

I enclose copy of a cable which has been received by Nahum Goldmann from Shertok regarding the Reuter report that Britain was referring the Palestine question to the United Nations Organization.

Sincerely yours,

  
Arthur Lourie

AL:BR  
Enc.



MEMORANDUM

To ✓ Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
Mrs. Blanche J. Shepard  
Dr. Carl Hermann Voss  
Dr. Howard M. LeSourd

Date October 5, 1945

From Arthur Lourie

With reference to the attached letter from Erik M. Ritter Kuehnelt-Leddihn I learned, on inquiry, that the writer is an Austrian aristocrat living in this country, monarchist, reactionary and, I understand, a supporter of Franco.

You will notice that he refers in the paragraph at the conclusion of page 1, to a story published by his friend, Francis S. Campbell. I am informed that Francis S. Campbell is in fact the pseudonym of none other than Mr. Erik M. Ritter Kuehnelt-Leddihn!

AL:Nf

*Should we send him an acknowledgment  
or will you do so?*

*See Ritter K. - Leddihn*



# AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

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## *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

October 9, 1945

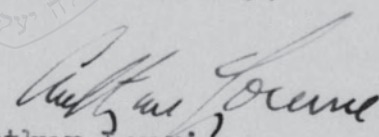
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I have received a letter from the "Hashomer Hatzair", a copy of which I enclose, with reference to the setting up of a Shekel Committee and the sale of Shekalim in anticipation of the next Zionist Congress.

Please let me know if you wish this matter to be put on the agenda of the next meeting.

Yours sincerely,

  
Arthur Lourie

AL:Nf  
Encl.



ZIONIST YOUTH ORGANIZATION "HASHOMER HATZAIR" NORTH AMERICAN HEADQUARTERS  
305 BROADWAY, NEW YORK, N.Y. TELEPHONE: WORTH 2-7521

October 4, 1945

Mr. Arthur Lourie,  
American Zionist Emergency Council,  
342 Madison Avenue,  
New York, New York

Dear Lourie:

The last Zionist Conference held recently in London decided that the next World Zionist Congress will be convened during the summer of 1946. This decision brings to the fore a very important problem to which I would like to draw your attention - namely the Zionist Shekel and its spreading among the Jewish masses in the United States.

The buying of the Shekel is in itself the acquisition of membership of the W.Z.O. There always existed a definite differentiation between membership to a Zionist organization or group and membership to the W.Z.O. The membership of the W.Z.O. was always much larger than the total number of registered Zionists in individual countries.

In recent years, a new practice developed within the Zionist groups in America which practically did away with the spreading of the Shekel as a Zionist task in itself. Instead, all or most of the Zionist groups in the United States intensified their efforts in increasing their own membership and saw to it that all of them got their Shekalim of the W.Z.O. by including the payment of the Shekel in the general dues. This procedure in itself may be laudable as a method of insuring the regular buying of a Shekel by every organized Zionist. It would, however, go against its purpose and be detrimental to the welfare of the W.Z.O. if this procedure would be construed as to eliminate the necessity for a big mass propaganda activity of all Zionists to spread and sell the Shekel among Jews who are not organized already in the various organizations and groups.

It seems to me that the Zionist Emergency Council, being a representative body of all Zionists in this country has to discuss this issue of the Shekel as soon as possible. Not little is at stake. If the Shekalim will be limited only to organized membership of the Zionist groups, then the American delegation at the Zionist Congress cannot speak but maximum in the name of a quarter million registered Zionists. How different, however, would be the picture if a successful shekel drive would be conducted. The American delegation and through them the American Zionist movement would be able to prove then to the world that it speaks in the name of possibly one or two million Shekalim buyers. The prestige of the Zionist movement in the world and, of American Zionism within the Zionist movement, will depend to a large extent on its ability to demonstrate to the world that it really represents the great majority of American Jewry.



To Mr. Arthur Lourie

October 4, 1945

2.

My suggestion is that a Vaad Shekel should be established in accordance with the procedure established long before the World War, and that an intensive campaign for the selling of Shekalim should be launched by this Vaad at an agreed time. I think that this is the time for making preparations although action can be postponed for a few months because of other actual serious political activities arising from the grave situation in which Zionism finds itself today.

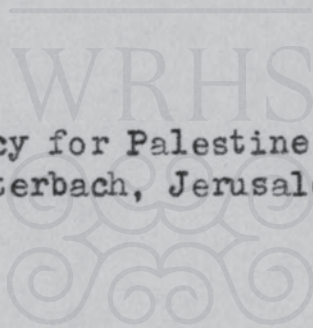
With Zionist Greetings,

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Moshe Furmanský

Moshe Furmanský  
In the name of Hashomer Hatzair

copy: Jewish Agency for Palestine, New York  
copy: Dr. Leo Lauterbach, Jerusalem



C O P Y



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

## MEMORANDUM

*To* Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

*Date* October 24, 1945

*From* Arthur Lourie

You may be interested to see the attached copies of exchange of correspondence between the publisher of the "New York Times" and myself.

AL:Nf

A.L.



October 17, 1945

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

Dear Sir:

I am venturing to write to you personally because, although I am well aware that you do not favor the Zionist objective, I also know that it is your desire not to use the influence of your great paper in any partial or unfair way with reference to that issue.

The "New York Times" of October 9, 1945, published as the first letter in its correspondence columns a proposal by Dean Virginia Gildersleeve to admit Jewish immigrants to the United States, rather than to force that immigration on the reluctant Arabs of Palestine. This letter was followed two days later by a letter of approval from Mr. Totah of the Arab Institute.

There are many to whom Dean Gildersleeve's suggestion appears not merely unrealistic, but as a positive dis-service in present circumstances to the cause both of the refugees and of Palestine.

I know that a number of letters representing this point of view were sent to the "Times," including one by Professor Friedrich of Harvard. Without urging that that particular letter be published, I do respectfully suggest that two letters having appeared on the one side, it would be appropriate also to accord space to the contrary point of view.

Yours sincerely,

AL:NF

Arthur Lourie

C O P Y



THE NEW YORK TIMES  
TIMES SQUARE

October 18, 1945

Dear Mr. Lourie:

I have your letter of October 17th and I believe we have already requested from you a copy of Professor Friedrich's letter.

You are quite right that it has always been our purpose to permit all sides of a controversy to have their say. I may not be a Zionist but I have a profound admiration for the alertness of the Zionist Publicity Department.

Faithfully yours,

/s/ Arthur Hays Sulzberger

Mr. Arthur Lourie  
American Zionist Emergency Council  
342 Madison Avenue  
New York 17, N.Y.

C O P Y



October 19, 1945.

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

Dear Mr. Sulzberger:

I want to thank you for your helpful and very ready response to the request contained in my letter of October 17th.

I am not altogether sure that the concluding sentence of your letter to me of October 18th was intended as a compliment, but I should like, if I may, to treat it as such!

Yours sincerely

AL:LB

Arthur Lourie

C O P Y



THE NEW YORK TIMES  
TIMES SQUARE

October 22, 1945

Dear Mr. Lourie:

Sure it was a compliment! I  
don't agree with your point of view but I admire  
people who are on the job.

Faithfully yours,

/s/ Arthur Hays Sulzberger

Mr. Arthur Lourie  
American Zionist Emergency Council  
342 Madison Avenue  
New York 17, N.Y.

C O P Y



October 24, 1945

Mr. Arthur Lourie  
American Zionist Emergency Council  
342 Madison Avenue  
New York 17, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Lourie:

The memorandum which we submitted to Secretary Byrnes is, I believe, a very good piece of work. I am glad that it was published in extenso in the New York Times and that the other papers carried good parts of it. I want to thank you for the time and thought which you put into it.

There are two other memoranda which should be gotten out in quick time: one a reply to the statement issued by the Foreign Missions Conference of North America. You will recall that some time ago you and I believe Tulin and Dr. Bergson were appointed a committee to draft a reply. That should be given to the press in the next few days. The Christian Council for Palestine should sponsor the reply and it should be signed by a committee of five or six Christian clergymen, such as Dr. Niebuhr, Dr. Polling, etc. Le Sourd and Voss could help you.

The second memorandum is the one we referred to in our State Department memorandum, namely, a detailed reply to Ibn Saud's letter. It was suggested that Professor Albright write that reply. That would be excellent. You might communicate with him by telephone. Perhaps you can think of some other well known scholar who can do this job well with the help of Professor Yahuda and our own Research Department.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK



C  
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THE EVENING STAR - THE SUNDAY STAR.

Washington 4, D.C.

Wednesday, October 24, 1945

Arthur Lourie  
342 Madison Avenue  
New York 17, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Lourie:

I want to thank you for your courteous letter of October 19 and to suggest to you and your friend that you are barking up the wrong tree if you are trying to place the guilt of the present lamentable situation on the Middle Eastern Division of the State Department. Those are good "spanking boys" when people do not have the courage to spank the politicians who are responsible for our policies.

Today more than ever the bureaus and divisions of the State Department have nothing to say about anything. The so-called State Department "advisors" are advising nobody. Their policy is to wet their fingers, stick them out and find out how the wind is blowing. Then they act accordingly. If they were to try and take their jobs seriously, they would find themselves in no time without jobs.

Yours sincerely

Constantine Brown (s)

copied 10, 26/45:MH



# AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

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Zionist Organization of America

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

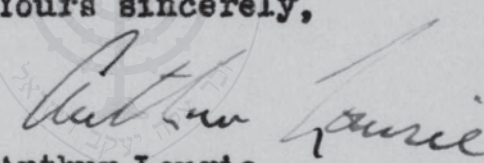
October 26, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Regarding the Senator Gillette matter, I  
enclose a draft wire for your consideration.

Yours sincerely,

  
Arthur Lourie

AL:Nf



DRAFT WIRE

SENATOR GILLETTE

ON TWO OCCASIONS, RECENTLY, THE PRESS REPORTS YOU AS STATING THAT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A JEWISH STATE IN PALESTINE IN ACCORDANCE WITH ZIONIST AIMS WOULD INVOLVE RACIAL OR RELIGIOUS DISCRIMINATION AND THAT THE ARABS WOULD BE EXCLUDED FROM CITIZENSHIP IN SUCH A STATE. THESE STATEMENTS ARE UNTRUE AND UNFAIR.

THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT HERE AND ABROAD HAS MADE IT ABUNDANTLY CLEAR THAT ITS OBJECTIVE IS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PALESTINE AS A DEMOCRATIC JEWISH COMMONWEALTH WHOSE ARAB INHABITANTS WILL BE ENTITLED, NOT ONLY TO FULL RIGHTS OF CITIZENSHIP AND TO COMPLETE EQUALITY IN EVERY OTHER RESPECT WITH THEIR JEWISH FELLOW CITIZENS, BUT, IN ADDITION, TO GROUP RIGHTS IN RESPECT OF THEIR OWN LANGUAGE, RELIGION AND CULTURE. TO THIS ZIONISM STANDS PUBLICLY AND UNEQUIVOCALLY COMMITTED. IN SUGGESTING OTHERWISE, YOU ARE BEING MISLED BY A HANDFUL OF SELF-APPOINTED JEWISH SPOKESMEN WHO IN NO WAY REPRESENT THE JEWS OF THIS COUNTRY AND WHOSE PRETENSIONS TO SPEAK FOR THE JEWS OF PALESTINE HAVE BEEN UNANIMOUSLY REJECTED BY THE AUTHORIZED REPRESENTATIVES OF PALESTINE JEWRY AND BY THE ENTIRE JEWISH PRESS IN PALESTINE.

WE KNOW THAT YOU ARE GENUINELY ANXIOUS TO HELP THE JEWISH CAUSE IN PALESTINE AND TO ENABLE THE JEWS OF EUROPE TO FIND A NEW LIFE FOR THEMSELVES IN THEIR ANCIENT HOMELAND. WE CALL UPON YOU AS A SINCERE FRIEND OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE TO WITHDRAW THE STATEMENTS ABOVE REFERRED TO.



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

## MEMORANDUM

*To* Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

*Date* October 30, 1945

*From* Arthur Lourie

You may be interested in the attached copy of a letter  
from Senator Ball to Rabbi Plaut of Duluth, Minnesota.

*AL*

AL:NK





October 12, 1945

Rabbi Walter H. Plaut  
Temple Emanuel Congregation  
1902 East Fourth Street  
Duluth 5, Minnesota

Dear Rabbi Plaut:

Thanks for your kind letter of October 8 requesting a statement to read before the Duluth Jewish Community.

I'm happy to send you the following paragraph from a speech I gave Wednesday night, October 10, before the Illinois Independent Voters group at Winnetka, Illinois:

"When we extend economic help to Britain, I want to see, before the loan is made and not afterward, a just settlement of the Palestine question on the basis of the Balfour declaration. The way the British Colonial Office has evaded and reneged on its clear obligations under that declaration is not only a disgrace to the cause of human freedom for which we fought the war, but an affront to the first victims in that war. If the British Government cannot control its own Colonial Office, then perhaps it is time to make Palestine a United Nations' instead of a British mandate."

Sincerely,

Joseph H. Ball

JHB:D

C O P Y



# AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

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Zionist Organization of America

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

Air Mail

November 1, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

1. Mr. Lourie asked me, before his departure for Washington, to let you know that he has cabled London a summary of the contents of the telegram to the President.

2. Mr. Lourie was wondering whether you might not feel it worth while to get into touch with Mr. Harvey D. Gibson, who recently came back from Europe with the report that at least 95% of the Jews he had seen wanted to go to Palestine. Mr. Gibson is president of the Manufacturers Trust Company and went abroad as a representative of Basil O'Connor, chairman of the American Red Cross.

