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American Zionist Emergency Council, Akzin, Benjamin, 1948-  
1949.

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# AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

## *Constituent Organizations*

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

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

September 13, 1948

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

Dear Dr. Silver:

It occurs to me that with the return of more Zionist leaders from Palestine, you will probably want to assemble in the very near future your colleagues on the American Section of the Jewish Agency Executive on the one hand, and the Emergency Council on the other. The participants at these meetings will look to you for specific suggestions regarding the reorganization of both bodies in line with the new situation. In this connection, I should like to submit to you some of my thoughts on this subject.

### 1. Organization of the Agency Executive

While greater efficiency would presumably be achieved by keeping the members of the Agency Executive as a supreme deliberative body, with all executive functions entrusted to a professional staff guided by the Chairman, a number of your colleagues on the Agency Executive will probably prefer to retain the Jerusalem pattern of having the Agency Executive function as a cabinet, with each member of the Executive in charge of one department. This system results in greater diffusion of authority and does not lend itself very well to a streamlined job of coordination of efforts. Nevertheless, you may have to consider this pattern in view of the probable preference of your colleagues for it. Should this be the case, it might be necessary for you to come to the meeting with a ready proposal regarding the distribution of portfolios among the members of the Executive.

### 2. Departments of the Agency

In addition to one or more departments which would deal with economic questions (regarding which I have no suggestions to make in view of my lack of familiarity with the subject), the American Section of the Agency would have to embrace the following principal functions: organization in North America or in the whole of the Western Hemisphere; propaganda of Zionist ideas and information on Zionism and Israel for the Jewish press and the Jewish populations of the Western Hemisphere; press and information services to enlighten non-Jewish public opinion



in the Western Hemisphere regarding Zionism and Israel; guidance of the local Zionist federations in individual countries of the Western Hemisphere in their efforts to encourage their respective governments to display a favorable attitude toward Israel (this would correspond to what was known in pre-Israel days as "political" activities); liaison work with friendly non-Jewish organizations, such as the ACPC, the AAUN and others, all over the Western Hemisphere; youth and Aliyah work in the Western Hemisphere.

Some of these functions could be grouped together into one department. I would advise, however, against fusing too many of these activities in one sprawling department of press and propaganda. Enlightenment activities among Jews whom we seek to make loyal adherents of the Zionist movement and among non-Jews from whom we expect understanding and moral support, demand different techniques and approaches. These two main branches of activity should certainly be kept apart. Moreover, attention would have to be given to the need of staffing the various departments with people who have a knowledge and understanding of the Latin American as well as of the North American scene.

It is possible that the next Zionist Congress will result in some further structural changes. Moreover, adjustments may recommend themselves after the first few months of trial and error of the new set-up. In order to avoid the creation of too unwieldy and large an apparatus which it may be difficult to change later on, I would recommend that the initial staff of the American Section be held within rather narrow bounds. It should be headed by an executive director in the American fashion or by a secretary general after the Old World pattern. It would be best not to appoint more than 5-6 higher staff members in charge of various activities (not counting those who would be connected with the economic departments). You will know whether it will be possible to make these appointments on the basis of merit only, or whether the party key system will have to be taken into consideration.

An important problem for the American Section of the Executive will be to establish at once its authority with the Zionist groups outside the United States. Otherwise, those groups will continue to look to Jerusalem and/or Tel Aviv exclusively, by-passing in practice the American Section. I would recommend, therefore, that one or several members of the American Section or, if this proves impossible, a few staff members especially appointed for this purpose (the appointment need not be a permanent one) arrange visits to all countries of the Western Hemisphere in which there exists a Zionist movement.

### 3. Political Relations between the American Section and Individual Governments

To some extent, the American Section may have to continue maintaining direct relations with the governments of the Western Hemisphere. In the smaller countries, each time a high functionary of the Executive is present for a visit, an opportunity would be given for formal and



social contacts with the heads of the local government. On the whole, however, political relations of this nature will pass on the international level to the diplomatic representatives of Israel, and on the internal level to the representatives of the local Zionist movements. The American Section of the Agency, as suggested before, should guide the latter activity, but it will have to be a discreet guidance undertaken from the background.

As far as the American Government is concerned, I believe that the American Section of the Executive will be in a position to develop important relations with Washington in connection with the economic activities for Israel which will be directed by the Agency. The representation of the Agency in Washington may have to be informal rather than ~~formal~~, ~~one~~, but in setting up the economic departments, attention should be given to the need to have there a few people qualified to maintain relations with American governmental authorities.

#### 4. The American Set-Up

The coordination of Zionist efforts in the United States, as practiced hitherto in the AZEC, has fully proven itself. It is essential that Zionism in the United States maintain a single representative body active in the field of public relations. It is equally essential that the organizational set-up of American Zionism, maintained in many other countries by countrywide Zionist federations, be placed on a permanent basis in this country as well. I suggest that one body be created which would unite the essential functions of the AZEC with those of the central Shekel and Election Commission in this country. The "emergency" must, of course, disappear from the title, and the new body could be called either AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL -- to indicate its continuity with the AZEC -- or AMERICAN ZIONIST FEDERATION -- in line with the accepted terminology in other countries. This body could organize the shekel and election campaign for the next Zionist Congress, carry out a program of public information and propaganda under the guidance of the Agency Executive, act as a liaison body and to some extent controlling body of the Funds in this country (unless the ZOA is able to maintain its own predominance in this respect), and function as channel for whatever representations American Zionists find it necessary to address to the U.S. Government.

In line with this character, the "Council" or "Federation" would have to organize, in addition to the departments now existing in the AZEC, an organization department. A Washington representative would have to remain part of the set-up.

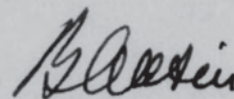
While it would be natural for you to draw on the personnel of the AZEC in planning the organization of the American Section of the Agency, it would hardly be feasible, on the staff level, to keep the same set of people working in both institutions for any length of time. It might be advisable, therefore, to decide at an early date whom of the present top personnel of the AZEC you would like to take over into the Agency set-up and whom you would like to keep in charge of the American scene.



September 13, 1948

I take it for granted that, because of the continuing importance of America in the picture, you would continue to head the "Federation", as well as the American Section of the Agency. In view of the need for the "Federation" to be prepared to undertake again nationwide political campaigns directed at the Government, I would suggest that the administrative head of the "Federation" be a man fully acquainted with this type of activities. If, therefore, you think in terms of taking over Mr. Shapiro as executive director or secretary general of the Agency, it would be best to keep Mr. Tuvim as executive director of the "Federation".

Sincerely yours,



Benjamin Akzin

BA:AF





MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date September 15, 1948

From Benjamin Akzin

Some time ago there appeared a despatch in the press announcing that Senator Vandenberg was preparing a major speech on foreign policy. I thereupon asked Mr. Slomovitz to approach the Senator, both in person and by letter, to ask him to include in that speech an exposition of the Republican policy on Palestine. Following is Vandenberg's reply to Mr. Slomovitz:

"My proposed foreign policy address is still a matter of speculation. I do not know whether it will 'happen' or not. If it does, however, I doubt whether it will be possible to go into specific details pursuant to your suggestion. But I shall not forget your request if, as and when the matter subsequently comes to a head."

Ba.

BA:AF



# AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

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## *Constituent Organizations*

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

WASHINGTON BUREAU  
1200 EIGHTEENTH STREET, N. W.  
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.  
EXECUTIVE 1060

September 29, 1948

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

Dear Dr. Silver:

Together with my best wishes to Mrs. Silver and to you for a Happy New Year, permit me to suggest an idea in connection with Governor Dewey's continuing silence on the subject of Palestine. I am writing this in case the Governor's announced speech on foreign policy tomorrow will still contain nothing satisfactory on our problem.

I understand from Harry Shapiro that, on the Governor's suggestion, you have been in touch concerning this matter with Mr. Straus. I don't know what stands in the way of a suitable pronouncement by Dewey, but I would guess that it is the impression which has suddenly gained a tremendous lot of ground both in Democratic and Republican circles that "any pro-Jewish pronouncement on the question of Palestine, while it would attract Jewish votes, would alienate a large number of non-Jewish votes."

This idea might have some basis if the pronouncements on Palestine would continue to be as crudely worded and as obviously intended for political purposes as has been the case in the past. I believe, however, that it is mainly a matter of wording and timing. If a paragraph on Palestine, instead of being put in a special statement issued to the Jews, were put in the right context with a discussion with the rest of American foreign policy and worded accordingly, I am certain that it would not ruffle the feelings of anyone in the country, however little he or she may like the Jews.

With this in mind, I would suggest that Governor Dewey put his thoughts on Palestine in approximately the following manner:

There is another question of foreign policy which the present Administration has handled in a most unsatisfactory manner. I refer to the question of Palestine. After the United Nations have recommended the partition of Palestine into a Jewish and an Arab State -- in my opinion, a most wise compromise recommendation -- the course of the United States should have been obvious. We should have supported this Resolution of the United Nations. The support should



not have involved any sending of troops, nor any economic sanctions. But we should have made clear that the United Nations Assembly having spoken, ~~we~~ <sup>we</sup> considered the matter settled. We should not have lent aid to efforts to raise the question once more, to exchange partition for trusteeship, to gerrymander the proposed boundaries, or anything of the kind.

on Palestine

Unfortunately, the Administration did not keep to this steady course. It found just as difficult to keep a steady course as it found difficult to keep a steady course on Germany, or on China, or on Latin America, or on a number of other questions. It contributed to the instability of the Middle East by suggesting last spring that the partition scheme be dropped in favor of something else, and it further contributed to the instability of the Middle East just a few days ago by prematurely endorsing the territorial proposals of Count Bernadotte without asking itself whether these proposals are justified in themselves or whether they constitute a new attempt to deviate from the recommendation made previously by the United Nations Assembly.

In the matter of Palestine, as in a number of other matters, American policy will need more steadiness and more careful thought. The United States has not given its support to the establishment of a Jewish State in part of Palestine uniquely or primarily because we like the Jews, even though our sympathy with the homeless Jewish refugees and with the attempt of the Jews of Palestine to gain an independent status was an important consideration. American support to the idea of a Jewish State was primarily predicated on two thoughts: first, the thought that every people, large or small, is entitled to national independence. We stand for the independence of the Arabs, of the Czechs, of the Balts, and it is only fair that we should acknowledge the right of the ancient Jewish people to independent existence as well. Second, comes the thought that the existence in the old world of a large number of Jews displaced or, at any rate discriminated against, poses a grave international problem. While hoping to alleviate this question by taking our full share of immigrants, and while hoping that other countries as well will prove generous in admitting refugees and displaced persons from abroad, it must have been clear that the simplest solution, as far as Jewish D.P's. are concerned, was to open to them the gates of their own Jewish State. To make this possible, the Jewish State should have sufficient territory to absorb those immigrants.



September 29, 1948

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

In drawing the boundaries the United Nations Assembly has wisely taken this aspect into consideration. Any attempt to reduce the territory of the Jewish State beyond the minimum established by the United Nations Assembly is neither respectful to the Assembly nor wise. I do hope that the present Administration has not yet committed itself to such a reduction of the territory of Israel. If it has, this is one more proof that the Administration needs changing.

Please bear in mind that in drafting the above, I did not write a Zionist statement. I wrote the draft in the way in which I wrote a great many documents while in Federal service: with an eye to the general exigencies of the American scene.

I hope that the above may come in usefully in your discussions with Mr. Straus.

Sincerely yours,



*Baer*

Benjamin Akzin



BA/mp



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Zionist Organization of America

WASHINGTON BUREAU  
1200 EIGHTEENTH STREET, N. W.  
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.  
EXECUTIVE 1060

September 30, 1948

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

Dear Dr. Silver:

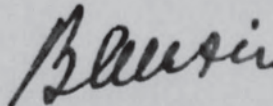
Enclosed please find copy of the reply received by Eliahu from Tel Aviv regarding the emigration of D.P's. of military age from the American zone.

As you will see from the text, Tel Aviv does not give any definite advice. It is clear from the cable that they do not deem the issue to be very important in practice. They are not going to raise the issue themselves, though they do not raise any objections to our continuing our intervention.

Eliahu, who gave me this cable, doubts the advisability of our further pursuing the matter with Mr. Saltzman as suggested by Mr. Fahy. I, too, believe that as long as we have more important matters to discuss with the Administration, it is no use taking up this matter. In addition, Phil Levy, Mr. Fahy's partner, tells me that from a private conversation which he had with one of the persons involved, it appears to him that the likelihood of the Department abrogating their ban on emigration of D.P's. of military age is far smaller than we thought in the beginning.

Please let me know your decision in this matter.

Sincerely yours,



Benjamin Akzin

BA/mp  
Encl.



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TEL AVIV September 22, 1948

The Mediator's staff never issued any instruction to stop immigration. In the American zone we refused to comply with the requirement to submit a list of emigres as a matter of principle. In the meantime Jews are leaving without hindrance, they are presumed to be of non-military age. Tel-Aviv is not going to raise the problem as long as no practical difficulties are encountered but regards it as most desirable to have the formal limitation removed.