Yours sincerely,

*Lea Klein*

Secretary to Arthur Lourie

AL:k



# *American Zionist Emergency Council*

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Zionist Organization of America

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

November 6, 1945

To the Members of the Executive Committee:

(1) There will be a special meeting of the Executive Committee Monday afternoon, November 12th, at 4:00 o'clock, at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

(2) There will also be a special meeting of the Council on Monday evening, November 12th, at 8:15 o'clock, at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

Yours sincerely,

*Arthur Lourie*  
Arthur Lourie

AL:k



MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date November 6, 1945

From Arthur Lourie

With regard to the cable to Dr. Weizmann, I obtained Dr. Wise's approval of a suggested text. Neither Lipsky nor Goldmann were in town. I had intended to send it off with your two signatures when I learned that wartime restrictions still apply so far as radiograms to ships are concerned, and that no radiograms addressed to passengers on the Queen Mary could be accepted.

Weisgal assures me, however, that he will find a means of boarding the boat on the first available launch and that he will see that no statement is issued.

AL:Nf

A-L.



# *American Zionist Emergency Council*

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Zionist Organization of America

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

November 9, 1945

To the Members of the American Zionist Emergency Council:

Enclosed are the Minutes of the meeting of the  
Executive Committee held October 29, 1945.

Yours sincerely,

Arthur Lourie

AL:LK  
Enc.



November 11, 1945

Mr. Arthur Lourie  
American Zionist Emergency Council  
342 Madison Avenue  
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Lourie:

In the Report which I am to give to the Zionist Convention in Atlantic City, I should like to include one or two paragraphs on the work of the Emergency Council in connection with the conference of the United Nations at San Francisco. I should also like to include the record of our contacts with the State Department and the President, since October, 1944, the occasions for such contacts, the memoranda submitted, etc.

I should like to have the material in the next few days because I should like to whip my report into shape by the middle of next week.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK



# AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

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Zionist Organization of America

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

December 21, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

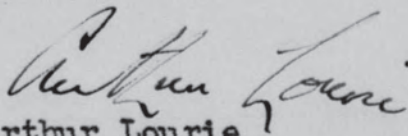
Dear Dr. Silver:

Senator Wagner telephoned through to Milton Handler today to talk over the victory in the Senate. The Senator is, naturally, very happy and vastly relieved by reason of the passage of the Resolution, and Handler felt that he would very much appreciate messages of congratulation. In all probability you have written or wired to him and to Taft, but I am passing this on to make sure.

As you know, they both did their utmost, and although Senator Wagner did not have, perhaps, the same clear appreciation of some of the finer points that Senator Taft showed, he deserves our warm thanks for the way in which he carried on the fight, which included, at one meeting of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, an acrimonious passage-at-arms between Senator Connally and himself.

With kindest regards.

Cordially,

  
Arthur Lourie

AL:Nf



# AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

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342 MADISON AVENUE  
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## *Constituent Organizations*

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

December 20, 1945

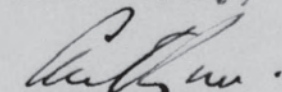
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

A warm welcome back! I am looking forward to seeing you in New York next Monday. We are eagerly anticipating your report.

The Executive Committee meeting has been scheduled for 3:00 P. M. and the meeting of the full Council, for 8:15 P. M. I understand that Dr. Weizmann expects to be present at the afternoon meeting.

Yours truly,

  
Arthur Lourie

AL:k



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

## MEMORANDUM

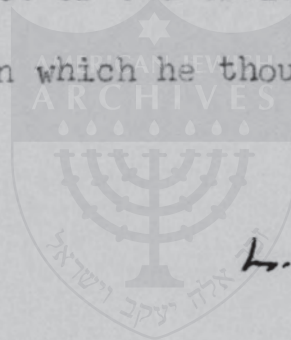
*To* Dr. A. H. Silver

*Date* January 17, 1946

*From* Lea Klein (secretary to Mr. Lourie)

Mr. Lourie has asked me to send you the enclosed copy of a letter from Walter Ettinghausen, of the London Jewish Agency office, together with the attached table, on the subject of the estimated number of Jews in Europe at the present time, in which he thought you would be interested.

k  
enc.



L.K.



C  
O  
P  
Y

THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE

77, Great Russell St.

London, W. C. 1

WE:RSt

January 4, 1946

Mr. Arthur Lourie  
American Zionist Emergency Council  
342 Madison Avenue  
New York, 17.

Dear Arthur:

We were asked the other day by the Foreign Office Refugee Department whether we would let them have our estimate of the number of Jews in Europe at the present time. They had been asked to get out these figures urgently for the Anglo-American Joint Committee of Enquiry. I am sending you herewith a copy of the figures we gave them, as I think you might find this useful. I read this list out to them over the telephone and the man at the other end told me that their own figures were in cases where they were not the same as ours. These you will find in the last column. You will notice that in some cases their figures is slightly higher, and in others somewhat lower, leaving the total for all Europe approximately the same in both estimates.

.....  
.....

Yours ever,

(sgd) Walter Ettinghausen



Francis.....Crum  
Dolly.....Hutcheson  
Statler.....Crossman  
Singer.....Singleton  
Harvey.....Buxton  
Gray.....McDonald  
Whelan.....Leggett  
Eccles.....Crick  
Prince.....Aydelotte  
Phil.....Phillips



AL  
January 23, 1946

C  
O  
P  
Y

I am in a quandary because I must protect certain persons and yet there is no question that you should know of what follows as soon as possible even though were some of it divulged it might ruin most of what is being done. First -- and this must remain confidential until some way is found to smoke it out here: a complete stenographic transcript, filling three pages, was made of the shipboard conversation between the Chief and the Brigand. In it the former promised he would not help the Jews. This conversation, so far as assurances are concerned, went far beyond the Chief's letter written shortly before his death. This stenographic transcript was made in many copies and a copy was sent to each of the Arab states. They now have it. When, on his return to this country the Chief authorized the statement that he had taken his stand and had not changed it, there was an immediate protest by the Arab states. They were assured by letters from Jimmy's department which told them not to worry, and explained that what the Chief was talking about now was in the far, remote future.

This particular information in Paragraph 1 cannot be divulged now. This transcript was read before the Committee two days ago and were it divulged now the leak would be instantly traced to a very strong friend of ours on the Committee who is doing all he can to help us and to swing others along, and his position, his value to us, and our own cause would be irreparably hurt. It was given to me in complete confidence and with the understanding I would protect my informant. I ask most earnestly that it not be permitted to leak out now. We have discussed how best to make capital of this thing. Capital will be made of it eventually by the American members (and the British, too) of the committee, because they want the world to know that their hands at least are clean - they want ultimately to tell the full story of all the behind-the-scenes shenanigans. Possibly the Arabs will reveal it; in any case it is background material worth knowing. It appears that the Current Chief was absolutely ignorant that any such record had been made and certainly unaware that it had been sent to the Arabs and later confirmed in effect as explained above.

It may be added that when this stenographic record was read, one of the American members said bitterly and in chagrin, "We might as well go home right now." One of the British members sent a note to him reading: "Remember the Chief was a very sick man at the time. Don't be too hard on him." The American members said that this revelation made his country equally guilty of duplicity - as guilty as the British.

We have three friends on the Committee. They are: Harvey, Francis and Gray. Prince is questionable - has long been identified with British views. Dolly, to put it bluntly, doesn't know the score. When there was a talk of a trusteeship arrangement Dolly made it clear that she would be against America taking part. When one American said: "No, I think we have talked enough; it's time we take a little responsibility," Dolly retorted: "Oh, this one-world stuff, eh?" Phil is also highly questionable, since he presumably must watch his p's and q's if he wants to continue his career. Moreover, he has in the committee evidenced much fear of Russia, fearing the Arabs will turn to Russia if a pro-Jewish solution is suggested and, significantly enough, he bases this on information which he is quoted as saying comes from Jimmy's department. The British are deeply concerned with Russia but their concern differs from that of Phil. They point out to the Americans that a pro-Jewish solution would permit Russia to tell the Arabs they have been let down by ~~the~~ Britain and America; and on the strength of this, Russia would be able to swing the five Arab votes on her side in UNO and raise hell. Precisely what hell isn't clear, but this increased strength on any matter would prove a definite menace. Thus the British put themselves in the position of seeing the entire future of the world jeopardized if they make the Arabs susceptible to Soviet wooing. They picture themselves to the Americans as a people trapped by their own creations - the Arab League, the Balfour Declaration, the promises to the Arabs, etc. -- and are appealing to the Americans in this vein. What makes their point the stronger is the "x" quality of Russia. One American member told me that Russia is anti-Zionist so that this general fear of the British seems well grounded. I said that I understood a high Russian spokesman had been



reported as saying: "If U.S. and Britain support a Jewish State in Palestine we have no objection." His face lit up at that and he said: "By all means, get that to us if you can. It is very important." As one member of the American group told me: Britain's problem now is how she can remain a first-class power. He feels that Britain cannot, will not, give up Palestine, and from now on we shall see her twisting and squirming and turning from one resort to another, all to maintain the status quo or the closest facsimile of same.

Here, at this point, is how it appears the final report may now shape up:

First: Abrogation of the White Paper to the extent that 100,000 Jews will be permitted to enter Palestine as soon as possible. This year; perhaps in the next few months. This, it appears, is a minimum basic quid pro quo. I am told that our three friends will resign if this is not agreed to. And that they feel Dolly will at least stick with them on this minimum concession of 100,000.

Second: Palestine to become a trustee of the UNO - either of Britain alone, or of Britain and the U. S., or of the UNO as a whole.

Now, given basic agreement on 100,000 Jews immediately and basic agreement that Palestine will come under trusteeship, there appear to be several possible variations:

a) That 100,000 Jews will be admitted and then Jewish immigration permanently halted; Palestine to be declared an independent state, member of a British customs union, within five or ten years. This, of course, means Palestine becomes an Arab state ultimately.

b) That 100,000 Jews will be admitted and then a liberal immigration policy - viz - immigration to the extent of the country's potential absorptive capacity - be permitted, Palestine to be declared an independent state member of a British customs union, within five or ten years. That also seems to indicate a permanent Jewish minority since it is unlikely that within this period of time the Jews would achieve or, if they achieve it, remain a majority. (Incidentally, Professor Notestein's testimony - that even if 1,000,000 Jews were permitted into Palestine in the next decade, Arab breeding habits would make Jews unable to maintain any majority beyond 1970, weighed most heavily on the Committee. His testimony was described to me as the most telling given. A propos, I was also told that Emanuel's interpretation of the Balfour Declaration --emphasis placed on safeguarding Arab rights meaning that it was expected that those rights should be safeguarded against the encroachment of a majority, obviously non-Arab -- also told strongly upon the Committee.)

c) That 100,000 Jews will be admitted and then a liberal immigration policy; When Jews achieve a majority, Palestine to come under Dominion Status; the Trusteeship to take over the Mandate and with it all rights of the Jewish Agency, which would have control over immigration, it being recognized that Jews have a privileged immigration status into Palestine. This Dominion Status, under trusteeship (probably U.S. and Britain) with the Jewish Agency given all necessary powers, will be the program fought for by our three friends. If necessary, they will urge this in a strongly written minority report. In this minority report they will say that the British and Americans both were equally guilty of making promises to both sides; that, however, those to the Jews were publicly made and publicly incorporated in a legally valid document, the Balfour Declaration, and later incorporated in the Mandate for Palestine; that on the basis of this promise action was taken by the Jews of the world - immigration, vast investments, etc. - and that those promises must be kept, and can be kept, within the framework of this UNO trusteeship, ultimate dominion status and liberal Jewish immigration.



It is the feeling of at least one American member that if such a report were written and made part of the final report and given to the two governments, who in turn would pass it over to the UNO, and a vote were taken, that we would win. South American would vote with us, etc. That is, UNO would vote in favor of the minority report.

I was told bluntly that all members of the committee were against a Jewish State. That the idea of a Jewish State is somehow identified with a racial state. Whatever the case, they are against Jewish State. I asked whether Jewish homelessness - that term and what it signifies - had registered with the Committee. I was told, with a grimace: yes and no. I gathered that only by sleight-of-hand mental gymnastics could the members accept this. In brief, yes and no. (Bergson, by the way, with his questions of who am I, and "admit that I exist", seems only to have amused the committee.)

At least one American member on the Committee is there as Truman's agent - not the State Department's. He is there to see that Truman is not made a fool of, in view of the 100,000 request. It should be remembered that the American members are a Presidential Committee, as compared to British members who are Foreign Office appointees.

Statler and Bell are constantly crossing swords at hearings, over all manner of subjects; apparently loathe each other heartily. Gray has been quiet in committee hearings but appears burned up at apparent British callousness toward refugee camps. He says, with injured air, "Let them see for themselves. I want them to see for themselves." Harvey commented: "Those British look under their beds for a Russian bear every time they go to sleep." He is concerned over Arab-Jewish relationships; confesses he is perplexed at conflicting reports. Says his knowledge of human nature leads him to question whether a poor Arab in Saudi Arabia is much concerned about Jewish immigration into Palestine. He also asked me about the high rate of divorces in Jerusalem. I said that was news to me and where had he learned that. He said he had been told so.

Re: Jewish Majority: As Committee members see it, the Balfour Declaration, etc., was the outline of an operation which wasn't completed and what you now have is a country in which <sup>the</sup> minority seeks to be made a majority against the will of the majority. The British are adroit enough to make issue of this as anti-democratic - the sort of argument that impresses Dolly.

I was told: You see, technically Jews have airtight case; but British insist on examining this de novo. Now, when you have a good case, but the Judge on the bench begins by throwing out all previous contracts. . . . .