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

## MEMORANDUM

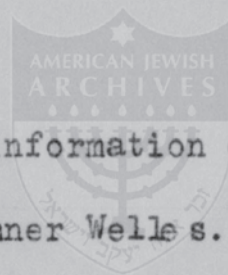
**To** Dr. Silver

**Date** October 6, 1948

**From** B. Akzin

I am enclosing for your information copies of my  
recent correspondence with Sumner Wells.

WRHS





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September 21, 1948

Hon. Sumner Welles  
Oxon Hill Manor  
Oxon Hill, Maryland

Dear Mr. Welles:

I have come to Washington for a few days in the interest of the Zionist Emergency Council and would greatly appreciate an opportunity of meeting with you in the course of my stay here.

If you could have your secretary call this office to let me know when I can come to see you, any time between today and Friday evening, I would be most grateful. If this cannot be done in the course of this week, I will again be here for a few days next week, but the sooner I can see you the better, for in these difficult days, we need your guidance and advice very much.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin

BA:ME



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SUMNER WELLES

Bar Harbor, Maine

September 27, 1948

My dear Dr. Akzin:

Since I am still in Bar Harbor, your letter of September 21 had to be forwarded to me and has consequently only now reached me.

I shall, of course, be most happy to have the opportunity of talking with you once more, but since my wife, unfortunately, has not recently been very well my return to Oxen Hill has had to be postponed and I am not now certain whether we can get back much before October 10. My secretary will be glad to notify your Washington office, however, as soon as I get home, and should you then be in Washington we can arrange for an appointment at your early convenience.

With my kind personal regards, believe me,

Yours very sincerely,

(signed) Sumner Welles

Dr. Benjamin Akzin,  
American Zionist Emergency Council,  
1200 18th Street, N.W.,  
Washington, D.C.



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WASHINGTON BUREAU  
1200 EIGHTEENTH STREET, N. W.  
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.  
EXECUTIVE 1060

October 15, 1948

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

Dear Dr. Silver:

I enclose for your perusal a draft of a letter to be sent over your signature to the Secretary of State, dealing with the continuing refusal of the Department of State to grant passports to people intending to visit Palestine. Of late, the Department has been somewhat more liberal in individual cases, but the general policy is still very restrictive, and we all feel that a frontal attack should be made at this time on the very principle involved.

The letter has been worked out by Mr. Fahy, Mr. Levy, and myself. I showed it to Eliahu Epstein who also liked it. If you approve of the letter we will send it off on Wednesday when you are in New York.

The letter itself is to be merely the basic document. Simultaneously with the letter, as I visualize it, we will ask a few friendly Senators, preferably from States residents of which have applied for passports and have been refused, to telephone or write to the Department. The people I have in mind are Ives, Kilgore, Bridges, Tobey, Taft, Myers, Martin of Pennsylvania, Smith and Javits. A few days later, Fahy or Levy will have a personal talk with members of the Department. I think that this concerted onslaught ought to yield some results at least.

If you would kindly send me a line to the New York Office indicating your approval of the text and the entire plan, so that I would find it on my desk on Wednesday morning, we would immediately start working on it.

Sincerely yours,

*Benjamin Akzin*

Benjamin Akzin.



The Honorable  
The Secretary of State  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Secretary:

Permit me to draw your attention to a recent practice of the Department of State which, I respectfully submit, calls for re-consideration.

For some time past, the Department has been delaying or refusing the issuance of passports to American citizens desirous of traveling to the State of Israel. It is understood that at first such refusal was limited to applicants of military age and was explained on the ground that the travel of persons of military age to Palestine would allegedly contravene the Palestine truce resolutions adopted by the United Nations. More recently, passports are being refused to American citizens of all ages on the ground of "disturbed conditions" in the Middle East. Only in very few cases have passports been issued to persons desiring to proceed to Israel, and this only when compelling reasons, in the judgment of the Passport Division, were presented to justify a visit to Israel at this time.

This practice has been deeply disappointing to all of us interested in promoting sympathetic and mutually advantageous relations between the United States and Israel. Many rejected applicants have asked us to intercede in their behalf; and others, anxious to visit Israel but despairing of obtaining a passport under the prevailing practice, have requested us to take up the matter with you prior to their filing applications. In view of the public importance of the issue, I am presenting herewith this plea for speedy reconsideration



of the practice referred to.

The explanation formerly given in refusing passports to persons of military age to travel to Israel, allegedly based on the need to conform to the Security Council truce resolutions, is wholly without substance. It is a matter of record that the draft resolution originally submitted by the British delegation to the Security Council, envisaging restrictions upon the entry of persons of military age into Israel during the truce in Palestine, failed of adoption in that form. The Resolution adopted by the Security Council on May 29, 1948 does not bar "men of military age" from entering Palestine; it merely provides that should they enter various Middle Eastern countries, including Palestine, the authorities there "undertake not to mobilize or submit them to military training during the cease-fire". This clearly contemplates that men of military age could and would go to Palestine. This interpretation is underscored by the statement of the representative of France who proposed the language finally adopted, that the purpose "is to prevent the introduction into these various territories of fighting personnel, but not of men of military age ... It aims at preventing combatants from entering these various territories, but to allow men of military age to go into these territories, on the condition, however, that at least during the Truce they are not mobilized and that they do not receive any military training". This language contrasts sharply with the Resolution as originally introduced, which would have precluded men of military age from entering Palestine. It should be noted that the United States delegate in the Security Council advocated and supported the amendment



of the representative of France which was incorporated in the text of the Resolution as finally adopted. On its part, Israel has long since agreed and undertaken not to mobilize or train immigrants of military age.

This situation was changed in no respect by the Resolution of the Security Council of July 15, 1948, which called upon all governments and authorities concerned to cooperate with the Mediator, "in conformity with the Resolution adopted by the Security Council on 29 May 1948" and provided that "the truce shall remain in force, in accordance with the present Resolution and with that of 29th May 1948 ...". Such request obviously cannot be interpreted as authorizing or encouraging the member governments to place greater restrictions upon the travel between their countries and Israel than was explicitly provided for in the Resolution of May 29. To that extent therefore, any additional restrictions placed by the Department of State on such travel, and notably its refusal to issue passports to travelers of military age, cannot be considered as action taken at the request of the United Nations, but must be regarded as action voluntarily taken by the United States on its own initiative.

It is most difficult to understand why the Department of State should place this restriction on the travel of American citizens to Palestine over and beyond the requirements specified by the Security Council Resolutions, particularly in view of repeated pronouncements by the Department that the United States would not act unilaterally on matters covered by United Nations resolutions relating to Palestine but would strictly conform to United Nations' policies and procedures.



Wholly apart from the age of the applicants, passports have more recently been denied to all applicants desirous of going to Israel on the ground of "disturbed conditions" unless the reasons specified in their applications are regarded by the Passport Division as sufficiently weighty. Conditions in Israel certainly are no more "disturbed" than in countries such as China or Greece where American citizens are free to go as long as they have a legitimate reason for such travel. We respectfully take exception to what is in substance a form of surveillance over freedom of movement by American citizens between the United States and Israel, a country with which our government maintains friendly relations. The discretion vested in the Department to issue passports to American citizens for travel abroad has assuredly not been intended by Congress, and, I am certain, is not intended by you, Mr. Secretary, to carry with it authority to adjudge in each instance what does or does not constitute a sufficiently weighty or compelling reason for visiting a particular country or for attending to personal or business affairs in that country.

I pray most earnestly that upon consideration of the foregoing, you will establish the policy that American passports generally be not marked as invalid for Palestine; and that passports be issued to American citizens wishing to visit Israel on any legitimate business, in the same manner in which passports are issued to American citizens desirous of visiting other countries with which the United States maintains peaceful and friendly relations at the present time.

Respectfully yours,



# AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

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Poale Zion-Zerie Zion of America  
Zionist Organization of America

WASHINGTON BUREAU  
1200 EIGHTEENTH STREET, N. W.  
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.  
EXECUTIVE 1060

October 28, 1948

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

Dear Dr. Silver:

You will recall my correspondence with Mr. Sumner Welles prior to the publication of his most recent column on Palestine. We had to discuss the situation in writing, since Mr. Welles was out of town at the time. He wrote me though that he would let me know when he returns to Washington, and last week, indeed, he telephoned to suggest that I come to see him on Wednesday, the 27th of October.

Hy Schulson had informed us that Welles was scheduled to be in Paris November 5th and asked whether he would be available to address a banquet of the French Christian Committee for the Recognition of Israel. I took up the matter with Mr. Welles, but he said that he has decided to postpone his trip to Paris and other European capitals "to renew his contacts with old friends," until some time in January. He said that this postponement is due to his wife's illness, but, since Mrs. Welles is chronically ill, it is my impression that he did not want his visit to Europe to coincide with the UN session. By going later he would both avoid the impression of interfering with the activities of the United States delegation of the Assembly and would secure for himself more undivided attention.

At Mr. Welles' request, I gave him all the details of the McClintock episode and also everything else that we knew about the attitude of the White House, the Department of State, and the Republican leadership. Welles said that, though a Democrat, he did not see how he could vote for a man of Truman's ineptitude.

We discussed in detail the Republican stand on Palestine. Welles said that he had not seen Dulles for a long time, and hence did not know where Dulles stood on our question. As for Vandenberg, he discussed the Palestine matter with him twice, in December 1947 and in the Spring of 1948. The first time, Vandenberg expressed himself as being heartily in accord with the partition decision, which he seemed to accept as a fair solution. The second time, Vandenberg was indignant at the vacillations of American policy on Palestine, but he spoke as a man who was more concerned about the lowering of American prestige because of this vacillation than by any substantive injustice which may have resulted from our withdrawal from the partition plan. Without knowing more about the attitude of both men, Welles expressed the fear that both of them may regard Palestine as a matter of expediency rather than of principle.

I told Welles all that we knew about the stand taken by both of them, and he volunteered to see Vandenberg in the very near future, to discuss the Palestine

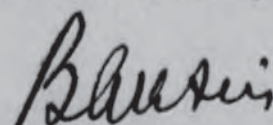


question with him, and to let me know of the results of their conversation. In this connection, he expressed his fears that continued American vacillation is gradually dissipating the tremendous pro-American sentiment which existed in Israel so that American policy, unless steadied on a pro-Israel course, might result not only in substantive justice but also in serious damage to the American position in the Middle East. He fully admitted that Israel has now been proven to be not only the best industrial base in the Middle East but also the most important concentration of potential military strength in the area. He intended to discuss the matter with Vandenberg along these lines. I said that we were very grateful to him for this intention because otherwise, treating the matter as one of pure expediency, Vandenberg and his friends may decide that until 1952 there is no reason to support Israel.

Welles expressed himself very clearly on the question whether we should seek to postpone the Palestine settlement by the UN Assembly until some time after January or whether we should seek it in the next few weeks. He forcefully counseled the latter course. He thought that immediately after November 2nd the Department of State and the American delegation in Paris will seek and accept guidance from Dewey or his representatives on every more or less important question. Dewey will be bound to stand by his most recent statement, especially since he will want to show the difference between the vacillations and inconsistencies of Truman and his own steadiness. If, on the other hand, we let matters drag too long, new factors may appear on the scene which would rob the October statement of Dewey of much of its force; in addition, he feared that a protracted truce would sooner or later begin to weaken Israel. I thanked him for his advice and told him that I would forward it to appropriate quarters.

In explaining why he refused to meet with Dulles, Welles threw some interesting light on his own plans for the future. He said that he wanted to avoid misunderstandings and particularly did not wish to appear anxious for anything. He added that since he was bound to Vandenberg by close personal friendship, the same consideration did not apply there. He said that "he had a most unfortunate experience after which he would not take any position which would make him subordinate to anyone except the President, unless he was certain to be able to work both with the President and the Secretary of State on terms of absolute confidence." Without saying it in so many words he gave me the impression that he neither expected nor wanted to obtain any position if Dulles were appointed Secretary of State; but that he would accept a position were Vandenberg to become Secretary. It was impossible for me to determine from his attitude whether he only hoped to get an offer from Vandenberg or whether he also had reasons to believe that he would get such an offer. Nor was anything said which would throw any light on the position which he might get. Logically speaking, only the following top jobs might be accepted by him: Under-secretary, Chief Delegate to the UN, Ambassador in London, or Ambassador in Moscow. His continued mention of his wife's illness which makes it difficult for him to travel, would seem to rule out an ambassadorship. Regarding the job of Chief Delegate to the UN, Welles said that he would not like to be in a position where he would have to execute rather than formulate policy. All this makes me think that Welles is thinking in terms of resuming his old position as Under-secretary of State. Whether Vandenberg thinks of it too, we cannot tell.

Sincerely yours,



Benjamin Akzin.



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To: Mr. Shapiro

November 3, 1948

From: Benjamin Akzin

Today I saw Father La Farge, the editor of the Jesuit monthly "America," the leading Catholic magazine in the country.