Maurice's principle activity on the Committee seems to be binding up his wounds. He is hurt, badly hurt, by all the anti-British things said in Washington; doesn't seem able to get over it.

#### SUGGESTIONS AS TO IMMEDIATE ACTION

1. Senator Wagner, or someone else - Jew or non-Jew - should see Truman and ask him: "Have you had a reply to your request for 100,000 certificates?" (I understand Truman sent a second letter to Attlee.) "When you asked for an interim report, were you thinking of getting those 100,000 into Palestine immediately?" If Truman says yes, and this is published, it will enormously strengthen the hands of our friends on the Committee. They want this badly: pressure for an interim report.

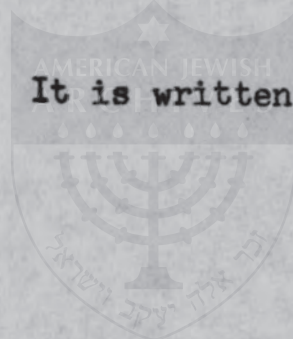
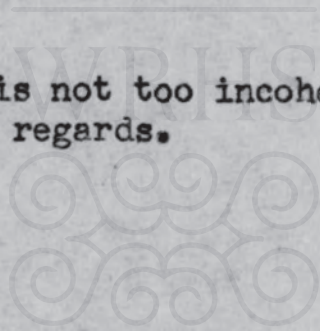
2. The British may try to do away with the Jewish Agency. This, I am told, is a dangerous possibility. The Jewish Agency must testify. It must be prepared not to be maneuvered into a position where it can be dispensed with. In fact, it should demand more rights than it now has since it does possess them under the Mandate.



3. The Jews must be prepared to work for a common Jewish-Arab union, with no differential in wage rates. The Committee feels most strongly there should not be different unions for Jews and Arabs.
4. Jews must be prepared to delete the restrictive clause in JNF leases relating to hiring of Arab labor.
5. Present to the Committee as soon as possible a completely underwritten plan for JVA - financially, etc. Show the Committee that if they give the Jews a green light, the machinery is greased for action.
6. Check immediately on how much tenting, clothes, lend-lease material, etc., is available in case the prison camps are suddenly emptied. This can happen before May. An interim report is possible (hence the need to get Truman to state publicly that he wants such a report, as it is believed he does). At the moment certain American members feel a report given before the Committee reaches Palestine may lead Arabs to boycott hearings, however. Report may be issued nonetheless after the Committee visits the DP camps.
7. Chaim G. must immediately rush data on Jewish-Arab unions, differential wage rate, clauses in JNF, etc., to Sir J. in London. Latter is making issue of it.
8. It is stressed that constant, unremitting pressure must be maintained at home.

I trust this is not too incoherent.  
write later. With best regards.

It is written in great haste. I shall





CONFIDENTIAL

EXCERPT FROM LETTER FROM AL, DATED JANUARY 29, 1946

1. Francis saw Manuilsky (?). I have not heard any details but I know he was very anxious to obtain from him a line on the attitude of the Russian Government to the Zionist affair; also he wanted to get him to use his good offices to ensure that the Committee was enabled to visit Hungary and Roumania. All Francis was able to tell me was that it was "altogether satisfactory". I do hope I shall have the opportunity of hearing more tomorrow.
2. In the nature of gossip -- but significant and not very pleasant nevertheless -- Phil was at tea at Lady Carnegie's. Someone who was there (and who is more or less without knowledge of the whole Palestine business) subsequently reported that Phil had said, "the trouble is that the American public is terribly ignorant about Palestine; and that difficulty cannot be overcome because the newspapers are owned by Jews."
3. One of the members of the American half of the Committee was told by Bell, "I hear that you had a meeting with a group of Zionist officials. You want to be careful -- they are very shrewd." The gentleman in question denied that he had met with a "group" but said that he had spoken to Zionists and proposed to continue to do so. The significant thing, however, is that they are being watched quite carefully -- including telephones! This material can not be published of course -- and if it is published could only serve greatly to embarrass a good friend.
4. Gerold has already cabled H.P. Manson, and I hope it is being followed up, suggesting (on special advice) that there be some reaction from Congressmen to Hutcheson's more or less contemptuous dismissal of party planks and Congressional resolutions as "all that stuff".
5. I had dinner on Sunday night with Charles, Gray and Francis. Very interesting, with Charles discussing on why things went wrong from the beginning and also warning that what the British, or at any rate, some of them (for example, Statler) had in mind was -- let the Americans make the recommendations, then we will say, "Okay that would require the use of six divisions -- will you provide three." The Americans will say no and will then be told that under those circumstances Britain can hardly be expected to bear the burden alone of the consequences of a pro-Zionist policy as proposed! Frances said he was not blind to this possibility -- some hints of which had already appeared, and they would not fall into the trap. One trouble is that the British are serviced by a first-class anti-Zionist staff and the Americans by a second-rate and by no means pro-Zionist ditto. In the meantime Hutcheson gets more crotchety, and to my mind anti-Zionist by the day -- a process which the witnesses we have put up have done nothing to prevent.

On the other hand, I think Sir Edward Spears who dripped poison at every pore -- went too far and when he pressed on the committee that the Jews had made necessary the maintenance of large forces in Palestine during the war to prevent possible outbreaks on their part (!) while the Arab contribution to the war effort had been of immense importance!!! -- he much too obviously overstated his case. ....

P.S. I think Harvey has become scared of "spies" and is holding off after meeting me at lunch a few days ago. I know his position remains "sound".



CODE NAMES CONTAINED IN EXCERPT

FROM LETTER FROM MR. LOURIE DATED JANUARY 29, 1946

FRANCIS.....Crum

PHIL.....Phillips

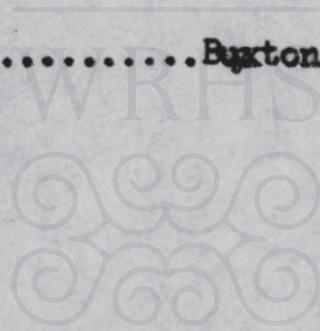
BELL.....Manningsham-Buller

CHARLES.....Dr. Weizmann

GRAY.....McDonald

STATLER.....Crossman

HARVEY.....Burton





FOR DR.SILVER

C O P Y

LONDON

RCA

FEBRUARY 5, 1946

NLT

WEISGAL

MANSON

342 MADISON AVENUE NEWYORK

LEAVING FOR PARIS MONDAY SHALL DECIDE THERE WHETHER PROCEED DIRECT PALESTINE  
OR FIRST VISIT EUROPEAN CENTRES GENERAL IMPRESSION ONLY IMPORTANT NEW ELEMENT  
HERE AMERY'S EVIDENCE ON PARTITION OTHERWISE OPINIONS WITHIN GROUP MUCH AS  
BEFORE AMERICAN CHAIRMAN MORE DEFINITE IN OPPOSITION REGARDS





CONFIDENTIAL

EXCERPT FROM LETTER FROM A.L. - CLARIDGE HOTEL, PARIS, FEBRUARY 5, 1946 (REC'D FEB. 13, 1946)

I rang up Gray\* this morning and he sounded very pleased to hear from me and asked me to come right over. He and a few of the others arrived last night. I took Jarblum along with me. We found a J.T.A. man there named Nathan who was acting as a temporary and very part-time assistant. We gave Gray suggestions as to whom to call and after Jarblum's departure I had a talk with him alone. It appears that Dolly\* is frightfully homesick. He has come to the conclusion that he now knows as much as he needs to know and would like to cut short the European end and also, if possible, that in Eretz. This is greatly distressing some of the others and if pursued - as it threatens to be - can develop into a scandal. It may mean, for example, no visit to Belgium or Holland, to Italy or to Hungary, etc. - though, of course, as far as the latter are concerned there are political difficulties also - which might, however, be overcome. The impossibility of writing an adequate report under the kind of time pressure which may be imposed is very present to the minds of some of the group, and one, I gather, spoke to B.V.C. in London who was much disturbed, though what he can or will do about it, I don't know. Incidentally, I learnt that Dolly\* was a bitter political opponent of F.D.R. - no wonder he took a negative line on pre-election promises and "that kind of stuff." I had lunch with Gray\* and - more or less by accident - with Whelan\*. With the latter I had ten minutes' talk alone and in the course of that brief conversation I was horrified by the kind of stuff that is being pumped into the mind of, and accepted by, an essentially decent, well-meaning but entirely uninformed gent:

(a) Zionist officials make their living out of a continuance of the conflict and therefore it pays them not to seek a way out. (Giving myself as an example - he had not realised, incidentally, to whom he was talking - I attempted to show him that there were other reasons than the L66 a month which I received for years in London which might induce devotion to a cause).

(b) The Jews of Germany had made an immense contribution to the civilisation and intellectual advancement of Germany; their elimination would be a calamity for Europe. (This, of course, was Bevin's argument. Of German Jews there are as a matter of fact very few left in Germany. In any case it would be a pretty grim suggestion that they must remain there against their will to fertilise again Europe's intellectual life - after what they have gone through.)

(c) The schools in Palestine are turning out ultra-nationalists of the Hitler Jugend type. (I attempted to tell him something of the colonists in Palestine and expressed the hope he would really be given a chance to see for himself.)

(d) He himself has come across ill-informed people, not particularly interested, who have said it might be a good idea to send the Jews to Palestine - in other words all this emphasis on Palestine is merely giving a new impetus to anti-Semitism.

(e) He was wondering if Ch.W. might not accept the idea that Jews should find new homes in countries other than Palestine. (I told him that Ch.W. was emphatic in his view that Jews took anti-Semitism with them to the lands of their dispersion; I also quoted what happened in South Africa when in 1936 a boat-load of 500 refugees produced such a reaction that the immigration laws were changed making further immigration of Jews into South Africa almost impossible.)

Unfortunately, we were interrupted at the end of 10 minutes or I don't know what further exhibits might not have been produced from the little chamber of horrors that malicious gossip and misinformation, as well as an almost primitive fear of the disagreeable specter of the Wandering Jew have created in the mind of this man.

\*See end of next page for code names used.



The only bright spot was that Prince\*, according to one of our friends, had begun talking of an immediate immigration of 100,000 or 150,000 within a year and a substantial Aliyah thereafter. Apparently all the people from England are agreed that the White Paper must go - but this may mean no more than clearing the camps and a very limited subsequent immigration - I don't know.

Today one of the people from our office in Paris who is on good terms with the military took over my passport to the military permit office to get me a visa for Frankfort or the British Zone. The British major (who, I gather, was at one time in charge of Belsen and of whom one of our people gave me a very scathing description) gave one look at my name and immediately recognized it in connection with an application that had been made in London to accompany the group - and turned thumbs down! For the first time in my life I felt myself almost a notorious character! Subsequently, our representative spoke to Judge Rifkind in Frankfort who said he was very anxious to have me come. The general who had to clear it, however, was not there at the time and it will have to wait until tomorrow - which may be too late since Crum and Leggett left this afternoon for Frankfort. I was not so anxious to get to Frankfort since in any case the members will be travelling around in a car and I can hardly hope to accompany them. But I did want to go there as a necessary stepping stone to Vienna - where they have to be by the 16th. It is all to the good that G.F. is going along - also (though unfortunately she is not too well informed) Ruth Gruber for the NEW YORK POST.



\*Code Names Used:

Gray.....McDonald  
Dolly.....Hutcheson  
Whelan.....Leggett  
Prince.....Aydelotte



CONFIDENTIAL

EXCERPT FROM LETTER FROM A.L. - CLARIDGE HOTEL, PARIS, FEBRUARY 7, 1946

Here I am back in my hotel room with an hour ahead before dinner with B.G. The hearings before MacDonald and Phillips terminated this afternoon and they have already taken the train on to Frankfort where they will learn whether they are to go on to Switzerland and Italy or cut short their wanderings and meet in Vienna on the 16th with the Chairmen and the others.

As I mentioned in my last note I arrived here Monday afternoon and the members of the Committee destined for Paris and Frankfort arrived here that evening by boat and train. The following morning (I believe I am repeating myself but have no copy of my earlier letter) I called on MacDonald and with Jarblum helped suggest a program, and that afternoon the Zionist group was heard. The following day (i.e. yesterday - Wednesday) I turned up at the Hotel Raphael where MacDonald and Phillips were staying, in time to hear the first of the series of witnesses who were to appear before them. The meetings were held in Phillips' sitting-room without a secretary and with a J.T.A. man and myself as the only members of the audience - an audience which assumed secretarial duties when the phone rang in MacDonald's or Phillips' room! Moreover, I assumed the function of marshalling and introducing the various witnesses as they arrived - from which you will gather the informality of the proceedings.

The first of the witnesses and in some way the most impressive was Guy de Rothschild - son of Baron Edmond. In 1941 or so, having escaped from unoccupied France he had eventually joined de Gaulle's staff in London. He had visited Palestine fairly recently, and proceeded in most excellent fluent and colloquial English to indicate the need for a Jewish State - for the Jews in Palestine, for the 600,000 in Europe who want to go there, and for Jews in other parts of the world who wish to remain perfectly good nationals of their countries of domicile. The Jewish nation was to-day a historical fact - for many Jews (those in the two first categories above-named) . They no longer felt allegiance to any other nation. They demand two things: The right of immigration to Palestine and the recognition of their independence. He was questioned about the attitude of the Rothschild's generally, and distinguished between the older generation who were ~~either~~ too old to think seriously on the subject in any fresh way and the younger group in which he included not only himself but Lord Rothschild in England, a sister-in-law there, and the two sons of Baron Robert - who had become Zionists. Incidentally he said that the two latter had been prisoners of war in Germany and in 1940-41 had had a pretty bad time at the hands of their French fellow-prisoners.

I think he made a strong impression on Phillips who probably regards himself as a little bit of an aristocrat and hardly expected from young Rothschild (I should say he is about 35) quite so outspoken a statement on behalf of "La Nation Juive." He was followed by a series of people - some of them very assimilated like Baumel who has a Christian wife and children - who all pleaded for an open Palestine. Edmund Fleg, the writer - a fine spirit whom I think Phillips failed to appreciate at his true worth - spoke eloquently of the need of a Jewish home. He was one of several witnesses who had survived deep personal tragedies. Two sons of his had been killed by the Nazis. Another man who testified had lost several members of his family, including his daughter, to the gas-chambers in Poland.

I was delighted to see again old Dr. Weill-Halle whom I had met in 1937 at Zurich as a non-Zionist member of the Council of the Jewish Agency. He escaped the S.S. on one occasion by a matter of minutes - taking to his bicycle as they mounted the staircase to his apartment. He described how until 1934 he had had no interest in things Jewish and how he had finally been driven to the conclusion that there must be a place, Palestine, to which Jews could go as of right. The same approach was that to-day of M. Meiss, the President of the "Consistoire" - the representative organization of French Jewry. Another interesting group was represented by JeFroyken - the fighters



in the Jewish section of the French resistance movement, the Maquis - who also took a strong Zionist line. The only groups contra (i) the Communists, who did not appear under that title, but under some other disingenuous nomenclature, the real nature of whose aims could be gathered in due course from the fact that they asked: (a) for the inclusion of Russia in the Committee of Inquiry; (b) dissolution of the reactionary Polish army abroad; (c) the solution of the Jewish problem by the establishment everywhere of "democracy" and (d) the setting up at once of an independent Palestine State where everything would "arrange itself" between Jews and Arabs. (ii) The Bund, which appeared this afternoon. These I fear made an impression on Phillips because they told what, unconsciously I believe, he wanted to hear: namely that the Jewish problem must be settled in the countries where Jews are; that already in France there had been a considerable amelioration in regard to anti-semitism since the end of the war; that the statement (put to them by MacDonald) that there were ten thousand Jewish orphans in France was probably exaggerated. The only real problem was the thousand children from Buchenwald - the others were almost all born in France and did not therefore constitute a real problem - the state would contribute to their maintenance. The Jews in Germany were a special case - they should be allowed to go where they wanted, even to Palestine. In Poland the situation had been exaggerated; the leader of the group even said that he believed he had recently seen a statement by a body which he compared with the Board of Deputies of British Jews (!) advising against emigration. On this he was corrected by one of his colleagues who pointed out that what they had advised against was panic not emigration!

The leader regretted that the greater part of their movement had been wiped out in Poland. Apparently, however, he found no lesson in what had happened there for his own hopes of a solution on the basis of a combination of the eventual realisation of the brotherhood of man and universal socialism. Nevertheless just as Hutcheson was impressed by the Communist memo in London so Phillips I think lapped up - or so it seemed to me - the rosy generalities of these people. I have little doubt however that MacDonald will in due course seek to put him straight.

As for me, here I still am; and still uncertain as to my next move. That I shall know tomorrow. The office here finally got into touch with Judge Rifkind in Frankfort, who said that he would be delighted to have me come on to Frankfort - but it may now be too late as the group in Frankfort, Crum, Crossman and Leggett, left to-day on their tour of the camps (together with Rifkind) and then go right on to Stuttgart, Munich and Vienna. I am not anxious to go to Frankfort - but after my experience in Paris I feel I could be of real use in Vienna - and I can't get to Vienna without obtaining a prior permit in Frankfort!

So there we are for the moment. This is my fourth night in Paris and very dull on the whole they have been - three dinners with B.G. and one dinner with MacDonald (last night) with whom I took a long walk thereafter from his hotel to the Place de la Concorde and then up to the Etoile and back to my hotel (the Claridge). I also arranged breakfast for him with B.G. this morning.

Yesterday we had a most excellent (probably black-market) lunch ("we" being B.G., an American army chaplain and myself) to which we were taken by Ruth Kluger who is in charge of the Paris office of the J.A.

Friday midday. It looks pretty definite that I shall not be able to get to Germany. Too bad, but rien a faire. In that case I shall get on to Palestine as soon as accommodation is available.



CONFIDENTIAL

REPORT FROM A.L. FROM CAIRO, MARCH 3, 1946

At the conclusion of the morning's session of the Committee at which Azzam Bey gave evidence, Gray came up to me and asked me if I knew of a throat specialist in Cairo. I introduced him to Emil Najjar who was standing next to me and Najjar undertook to arrange an appointment with the physician. Najjar (a young and intelligent lawyer) is chairman of the Cairo Zionist Society and he subsequently had two long conversations at the hotel with Gray, in which at different times and for varying periods other members of the Committee who happened to be passing took part. What follows represents items of interest reported on by Najjar:

Apart from the public hearings some of the members have seen certain people privately and informally. Among these have been Sir Walter Smart (Oriental Secretary to the British Embassy) and Cattani Pasha and his brother. Smart's line was that he was optimistic about the future of British-Arab relations. The British need the Arabs; they have no desire to colonise the Arab countries; and since neither British nor Arabs want Russia in the picture they will be able to come to a mutually satisfactory arrangement. But it is necessary first to liquidate the Zionist business. Gray added that he was afraid that the British members of the Committee had the air of being at one about the need to wipe the slate clean and make a fresh start. They are embarrassed by their promises. On the other hand, they would pay a high price to have a unanimous report. For one thing they would like to show the Russians that they are able to work in unity with the Americans. Gray added that as far as he personally was concerned it was not always easy for him to get on close terms with the English members because they think he is committed to the idea of a Jewish state. He went on to say that the Jewish state formula troubled even our friends on the Committee and that it seemed to him a tactical error.

Harvey joined them for a while and remarked that Maurice had been deeply impressed by what he had seen in Europe. Harvey went on to say that he (Harvey) could understand why no country wanted to receive the survivors of European Jewry. All the best elements had been killed off. It would take a generation or two to restore the stamina and quality of what remained (the same idea in a less pronounced form had come out in my conversation with Harvey in London). While conversing with him it was suggested that the British members of the Committee might wish to stop immigration to Palestine - Harvey denied this but agreed when Gray said that their acceptance of further immigration was conditioned on American military participation. (My reporter also said on Arab consent as well, but this was not clear). Harvey added that there was pressure on the Committee to go to the Lebanon and Syria so that they might see that the Arabs were capable of economic development without Zionist aid. Najjar suggested that what had been done there would have been impossible without the French - this was dismissed by Harvey with the remark "the French are notoriously bad colonisers." (In the afternoon Harvey rang me. He said he was troubled about some matters and we arranged to meet for breakfast to-morrow. He will come into Cairo). Gray, Statler and Phil met Cattani in a private house "at a cocktail party." This was apparently arranged by the American Legation. The Cattanis are people of great wealth and one of them is titular head of the Jewish community. Gray described him as a kind of Egyptian Rosenwald. Najjar remarked that the difference was that despite his 200% Egyptian patriotism on the Zionist issue, a test of his "Egyptianness" was to be found in the fact that he sent his children abroad to be educated. Cattani urged that there be no effort to force Jewish immigration without Arab consent - otherwise the life of every Jew in the Middle East might be endangered! It is to be noted that prior to the arrival of the Commission Cattani and the Zionists had entered into a gentleman's agreement that the one would not appear if the other did not. The "cocktail party" was of course a device to evade this arrangement. But then, as one of the Zionist leaders here remarked, the Cattanis always were "des salops." (Incidentally, French



has proved much more useful to me here than English). We shall try to take some action to overcome the damage done by Cattani - who undoubtedly impressed some of the members and whose comments were only transmitted to the others.

Other items which emerged from the remarks of Gray and Statler were that Maurice and Bell had their minds made up and didn't want to listen anymore and that the representatives of American and British Christian missions had expressed themselves unfavorably to a Zionist solution as otherwise "we will lose all standing with the Arabs." At one point Dolly passed and jokingly remarked "I have reached an age where I have nothing more to learn!" To which Najar replied "then, it is time to apply what you know." Najar asked Statler how it was possible in connection with Azzam Bey's evidence about Arab toleration of their Jewish minorities that no member of the Commission had asked a question about the '41 pogrom in Iraq, or those of last November in Cairo and Tripoli. The answer given by either Statler or Gray was "We don't know about these things. But in any case we were told not to ask questions outside the scope of the memorandum submitted by the League." Incidentally, I gather that last night members of the Commission dined with British and American Near East experts at the Legation. To return for a moment to the Cattanis; Najar told Gray that on the Palestine issue they did not represent one in a hundred of Egyptian Jewry. Actually, when the Moyne murderers were executed a twenty-four hour fast, self-imposed, was observed among the poorer Jewish quarters in Cairo (a fact which was kept private to avoid unwanted reactions). Of the Egyptian Jewish community (about 80,000 in number) surprisingly, only one-third are recognized as citizens. To obtain citizenship it is necessary to make an application which is acted on administratively. In the case of the Moslems action is virtually automatic. In the case of the Jews technicalities and delays generally arise so that although they have been settled in Egypt for centuries, some two-thirds of the Jewish population have been unable to obtain citizenship. The Cattanis, incidentally, were registered as Austrian citizens till 1910. In answer to Gray's question as to how he explained British policy, Najar said that it is a policy of division. Had the British been determined to prevent the pogrom of November 2nd, it would not have happened - but they hoped thereby to divert attention from Egyptian demands on themselves. Actually, they obtained a respite for only three months, as witness the unequivocally anti-British disturbances of February 21st. On this occasion, incidentally, there were Egyptian students who came to the Jewish quarter crying "you are our allies against British imperialism - vive the Sternists!" I gather, however, that the Jews remained quietly at home.

The argument which the British continue to advance is that it will require six divisions (in which American participation would be expected) to impose a Zionist solution. I understand Bentwich is here and has been meeting with Gray, Maurice and Statler. I hope to hear more of him to-morrow, but am told that he is pursuing a pro-Magnes line - though exactly what he is advocating I have not heard. It seems that he is complaining inter-alia that the Jews have never done anything to seek a rapprochement with the Arabs.

A word in conclusion about the position of the Jews in the Oriental countries: Najar warned Gray that an anti-Zionist solution will not help them - on the contrary it will be the beginning of the end for them. For it will be conclusive proof to the Arabs that they are weak and without support - a cardinal crime. On the other hand, Palestine Jewry will certainly not remain passive, and a state of agitation will inevitably result, which will affect the Jewish communities everywhere. Moreover, it must be remembered that the Jewish population of Palestine to-day is more than twice that of all the countries of the Arab League - so that even numerically speaking the first issue is that of the future of the Yishuv. The answer (Zionist



solution or otherwise) must be a clear guarantee by Britain with or without America of the position of these communities. Paradoxically, there will be less need for that guarantee in the event of a clear determined pro-Zionist policy than vice versa.

I had lunch yesterday with Ernest Main, with whom I had been friendly 8 or 9 years ago when he was writing his book on Palestine. He told me a few interesting things which I shall record separately. He is now press relations officer at the British Embassy. He suffered an unfortunate accident in Aden in 1942 - a balcony on which he was sitting collapsed and he suffered the loss of a leg. This afternoon Sasson and I were invited to tea by - of all people - a distinguished Moslem dignitary from Iran. He is the spiritual head of the Shiites who number between 7 and 8 millions, mostly in Iran and the tribesmen of Iraq. His name (not for publication) is Sayyed Irakayen (spelling doubtful) and he is a genuine friend of the Jews. He lives in Teheran and when the Jewish children from Russia came through and needed shelter he provided one of his houses for 30 or 40 of the children. He has come to Cairo for health reasons. He is a big middle-aged somewhat portly man with a pleasant rather benevolent-looking face, and is garbed in a black turban and a long flowing gray robe. He showed us a picture of a function at the El Azhav University with himself on the right of Sheikh El-Azhav and the then Prime Minister, Nokrasky Pasha on the left. Another picture in which he was prominent was of a group of the leaders of the Arab League, among whom he said, with something of a twinkle in his eye, he does pro-Zionist propaganda! The conversation was conducted in Arabic with occasional translations into French for my benefit and was concerned primarily with mid-Eastern politics as they related to Iran. Our friend said inter-alia that for twenty years he had seen at close quarters, and detested, British imperialist intrigues in Iran - but after experiencing the Russian occupation (including not least the Russian soldiers attacks upon their women folk) the Iranians were praying for the Russians to get out and for the British to remain. As to why he personally was so friendly to the Jews, he explained as follows: His father, who was apparently a man of means, died when he was young (he was born and lived at that time in Iraq). His estate was managed by Jews who not only looked after it with scrupulous care but substantially increased its worth. When in the course of time he went to Iran, not knowing much about business affairs he called on some Persian Jews, told them of his experience in Iraq and asked them to help him in similar fashion. This they had done no less meticulously and with no less success than their coreligionists in Iraq. In addition to all this our friend indicated that he had heard with sorrow of all that had befallen the Jews of Europe and was anxious to help them. It was an agreeable tea party and a refreshing experience save that I ate too much Turkish Delight and large pecan nuts (straight from his estate) and am suffering accordingly!

I spoke to Rood, the American Secretary of the Commission, with regard to procedure and I gather from him that government officials and military in Palestine will probably be heard in camera, also that some members of the Commission - but not the whole body - are to visit neighboring Arab countries.

I leave to-morrow for Jerusalem.