Father La Farge said that a great deal of the Catholic Church's information with regard to Palestine comes from Catholic missionaries in the Orient. Those coming from Egypt, North Africa and Iraq are generally friendly to the Arab cause, mainly because they themselves enjoy pleasant relations with the Arabs and do not want anything to interfere with the progress of their missionary activities. In the case of the Iraq missionaries the situation is somewhat different: they find the Arabs very suspicious and want to avoid any indication of the Church's friendliness to the Jews since that might give the Iraqis an excuse to curb their own activities. On the other hand, Catholic priests in the Lebanon and most of those in Palestine are rather friendly to the Jewish cause. The Vatican itself has no objection to the Jewish State and sympathizes with the Jewish need. He himself has been a life-long student of the colonial problem and long ago reached the conclusion that those who bring civilization to a country have a better title to it than those who sat there without making any use of the country's resources. This is why he believes the United States, the countries of Latin America, and the British Dominions to have brought benefit to humanity. By the same token, he believes the Jews to have a right to a State in Palestine. The Catholic press in this country is conservative and naturally suspicious of new things. It will take it some time, therefore, to get used to the existence of the Jewish State, but this will come.

What the Church is particularly concerned about, however, is the safety of Christian churches and shrines and the future of Jerusalem. It received a great deal of information, some of it confidential, regarding serious incidents involving churches. While it seems that in many cases the Israeli government has exerted its efforts to afford these churches every protection, there have been a number of incidents which are quite unforgivable. In addition, the Church received information that some schools, hitherto under the direction of missionaries, were taken over by Jewish authorities and the missionaries were denied opportunity to continue teaching. It cannot be emphasized sufficiently strongly how important it is, in the interest of avoiding any misunderstandings, for the Israeli government to take care of these matters. Both the Pope and Cardinal Spellman are very much concerned about this matter, and Monsignor McMahon's trip to Palestine is directly connected with it.



As far as Jerusalem is concerned, the Church would like to see it internationalized and he did not see why Israel should object, since this was envisaged in the original partition plan.

I assured Father La Farge that the Israeli government is doing everything possible to insure the safety and freedom of Christian churches. I told him of our information regarding the efforts of the government in this respect and of the satisfactory relations existing between the government and the Catholic hierarchy in Nazareth and a number of other places. I warned him that a great deal of the information reaching the Church may come from sources which do not have the interest of the Church at heart but which are opposed to the Jewish State and are magnifying or even inventing incidents involving churches in order to gain the Catholic Church for their ends. I concluded by explaining to him the Jewish viewpoint regarding Jerusalem. Father La Farge admitted that some of their information may come from politically interested parties, though he insisted that a number of incidents must be considered as quite authentic. As far as Jerusalem was concerned, he said that he understood now our point of view in the matter.

We agreed to meet again in a few weeks, upon his return from a trip out of town, at which time we will go more deeply into the Palestine question. On that occasion, Father La Farge wants some of the members of the editorial staff to be present.

BA:AF





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

## MEMORANDUM

*To* Dr. Silver

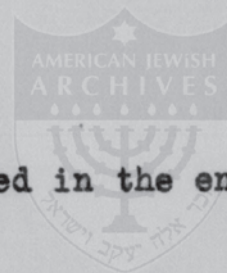
*Date* November 5, 1948

*From* Benjamin Akzin

You may be interested in the enclosed.

BA:AF  
encl.

WRHS





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Law Offices  
CHARLES FAHY  
1625 K Street, Northwest  
Washington 6, D.C.

November 24, 1948

Dr. Benjamin Akzin  
American Zionist Emergency Council  
342 Madison Avenue  
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ben:

The enclosed office memorandum just dictated gives the last word on the passport situation. No doubt you will have thoughts and suggestions to pass along to me, and I am looking forward to them. The Department is evidently reacting in character to Dr. Silver's challenge on principle to their discretionary authority over issuance of passports, as exercised in a case such as this. I wish Charles were here to tackle Mrs. Shipley. The others refer me to her as if to say, as New Yorkers sometimes do, "go fight City Hall".

Yours sincerely,

(signed) Phil

Philip Levy

enclosure



November 24, 1948

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILE:

In checking further on the status of Dr. Silver's letter to the Secretary, dated October 21, 1948, regarding passports for Israel, I learned the following:

The Legal Adviser's Office indicated that a draft letter had come to them but had not presented any question of law calling for their recommendation; that the "drafting officer" on the letter was Waldo on the Palestine desk in the Near East Division; that they understood that a draft had been returned to Waldo for further drafting changes in the light of some comments by the Acting Secretary.

I then discussed the problem with Mr. Waldo. He was cordial but indicated that he was not familiar with the technical "legalisms", and generally that the problem was one for discretion to be exercised by Mrs. Shipley's Passport Division. He expressed regret that a reply to Dr. Silver's letter had been so long delayed, and then went on to discuss the situation "informally". He stated that the letter would probably go forward in a few days; that we would probably not regard the letter as "helpful"; that apart from interpretation of the Security Council resolutions and the Mediator's interpretations thereof, the Secretary of State, through the Passport Division, had undisputed discretion to grant or withhold passports by virtue of Executive Order No. 7856, issued by President Roosevelt in 1938, prescribing the rules governing the granting and issuing of passports in the United States. These regulations provide in part --

"124. The Secretary of State is authorized in his discretion to refuse to issue a passport, to restrict a passport for use only in certain countries, to restrict it against use in certain countries, to withdraw a passport for the purpose of restricting its validity or use in certain countries.



"125. Should a person to whom a passport has been issued knowingly use or attempt to use it in violation of the conditions or restrictions contained therein or of the provisions of these rules, the protection of the United States may be withdrawn from him while he continues to reside abroad.

"126. The Secretary of State is authorized to make regulations on the subject of issuing, renewing, extending, amending, restricting, or withdrawing passports additional to these rules and not inconsistent therewith.

Waldo indicated that the Department's reply would stress the foregoing as indicating the scope of discretion, even in peacetime; that it would reiterate the position hitherto expressed by the Passport Division that the entire Middle East, including Israel, is regarded as a disturbed area; that special reasons of urgency are required for issuance of passports for travel to that area; and that Israel is being treated no differently in this respect than other trouble-spots throughout the world, in the past( citing Spain, Ethiopia) and present (citing China). I asked specifically about Greece, saying we were advised that no special damper was placed on travel to Greece, particularly tourist travel; whereas applications by tourists and students for Israel were frowned upon and generally denied. He did not question this, but stated only that he was unfamiliar with Greece since it was outside his territory. I then referred to the University of Beirut and other institutions in the Middle East outside of Israel, and asked whether he could say that the same restrictions were imposed on applicants to travel for study in those places as were imposed on applicants to study in the Hebrew University. He said he thought I might have a point there, but that I must bear in mind, first, that the American University in Beirut remains on the Veteran's Administration's approved list, whereas the schools in Israel are "no longer" on that list; and second, that those students applying for Israel were generally ex-GIs who presumably were or might be going for the purpose of fighting in the Israeli forces.



Waldo emphasized that passports for some time and to all countries have been stamped as not valid for travel to or from any foreign country for the purpose of engaging in armed conflict. I replied that there could be no objection if passports for Israel carried the same stamp as on other passports for all other countries; that our objection was that passports even if so stamped were not issued for Israel on the same basis and to the same extent as passports for other countries. He demurred, but said that I would have to discuss details with Mrs. Shipley.

I pointed out that the precedents of Spain, Ethiopia, etc., were likewise not relevant; that the fighting in Israel had died down and gave little indication of becoming a full-blown war in the foreseeable future; that the stability and continued existence of Israel had been fully recognized by the United States; that under the pledges made by the President, we could confidently look forward to de jure recognition of Israel within a very short time, as soon as the elections are held; that our policy had frequently been stated to be geared to UN action; and that the Security Council resolutions plainly did not embrace or foreclose normal immigration, but only prohibited entry of members of organized military units.

I emphasized that our approach was to normalize American relations with Israel and that the passport situation was most abnormal at present. He concurred to the extent of saying that the Department's policy was to ease up on passports as rapidly as the situation would permit; that applications in individual cases were not being screened as severely as during June, July or August (when Mr. Fahy last discussed the problem with Mrs. Shipley); that applicants having legitimate business or urgent personal reasons for travel to Israel were having no difficulty. I agreed there had been some relaxation, but stated that hundreds of such cases were awaiting clarification of the Department's position; that there were many type-fact situations in which



the Department's position was not clear or in which applications would still be denied, notably tourists and students. He stated that these groups should postpone their visits since their reasons were not deemed urgent. I pointed out this failed to take account of the great upsurge of religious feeling growing out of the creation of the new State; that many persons generally desired to travel to Israel for study or because of spiritual or sentimental ties with the Holy Land; and that no adequate reason remained for the type of surveillance implied by the Department's continued screening of applicants for passports; that I looked forward to the time when the many cases that come to our office on passports would be disposed of in a routine way under standard procedure of application and issuance. He indicated that cases involving business or urgent humanitarian grounds should be going through without difficulty or special intercession. For the rest, he offered no immediate prospect in change of policy, but suggested that clarification on particular type-fact situations should be worked out with Mrs. Shipley so that proper applications could be expedited.

P. L.

N.B. On the whole, this type of reply is about what might have been expected at this time, although it does not meet all the objections made in Dr. Silver's letter that applicants for travel to Israel are being treated in a discriminatory way. The special restrictions on travel to China, for example, have evidently been put on only in recent days, although large-scale fighting has been going on in that country for years. Meanwhile, it is evident that Dr. Silver's protest has already resulted in noticeable relaxation of the Passport Division's exercise of discretion where business or urgent family reasons were advanced, and such cases are also currently being handled with greater speed.

For further presentation, we should develop an argument showing the relation between tourist business and Israel's economic position, particularly as to dollar exchange.



# 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

November 26, 1948

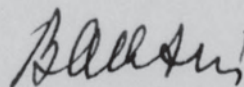
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Enclosed please find copy of a letter just received from Mr. Philip Levy together with a copy of his office memorandum regarding his latest conversation in the State Department on the question of American passports. I am also sending these copies to Dr. Bernstein and Mr. Epstein.

Please let me know if you have any further suggestion for dealing with the matter.

Sincerely yours,



Benjamin Akzin

BA:AF  
encls.



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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

WASHINGTON

November 29, 1948

Dear Dr. Silver:

I have your letter concerning the Department's policy on granting passport facilities to American citizens desiring to proceed to Palestine.

For many years the Department has been following the policy of refusing to grant passport facilities to American citizens who wish to travel to areas in which there is conflict. During the Spanish Civil War all American passports were stamped invalid for travel in that country. A similar policy was followed during the second World War, when civilian travel to countries participating in the conflict was strictly limited. After the war restrictions were maintained for a considerable period of time on travel to areas under military control or where unsettled conditions were considered to exist. Passport applications were accepted for these areas only in cases where strong national interest was involved. At the present time, no passports are being issued valid for travel to China unless there are very special reasons for such a trip.

The Department's policy with respect to the issuance of passports valid for Israel and neighboring countries of the Near East is in accord with that outlined in the foregoing paragraph. The Department has accordingly refused to grant passport facilities to American citizens who wish to travel to this area unless their business in Palestine or other Near Eastern countries was of a sufficiently urgent nature to warrant such travel.

For your additional information, there is attached a marked copy of Executive Order 7856, March 31, 1938, entitled "Rules Governing the Granting and Issuing of Passports in the United States".

Sincerely yours,

(signed) Robert A. Lovett

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver,  
Chairman, American Zionist Emergency Council,  
342 Madison Avenue,  
New York 17, New York.



# AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

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

## *Constituent Organizations*

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

December 2, 1948

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Enclosed please find copy of the reply now received from the Department of State to your letter of October 21.

On the face of it, the reply is a negative one. However, Mr. Levy telephone me two days ago to tell me that Waldo, the Palestine desk officer at the State Department, called him in connection with this letter and hinted that, in practice, the Department of State will now take a very liberal attitude toward all categories of American visitors to Palestine, tourists and students included.

Both Levy and I are skeptical as to whether this will really be the case. We are thinking, however, of testing out the State Department by asking Dr. Bernstein to have a few people file applications for passports, giving tourism as the only explanation for their trip, without any attempt to prove more serious reasons for the journey. Should their applications be granted, this would indicate that the passport battle has been won in practice.

If you have any objections to this procedure, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

*Bakzin*

Benjamin Akzin

BA:AF  
encl.



# LABOR ZIONIST ORGANIZATION *of* AMERICA

## — POALE ZION —

הסתדרות פועלי ציון  
באמריקה

45 EAST 17th STREET  
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

פועלי ציון ארגאניזאציע  
אין אמעריקע

December 9, 1948

Dr. Aba Hilel Silver  
Temple  
E. 105th Street & Anzel Road  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

I hope that you will be interested in the letter  
I am addressing today to Dr. Akzin, a copy of which is  
enclosed herewith.

Sincerely yours,

*Baruch Zuckerman*

Baruch Zuckerman  
President

encl.



December 9, 1948

Dr. B. Akzin  
American Emergency Zionist Council  
342 Madison Avenue  
New York 17, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Akzin:

I deem it necessary to put into writing the contents of my memorandum to you and your reply, and also the conversation we had immediately after the meeting. I am also sending a copy of this letter to Dr. Silver.

I wrote you the following: - "If Mr. Tuvim informed you that the American branch of the Executive has decided that the Emergency Committee as such should do nothing in connection with the Beigin affair, why didn't you convey this information to the Committee?"

To this you replied the following: - "Mr. Tuvim told me that there was a "consensus of opinion". I know that this is not a precise formula, and therefore I asked you to tell us what has transpired at the meeting of the American Branch of the Executive. Since I was not personally present, I could not contradict your statement. It was clear to me that what you have conveyed to the meeting, was not in accordance with what Mr. Tuvim has informed me".

After the meeting I came up to you and told you that you had no right to act the way you did. I was not the official spokesman for the Executive Committee. It was your duty to tell the special Beigin Committee what Tuvim told you since, what he told you, should have been considered official. I still insist that that was not the consensus of opinion at that meeting. I am ready to abide by what the minutes will tell us. If the minutes will bear out Dr. Silver's contention, I am ready to apologize. Mr. Tuvim then approached us, and you conveyed to him my dissatisfaction with your action, and Mr. Tuvim said that I was correct. That is what transpired, while the session was in progress, and immediately after the session adjourned.

In the evening I was at the headquarters of the Jewish Agency. I asked Mr. Hammer about the minutes. He told me that he left the session before this discussion came up. I then asked the lady who took



the minutes, and she informed me that there are no minutes of this discussion, as Dr. Silver asked her not to record this discussion.

Whatever differences of opinion I may have with Dr. Silver, I cannot permit such an incident to cause more unnecessary friction. I am sorry that there are no minutes of that meeting to which Dr. Silver referred. I again tried to search my memory and cannot find anything which should justify a change in my contention. How could such a consensus of opinion have escaped me? In the contention of Dr. Silver I felt an accusation of deliberately misinforming the special committee. What benefit could I have derived from such an action? I knew very well that our recommendations must come up before the Executive of the Emergency Committee. I knew very well that Dr. Silver would be there to preside over it.

I certainly was not happy about the inuendos which Dr. Silver made, but I must admit that this did not disatisfy me as much as your action did by not informing the special committee what Mr. Tuvim had conveyed to you.

With this I consider the incident closed.

Sincerely yours,

Baruch Zuckerman  
President

cc: Dr. A. H. Silver



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

C O P Y

December 10, 1948

Mr. Baruch Zuckerman, President  
Labor Zionist Organization of  
America-Poale Zion  
45 East 17th Street  
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Zuckerman:

I want to acknowledge receipt of your letter of  
December 9 with regard to the Beigin matter.

As I had the honor of telling you after the recent  
meeting of the Emergency Council, I am very sorry if my  
failure to mention the contradiction between your state-  
ment at the meeting of the Beigin Committee and the in-  
formation given to me by Mr. Tuvim prior to that meeting  
has caused any difficulty or embarrassment to you person-  
ally. You will realize, of course, that what I did was  
motivated solely by what I thought to be proper in the  
circumstances.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

BA:AF  
cc: Dr. A.H. Silver

Benjamin Akzin  
Secretary to the Council



# AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

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

## *Constituent Organizations*

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

December 20, 1948

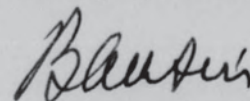
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I have just received another letter from Phil Levy informing me that on a visit to the Department of State last week, he was told informally by the Acting Legal Adviser that the Department's reply to you in the matter of passports for Palestine was pro forma and that the situation in practice was being rapidly if not immediately modified.

In view of this confirmation of Phil Levy's earlier impression, and since you have not voiced any objection to the scheme I had suggested to you in my letter of December 2, I have now asked Dr. Bernstein to get a few people to file passport applications for Palestine on the simple ground that they want to visit the country as tourists. We will then see what happens.

Sincerely yours,



Benjamin Akzin

BA:AF



# AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

## *Constituent Organizations*

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

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

January 5, 1949

Dear Dr. Silver,

In connection with the memorandum which I was asked to prepare, I noticed that you are rather perturbed about my handling of the legal aspects of the issue. I realize that the fault is mine, because I have never acquainted you with my legal background, but took it for granted that you knew it already.

To take care of this neglected matter, and in the hope of relieving your mind in connection with any future legal arguments I might be asked to prepare, I enclose the attached information. In addition, I would suggest that you inquire on occasion with Dr. Robinson or Mr. Lounsbury concerning my standing as international lawyer.

Sincerely yours,  
B. Agis



**Benjamin Aknin, born 1904 in Riga (Latvia). Educated in Russian and German schools in Riga.**

**Universities: University of Vienna 1922-1926. University of Paris 1926-1928. Harvard University 1932-1933. Visited, for brief periods of study and research, the Universities of Liverpool (England), Chicago, Wisconsin, California, Illinois, and American University in Washington.**

**Degrees: Doctor of political science, Vienna, 1926. Doctor of law, Paris, 1929. Doctor of juridical science, Harvard, 1933.**

**Assistant in Political Science and Public Law at the Institute of Comparative Law, University of Paris, 1930-1932.**

**Lecturer in Government and International Law at the Collège Libre des Sciences Sociales in Paris, as well as at the Franco-Russian Institute of Juridical and Social Sciences in Paris, 1930-1932.**

**Rockefeller fellow in the social sciences, 1932-1934.**

**Research assistant, Harvard Bureau of International Research, 1934-1936.**

**Research assistant and member of Board of Advisers, Harvard Research in International Law, 1934-1936.**

**Professor of law and government, Portia Law School and College, Boston, 1936-1941.**

**Guest lecturer at Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1938.**

**Lecturer in Government and International Relations, College of the City of New York, 1940-1941.**

**Foreign Affairs Specialist, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., 1941-1944.**

**Foreign Affairs Specialist, U.S. War Refugee Board, Washington, D.C., 1944-1945.**



LIST OF PRINCIPAL PUBLICATIONS

- L'Ecole autrichienne et les fondements du droit des gens (Revue de droit international. 1927).
- Le Traite de Moscou (ibid., 1927).
- La Desuetude en droit constitutionnel (Revue de droit public, 1928).
- Der Rechtsbegriff der Minderheit (Zeitschrift fuer oeffentliches Recht, 1928).
- Les Sujets du droit international (Revue de droit international, 1929).
- Les Problemes Fondamentaux du Droit International Public. Paris. Editions Internationales. 1929.
- Membership in the Universal Postal Union (American Journal of International Law, 1933).
- La Sociologie de la Nationalite. In: La Nationalite. Paris. Sirey, 1933.
- Le Droit des Minorites. (ibid., 1933).
- La Pologne a la croisee des chemins. (Esprit International, 1935).
- On the Teaching of International Law (Iowa Law Review, 1935).
- Jews Among the Nations (Digest of International Law and Relations, American University, 1935).
- Propaganda by Diplomats (ibid., 1935).
- The Concept of legislation (Iowa Law Review, 1936).
- Choices before Baltic States (Foreign Affairs, 1937).
- Reflexions sur la Science et l'Education Politiques aux Etats-Unis. Paris. Sirey. 1938.
- The Palestine Mandate in Practice (Iowa Law Review, 1939).
- Pan-Arab Nationalism (Asia, 1939).
- Neutral Convoys in Law and Practice (Michigan Law Review, 1941).
- The Jewish Question after the War (Harper's, 1941).
- Introduction into the Study of Military Government (Library of Congress. Public Affairs Bulletins, 1942).
- Principles of Military Occupation (International Conciliation, 1943).
- When Our Troops Occupy (Harpers, 1943).
- Nationalism Today and Tomorrow (Tomorrow, 1945).
- Annuaire Interparlementaire (associate editor), Paris, 1931-1940.



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

## MEMORANDUM

**To** Dr. Silverman

**Date** February 3, 1949

**From** Benjamin Akzin

I enclose a copy of Major Aren's memorandum to Mr.  
Epstein which may be of interest to you.

BA:AF  
encl.



MEMORANDUM

To: Hon. Eliahu Epstein  
cc to Hon. Arthur Lourie

February 3, 1949

From: Wellesley Aron  
The Alrae  
37 East 64th Street, New York City

CONFIDENTIAL

At a meeting that took place yesterday of the Foreign Policy Association in New York, Colonel Hoskins, whose background is probably known to you, made certain statements which appeared to me to be worthy of note.

He appealed for help in strengthening the hands of the Conciliation Commission personnel engaged in considering the boundaries of Israel. The burden of his remarks was to the effect that "our friends in Great Britain will look to us for assurance that the decisions of the Conciliation Commission shall be final." Furthermore, he implied that the best way of ensuring the finality of the Commission's decision would be for Great Britain to be entrusted with the task of acting as watch dog by virtue of the presence of British troops in the area. He added that, if it were possible, American troops in the area would be most desirable but that it was unlikely that there would be sufficient support for such a proposal.

It seems to me that in the light of the above remarks, a plan may be developing, initiated by the British, on the following lines:

- (a) They could be invited by the United Nations to supervise the implementation of the Conciliation Commission's frontier decisions.
- (b) To influence in the direction indicated the Turkish, French or American member of the Commission while they are in session in the Middle East.

It seems to me that action could well be taken to spike any possible intended action by:

- (a) Preventive publicity in the form of a letter to the editors of several leading newspapers in this country.
- (b) The alerting of friends, from the President down, to the possibility of these maneuvers being developed through British influence.

Another matter which may be of interest is a statement made to me by Major George Fielding Eliot in private a few days ago to the effect that there is a divergence of policy on Middle Eastern strategy



as between the Imperial General Staff in London and the General Staff in Washington. From what I gathered, the American Staff regards Britain's anxiety to establish freedom of movement in the Negev between Gaza and the Bay of Aqaba as unwarranted and unnecessary in the light of modern military plans for the Middle Eastern area. I gathered that the group that is in opposition to the British Staff is thinking in terms of the possibility of using Haifa as a base in the event of hostilities breaking out. The implications arising from the conversation were clear, that we might gain additional American support by a tacit understanding with the American Staff regarding their use of Haifa in the event of an emergency. Any discussion of such matters is, of course, only possible on the highest level, and I merely replied that I found the proposal intriguing. I give this to you for what it is worth in the event of your wishing to convey the matter to the appropriate quarters.

WA:AF





MEMORANDUM

*Dr. Silver*  
*also Dr. Neuman*  
*E Epstein*  
*H. Schulson*

From: Benjamin Akzin

February 15, 1949

RE: JVA

The question of a major publicity effort in favor of the JVA arose some time ago in connection with the JVA dinner planned in Washington, D.C. Still greater urgency is lent to this question by Mr. Schulson's memorandum of February 14 relating to his conversation of the same date with Congressman Multer, and the information given by the Congressman to the press following his interview with President Truman the same day. It seems that Congressman Multer plans the introduction, with Administration support, of a joint resolution establishing a Middle Eastern Commission which would stimulate active economic intervention by the U.S. Government in the Middle East, chiefly in connection with a scheme along JVA lines.

Before any further encouragement is lent by us to all such efforts to launch a JVA enterprise at the present juncture, I suggest that the dangers of such a course be seriously considered.

The JVA scheme was conceived in the days when we thought of the whole of western Palestine as open to Jewish colonization. Today, the central and eastern part of western Palestine would not be so open. The Israeli area adjacent to the Jordan in the vicinity of the Lake of Tiberias does not require any large-scale JVA scheme. Whether most of the Negev will be open to colonization possibilities by us is still uncertain. Under the circumstances, the JVA scheme, conceived by us as an undertaking which would be of great help to the Jews but which, because of the economic benefits which it would bring Transjordan, might induce a more conciliatory attitude on the part of Transjordan, may well become a scheme the effect of which would be to increase tremendously the economic and therefore the political stability of Transjordan and to bring about the sinking of large amounts of American capital into Abdullah's kingdom. All this may conceivably take place without appreciable compensating advantages to Israel.

I suggest that serious and urgent consideration be given to the question whether all of our friends should not be advised to keep off the subject of a JVA and of American economic assistance to large-scale Middle Eastern development until certain territorial concessions have been agreed to by Transjordan in favor of Israel. It is up to the Transjordanian Government and its friends in London and in the State Department to plead with the U.S. Government for economic development projects which would benefit them in the first place. In order to merit such economic assistance, they ought to show their readiness to meet Israel's territorial demands. It is absolutely unreasonable for us to make propaganda for a project which would benefit the Arabs more than



ourselves. Once the Transjordanians have been assured the benefits of such a program they will be less, not more, inclined to meet Israel in a spirit of cooperation.

If the above is correct, should we not: (a) advise Congressman Multer of the situation and suggest to him that he desist in his efforts; and (b) cancel the projected Washington dinner.