LIST OF CODE NAMES USED HEREIN:

Gray	McDonald
Harvey	Buxton
Statler	Crossman
Maurice	Morrison
Bell	Manningham-Buller
Dolly	Hutcheson
Phil	Phillips



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

## MEMORANDUM

*To* Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

*Date* March 12, 1946

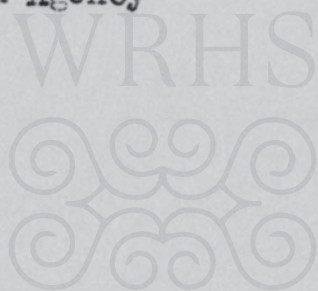
*From* Lea Klein (Secretary to Mr. Lourie)

Enclosed is an excerpt from a letter from Mr. Lourie from  
Cairo, for your information.

Encl.

Copy to: Dr. Wise  
Jewish Agency

L. K.





CONFIDENTIAL

EXCERPT FROM LETTER FROM A.L. - CONTINENTAL HOTEL, CAIRO, FEBRUARY 28, 1946

I have just returned from Me<sup>2</sup>ea House where the Commission is staying (a good half hour by taxi out of Cairo) and am due back there for breakfast at 8:30!

But before I record to-day's little budget: I landed in Alexandria Monday evening, spent the night there, came on to Cairo and after some messing about finally located a telegram from Shertok asking me to remain here till the Committee arrived. That they did this afternoon by plane from different points of departure. This evening I rang Francis and he suggested that I should come over after dinner - and in due course I found myself (feeling like an awful interloper) part of a group which included also Harvey, Gray, Whelan, Maurice and Statler, and an Englishman who seemed to be in charge of arrangements. The result was there was very little chance for intimate talk - most of the conversation being directed to proving that Maurice was really a Tory, accompanied by much good natured chaff. Bell and Harvey had been to Poland. I gather from Harvey that they found it a dreadful experience. None of the Committee got to Hungary or Rumania. They were only told on the 19th, I gathered from Beeley, that it would not be possible to arrange for them to enter. They then arranged for a telegram to go to the head of the Hungarian Jewish community inviting representatives to come to Vienna - but in transmission the fact that the Commission would leave Vienna on the 26th was somehow lost and the Hungarian representative only arrived in Vienna on the 26th - half an hour before the Committee had to leave (all this makes me regret the more bitterly that I didn't manage to get to Vienna. I think I could have prevented this kind of mistake). Beeley told me, however, that they had had enough information from other quarters in Vienna - including from a man associated with the Red Cross, one Marton, (a Jew of whom I had heard in a letter from Lichtheim in Geneva) to know what the views of the Jews were. What they had hoped to obtain more information about was the attitude of the governments concerned.

Of more importance as regards developments within the Committee was a remark to me in an aside by Francis that "they" were out to "get" the Jewish Agency - in the sense of putting an end to recognition of the right to representation of the Jewish people as a whole in regard to Palestine. He is still anxious to have the matter of America's interest in the Mandate through the 1924 Convention brought out in Congress - the right of the Jewish Agency to recognition being a part of the Mandate and therefore in his view unchangeable without the consent of the U.S. I am to breakfast tomorrow with Gray and Francis.

In the morning I went to the British Embassy to see about admission to the hearings and found an old friend in the shape of Ernest Main in charge of press relations. I had been in touch with him in London when as a free lance journalist he had been engaged in writing his book "Palestine at the Crossroads." I arranged to have lunch with him on Sunday as I want to hear of his experiences in Iraq during the war - he was there right through the Rashid Ali business.

Subsequently, I got into touch with Evya Wilson and arranged for admission to the hearings for the leaders of the Zionist Organization here, as well as for myself. The head of the Federation here is Maitre (i.e. Lawyer) Castro. He told me this morning that King Farouk had arranged for the Chief Rabbi and (separately) for Cattani Pasha who is the Rosenwald of Egypt to come and see him on Sunday. He had had long talks with each of them ranging over many subjects but not a word on Palestine or the Committee. This was taken to mean that the King was against their appearing before the Committee - a fact to be inferred from his regal silence on the subject. This is



all to the good. The explanation is probably that if they (and particularly the Chief Rabbi) appeared, the question of the mob attacks in Cairo and Alexandria a few months ago on the Jews of those cities must inevitably come up, and however anti-Zionist or neutral the evidence given by these gentlemen on the Zionist issue what they would have to say on the riots couldn't do Egypt any good - hence better that they should not appear at all.

I had breakfast with Gray with various secretaries and members at adjoining tables. I am beginning to feel like an international spy and I am quite sure Wilson wonders what the hell I am doing here. Subsequently I went up to Gray's room and later to see Francis. Francis was about to take a bath - so nothing daunted, we carried on the conversation while he scrubbed and I sat on the edge of the tub. Notes:

(a) By way of further information on the desire to put an end to the Agency - the most determined man on that point is apparently Dolly! I knew in London that he was much upset by Jackson's evidence which, as I think I wrote at that time, served to confirm his dark suspicions about the double loyalties implicit in Zionism. His feelings on the subject of course suit the British down to the ground.

(b) It looks as if they (the Committee) will be so guarded and protected in Palestine as to be given very little freedom of movement. (As one Britisher put it to them "after all if anything happened to you it might cost a lot of men their jobs").

(c) Partition seems for the moment to have receded into the background.

(d) So far as the group from Maurice's area is concerned, Gray seems to have a little hope about Eccles; and Francis about Statler.

(e) Some of the members (including I imagine our Texan friend) feel that they know what is to be known and would gladly cut things short. (All this amounts to little, I am afraid, but here it is for what it is worth).

(f) I gather that one of the members saw a hefty file on the Mufti in Nuremberg - also that a report of an agreement between Hitler and the Mufti was cabled to America - presumably this came out in the press while I was on the boat. Incidentally, I saw Main again later and he mentioned to me the "great pressure" that was being exerted to get the Mufti back. In Paris I was told that it was anticipated that the Mufti would be released within a couple of months. He is living in great comfort in a villa near Paris and has freedom of communication, including visitors.

#### LIST OF CODE NAMES USED HEREIN

Francis	Crum
Dolly	Hutcheson
Harvey	Buxton
Gray	McDonald
Eccles	Crick
Maurice	Morrison
Whelan	Leggett
Statler	Crossman
Bell	Manningham-Buller



3/12/46

LIST OF CODE NAMES

HARVEY .....Buxton

FRANCIS..... Crum

GRAY..... McDonald

PRINCE..... Aydelotte

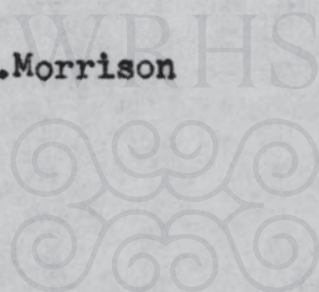
DOLLY..... Hutcheson

PHIL.....Phillips

STATLER.....Crossman

BELL.....Manningham-Buller

MAURICE.....Morrison





# AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

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## *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

PERSONAL

March 12, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I enclose copy of a memorandum, dated January 23, 1946, which just arrived from London, addressed to me and marked "personal". It bears no signature and there is no evidence at all that it comes from Mr. Lourie - my guess is that it comes from Gerold Frank.

Please note that although the memorandum is dated January 23d, and was sent "airmail", postmarked London, January 26th, it took almost 7 weeks to get here. The envelope in which it came bore a post office paster printed as follows: "General Post Office - Found Open or damaged and officially Secured."

I should like to point out that a covering note (with no signature, either) directed me to send a copy to you and to Mr. Neumann and since he is in Palestine, I am sending it to you only, not having shown it to anyone else in the office.

Enclosed is a list of the code names used in the memorandum.

Sincerely yours,

*Lea Klein*

Secretary to Mr. Lourie

k  
encls.



# *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

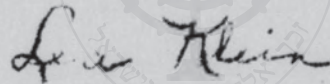
342 MADISON AVENUE  
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.  
MURRAY HILL 2-1160

March 15, 1946

To the Members of the American Zionist Emergency Council:

Enclosed are the Minutes of the meeting of the Executive  
Committee held on February 11, 1946.

Sincerely yours,



Secretary to Mr. Lourie

enc.



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

## MEMORANDUM

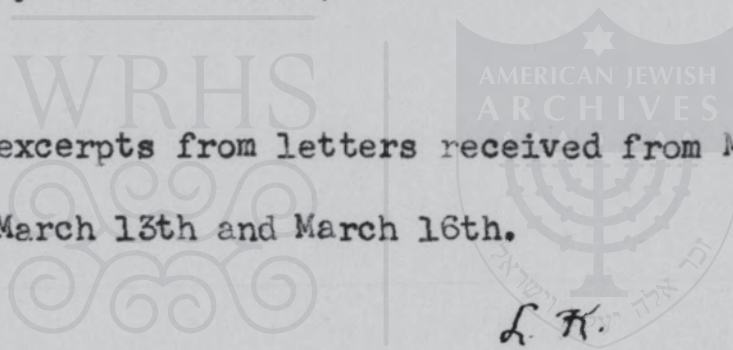
**To** Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

**Date** March 27, 1946

**From** Lea Klein (secretary to Mr. Lourie)

Attached are excerpts from letters received from Mr. Lourie from  
Jerusalem, dated March 13th and March 16th.

encl.





CONFIDENTIAL

EXCERPT FROM LETTER FROM A.L., JERUSALEM, MARCH 13, 1946

As I see things, when the Committee gets down to business the struggle will center around the question of a unanimous report (which will be a compromise) or a majority-minority report. The majority group is probably contemplating a frontal attack on the continuation of the Mandate; also the liquidation of the Agency and a very limited continuation of immigration. The minority has probably not crystallised a single point of view but would favor in all probability an immediate grant of 100,000 certificates with directions for a substantial continuation of immigration thereafter, but without defining any endziel - in fact a somewhat strengthened Mandate so far as immigration is concerned, leaving to the future the question of a Jewish State. As to a compromise formula presumably discussion will center around an agreed immigration figure and the position of the Agency. At present partition is very little in evidence, but it may come to the fore later on.





CONFIDENTIAL

EXCERPT FROM LETTER FROM A.L. FROM JERUSALEM, MARCH 16, 1946

The hearings have ended for the moment. Various members have gone wandering off to Beirut, Damascus, Baghdad and Ryadh, and others will be travelling around in the course of this week in Palestine. The high lights of the evidence were Weizmann (of whom I have already written), Ben-Gurion, Dolik Horowitz, Jamal Husseini and Auni Bey, and Magnes. I thought that Ben-Gurion made an excellent statement well reasoned and speaking the heart of the Jewish people. And yet I am not sure that it went down with the Committee. As someone said to me, Weizmann can make an anti-British speech and the British will accept it as pro-British; if Ben-Gurion, however, makes a speech which is really pro-British they will reject it as hostile. The Arabs were of course intransigent in their opposition to any immigration whatsoever, and were quite unashamed in their demand for the return of the Mufti as their leader. In regard to this an odd thing happened. Crossman and Crum cross-examined Auni about the Mufti's "democratic" affiliations, and in a bit of rather dramatic by-play Crossman produced a photograph of the Mufti reviewing an SS formation. Apparently both Crossman and Crum were subsequently hauled over the coals for this "grilling" of Auni on the subject of the Mufti. It was apparently quite in order to cross-examine Ben-Gurion with some severity, but to criticise the self-acknowledged friend of Hitler in a public forum was altogether improper, and some of the administration people, in particular, were furious. I understand - though I don't know with what truth - that Crossman said that in the light of the attitude of the administration people he now understands why the Jews can't expect a fair deal from them. By way of sequel, it is to be added that the entire episode was eliminated from the official record with the following remark: "(At this point the witness (Auni Bey) dispensed with the services of the interpreter, and unfortunately the reporter could not make a continuous record).". To make matters even more absurd, the record contains in the very next sentence a compliment from the Chairman on Auni's English: "Mr. Justice Singleton: Thank you sir. I would like to say this to you: I believe if you had addressed us in English, the language in which you have answered questions latterly, you would have saved yourself a good deal of time."

Magnes undoubtedly made a very effective statement and deeply impressed some members of the Commission by his sweet reasonableness, though I must tell you that Buxton's friend was not fooled and felt that his solution was attractive but bore little relation to reality.

The Committee has heard in camera representatives of the military both in Cairo and in Jerusalem. In the former case the purpose apparently was to indicate the need of maintaining Arab support and to assert the necessity for six divisions to maintain a pro-Zionist policy; in Jerusalem the attack was directed on the Haganah which was alleged to be controlled by the Agency and to be aiming at a military conquest of Palestine!

As to where the Committee is going I don't think they know themselves so far. Crossman is the only one among the English group who has shown himself ready to be helpful, but I doubt if he is likely to influence the others. Leggett who looks nice and mild is very anti - takes the line of his chief on whom he apparently has a good deal of influence, and is ready to think the worst of us at the slightest provocation or on no provocation at all. Manningham-Buller seems to be the strongest figure in the group - intelligent, but cynical and negative. Hutcheson is much as he was - is not impressed by what he has seen (or at any rate shows no signs of it) but is a little cheered by the prospects of getting home at last.

It may be of interest that Crossman conceives it as impossible for Britain to attempt to put through a large immigration plan over a ten year period - "in that time there would be another few white papers" and has therefore come over to Haluka.



CONFIDENTIAL

EXCERPT FROM A LETTER FROM A.L. - GENEVA, APRIL 3, 1946.