BA:AF







SMART TRAVELERS

ALWAYS

*Telegraph*

- FOR RESERVATIONS
- TO KEEP IN TOUCH WITH HOME AND OFFICE
- FOR FUNDS IN A HURRY

WU 6876

CONVENIENT • FAST • SURE

# WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN  
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LC = Deferred Cable

NLT = Cable Night Letter

PM Stop Radiogram

1949 MAR 4

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

TS-CL211 PD=XJ NEWYORK NY 4 129P=

DR ABBA HILLEL SILVER THE TEMPLE=

EAST 105 ST AND ANSEL RD=

PLEASE ATTEND MEETING EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE EMERGENCY  
COUNCIL MONDAY MARCH 7TH 815 PM 342 MADISON AVENUE AGENDA  
INCLUDES SCOPE COMMITTEE REPORT

T=AKZIN=

7 815 PM 342 AGENDA=

TE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE



# AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

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

## *Constituent Organizations*

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

March 8, 1949

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

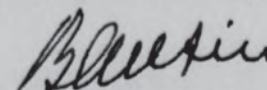
Dear Dr. Silver:

I have discussed today with Mr. Tuvim the question of the forthcoming seminar trip of our Christian friends to Israel. I told him that I have felt for a long time the need of a visit to Israel by me in order to familiarize myself once more with the local atmosphere and problems. I have felt that a trip of this kind would be very useful in connection with my future work in the Council. Since the participants in the seminar could use to great advantage the kind of information and guidance that I could give them en route, I thought that this would be a valid reason for my being sent by the Council to accompany the members of the seminar.

Mr. Tuvim told me that because of budgetary considerations this is impossible at the present time, and that even Dr. Voss' desire to accompany the seminar could not be met because of lack of money. I told him that I bow to these financial reasons but that I still feel that an early opportunity ought to be afforded to me to visit Israel and that, should there be an opportunity for a staff member of the Council to go to Israel in the near future, I would like to put in my claim. Mr. Tuvim agreed that this is a legitimate request and that it would be in order for me to state it to you at this time.

Mr. Tuvim further informed me that there is a likelihood of his leaving the Council within the next few days, i.e., before the next meeting of the Council or of its Executive Committee. He told me that the question how the gap between his departure and the election of a new Executive Director by the Council should be bridged, is in your hands. As secretary to the Council and therefore senior member of the staff, I would be glad to receive your instructions as to the interim period.

Sincerely yours,



Benjamin Akzin

BA:AF



March 11, 1949

Dr. Benjamin Akzin  
American Zionist Emergency Council  
342 Madison Avenue  
New York 17, New York

My dear Dr. Akzin:

Permit me to acknowledge your letter of March 8th. Whether we shall send anyone in the future to Israel will depend upon the budget which will be allowed the Emergency Council. At the moment no money is in sight. We shall have to await the report of the Scope Committee and the result of its meetings with the representatives of the Jewish Agency. Until there is action on the report of the Scope Committee, which I hope will be soon, I do not deem it desirable to make any adjustments in the office.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er



X

American Zionist Emergency Council  
342 Madison Avenue

March 15, 1949

HYMAN SCHULSON  
AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL  
1200 18th STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON

BY SILVER TO SECRETARY OF STATE

FOLLOWING HAS BEEN SENT TODAY/QUOTE PRESS DESPATCHES FROM BAGDAD ANNOUNCE IMPOSITION OF DEATH SENTENCES UPON SEVEN JEWISH CITIZENS OF IRAQ ALLEGEDLY FOR PRO-ZIONIST ACTIVITIES. THIS PRESUMABLY CORRECT NEWS FOLLOWS THE TRAGIC JUDICIAL MURDER OF SHAFIQ ADES OF BAGDAD ON SIMILAR CHARGES LAST SEPTEMBER. RESPECTFULLY RECALL TO YOUR ATTENTION MY TELEGRAM OF SEPTEMBER 15, 1948 ADDRESSED TO SECRETARY OF STATE QUOTE AM CERTAIN THAT UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT WISH TO REMAIN INDIFFERENT IN FACE OF SUCH SHOCKING SUPPRESSION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE DANGER OF QUASI-LEGAL ASSASSINATION. IF UNCHALLENGED THIS WILL SET EXTREMELY DANGEROUS PRECEDENT OPENING THE WAY FOR WHOLESALE PERSECUTION AND OPPRESSION OF NATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS MINORITIES IN THE ARAB LANDS UNQUOTE AS WELL AS SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN MR SATTERTHWAITE AND OUR WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVE MR LEO SACK. UNFORTUNATELY THE EFFORTS OF U.S. GOVERNMENT IN CASE OF SHAFIQ ADES PROVED UNAVAILING, AND THE REPORTED DEATH SENTENCE ON SEVEN MORE IRAQI JEWS APPEARS AS A FURTHER STEP IN A SYSTEMATIC CAMPAIGN OF DESTRUCTION OF JEWISH POPULATION IN IRAQ. RESPECTFULLY HOPE THAT THIS TIME ENERGETIC REPRESENTATIONS BY U.S. GOVERNMENT WILL SUCCEED IN SAVING HUMAN LIVES AND IN PREVENTING FURTHER SIMILAR OUTRAGES ON THE PART OF IRAQI GOVERNMENT UNQUOTE PLEASE TAKE UP THE MATTER IMMEDIATELY WITH SATTERTHWAITE GELLER JAVITS IVES MEYERS AND OTHER FRIENDS STOP ADVISE ELATH WHO ALREADY INFORMED BY BENHORIN

AKZIN

BA:AF



## MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Silver

Date March 16, 1949

From Benjamin Akzin

RE: IRAQI DEATH SENTENCES

Your telegram went out yesterday.

It is being released today for publication tomorrow in the JTA, press associations and English press. The Yiddish press, through misunderstanding, received it yesterday and published it today.

Mr. Ben-Horin is asking Mr. Thackrey to publish a thundering editorial on the subject in the Post.

I have spoken to Bisgyer of B'nai B'rith, Marcus of A.J. Congress, and Kossover of A.J. Committee. Bisgyer promised immediate action. Marcus said that they have already taken up the matter with the United Nations and promised that they will likewise take it up with the State Department. Kossover informed me that the representative of the A.J. Committee is seeing Satterthwaite this morning regarding this matter.

I enclose copy of my telegram of yesterday to Schulson in which the full text of your telegram to Acheson is included.

I wonder whether you would not consider advisable calling up Charles Fahy and asking him to use his influence in the State Department to reinforce the other steps taken.

BA:AF  
enc.



Washington Office: 701 Ring Building

Dr. Benjamin Akzin

March 16, 1949

Mr. Hyman A. Schulson

On March 15th, immediately upon telephonic instructions from you to contact Mr. Joseph C. Satterthwaite, Chief of the Near Eastern Division of the State Department, regarding the death sentences imposed upon seven Jewish citizens of Iraq for pro-Zionist activities, I immediately telephoned Mr. Satterthwaite, read him the JTA release of March 15th, and asked him to cable our Ambassador to Iraq to ascertain the facts and strongly to intervene in the matter, and formally to protest to the government of Iraq.

Yesterday, I also contacted a number of members of Congress, both in the Senate and in the House, requesting that they intervene with the State Department to take action in the matter. Mr. Satterthwaite told me that Senators Ives and Myers, and other members of Congress telephoned him about the matter.

Today, at 4 P.M., I met with Mr. Satterthwaite and Mr. Harlan B. Clark, who is in charge of the Iraq desk, gave them a copy of Dr. Silver's wire to the Secretary of State and a copy of the JTA press release. I pointed out to them that the State Department's efforts in the case of Ades in September proved to be unavailing and that the strongest measures be taken by our government in the present cases. I argued that the action of the Iraqi government was an attack on personal freedom and constituted wanton persecution of people on account of their political and religious beliefs. I pointed out that the Iraqis were denying its citizens the exercise of fundamental human rights and freedoms, that their acts violated the preamble of the Charter of the U. N., particularly Article I of the Charter, that Iraq acted in contravention to the universal declaration of human rights and the Convention on Genocide, approved by the General Assembly. I also urged them to have Dean Acheson, Secretary of State, issue a formal public statement similar to the one he issued on the trial of Cardinal Mindszenty, pointing out the close analogy of the cases. I also urged them to utilize the machinery of the U. N. Security Council and ask that an investigation be made and to ask the Security Council, or any other appropriate U. N. agency, to appeal to the government of Iraq not to execute the Jewish citizens. I pointed out that a similar appeal in Paris last year by Mr. Evatt, in behalf of the General Assembly, to the Greek government, stopped the execution of some Greek trade union people.

Mr. Satterthwaite told me that he had yesterday despatched an urgent cable to our Ambassador in Iraq to ascertain the facts and formally to intervene in this matter. Mr. Satterthwaite has not yet received an answer to his cable.

Yesterday, Mr. Satterthwaite had asked me not to give any publicity of Dr. Silver's wire on the ground that any publicity would not help our government in its representations to Iraq. This afternoon I told him that he had made a similar request of Mr. Sack last September in the Ades case and we faithfully complied. Nevertheless, the Department's intervention was of no avail. I pointed out to him that this was a matter which should receive wide publicity so that the issues be crystallized by American and world public opinion.



To Dr. Akzin

- 2 -

March 16, 1949

I pointed out to him that publicity and formal statements issued, both by *the president, Nelson,* the Senators and Representatives of Congress, did prevent the execution of Cardinal Mindszenty and that I did not share his view of no publicity in this case. After my explanation on publicity, Mr. Satterthwaite did not press the issue.

Mr. Satterthwaite also told me that he would take up my other suggestions with the members of the Department concerned and explore the possibilities of following through on my suggestions. Mr. Satterthwaite was quite friendly and he assured me that he would do everything possible to help in this situation.

Mr. Satterthwaite also told me that the American Jewish Committee has already made formal protest and that he had received a number of telephone calls from members of Congress.

He promised to keep me advised of any developments.

Kindest regards.

CC: Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

HAS/mp





March 16, 1949

WRHS  
P. S. Mr. Clark just telephoned me to advise me that the Department just received a cable from the American Ambassador in Iraq, advising that seven men (different names than those named in the JTA despatch) were condemned to death in absentia, and were charged with having left Iraq and joined the army of the State of Israel and, therefore, as Iraqi citizens, were traitors.

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES



## MEMORANDUM

*To* Dr. Silver

*Date* March 17, 1949

*From* Benjamin Akzin

Leo Sack telephoned me this morning from Miami, not knowing where you could be reached at present. He asked me to transmit to you the following message:

Mortimer May in a speech last night to the Zionist Organization of Greater Miami described you as the "greatest living American Jew", "chiefly responsible for the creation of the Jewish State", and explained that you upheld steadfastly the idea of the Jewish State, never compromising on it, and that you have risked offending powerful figures and prominent Jews in America for the sake of that idea. This explains the numerous jealousies which have arisen against you. Mr. May criticized the attitude of Ben Gurion and of the Mapai and dwelt on the irreligiousness and atheism of many Jews in Palestine. His speech, especially those passages praising you, was frequently applauded.

Mr. Sack believes that Mr. May's speech ought to be edited slightly as to content and improved in delivery, and that, this being done, Mr. May ought to be encouraged to repeat the speech all over the country.

BA:AF



## MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Silver

Date March 17, 1949

From Benjamin Akzin

In addition to former developments in connection with the Iraq death sentences, I have asked Schulson and suggested to the American Jewish Committee that they raise the issue of why the American Embassy in Bagdad, which undoubtedly had knowledge of the trials long before anyone heard about them in this country, had neither intervened in the sense of the instructions which it had received from the Department last September, nor informed the State Department of the recent outrages. It seems that until the State Department sent an inquiry to Bagdad, the local U.S. Embassy was entirely quiescent about the whole matter.

It appears that the answer received by the Department from its Embassy in Bagdad in answer to the Department's inquiry, reporting of certain sentences passed in absentia against Jews who are not physically present in Iraq, is beside the point and does not relate to the death sentences which have been executed in the meanwhile.

You will have noticed that today's Tribune does not mention the Emergency Council's protests at all, whereas the Times gives the Council last place after the American Jewish Committee and the Jewish Agency. Kaufman is sending a letter to the Tribune expressing his appreciation over the publicity which they have given to the facts but regretting the omission of the Emergency Council in this connection.

BA:AF



# AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

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

## *Constituent Organizations*

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

March 17, 1949

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

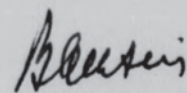
Dear Dr. Silver:

Enclosed please find copy of a circular sent out to many people by the "Rehabilitation Fund for Veterans of Hebrew Resistance." With the circular there is enclosed a dollar bill and a return envelope addressed to Ben Hecht.

This kind of propaganda is sent to a great many people around the country. I wonder whether you believe that, as coordinating agency for Zionist work in the United States, the Emergency Council should take a stand publicly or otherwise with regard to these activities or whether, since the Herut and the other groups involved in these activities are not represented on the Council, we should leave the matter alone.

Perhaps you would like to put it on the agenda of the next meeting of the Executive?

Sincerely yours,



Benjamin Akzin

BA:AF  
encl.



C  
O  
P  
Y

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
Washington

March 22, 1949

Dear Mr. Akzin:

I refer to your letter dated March 17, 1949, enclosing the text of a statement issued by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver on behalf of the American Zionist Emergency Council on March 16, 1949, concerning the reported sentencing to death and execution in Baghdad of 7 Iraqi Jews accused of pro-Zionist activities.

I wish to inform you that on March 15, 1949, immediately upon receipt of the news report concerning the above mentioned death penalties, the Department telegraphed the American Embassy at Baghdad to ascertain the facts of the case and in reply the Embassy informed the Department that no Jews actually present in Iraq had been sentenced to death on charges of Zionist activity since the Shafiq Ades case in September 1948. It reported that 7 Iraqi Jews no longer in Iraq had been sentenced to death in absentia by court martial for leaving the country illegally and joining Israeli forces, and that 15 others had been sentenced, likewise in absentia, to imprisonment on similar charges. The Department is awaiting further reports from the Embassy in regard to the court martial trials.

Sincerely yours,

(signed) J. C. Satterthwaite  
Director for Near Eastern  
and African Affairs

Mr. Benjamin Akzin,  
Secretary to the Council,  
American Zionist Emergency Council,  
342 Madison Avenue,  
New York 17, New York



March 24, 1949

Mr. J. C. Satterthwaite  
Director for Near Eastern and African Affairs  
Department of State  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Satterthwaite:

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter of March 22, in reply to my letter to you dated March 17, 1949, containing information regarding the trials of Jews in Iraq on charges of Zionist activity.

Please accept this expression of my appreciation of the interest which the Department of State is taking in this matter. I hope that the continued interest of the Department will succeed in preventing further acts of open or disguised persecution of Jews by the authorities of Iraq.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Akzin  
Secretary to the Council

BA:AF



# AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

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

## *Constituent Organizations*

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

April 5, 1949

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

As you may know, the modern liners of the American Export Line going to the eastern Mediterranean still omit Haifa from their ports of call. This omission is causing great inconvenience to passengers traveling between the United States and Israel, and we have already received some complaints on this score. I have discussed the matter with the Israeli Mission, the Consulate General, and Dr. Bernstein of the Palestine Office. They agree that the matter is quite serious, and the Consulate General informed me that there will be even more of a problem now that the American Export Line is about to take off the Marine Carp from the New York-Haifa run. Mr. Gideon Strauss, the consul in charge of economic and shipping affairs, said that they find it difficult to press in this respect, but that they would be glad if we could do something about it.

As you will recall, the omission of Haifa by the American Export Line was connected with the measures of search and blockade instituted by Lebanon and Egypt aboard boats which were going to or coming from Haifa. The omission of Haifa was undoubtedly decreed by the Line after consultation with the State Department, if not on direct instructions from the Department. Now that an armistice is in force with Lebanon and Egypt, it ought not to be too difficult to get the two countries to promise to behave, even though the armistice texts themselves do not contain any specific pledges to lift the blockade. We are going to call on the officers of the American Export Line asking them to put Haifa back as a port of call for their modern liners, but I don't anticipate getting any positive decision from them unless and until the State Department advises them to that effect. Here is where, in my opinion, Mr. Fahy could again perform a very useful service. I don't know what exactly are the relations between him and us and whether, on the eve of the coming budgetary readjustment, we are entitled to call upon him. I would be grateful therefore if you could inform me what the situation is in this respect and whether you consider it appropriate for me to ask Mr. Fahy to come to our assistance in this matter.

In this connection, it will interest you to know that Mr. Schulson, who is now in New York on leave of absence from our Washington office and who is not returning to Washington until after the holidays, told me that Mr. Fahy feels rather by-passed in connection with the various current negotiations going on in Washington. If, therefore, it is in order for us to call on him in the American Export Line matter, he might be just as glad to help us as we undoubtedly will be to obtain his help.

BA:AF

Sincerely yours,

*Baer*



April 6, 1949

Dr. Benjamin Akzin  
American Zionist Emergency Council  
342 Madison Avenue  
New York 17, New York

My dear Dr. Akzin:

In reply to your letter of April 5th, I would suggest that you get in touch with Mr. Fahy and request him to intervene in the matter of the American Export Line. I think he can be very helpful.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er

Via Air Mail



# AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

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## *Constituent Organizations*

Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America  
Mizrachi Organization of America  
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342 MADISON AVENUE  
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.  
MURRAY HILL 2-1160

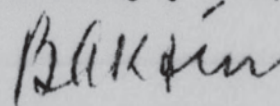
April 18, 1949

To the Members of the Council:

A meeting of the American Zionist Emergency Council will be held on Tuesday, April 26, at 8:15 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City. The agenda will include consideration of the report of the Committee on the Scope of Future Activities of the Emergency Council.

It is hoped that you will be able to attend.

Sincerely yours,



Benjamin Akzin  
Secretary to the Council

BA:AF



# AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

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

## *Constituent Organizations*

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

April 27, 1949

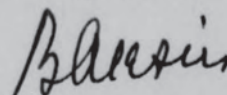
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

1. Enclosed please find an original copy of the transcript of your analysis at last night's meeting, together with a copy as edited by me. Please let me know over the telephone whether you agree with the changes made and what further changes you consider necessary before letting the text be used by our constituent groups.

2. I further enclose a copy of a rather important document taken from the Congressional Record of April 13. While some of the assertions made in this document are ridiculous on the face of it, others may have to be considered most seriously. I have already called the matter to the attention of Dr. Robinson, asking him to undertake a study of this matter, and am inviting the attention of the Jewish Agency to the document as well. Personally, I feel that it would be right to send a copy of the document to the heads of our seven constituent groups with a view to having them give some preliminary thought to this matter, but I would like first to have your OK for this procedure.

Sincerely yours,



Benjamin Akzin

BA:AF  
encl.



MEMORANDUM

To Files

Date May 5, 1949

From Benjamin Akzin

RE: Informal meeting on Thursday, May 5, 2:30 P.M.

Present were Messrs. Benjamin Akzin, Maurice Boukstein, Milton Handler, Robert Szold, Abraham Tulin. Also invited, but unable to attend, were Mr. Murray Gurfein, Dr. Jacob Robinson and Judge Morris Rothenberg.

Dr. Akzin explained that while the immediate occasion for the meeting was supplied by the insertion of certain documents in the Congressional Record of April 13 and April 29, these documents illustrate the general tenor and intensity of an increasingly frequent line of attack. These documents have been forwarded to the members of the American branch of the Jewish Agency now in Israel and to some others, and their attention has been invited to the implications of these attacks. The present meeting was convened after consultation with Dr. Silver, Mrs. Judith Epstein, Judge Rothenberg and Mr. Szold.

After a considerable exchange of opinion between all those present, it was felt that, in view of the need to consider the status of Zionist organizations and activities in the United States with special reference to the questions of registration and tax exemption, a committee should be appointed to gather the available material and to make recommendations on the legal aspects involved.

BA:AF



# 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

May 6, 1949

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

The enclosed memorandum summarizes the consensus of opinion reached at yesterday's informal meeting regarding which I spoke to you over the telephone.

Most of those present, while aware of the political implications of the problem, were of the opinion that inasmuch as the committee to be appointed is to be a committee of lawyers, it ought not to make political recommendations but should limit itself to the legal questions involved. I personally took the view, which I continue to believe to be true, that any separation between the two aspects in a question of this kind would be artificial and untenable.

The thought was expressed that the committee should be appointed by an exclusively American body, i.e., either the American Zionist Council or the various Zionist organizations in this country acting jointly, but that cooperation and consultation with the American branch of the Jewish Agency are essential to the success of the committee's work.

It was strongly felt by Milton Handler that budgetary provision should be made to hire a young lawyer to do the necessary work of research and compilation for the members of the future committee.

All those present agreed that, as far as the attacks inserted in the Congressional Record were concerned, it was best to ignore them; a prolonged discussion in the pages of the Congressional Record would only give added publicity to the attacks made upon the Zionist movement.

Best regards,

Sincerely yours,

*B. Akzin*  
Benjamin Akzin *ax*

BA:AF encl.



May 6, 1949

DRAFT OF LETTER TO:

Dr. Solomon Goldman  
Dr. Israel Goldstein  
Mrs. Rose Jacobs  
Mr. Louis Lipsky  
Dr. Emanuel Neumann  
Judge Morris Rothenberg  
Mr. Robert Szold

Dear \_\_\_\_\_:

You are undoubtedly aware of the fact that a committee was set up several months ago, consisting of the representatives of all constituent bodies within the American Zionist Emergency Council, to consider the future character and scope of activities of the Council. After mature deliberation, and in consultation with the American branch of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, that committee recommended several far-reaching modifications in the structure of the Council.

The enclosed minutes of the meeting of the American Zionist Emergency Council of April 26 contain these modifications. As you will notice, they include a change in the name of the Council and the adoption of a purely representative principle in its composition. The membership of the Council will henceforth be restricted to delegates of the constituent organizations, thus eliminating the former category of members-at-large. A further change concerns the leadership of the Council. Within the coming months, new officers are to be elected for an annual term. These officers, together with a small committee of one representative from each constituent body, will thereafter conduct the business of the Council in the intervals between the meetings of the entire body.

With the adoption of these changes, the Council is terminating a great and glorious chapter in its activities and passes into a new period. At this point in our history, I wish to send this message of greeting ~~and~~



to those who together with me were appointed in 1939 by the World Zionist Executive to membership-at-large in the Emergency Committee then created in the United States. The little group of people -- Dr. Solomon Goldman, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Rose Jacobs, Mr. Louis Lipsky, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, and Mr. Robert Szold -- together with Dr. Emanuel Neumann, later elected to our ranks, and together with the late Dr. Stephen S. Wise, whose memory we shall always cherish, played a truly <sup>significant</sup> ~~great~~ part in steering American Zionism and directing the political struggle for Israel in this country in the critical days of the second World War and of its aftermath. In ever-growing measure the Emergency Committee, later renamed the Emergency Council, has called upon the representatives of the organized Zionist groups in America to participate in its work. Now the time has come for us, the original members-at-large, to hand over the entire responsibility for the future activities of the Council to the elected delegates of the Zionist groups. At this hour I want you to accept this expression of gratitude for the notable part which you have played in the past in the work of the Emergency Committee and the Emergency Council.

Sincerely yours,

Abba Hillel Silver  
Chairman



May 9, 1949

Dr. Benjamin Akzin  
American Zionist Emergency Council  
342 Madison Avenue  
New York 17, New York

My dear Dr. Akzin:

Thank you for the report on the meeting which you held on Thursday, May 5th. I think the suggestion of Mr. Handler that a lawyer be employed to do the necessary work of research is a good one, and I hope that the committee of lawyers will soon be appointed and get to work.

With reference to the draft letter which you sent me and which is to be sent to members at large of the American Zionist Emergency Council, I do not think well of it. Most of these members at large have not attended our meetings for two or three years now, and it would be somewhat forced to send them a letter. Let well enough alone.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er



# AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

## *Constituent Organizations*

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

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

May 19, 1949

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Dr. Silver:

I should like to ask you for guidance in a matter which has been on my desk for some time. Since the "re-organization" of the Council is again being delayed, I think it would not do to keep the matter in suspense any longer, and I would like to have your approval for action.

The matter concerns the Institute for Asiatic Studies, presided over by Professor Pope, the well known specialist on Iran. You may recall that a few years ago, Professor Pope, whose Institute was then in its infancy, wanted to engage a young friend of ours, Dr. Gurevitch, as instructor in Jewish History and related subjects, provided someone would finance the instructorship. The sum involved was about \$2000 a year and both Mr. Ben-Horin and I advocated the expenditure, but for some reason it was turned down.

At present, the Asia Institute seems to have become an important center of cultural exchange and political liaison between American and Asiatic circles. Information has also reached me from sources which cannot be doubted that the Institute is being used for information and other purposes by the U.S. Government, and there are indications that it receives considerable financial support from official quarters. It occupies, incidentally, the mansion on the corner of Fifth Avenue next door to the Consulate General of Israel.

Dr. Pope is now about to open within the framework of his Institute a Center of Arabic Studies and a parallel Center of Jewish Studies. He will do so whether or not he receives our cooperation, but if he does not, the circle of people whom he will invite as trustees and faculty members in the Center of Jewish Studies may not be at all to our liking. The importance of this lies in the fact that, when the two centers are established, Dr. Pope wants them to have round-table discussions about Jewish-Arab relations, issue public statements, etc.

The man whom Dr. Pope has asked to assist him in the setting up of the Center of Jewish Studies, a Mr. Guttman, has been an active Zionist for a number of years, and I knew him as such ten years ago. He has come to me highly recommended by various members of the Israeli Foreign Office, particularly Messrs. Gideon Raffael, Shomron, and Tal. Mr. Raffael telephoned me especially to ask that the Council give Mr. Guttman every possible



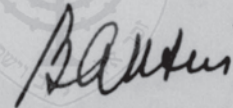
May 19, 1949

cooperation. It seems that they have found Mr. Guttman very cooperative in the past and have good reason to believe that he may prove even more useful in the future in connection with the proposed Center of Jewish Studies.