I arrived on the same plane as Nahum and that evening received a report from a friend who has been in touch with one or two members. We learned in the first place that while our friends were glad that we were on hand here they thought it inadvisable to meet with us at the moment - so that instead of going on to Lausanne I am remaining here. Certain material had been received on which a memorandum was required, and this I worked on yesterday. But the real "plum" was the news about Dolly. There had been a meeting of the American group and he informed them that he now saw the matter in perspective. He realized that it was impossible to put Jews in an Arab State - particularly after what he had seen in Syria. Furthermore, this people which had suffered so much must be compensated. He favored the immigration of 100,000 this year and then free Jewish immigration under the Agency. He supported also the J.V.A. idea. As to the political solution he believed binationalism was the best but was open to conviction. Partition would produce two binational states - the inference being that Galilee would be included in the Arab State (this I have all along regarded as the great danger in the event of partition). So far as binationalism is concerned he seems to have been vastly impressed by a talk or talks he has had with Bentov and by Bentov's book. It was agreed that Hutcheson would make a statement of his views at the opening conference of the full committee.

As I have previously indicated it has been clear for a long time that Hutcheson would be a key figure in the final decision - likely to take with him Phillips and Aydelotte. And while he was not prepared to go all the way with us, this changed attitude was of course tremendously encouraging - not to say exciting. The question was would he show himself as forthright when it came to the actual crossing of swords with the British - and further will he remain firm in the subsequent manoeuvrings. The first question can be answered already - in the affirmative.

They had their first meeting on Monday. Morrison is still away and may not return. The others were all present. Hutcheson then delivered his little bouquet. The White Paper was a great injustice and could not stand. He favored the immigration this year of 150,000 but was prepared to accept a figure of 100,000. Then there should be free immigration under the Agency. The land laws could not stand. The final solution should be binationalism. He did not know how long it would take (there's the nib - any long term solution is fraught with obvious dangers). He was ready to discuss partition if necessary. He himself saw no reason why the Committee should not finish its work within 3 or 4 days.

I gather that Singleton - who had had no inkling of what was impending - was, to put it mildly, shocked. His first effort was to stall for time. The matter can't be handled in this way; we have first to establish the facts. That should take about a week's work and then the committee can reassemble.



Manningham-Buller was more outspoken: "The Balfour Declaration had been fulfilled. The Jews had done wonderful things but Britain had now carried out her obligations, and a Palestine state should be set up forthwith." I gather that Hitchenson interrupted at this point to say that he would not wish to hand the Jews over to the tender mercies of the Arabs.

Crossman in a very able statement stressed that the question of land and of immigration was crucial. Immigration had to go on. In his view the only answer was partition. Bynationalism would not work and would only lead to trouble.

All the other Britishers supported the establishment forthwith of a "democratic" Palestinian state to which should be left the immigration issue.

A little bombshell was dropped by Buxton who came all out for a Jewish state in the whole of Palestine. You will remember my telling you of his objections to partition. At the same time I had thought to impress upon him (and had been supported by his experience of such people as Farrell) the impossibility of continuing under the present regime. He had therefore drawn the logical conclusion - a Jewish state in an undivided Palestine. But I gather he didn't stop there. He urged the British to get out as quickly as possible and spoke in the most critical terms of the administration. As to immediate immigration he favored 150,000 this year.

Aydelotte and Phillips took the same line as Hitchenson. Crum favored the abolition of the White Paper and an immediate immigration of 100,000. Partition. Immediate powers for the Agency. Establishment of a J.V.A.

MacDonald without clearly indicating which solution he favored pressed on the British that in their own interests the support of World Jewry was more important than that of the Arabs.

Singleton's request for a week to gather and analyze the facts (during which no doubt he hoped to obtain a line from London) was finally modified to a postponement for three days - so that they should meet again tomorrow.

I gather that there is a state of combined consternation and fury in the British camp. Relations between the two chairmen are very bad and they are not on speaking terms. Singleton feels he was tricked; after all his co-chairman had accepted their hospitality, visited their homes and country-houses, played the part of a friend, and now to turn round and do this caddish thing!

I suspect that the British will now seek to bargain, with a view to an agreed recommendation for 25,000 or possibly 50,000 but avoiding any finality on the main political issue. One can only hope that Hitchenson having been vouchsafed a revelation will remain pure of heart and firm of purpose and deaf to all blandishments.

Another small item from the discussion: Singleton expressed the view that the Haganah must be extirpated. To which Buxton replied



that the easy way out is to legalize it ! Again at some point Singleton was full of grief at the thought of the blood of British tommies being shed in behalf of this National Home policy, to which it was retorted (by whom I do not know) that the Jews should be allowed to look after themselves. Altogether they must be a very happy family at the moment - and in Whitehall there is presumably a certain gnashing of teeth at the thought that they brought all this on themselves by inviting the collaboration of what were expected to be docile and in due course "well-educated" Americans. At the same time it is obviously premature and dangerous to count one's chickens before they are hatched, and anything may happen between now and the final showdown.

I don't need to stress how confidential this all is. It should not be placed before the Council. For it to come out in the Yiddish or any other press at this time may gum up the whole works - e.g. may be used as an excuse for not continuing the discussions on the ground that it is impossible to rely on their confidential character. For this reason Harvey has even felt it desirable not to see me for the moment though I have just had a call from Gray that he wants to meet me





CONFIDENTIAL

EXCERPT FROM A LETTER FROM A.L. - GENEVA, APRIL 6, 1946.

Since my last letter describing the conversion (or from another point of view, apostasy) of Dolly, I have lunched with Harvey, dined with Gray, and had tea with Francis. The result of all this gastronomy and of subsequent information is as follows: Dolly's initial statement (a copy of which I have seen) is not quite as strong in tone as I had been led to believe - e.g. he talks of an immigration of "up to 100,000" in the first year and not of 150,000. But it nevertheless represents a sufficient change of spirit to rejoice the hearts of our friends - who now find themselves working with him as a team to the mutual satisfaction of all (except the *ב'ג'ר'א*). The first fruits of this was at a meeting of the committee yesterday. Dolly arrived with a brief declaration to the effect that they base their discussions on the principle that immigration must continue and in general they must accept the obligations of the mandate as still binding. This was forced by him to a vote - result: six Americans pro, four British against - Maurice and Statler abstaining. I gather that Phil asserted himself for the first time declaring that it would be against his conscience to do anything to put an end to *ד'ס'א*. The next meetings should be quite hectic. The position of Statler, who is being accused of treason to the Empire, can hardly be a comfortable one. So far, however, he is (within limits) sticking to his guns. In particular he took a strong line in opposition to any suggestion of making continuation of immigration dependent on "liquidation" of *ד'ס'א* - even going so far as to file a memorandum on this subject. His line is quite rightly, that you must change the policy which has brought about terrorist activity if you really wish to put an end to the terrorism. But this stand has not made him popular with his chairman et al.

I have been getting the most discouraging replies from the aviation companies about the possibility of getting a passage home this month. However, I have by no means given up hope. In the first place I am putting in an application for a priority by boat in case the air-passage does not come through; and secondly the necessary strings will be pulled.

The conclusion of this is being written in the train to Lausanne-en route for another meal - with Francis. Shall also see Gray I believe.

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The two chairmen are on speaking terms again. I foresee a dangerous time when the British will come along with some compromise proposal and the Americans will have to decide on their own attitude.

Gerold Frank and Ruth Gruber of the N.Y. Post suddenly turned up on Thursday at the Hotel where the Commission is staying. They keep on appearing at intervals in pursuit of the main actors rather like a pair of musical comedy characters. I saw them the same evening.



They were immediately advised on all trends to leave the hotel where the Commission was staying - by Hitchens because he doesn't - quite understandably - want journalists about at this time - and by us because even if they did learn anything they could not publish it at this ~~moment~~ time, and a leakage could only do harm; in addition it is a matter of prime importance to keep Dolly sweet - and their presence would be quite an irritant in the circumstances. I gather they have bowed to the attack and will remove themselves to Geneva.

Continued April 7, 1946.

I wasn't able to post this last night and want to add a few words.

It looks more and more as if things are heading for two reports. The Americans remain clear in their determination not to be whittled down on the immediate immigration of 100,000 - continued immigration thereafter and cancellation of the land restrictions. From this the British are poles away. Dolly seems to be getting stronger and stronger in his new-found or at any rate newly revealed convictions, and has even apparently indicated privately that the main trouble stems from the 1922 lopping off of Transjordan which so greatly restricted the possibilities of colonization. Not that he particularly likes the Zionists (Weizmann was too clever, B.G. too aggressive and Mrs. Golda Myerson too mannish) - or Zionism - but apparently he has come to accept the justice of their position in terms of the legal documents and also has come to regard it as inevitable that, with the driving force with which it is endowed, it will achieve its aim sooner or later. But perhaps most interesting was the reaction on him of his visit to Syria and Lebanon. He agreed to the visits to the Arab countries only under considerable pressure from the British. The result was the contrary of what had been intended - he came back with the conviction that the Jews can't be left to the mercy of an Arab state.

The solution which he prefers as I have already indicated is a binational state with continuing "full immigration" consistent with the welfare of the country. I gather ~~the British~~ have given him up as hopeless and are concentrating their efforts on seeking to seduce what are regarded as two weaker sisters - though if the others remain firm I doubt they will succeed. At the same time it is pretty clear that the American report (under Dolly's influence) will state in so many words that Palestine as a Jewish State or as an Arab State is out.

One of our American friends told me that a copy arrived yesterday of an ad by the Emergency Council in the N.Y. Times about the omission from the records of Aunni's cross-examination about the Mufti. Our friend was rather caustic about the ad which he said was cheap, contained a number of untruths and did us no good. The British of course were infuriated about it. I have not seen the ad so am unable to judge.



CONFIDENTIAL

EXCERPT FROM A LETTER FROM A.L. - GENEVA, APRIL 11, 1946.

Yesterday was a very busy day - worked on a memorandum from early morning commenting on some material which had been submitted to us, then out to the city of mystery, lunch (at his invitation) with Harvey, tea (together with Nahum) with Gray, and then a subsequent talk with Harvey once more (at the conclusion of which he told me to call him by his first name), dinner in the train and then straight to hear Jacques Thibaud together with Nahum.

I am a bit troubled about our communications to the States because of the J.T.A. leakage on Monday. So far only Gray knows about it and he was a good deal put out and is in particular anxious about what effect it may have on his colleagues when they learn of it. The J.T.A. has put Gerold in a mean position incidentally, because they put a Geneva date-line on their report, and of course he is known to the members of the group as the J.T.A.'s Geneva representative pro-tem - whereas he had specifically informed Dolly that he would observe confidence and not seek to disclose information on current developments within the body.

Alors, revenons a nos moutons ! It is clear that b61722 have decided that in the light of the attitude of the others they would have to revise their stand at least on the 100,000. A memo was accordingly prepared by Bell which is a cunning document, dripping with friendship and the spirit of compromise ("not much betweenus") and agreeing that it will be necessary on humanitarian grounds (only) to admit at any rate the old and infirm and the very young; but since he fears Arab reactions to the entry of people of military age, the latter would apparently not benefit from these humanitarian considerations. As to the national home, no one can deny that it is established and while provision should be made for continuing immigration, it would be inadvisable to mention specifically the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate or to make reference to the Jewish National Home ! One of the experts in a little memo to a friend on the body pointed out that this would mean in effect to accept the position that the obligations under the Mandate have been carried out and no one could now start from scratch. I think our friends are fully aware of the trap; and forewarned is forewarned.

In estimating the present situation within the body, it is well for a moment to consider what might have been. In the first place as Harvey said to me, we don't perhaps fully realize the intensity of the attack and the gravity of the danger to the Sochnut; that danger which involved at least a serious reduction in rights and status was avoided a) by the determined opposition of the three musketeers of whom in this respect perhaps the doughtiest fighter was Harvey himself and b) as a result of the ultimate conversion of Dolly. On this front b61722 have now apparently completely abandoned the fight - as too, is the case I think with regard to the attack on 2/25 - though this may be revived -



this may be revived-again, however, in view of the firm attitude of our friends as well as of Statler, without much prospect of success. It seems pretty clear now that the land as well as the immigration provisions of the White Paper will go - though the land issue has not been fought out yet. On every one of these points but for the fact that there was an American half to the Commission and that ultimately that half, has, as a result largely of the changed attitude of the judge, been solidified, our position would have been disastrous. So that on balance our cooperation with the commission has to my mind been justified 100% - for without it much of the improvement which has occurred within the group would certainly not have come about which is not to say that we are out of the woods or that our Zionist program is about to be achieved. It is rather once again the story of the Rabbi and the goat - but in this case a particularly overwhelming and smelly kind of goat which might have been the cause of prolonged discomfort - to put it mildly.

One of the matters on which I was questioned was the possibility of arranging for the immediate accomodation of tens of thousands. Fortunately on this I was able to draw attention to a memo on housing which was submitted to the Committee immediately prior to its departure from *Jerusalem*. It appears by the way that a couple of generals have been brought over from Germany and questioned as to how long it would take to remove the inhabitants of the camps to Palestine - the answer being a maximum of four weeks ! At the same time another little trap which is being set by the *big game* in order to qualify the concessions, they are now ready to make on the immediate immigration issue, is to make the rate of entry conditional on the availability of accomodation. To this a suggestion was made by some one ( I don't know whom) that that question should be determined by a body composed of representatives of the Agency, the J.D.C., the Army and the Palestine Government . This too has obvious dangers which we shall of course do our best to press home.

Statler gave what was described to me as a brilliant presentation of the case in behalf of Halukah. Apparently however, he remains almost alone in his convictions on this subject. The body has in fact not yet come to grips with that part of its term of reference which calls for recommendations in regard to a permanent solution - and it may well be that they - or rather the American section - may satisfy themselves with the cancellation of the White Paper, immediate recommendations with respect to immigration and some general provisions for its continuation, and not attempt to suggest anything radical for the future. On this we shall know more in a few days - if all sources of information will not be suddenly closed to us by reason of such indiscretions as that contained in Monday's J.T.A. story. Tomorrow all of us here in Geneva (which for your information now includes in addition to Nahum and Moshe, Bolik Horowitz and his wife) are moving to Montreux en masse.