I explained to Mr. Guttman that it is out of the question for the Council to contribute to the proposed Center of Jewish Studies to any considerable extent. He understood that, but asked us to help him to interest a considerable group of persons in becoming members of the board of trustees of that Center. The people whom he and the gentlemen from the Israeli Foreign Office have in mind must not be primarily known for their Zionist activities but could be relied upon to see to it that the Center would not be used for the promotion of any slogans which would run counter to the interests of Zionism and of Israel. Names tentatively suggested were Dr. Louis Finkelstein, Dr. Belkind of the Yeshiva, Professor Oscar Janowsky, etc. A small sum of money may also have to be placed by the Council at the disposal of some of these trustees so that they may contribute it as their share toward the funds of the Center.

I would be grateful if you would let me know whether I have your approval in approaching these gentlemen and others of the same caliber, recommending Mr. Guttman to them and interesting them in the project. This could be done at once even though the question of a financial contribution by the Council might have to be postponed.

Sincerely yours,



Benjamin Akzin

BA:AF

*P.S. The meeting of the Nominations Committee has just ended. I understood that no nominations were made, and that the next meeting of the Committee has been set for June 6.*

*B. A.*



May 23, 1949

Dr. Benjamin Akzin  
American Zionist Council  
342 Madison Avenue  
New York 17, New York

My dear Dr. Akzin:

I believe that some representative of the American Zionist Council should attend the meeting called by CARE for Thursday, May 26th.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er



# AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

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

## *Constituent Organizations*

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

May 25, 1949

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I will appreciate receiving your directives with regard to Schulson's memorandum of May 24, copy of which he sent to you. The questions are, specifically:

- a) Should Schulson be authorized to line up support for the Javits-Multer resolution through personal efforts on the Hill?
- b) Should he be authorized to do so even if that would mean registering under the lobbying act?
- c) Should the local American Zionist Councils be asked to undertake supporting action?
- d) Should we, before deciding one way or the other, consult with Elath and the Agency?

Personally, I am not inclined to view too favorably a concerted effort on our part to help in establishing the Near East Survey Commission. It is my feeling that, with the present attitude of Congress toward expenditures abroad, there is very little likelihood of the Government authorizing any large sums which would help the economic development of Israel. I fear that the Near East Survey Commission, if established, would not be able to accomplish anything real or worthwhile. It might, on the other hand, confuse matters by tying up development projects for Israel with all kinds of political and technical concessions to the Arab States. In so far as large-scale expenditures of money might be envisaged, I fear that they are far more likely to benefit the Arabs than the Jews. It is possible that because of our interest in seeing the Arab refugees resettled in Arab countries, we would like this to happen, but then let it be presented to the American public in a straightforward manner as American help to the Arabs, rather than wrapped in a package which would look like a gift to the Jews, whereas in reality it contains a gift to the Arabs. The support given to the joint resolution by the State Department makes me particularly dubious in this regard.

For these reasons, I would be most chary of undertaking any effort in this matter unless Elath informs us that the Israelis, after considering all pros and cons, have decided that they are very much in favor of this effort



May 25, 1949

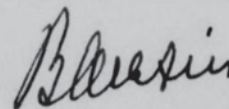
being undertaken. As the prospective beneficiaries, they ought to have the last word.

If we do not accede to Multer's request, we ought, of course, to explain the situation to Multer and his colleagues in such a way as not to alienate them, but this, I suppose, can be taken care of without undue difficulties.

I have sent a copy of this letter to Dr. Neumann, to whom Schulson has also addressed a copy of his memorandum, so that Dr. Neumann can take my comments into consideration in connection with paragraph 4 of Schulson's memo.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,



Benjamin Akzin

BA:AF

cc: Dr. Neumann





# AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

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## *Constituent Organizations*

Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America

Hashomer Hatzair

Labor Zionist Organization of America-Poale Zion

Mizrachi Organization of America

United Zionist Labor Party (Achdut Avodah-Poale Zion)

Zionist Organization of America

Zionists-Revisionists of America

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

June 1, 1949

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

In accordance with your suggestion over the telephone, I went to see Mr. Eban yesterday in connection with the Asia Institute matter. Mr. Eban also believes that it would be advisable for us to meet the request, and I will accordingly take steps to interest a few suitable Jewish personalities in the project.

In the course of the conversation, Eban told me that he was very much perturbed over the serious deterioration in the attitude of the State Department toward Israel. He is not quite certain where Acheson stands personally, though he feels that Acheson may be content to reflect in this matter the views of the Department. At the center of the intrigue is Dean Rusk who, as the newly appointed Assistant Secretary of State, now wields a great deal of influence. Rusk, who was to a very large extent the author of the trusteeship plan and who did not want Israel admitted to the United Nations, is bitter and revengeful. At the same time, he is very smooth, and may prove to be even more of a danger than Loy Henderson used to be.

At this particular moment, the detrimental influence of the State Department shows itself mainly in the directives which it is sending to the American representative on the Conciliation Commission. The so-called "Gaza Plan" discussed informally between the Egyptians and the Israelis, promised a good way out of the difficulty. The plan consisted in the Egyptians letting the Jews have the Gaza region together with the few hundred thousand Arab refugees concentrated there. The Israeli Cabinet, considering that sooner or later Israel would probably have to take back at least 100,000 Arab refugees anyhow, decided in favor of that plan, so that together with the refugees it might at least get some valuable territory. The Egyptians explained that they could not initiate the proposal, and the thought was that the Conciliation Commission would propose it to both sides. If this plan had been formally advanced by the Commission and accepted by both Egypt and Israel, it would have become much easier to get the Lebanon, Syria and Transjordan to conclude formal peace. Instead of welcoming this chance, the representatives of the State Department took a purely negative position. They said: "On the basis of the Jessup statement, Israel should be preparing to give up some territory; instead you talk about taking in more territory!" For the moment, the Arabs do not seriously think about any territorial gains at the expense of Israel. But if this goes on much longer, the Arabs will get some such



ideas. In this respect, the State Department may be said to be fostering an attitude of intransigence on the part of the Arabs, just as the British officials did at an earlier period.

An attempt is being made at present to bring this situation to the attention of the White House. Eban did not tell me, and I did not ask, through what channels that was being done, but it is easy to surmise that it is being taken up by Elath with Niles, perhaps with the addition of a direct communication from James McDonald to the President. What Eban did say was that there is some additional difficulty because President Truman is inclined to regard Acheson as "his man" on whom he could place complete reliance. Eban said that he fears the position will continue to remain very serious between now and the forthcoming September session of the United Nations (which may be held in one of the Latin American capitals) if not longer. Hence, what may be required is a counter-effort on our part which may last several weeks or even months.

I told Eban that experience has shown the folly of relying on one single channel of communication with the White House. Attempts to draw the President's attention via Niles should by all means go on, but if the situation is as serious as he suggested, these attempts should be supplemented by several other channels. I mentioned tentatively, and as the simplest and easiest supplementary channels of influence, communications from appropriate quarters to Senator McGrath, the National Democratic Chairman; to Flynn who is trying once more to become the undisputed head of the Democrats in New York; to O'Dwyer who is again becoming very important in connection with the political situation; to Senator O'Mahoney who is one of the best balanced and respected members of the Senate and carries a great deal of weight with the President; and to Vice-President Barkley whose stature and influence have been on the increase. These steps could be taken discreetly and immediately, without prejudice to the attempts made by Niles. In addition, as soon as Mr. Acheson returns from Paris, he could be approached in the same fashion, with Justice Frankfurter and Charles Fahy being the men best able to talk to him.

I added that personally I would also advise adding just the tiniest bit of public pressure. In this realm, I suggested three steps: (a) an item in Drew Pearson's column naming Dean Rusk as the villain in the case; (b) a few editorials not mentioning names but saying that the State Department seems to be up to its old tricks; (c) a speech by an important Republican Senator on the floor of the Senate along the same lines. -- This latter move would be particularly important, since the Republicans in Congress have now reached the point where, after exposing the legislative helplessness of the Democrats, they are trying to seize the initiative with a legislative program of their own. Any indication that they may be doing something similar in the field of foreign policy would undoubtedly have a needling effect on the White House, particularly since the Congressional Elections of 1950 are beginning to draw nearer.

I explained to Eban that all these are, of course, mere tentative ideas suggested by me on the spur of the moment; that I could not undertake to do any of them without directives from you; and that it was my feeling that the Council may not want to act in this matter unless he or another representative of Israel asks us to do so.

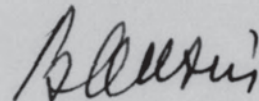


June 1, 1949

Eban seemed to be rather inclined personally toward this program of action but appeared also somewhat uncertain as to whether he was in a position to address any such request to us. We agreed that he would get in touch with me again in a couple of days.

Please let me have your reaction to the foregoing as well as your instructions for future action.

Sincerely yours,



Benjamin Akzin

BA:AF





BENJAMIN AKZIN

~~160-17 XX 85TH AVENUE~~

~~FOREST HILLS, N.Y.~~

101-06 67th Drive  
Forest Hills, N.Y.

June 1, 1949

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

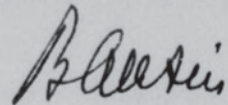
Dear Dr. Silver:

I should like to share with you a piece of news of a purely personal nature. Sir Leon Simon has sent me a cable informing me of my appointment to a newly created Chair of Political Science at the Hebrew University. This represents for me the fulfillment of a dream which I have had since boyhood.

I do not yet have the slightest idea when I will actually go to Israel. My guess is, not for several months. Until I go, I will be very happy to continue my work in the Council.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,



Benjamin Akzin



# AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

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

## *Constituent Organizations*

Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America  
Hashomer Hatzair  
Labor Zionist Organization of America-Poale Zion  
Mizrachi Organization of America  
United Zionist Labor Party (Achdut Avodah-Poale Zion)  
Zionist Organization of America  
Zionists-Revisionists of America

June 2, 1949

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Three of the constituent organizations of the Council -- the ZOA, the Poale Zion and the Hadassah -- telephoned me to request a week's postponement of the date of the meeting of the Nominations Committee. Accordingly, I have set the Nominations Committee meeting for Monday, June 13, 3 P.M.

The ZOA asked me whether I could set the meeting of the Council for some time after the meeting of the Nominations Committee meeting and prior to Mr. Frisch's departure for Israel on June 15. I replied that while I am glad to set the time of the Nominations Committee meeting to suit the convenience of its members, the meeting of the full Council must be convened by you and that you told me last week that you would prefer not to call the Council together until after you have received a report that the Nominations Committee is ready. The ZOA was content with this information.

Subsequently, Harry Steinberg told me that you would like to have a meeting of the Council before June 18, at which time you were going on vacation. I suppose we may take it for granted that after this renewed postponement, the Nominations Committee will get down to business on the 13th, and therefore I would see little risk in your convening the meeting of the full Council for some time between the 14th and the 18th. Please let me know your choice of date.

It may interest you to know that several of the constituent bodies have notified me that they are changing their representatives to the Nominations Committee.

Sincerely yours,

*Benjamin Akzin*

Benjamin Akzin

BA:AF

*Thurs.  
16*



JUNE 5, 1929

DR. BENJAMIN AKZIN  
AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL  
342 MADISON AVENUE  
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

PLEASE CONVIKE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL FOR  
THURSDAY EVENING, JUNE *Sixteenth* ~~EIGHTEENTH~~. REGARDS

SILVER



# AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

## *Constituent Organizations*

Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America  
Hashomer Hatzair  
Labor Zionist Organization of America-Poale Zion  
Mizrachi Organization of America  
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342 MADISON AVENUE  
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.  
MUrray Hill 2-1160

June 9, 1949

CONFIDENTIAL

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Recent newspaper stories and JTA Bulletins will have given you a general picture of the pressure that is being applied by the American Government. Enclosed please find copy of the note which was delivered by James McDonald to the Government of Israel and which is referred to in most of the stories from Washington and Lausanne. In giving me the copy of the note, Eban asked that it be treated with utmost discretion.

The principal points made by Eban concerning the present situation are as follows:

- a) The Jews came forward with the Gaza Plan at the unofficial request of the Egyptians and of Ethridge. So clear was the attitude in American official circles that the Gaza Plan would break the deadlock, that a high American official who seemingly was not informed of the sudden change in the American attitude, when informed a few days ago that there was trouble between Washington and Tel Aviv, asked whether that meant that Israel had rejected the Gaza Plan.
- b) The change in the American attitude is only partly due to the influence of Rusk and the permanent officials. To some extent it can be ascribed to the talks held in Paris between Acheson and Bevin. However, in view of Truman's attitude toward Acheson, nothing would be gained by attacking the latter.
- c) Israel did not only agree to put forward the Gaza Plan, but agreed, in addition, to the admission of a considerable number of Arabs whose families are in Israel. Despite this fact, the American Government, both officially and in giving information to the press, is trying to create the impression that Israel is utterly unbending and does not offer a single step toward reconciliation.
- d) Until recently the American Government conceded that the physical admission of Arab refugees to Israel cannot take place until after peace has been established and asked only that the Israelis declare in advance their readiness to admit a large number of refugees at that time. Now their attitude has changed, and they take the view that Arab refugees have to be admitted immediately.



June 9, 1949

e) There is no indication that the American Government is going to be satisfied with any partial concessions which may be offered by Israel and that it may thereupon lay off and see to it that the Arabs should lay off. On the contrary, Washington's attitude seems to be to demand more and more concessions from Israel, to ignore those concessions which Israel is making, and to go on pressing with further demands; what, if any, compensating pressure is being exercised on the Arabs in the sense of full pacification is not clear.

f) The most serious matter of all is the renewed pressure by Washington for territorial changes. The Jessup formula of territorial compensations by Israel for any accretion of territory over and above the partition boundaries was rejected by the U.N. General Assembly last winter. The resolution as adopted at that time made it clear that the parties should be free to determine boundaries between them, without reference to the Bernadotte proposal or to the partition boundaries, on the basis of existing realities. The armistice agreements made since then provided for further consolidation of territorial arrangements. John Foster Dulles in a speech at the United Nations acknowledged at that time that the U.S. proposal advanced by Jessup was defeated and that it was the sense of the Assembly that the parties be free to determine boundaries by common accord without any guidance by third parties; and that Jerusalem and the refugee question were to be the only points in which the Conciliation Commission might substantively interfere. -- All this has now been reversed, and the revival of the Jessup formula by the American Government is in effect an attempt to disregard the U.N. resolution and the armistice agreements. Eban thinks that the principal reason for this change lies in Bevin having been able to persuade Acheson that Gaza and the Negev are a major strategic objective for Britain in the Middle East.

As far as Mr. Crum is concerned, Eban believes that it would be far better if you rather than he were to have a talk with Mr. Crum prior to his visit to the President. Eban would not like to put either Crum or himself in the position of it being said that what Mr. Crum is going to tell the President is inspired by the representative of a foreign government. The points which, in Eban's opinion, could be most usefully stressed by Mr. Crum in his talk with the President are the following:

a) Were the President and Mr. Webb told by Rusk and the other career officials that the Jessup formula of territorial compensation which they now seek to advance was definitely rejected by the General Assembly last winter?

b) Were the President and Mr. Webb told by Rusk, etc. that Israel has agreed to the Gaza Plan and to the additional admission of members of Arab families at the request of American representatives who urged them to do so because that would open a way to peace; and that, after the Jews had followed that advice, American representatives made use of this very move to discredit Israel in the eyes of the public and to attack them for having taken the course which they themselves urged upon Israel?

20722



June 9, 1949

c) Does the President realize that in tolerating another change in American attitude vis-a-vis Israel, he is again opening his Administration to the charge that they are letting Bevin run their foreign policy? Experience has shown that Bevin's views with regard to Israel are utterly unreliable, unreasonable, and motivated mainly by revenge. There has certainly been no change for the worse in the international situation which would make it necessary for the United States to follow the lead of Bevin now more than it did in the course of the last few months. H. W.

The points of these questions would be to identify in the President's mind the latest American moves vis-a-vis Israel with the clique of anti-Israel career officials headed by Rusk on the one hand, and with Bevin's attempt to run American policy on the other, while letting Acheson off lightly.

To these questions I would strongly recommend the addition of a constructive suggestion by Crum to the effect that the President immediately appoint Hoover to head a commission to study the resettlement of Arab refugees. That would give the President something positive to do and would enable him to be covered, as far as public opinion is concerned, behind the broad shoulders of Mr. Hoover. H. W.

Eban thought that if you can conveniently discuss this matter with Crum by letter or on the telephone, there is no need for you to come to New York for that particular purpose in the beginning of the week. You will, of course, have to be here in any case on Thursday for the meeting of the Council. If there are any further urgent developments before that time, Eban will keep me informed and I will, of course, transmit them to you immediately.

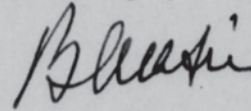
As far as our own moves are concerned, Tuvim spoke yesterday to friends of Mayor Lawrence of Pittsburgh and of Mr. Flynn in the Bronx. He has taken steps to get in touch today with friends of Fitzpatrick, O'Dwyer and Arvey. I am telephoning today to Schulson asking him to take up the matter with Senators O'Mahoney, Myers and Brewster. I will also telephone Judge Levinthal asking him to speak to Myers and to urge him to give speedy attention to Schulson's request. Eban also asked whether the attention of Senator Taft could not be drawn to the situation, and he expressed the hope that you would be able to do so. In the case of the Democratic Senators, we will ask that they take up the matter discreetly but most urgently with the White House. In the case of the Republican Senators, it might be left to them whether they should express their apprehension at the changed American attitude by pointed inquiries in the White House or by some critical remarks from the floor. In all these cases, the same points could be used which are suggested as the theme of Mr. Crum's conversation with the President.

The memorandum drafted by me yesterday for circulation among our local Chairmen is being redrafted by me today in accordance with Eban's suggestion. I will send you a copy of the final draft as soon as it is ready. Eban is heartily in favor of our people immediately going to their local editors with this memorandum. As for a campaign mobilizing widespread congressional support, he recommends that we wait somewhat longer. He expects a great deal of excitement in a few days in connection



with the anticipated Syrian rejection of the Bunche plan for Mishmar Hayerden and in connection with possible Israeli moves after that rejection, which excitement may for a short time drive the long-range issue off the headlines.

Sincerely yours,



Benjamin Akzin

BA:AF  
encl.





(S E C R E T)

June 1949

The Government of the United States is seriously disturbed by the attitude of Israel with respect to a territorial settlement in Palestine and to the question of Palestinian refugees, as set forth by the representatives of Israel at Lausanne in public and private meetings. According to Dr. Eytan, the Israeli Government will do nothing further about Palestinian refugees at the present time, although it has under consideration certain urgent measures of limited character. In connection with territorial matters, the position taken by Dr. Eytan apparently contemplates not only the retention of all territory now held under military occupation by Israel, which is clearly in excess of the partition boundaries of November 29, 1947, but possibly an additional acquisition of further territory within Palestine.

As a member of the United Nations Palestine Conciliation Commission and as a nation which has consistently striven to give practical effect to the principles of the United Nations, the United States Government has recently made a number of representations to the Israeli Government, concerning the repatriation of refugees who fled from the conflict in Palestine. These representations were in conformity with the principles set forth in the resolution of the General Assembly of December 11, 1948, and urged the acceptance of the principle of substantial repatriation and the immediate beginning of repatriation on a reasonable scale which would be well within the numbers to be agreed in a final settlement. The United States Government conceded that a final settlement of the refugee problem must await a definitive peace settlement. These representations, as well as those made concurrently to the Arab states concerning the resettlement outside of Palestine of a substantial portion of Palestine refugees, were made in the firm conviction that they pointed the way to a lasting peace in that area.

In the interests of a just and equitable solution of territorial questions the United States Government, in the United Nations and as a member of the Palestine Conciliation Commission, has supported the position that Israel should be expected to offer territorial compensation for any territorial acquisition which it expects to effect beyond the boundaries set forth in the resolution of the General Assembly



of November 29, 1947. The Government of Israel has been well aware of this position and of the view of the United States Government that it is based upon elementary principles of fairness and equity.

The United States Government is deeply concerned to learn from Dr. Eytan's statements that the suggestions both on refugees and on territorial questions which have been made by it for the sole purpose of advancing prospects of peace have made so little impression upon the Government of Israel.

The United States attitude of sympathy and support for Israel has arisen out of broad American interests and principles, particularly out of its support for the United Nations and its desire to achieve peace and security in the Near East on a realistic basis. The United States Government and people have given generous support to the creation of Israel because they have been convinced of the justice of this aspiration. The United States Government does not, however, regard the present attitude of the Israeli Government as being consistent with the principles upon which United States support has been based. The United States Government is gravely concerned lest Israel now endanger the possibility of arriving at a solution of the Palestine problem in such a way as to contribute to the establishment of sound and friendly relations between Israel and its neighbors.

✓ The Government of Israel should entertain no doubt whatever that the United States Government relies upon it to take responsible and positive action concerning the Palestine refugees and that, far from supporting excessive Israeli claims to further territory within Palestine, the United States Government believes that it is necessary for Israel to offer territorial compensation for territory which it expects to acquire beyond the boundaries of the November 29, 1947 resolution of the General Assembly.

The Government of Israel must be aware that the attitude which it has thus far assumed at Lausanne must inevitably lead to a rupture in those conversations. The United States Government must state in candor that it considers that the Government of Israel must provide a basis for a continuation of such talks under the auspices of the Palestine Conciliation Commission and that a rupture arising out of



the rigid attitude of the Government of Israel would place a heavy responsibility upon that Government and people.

If the Government of Israel continues to reject the basic principles set forth by the resolution of the General Assembly of December 11, 1948, and the friendly advice offered by the United States Government for the sole purpose of facilitating a genuine peace in Palestine, the United States Government will regretfully be forced to the conclusion that a revision of its attitude toward Israel has become unavoidable.

(S E C R E T)





June 20, 1949

Dr. Benjamin Akzin  
101-06 67th Street  
Forest Hills, New York

My dear Dr. Akzin:

I was very pleased to receive your letter informing me that you have been appointed to the Chair of Political Science at the Hebrew University. Let me extend to you my warmest felicitations. I know that you have long harbored the hope to go to Israel and to teach at the University. It must be deeply satisfying to you that a life-long ambition has now been realized. I wish you all satisfaction and happiness in your new field of service.

I am sure that I shall have an opportunity to see you before you depart for Israel.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er



Undated]

Adams 8800



2315 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, NORTHWEST  
WASHINGTON 8, D. C.

Dear Friend:

Though we are not personally acquainted, we deem it proper to extend to you our greetings and bid you farewell on the occasion of assuming our duties as members of the Constituent Assembly of Israel.

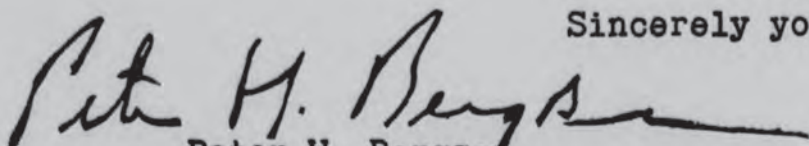
While we feel gratified by the confidence that the people of Eretz Israel have expressed in electing us to the Israeli Parliament, we also feel it our duty to express to you our appreciation and gratitude for your support in the past. For you were among those far-sighted people who supported the struggle for the liberation of Eretz Israel in darker days, when our fight seemed to so many to be futile and hopeless. Now that the British have been defeated by the underground and forced to evacuate Palestine and, thanks to the valor of the glorious Israeli Army, the whole world is compelled to recognize the State of Israel, we feel that you deserve not only to be congratulated but also the everlasting appreciation of the Hebrew Freedom Movement.

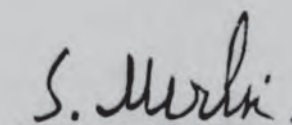
With the winding up of the activities of the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation, the American League for a Free Palestine, aware that its primary objectives have been achieved, has decided to wind up its activities, too.

Having ended our British-enforced exile, we feel that we have one last duty to perform and that is to come to the aid of several thousand families made casualties in the course of the Irgun's fight against the British occupation forces. These families include those who lost their husbands or sons on the field of battle or on the gallows; or whose members have become invalids; or who have been exiled (more than 1100) for many years in the jungles of Africa. It is, to our mind, an elementary duty of men of good-will not to leave these families or those veterans destitute, helpless, uprooted. That is why we are now engaged in a rehabilitation project to heal the sick, reclaim the healthy, and settle the uprooted in hospitals, in homes and in industrial, artisan, and cooperative enterprises.

We therefore appeal to you - and this is going to be the last appeal of the American League for a Free Palestine - to contribute generously to this drive, being sure that you who gave them the weapons will now want to give them a chance to live.

Sincerely yours,

  
Peter H. Bergson

  
Samuel Merlin

P.S. We enclose a dollar bill as a token of the spirit of generosity so dramatically symbolized by the Festival of Purim and the coming Holy days of Passover. Please add to it as generous a contribution as you can and return in the pre-stamped envelope enclosed. Contributions to this organization are deductible for Income Tax purposes. Please make checks payable to Alex Wilf, Treasurer.



You gave them  
the Weapons...

Now give them  
a Chance  
to Live!

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To Mr. BEN HECHT,  
Board of Trustees

Enclosed please find the token dollar with my contribution of \$\_\_\_\_\_.

Good luck and best wishes to the sovereign state of Israel. Congratulations to Mr. Bergson and Mr. Merlin on their election to the Constituent Assembly.

Name\_\_\_\_\_

Address\_\_\_\_\_

*Please make checks payable to ALEX WILF, Treasurer*

*(Contributions to this organization are tax exempt)*