CONFIDENTIAL

EXCERPT FROM A LETTER FROM A.L. - MONTREUX, APRIL 16, 1946.

We moved over to Montreux on Friday but so much activity has been generated in the intervening days that I feel as if we had been there for weeks. The hotel certainly must be wondering what kind of an international plot is being hatched there.

We arrived in time for dinner. We had hardly sat down (Nahum, Moshe, Dolik H., Mrs. Dolik H., Gerold and Ruth Gruber, plus secretary from Geneva) when the concierge came along with a look of deep respect to say "On vous appelle de New York". This fillip to our prestige was very timely as it happens, since we had just informed the head-waiter to his disgust that none of us wanted wine with our meal. Well the call from New York was only the beginning. Before long there were calls to or from London, Paris, Geneva, Lausanne, telegrams to Jerusalem and South Africa and a call from Milan about the unfortunates at La Spezia. Finally our friend came along with his eyes goggling, to say that there was a call from Rome.

The J.T.A. leak, and even worse George Lichtheim's story in the Palestine Post - the further distribution of which by Falcor we only just succeeded in stopping - did what Francis called "irreparable damage"; and the immediate result was that one of the chiefs of the Palestine C.I.D. ( = U.S. FBI ) was flown over to look after the "security" of the members of the Committee which is a polite way of saying to spy on the activities of certain of the members from America. All of which has served greatly and most unnecessarily to complicate life.

Anyway things are moving along and to judge by such reports as now percolate through, we ought on the whole to keep our fingers crossed - though I still see pitfalls. The trend reported in my last letter is being maintained and Singer's crowd seems to have caved in definitely on the hundred thousand, continued immigration, repeal of the Land Legislation (though with certain reservations), and any frontal attack on the Agency or the Haganah. In addition to preparing material on financing the hundred thousand, we had the opportunity over the weekend of doing one very useful job at the request of one of the musketeers. I must say that I think our presence here has been of very great value, because even the best informed and most anxious to be helpful can't be expected to see the nuances and implications in the same way as do we who have lived with the business. Friend Harvey incidentally with whom I am lunching today said that he thought the report would be "the biggest step forward for Zionism in 25 years". Well that remains to be seen. But certainly the intentions are of the best and the situation is improved out of all recognition by comparison with a year ago.

Tuesday afternoon: My luncheon with Harvey did not come off after all and I lunched instead with Gray and Lola Hahn-Warburg, who has come here for a few days. Some of the things I learnt during lunch in regard to the recommendations troubled me -



particularly a rather sweeping condemnation apparently, of both the non-alienation and non-Arab labor clauses of the J.N.F. I suspect there is also a condemnation of the Agency for its failure to take effective action in regard to terrorism. We are doing our utmost at the moment incidentally to obtain the inclusion of a resolution in favor of specific financial and other assistance to make possible the settlement of the 100,000 otherwise we may find ourselves hamstrung by administrative opposition and lack of means.





CONFIDENTIAL

EXCERPT FROM A LETTER FROM A.L. - MONTREUX, APRIL 17, 1946.

I am tired but with the proceedings drawing rapidly to a close I want to set down these further few notes on current developments.

It is clear that the report will be a unanimous one though Francis is still considering the filing of a supplementary note in which he draws attention to partition as the one hopeful way out if the Jews and Arabs fail to cooperate in a unitary Palestine - as contemplated and hoped for in the joint report. However he is not likely to get the support of anyone else than Gray (if he gets him), and since at the same time one or two of the British are holding out the threat of a counterblast, including an attack on the Agency if he spoils the beautiful unanimity which is now in the making, he will probably abandon the idea; though he talks of making up for it by placing his views on record in a letter to the President.

The results have been summarized as

- a) a defensive victory for the Zionists in that the very considerable attack which had developed against the Agency and the Haganah has been completely repelled.
- b) a very real victory on short term policy - a repeal of the White Paper, 100 000 this year, repeal of the land restrictions on the ground that they involve racial discrimination.
- c) No recommendation with regard to long term policy, i.e. statehood or trusteeship save that something is said about safeguarding maintaining and developing the national home under UNO, this being continued with reference to a continued immigration.
- d) A recommendation that the Agency in cooperation with the Government of Palestine and also the governments of the neighboring Arab states should undertake large scale development schemes. (The wording of this is not exact but it is significant that the Agency is specifically mentioned in this connection).

Most of this you already know. Incidentally, both Gray and Francis (who have behaved admirably and whose support was of course decisive in obtaining the positive results apparently achieved) are terribly anxious that no blast adverse to the committee be issued before the report is actually published and read - which seems not unreasonable. On the negative side there will be in the first place a definite statement against the possibility of either an Arab or a Jewish State "in all of Palestine"; (This is a considerable modification of Dolly's original wording which was much more negative and far-reaching), and strong criticism of the J.N.F. clause. (If much of this is repetitious of what I have already written please don't mind; it is the reflection of similar reports from different sources - with a new "wrinkle" here and there).



An interesting little sidelight was a conversation which took place the other day between Ayres - the C.I.D. (police) chief (or assistant-chief) and Bell. The latter said to him "Well you are now going to have a task on your hands suppressing Arab disorder when the 100,000 start coming in." To which Ayres replied - no doubt to Bell's surprise - that he didn't expect any serious trouble! As to the Haganah - to which there was also a reference - Ayres said "Oh they're really good boys. All they want is immigration and the tension will cease." But perhaps the most interesting and if true, important item of information is the explanation (alleged to have been given both by Bell and Statler) of the change in attitude of the British, namely that they have decided that the friendship of the Jews is important to them; and that since they would have to make a concession on immigration and ~~it~~ in any event ~~such~~ such concession would arouse Arab resentment, they may as well do things properly - hence the withdrawal of the original cramping conditions proposed on the entry of the 100,000, the acceptance of the demand for cancellation of the land restrictions and the reaffirmation of Britain's obligations in regard to the further development of the Jewish National Home.

We have not had an opportunity of seeing the text of the recommendations - and of course a great deal depends on the actual wording. I believe that the situation would have been different if not for the wretched newspaper leaks. Thus Harvey has been more or less incommunicado for the last few days; and Dolik who had ~~just~~ had one useful talk with Statler also found him subsequently inaccessible. It is however no good crying over spilt milk and we must be grateful that at least such opportunities of contact as did exist (much more than has probably emerged in these notes) have been available and availed of. Some of the little side shows incidentally have had the comic unreality of a mystery thriller. But I hesitate to put these down on paper.

Nahum has hired himself a car which has proved very useful for commuting between here and Lausanne - the chauffeur being yours truly ( I must confess I should feel a little more comfortable if I had my license here; in the meantime I borrow Nahum's and hope for the best !).

The whole crew (Kibbutz Montreux as somebody named it) has gone off to the Kursaal where there is some kind of a cabaret show. I feel frightfully virtuous sitting here scrawling. Anyway I appointed myself to watch the telephone - which is incidentally behaving with most extraordinary restraint - a full 24 hours have passed since America was on the phone; likewise Milan, Rome and Paris ( London was on the wire this afternoon). But the indications are that it will be functioning full blast tomorrow with a call to Dr. Silver (at the request of Gray who wants to see him in New York on arrival - which may be this Tuesday - 6 days hence !). Ha, at this very moment the telephone rang; my vigil has been justified on grounds of public as well as private policy - a breakfast date for M/S. and me.

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

## MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date May 7<sup>th</sup> 1946

From Arthur Lourie

I enclose a copy of an interesting report prepared by  
Sasson of our Arab Department in Jerusalem on his visit to  
Egypt in connection with the meeting last month of the Arab  
League.



AL.

AL:EB  
enc.



April 12, 1946

SUBJECT: REPORT FROM EGYPT.

During my stay in Cairo I heard from a number of Arabs several theories concerning the conclusions of the Anglo-American Inquiry Committee. I also heard several explanations of possible reactions by the Arabs in the event that the conclusions should go against them.

1. I spoke with a number of people including journalists and politicians, but no-one was prepared to admit the possibility that the Committee would recommend the establishment of a Jewish State either immediately or after a few years in the whole of Palestine.

2. On the other hand there were many who were prepared to admit that the Committee - if not unanimously, at any rate, part of it - would recommend the partition of Palestine. The Arab portion would be joined to Transjordan. The Jewish portion would be proclaimed a Jewish State or transferred to a trusteeship regime. In either of these events, immigration would be permitted into the Jewish area. There was no information as to the boundaries.

3. There were some who said that it is impossible that the Committee will recommend any final solution to the Palestine problem. Some of these said that the Committee would recommend four things:

- (a) The immigration of 100,000 Jews immediately;
- (b) Subsequent immigration at the rate of 1,500 to 2,000 per month;
- (c) Some amendment to the land law;
- (d) Cancellation of the Mandate and the placing of the country under a trusteeship regime.

Others said the same thing with two alterations:

- (a) Instead of 100,000 - 50,000 i.e. those Jews who are now in the American Zone of Occupation;
- (b) The placing of the country under a trusteeship regime giving autonomy to Jews and Arabs in many places. This would require the widening of the powers of the Jewish Agency and the creation of an Arab Agency with equivalently wide powers. This would be coupled with a recommendation to Britain and America, or to the United Nations, to review the position after five or ten years.

4. I heard the following suggestions as to possible Arab reactions:

(a) Opposition to the establishment of a Jewish State, whether immediately or after a number of years in the whole of Palestine will be strong and general among the Arabs of Palestine and in neighbouring countries and would find immediate expression in protests and demonstrations in every Arab State and in serious outbreaks in Palestine.

(b) Opposition to the second assumption, namely partition, would not be strong or general either in Palestine or in the neighbouring countries, particularly if Britain and America supported it and carried it out at once, that is to say, within two or three months. The following reasons were given to me for this.

- (1) The Arabs of Palestine will not manifest general and strong opposition because a not inconsiderable number of them is anxious for stability and is agreeable to union with Transjordan under the Emir Abdullah.



- (2) There would be no opposition, strong or weak, either in Transjordan or in Iraq, to such a solution which would extend the boundaries of Transjordan, strengthen the standing of the Hashimite family and make possible the unification of Iraq and Transjordan, provided sooner or later access to the Mediterranean becomes available by way of a corridor through the Jewish part. At all events, if the Arabs of Palestine should decide to oppose with violence, they would have no support either in money or men from Transjordan or Iraq.
- (3) In Egypt and Syria, opposition to partition would be noticeably weak, particularly if the decision should be implemented at once. In Egypt - because she is on the threshold of negotiations with Britain and is unwilling to become involved in a controversy with her or that the negotiations should end in failure because of Palestine, particularly if it should be made quite clear to her that the Jewish part of Palestine is essential to Britain as a concentration area after her forces have evacuated the Valley of the Nile. In Syria - for fear of internal revolt and of demands by the supporters of the Hashimites, whose number is daily increasing, and of demands for a union of the whole of Syria, Transjordan and the Arab portion of Palestine to create "greater Syria". Demands such as these are possible even now since the steady influence of France is no longer felt in the Levant, since Hashimite propaganda in Syria is having effect and since the supporters of the present Government - "the National Bloc" have lost much of their influence.
- (4) Opposition in the Lebanon will not be general. On the whole it will be restricted to the Moslems. Even there it will not be too strong: (a) if they do not find the necessary support and solidarity from other Arab States: (b) if they are promised by the Hashimites, the British and the Americans that their independence, existing order and frontiers will not be infringed. A no inconsiderable proportion of the Maronites headed by their religious leaders not only will not oppose but will actually be encouraged to support partition hoping in this way indirectly to preserve their own interests.
- (5) Sa'udia is the only Arab State which will oppose not only partition but any solution whatsoever which would give to the Jews in Palestine any rights whatsoever, but her opposition however strong and serious will not be of much value or of much influence if Sa'udia stands alone. Firstly - she has no common frontier with Palestine: secondly - she has no surplus funds to transfer to those organising violence in Palestine: and thirdly - her attitude whether positive or negative depends very much on any explanations which she may receive from the British and American representatives there.
- (6) The attitude of Yemen is entirely unimportant.

(c) Opposition to the third theory (see paragraph 3 above) - whether in its original or in its revised form, will be as opposition to the second on one condition: that Britain and America implement the matter at once. If not, every sign of doubt and delay is likely to give rise to general strong and organised opposition and to drive the Hashimites, particularly those in Iraq, to take the initiative into their own hands. The Hashimites will do this not out of any goodwill to the Arabs or opposition to us but out of disappointment at lack of opportunity to carry out the programme they have so long aimed at, namely, the creation of a great Hashimite kingdom without which they will continue to be third in the trio of Arab States, Egypt, Sa'udia and the Hashimites. In this event the Hashimite slogan will be "If Palestine dies, I die too".

5. These are the theories and explanations which I heard from a number of people in Cairo. I also learned other matters of which the following is an abstract:



I. The British Foreign Minister Bevin wants to try and solve finally during the next four or five months all the questions of the Arab East including that of Palestine for two reasons. (a) In order to achieve stability in the Near East as soon as possible, to secure British Imperial interests in that part of the world and to bolt the door once and for all to Russian propaganda: (b) In order to succeed in placing before the United Nations Organisation at its sitting due in September or October, all these solutions for its information and assent. Those who hold this view bring the following in proof:

1. The evacuation of all Foreign troops from the Levant.
2. The recent treaty with Transjordan.
3. The negotiations with Egypt for a revision of the 1936 treaty.
4. The willingness of Great Britain to initiate negotiations immediately with Iraq for a revision of the 1930 treaty.
5. The persistent rumours of Britain's willingness to partition the Sudan and to retain her grip only on the southern portion which lies on the Red Sea, a portion of which holds no interest for the Egyptians or the Moslems of the Sudan and is only of strategic importance to Britain.

In consideration of these facts and in view of the complicated international situation, those I saw guessed that Bevin would be prepared for any "operation" in Palestine, in particular if he should receive from the Inquiry Committee a unanimous report and if America would promise her support. These people continue that it is almost certain that when Bevin comes to Egypt to conclude the negotiations, he will try and win Egyptian consent either by pressure or by the argument that this solution is essential so that he can satisfy Egyptian demands however far-reaching.

II. At one of the recent Sessions of the Arab League now meeting in Cairo, Jamal el Hussein demanded that the League should decide now on its reaction to the conclusions of the Inquiry Committee. When asked the reason for the urgency and how he knew that these conclusions would be to the disadvantage of the Arabs he explained that there was no reason at all to suppose that the conclusions would be to the good of the Arabs. Whatever they might be, they would not support the White Paper. This fact alone is sufficient to urge the League to decide on its reactions at this early date, but Jamal did not get what he wanted and he was told "one trouble a day is enough". From this we can learn that the majority of Arab States are not willing, for reasons of their own, to become involved with England or to provoke tension in the Middle East at this time.

III. Dr. Hussein Khaldi, who is now in Egypt in connection with the split in the Arab High Committee, told an Egyptian journalist the following: 1) The Arabs received the White Paper through the riots of 1936-1939: 2) The Jews seized on this and commenced activities against the British hoping in this way to get what they wanted; 3) If the Arabs do not start violent action at once the Jews are likely to upset the White Paper and to receive many concessions: large scale immigration, a Jewish State in part of Palestine, and so on.

IV. The Arabs of Palestine themselves without external support, whether from the Arabs or from others, cannot undertake prolonged violence which will suppress the Jews and have sufficient influence in the wider world.

V. He, Dr. Khaldi, explained all this to leading Egyptian statesmen, to the representatives of the Arab States in Egypt and to the members of the Arab League but to his dismay he found no response. The Egyptians are busy with their own negotiations with Britain and are not interested in any riots in any neighbouring country. The Iraqis and Transjordanians believe that their own good compels them to make things as easy as they can for Britain at the present time. The Syrians are divided amongst themselves and those in power are afraid that riots in Palestine would disturb public security in Syria and would bring about a fundamental alteration in their situation. The Lebanese cannot bring any assistance whatsoever except to turn their country into a refuge for the Arab fighters, that is to say, terrorists. Sa'udia's bark is worse than her bite. Willy-nilly Dr. Khaldi turned to the "Moslem Brotherhood" and the Fascist organisation "Young Egypt". It is



true that these promised him their help but he is certain that the Egyptian Government will take good care that this help does not reach Palestine and will co-operate with the British in this connection. The present head of the Egyptian Government Ismail Sidky and the Royal Cabinet will do everything to bring the negotiations with Great Britain to a successful conclusion. If not they will suffer a severe blow which will strengthen the Wafd and bring it to power and increase the force of the Communists who are now burrowing in various ways under the monarchy and indirectly supporting the Wafd.

If Dr. Khaldi's explanation is correct, we can conclude that the present time is, in the opinion of both Arabs and Jews, ripe for Britain if she so desires quickly to solve the problem of Palestine to the advantage of the Jews.

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May 7, 1946

Mr. Frank W. Buxton  
The Boston Herald  
Boston, Mass.

My dear Frank:

Just a few words to say how warmly we (I and my friends here) appreciated your forthright remarks on Attlee's statement. If the British Cabinet had intended all along to make the immigration into Palestine of the 100,000, dependent upon the fulfillment of an impossible condition, they might have saved your time and that of the other members of the Committee by making that fact clear from the beginning. Presumably, however, Bevin and those who thought with him in the British Cabinet, had agreed to the appointment of the Joint Committee in the firm belief that no such recommendation would be forthcoming.

It rather looks as if the British Chairman of the Committee, who I gather remained recalcitrant to the end, got his blow in first with regard to the liquidation of the Haganah, when he saw his people in London. I am wondering how your chairman feels about all this. It seems hard to believe that after all the " Sturm und Drang " of the proceedings in Lausanne he should now be content to sit back with folded hands and feel under no compulsion to express himself with regard to this attempt to side-track the Committee's recommendations. Don't you think, to use a word made famous by Churchill, that this is an occasion for a little "prod"? If so, there is no one better qualified (if I may so venture) than yourself to do the prodding.

I am afraid my "few words" have grown to sizeable dimensions. Please do not consider yourself under any obligation to write back. I can imagine that your time is very fully occupied since your return.

Warm regards.

Sincerely yours,

AL:EB

Arthur Lourie



MEMORANDUM

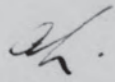
To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
Dr. Stephen S. Wise

Date May 7, 1946

From Arthur Lourie

Mrs. Yarden has sent me a copy of a letter which she received from one of the South American diplomats who attended the U.N.O. Conference in London last March. I append, in case you have not seen it, the following extract which has grave implications for us.

"Since the San Francisco Conference, the Arab States have come to an understanding with the Latin American Republics 'for the purpose of defending the rights of the small states.' Since then, there has been a complete coordination between the Arab and the Latin American votes for elections, important resolutions, etc. Together they cast a total of some 24 to 25 votes, a rather very important figure in a set of 51 votes. In the first part of the first meeting of the General Assembly, we saw that with this combination of forces it was possible for Latin American countries and Arab States to secure seats in the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and in the International Court of Justice."



AL:EB



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

## MEMORANDUM

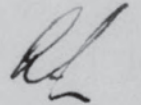
To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date May 29, 1946

From Arthur Lourie

At my request Dr. Robinson prepared a few notes on the legal aspects ~~for~~<sup>of</sup> submission of the Palestine issue to the Security Council. I attach a copy and should, of course, be glad to have your comments.

AL:NK  
Encl.





Dr Silver

June 3, 1946

Mr. David E. Niles  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Niles:

At the request of Dr. Wise, I am enclosing for your information the copy of a telegram sent today by him, Dr. Silver and Mr. Monsky, with reference to the proposed appointment with the President.

Yours sincerely,

AL:MF  
Encl.

Arthur Lourie  
Political Secretary



*Dr Silver*

DAY LETTER

JUNE 3, 1946

THE PRESIDENT  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON DC

WE WERE GLAD TO LEARN FROM A LETTER DATED MAY SIXTEENTH FROM MR DAVID K HILES,  
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT, THAT WITH REFERENCE TO OUR TELEGRAM  
TO YOU OF MAY SIXTH YOU HAD INDICATED THAT YOU WOULD BE PLEASED TO ARRANGE FOR  
A CONFERENCE WITH US IN THE NEAR FUTURE AT A TIME MUTUALLY CONVENIENT. THE  
MATTERS WHICH WE WISH TO PLACE BEFORE YOU ARE URGENT IN CHARACTER AND WE WOULD  
DEEPLY APPRECIATE YOUR APPOINTING A DEFINITE TIME FOR THIS CONFERENCE.

ANBA HILLM SILVER      STEPHEN S WISE  
JOINT CHAIRMAN, AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

HENRY MONSKY  
CHAIRMAN, INTERIM COMMITTEE, AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

SWM:LNK



MEMORANDUM

To

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date June 4, 1946

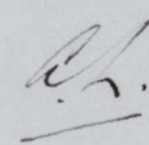
From

Arthur Lourie

I had a long talk yesterday with Frank Buxton. At Mr. Tuvim's request I invited him to speak at the Madison Square Garden meeting. He is, apparently, feeling much better, but is not yet able to undertake an engagement of this kind.

He mentioned to me, however, that reports had reached him of the possible appointment of Wadsworth as American Minister responsible for supervision on the spot, of American policy throughout the Middle East, a possibility which he regarded with great concern. I believe that this matter was mentioned to FF, but I do not know with what result.

AL:Nf





# *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

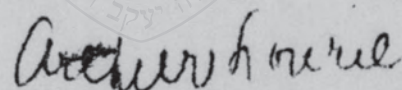
342 MADISON AVENUE  
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.  
M U r r a y   H i l l   2 - 1 1 6 0

June 14, 1946

To the Members of the American Zionist Emergency Council:

Enclosed are the Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive  
Committee, of June 7, 1946.

Yours sincerely,

  
Arthur Lourie

AL:Nf  
Enc.



MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date June 17, 1946

From Arthur Lourie

1. I enclose herewith a copy of the Minutes on file of Dr. Goldmann's statement to the Executive Committee, of June 7.
2. I note, and shall bear in mind for future action, what you say with regard to the copy of the telegram to the President sent to Mr. Niles at Dr. Wise's request.
3. With reference to the letter to the President regarding financial assistance for the transfer and settlement of the 100,000, I am informed that the Washington office of the Jewish Agency had already delivered the letter incorporating your suggestions on Friday morning. I am sorry that it was therefore no longer possible to arrange for a more comprehensive document to be sent in its stead. I have not seen a copy of the final version, but I understand that one was forwarded to you direct.



*A.L.*

AL:NK  
Encl.



MEMORANDUM

CONFIDENTIAL

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

From Arthur Lourie

Date June 18, 1946

Re the appointees to President's Committee on Palestine, I have received the following information and pass it on for what it is worth:

Goldthwait Dorr is an elderly New York lawyer who has been active in anti-trust cases and is regarded as pro-labor. He is not familiar with the Palestine problem. I was told that during the fight on the Roosevelt proposal for the enlargement of the Supreme Court, at a meeting of the New York Bar Association, a prominent Jewish attorney supported the unpopular point of view in favor of the Roosevelt proposal. Dorr remarked to him that he was surprised at his advocacy as it was not the sort of thing that could do the Jews any good!

Grady was described to me as "second string."

Cramer, who has been sent over to England with Evan Wilson, held a responsible position in the army set-up in connection with displaced persons, and, I am informed, is an able man who had sought to do a good job. The Harrison report, however, embittered him a good deal as he was the unconscious target of some of Harrison's criticisms. He came to look upon the Jews as "an ungrateful people for whom nothing you could do would make any difference." On the other hand, it was suggested to me that following a period of "recuperation" he may be ready again to be helpful.

Ed Foley, "if that is the Foley from the Treasury," is an able man with whom Oscar Cox, Morgenthau and various others should have good contacts.

AL:Nf

AL.



MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date June 18, 1946

From Arthur Lourie

1. You will recall that at the last meeting of the Executive Committee a suggestion was made that a Statement or Declaration should be issued by the Council with regard to the Mufti. Do you think the idea is worth following through, and if so, have you any suggestions with regard to the attached text?

2. The Sub-Committee has been working on a new memorandum to the Secretary of State, urging the Mufti's trial as a war criminal. I expect to have this out before the end of the week.

*a.l.*

AL:NE





June 18, 1946

During the war six millions of the Jews of Europe were slaughtered by the Nazis. The civilized world looked on in horror, but held itself powerless to act until victory was won. Co-responsible with Himmler, with Eichmann and with others for this mass murder was the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem. The British and French Governments have for some time past known that he played a part in this monstrous outrage. Nevertheless upon his capture, instead of being placed in the dock at Nuremburg, the Mufti was kept with "all consideration due to his ecclesiastical office" under supervision near Versailles. For his "escape" and arrival in the Middle East these Governments bear joint responsibility. The issue before the Jewish people is clear. If the Mufti is allowed to remain at large, then they will know that so far as Britain is concerned, and it is Britain alone which has the ultimate military authority in the Middle East today, Jews may be slaughtered with impunity.

It was the Mufti who was responsible for the wholesale murders of Jews in Palestine in 1920, in 1929 and again in 1936-1939. It was he who promoted the massacres in Baghdad in 1941 which set the pattern for the more recent pogroms in Egypt and in Tripoli; and it was he, finally, who found his spiritual home in Berlin where he played his part in providing victims for the human abattoirs at Tremblinka, at Maidanek and at Auschwitz. The war ended too soon for him and his Nazi masters to complete their diabolical work of annihilation. A million and a half Jews still remain alive in Europe.

In 1944 the Mufti, broadcast to the Arab world to "Kill the Jews wherever you find them. This pleases God, history and religion. This saves your honor. God is with you." The presence of the Mufti today in the Middle East is not merely a provocation. It is a sign to all the world that to Britain Jewish blood and Jewish agony count for nothing. The Mufti has one immediate objective - to prevent the saving of the distracted remnants of the Jewish people of Europe, a hundred thousand of whom, in accordance with the recommendation of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry and of our own President, should in the coming few months find haven in Palestine. The British Government denies responsibility for his arrival there. Let that Government



then show its good faith. First, let it join with our own Government at once in transferring to Palestine the survivors of the holocaust. Secondly, let it demand the arrest and extradition of the Mufti. And thirdly, let it place him on trial for the inhuman outrages for which he shares responsibility, as well as for his other activities as a war criminal.

These are the minimal requirements of decency and good faith. The return of the Mufti to active leadership, and the ill-concealed anti-Semitism of Foreign Secretary Bevin, are signs which no Jew anywhere in the world can afford to ignore. And for the Jews in Palestine and throughout the Arab countries of the Middle East they are literally matters of life and death.

There can be no more cunningly devised evasions and delays. The Jewish people demands to know and is entitled to know Britain's answer. It is ready to draw its own conclusions however bitter those conclusions may be. But the issue is now inescapable.



# *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.  
Murray Hill 2-1160

June 25, 1946

To the Members of the American Zionist Emergency Council:

Enclosed are the Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive  
Committee, of June 11, 1946.

AL: NF  
Enc.

Yours sincerely,

*Arthur Lourie*  
Arthur Lourie





Arthur Lourie  
on Hellette

see

WRHS

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

Isaac Hellette