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American Zionist Emergency Council, Ben Horin, Eliahu, 1948-
1949.

COPY

SUITE 785
11 West 42nd Street
New York 18, N.Y.

August 12, 1948

Rev. Dr. A. H. Silver,
Jewish Agency for Palestine,
16 East 66th Street,
New York, New York.

Dear Dr. Silver:

Permit me to acknowledge receipt of your letter of July 12th.

Although it may be as you say, that "the Jewish Agency cannot consider that a useful or legitimate purpose is served by individual Jews, whatever their position, who invite the support of the U.S. Government or of U.N. delegation for policies which run counter to those which the government of Israel in its defense of the complete political and territorial integrity of the State," I venture to believe that those at the head of the government of Israel would take a wider and more liberal view of the activities of certain individuals who present plans which have some chance of helping the Jewish people and the cause of Israel.

Might I ask you kindly to convey to Mr. Eban the enclosed notes in answer to his Comment of July 10, 1948?

Thanking you, I am

Sincerely yours,

JLM:mat
Inc.

(signed) Judah L. Magnes

DR. JUDAH L. MAGNES
Suite 785
11 West 42nd Street
New York 18, N.Y.

MEMORANDUM

RE: Notes on Dr. Eban's Comment of July 10, 1948

-o-

1. The sentence in the preamble to my Plan for Palestine Confederation, that "political and economic isolation and unbridled sovereignty are as futile in Palestine as they are antiquated in the rest of the world" is indeed "too dogmatic". Yet it is common knowledge that small states cannot, in practice, enjoy unlimited sovereignty. This is a sentence that can be argued pro and con at great length without arriving at a practical result. But it should be pointed out that this sentence forms no essential part of the practical proposals for Palestine Confederation. The proposals for a Palestine Confederation were put forward to be of some practical help, and not for the purpose of making debating and points, an easy, if rather futile exercise.

It is strange that Mr. Eban calls the Confederation tendency "19th Century and pre-charter," in view of the recent formation of Benelux, and the trend towards union in Western Europe generally, and now the recent vote in Newfoundland in favor of confederation with Canada.

I doubt greatly if the government of Israel in its search for a way out of the terrible impasse would permit itself the use of such terms as "grotesque" and that would seem to be the prerogative only of those who have been made rather heady by the freedom of debate in the Council Chamber of the UN.

As to foreign relations and defense, it would be interesting to know in what terms the Cabinet of the State of Israel is thinking of answering the similar proposals of Count Bernadotte. One may be sure that they will not use expressions such as "grotesque" and "not worthy of serious comment." They will be deeply concerned in finding ways out of the terrible impasse rather than in the wordy rhetoric and the headlines which the freedom of the UN Council Chamber would seem to engender.

JLM:mat

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

August 25, 1948

AIR MAIL

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
c/o Gat Rimon Hotel
Tel-Aviv, Israel.

Dear Dr. Silver:

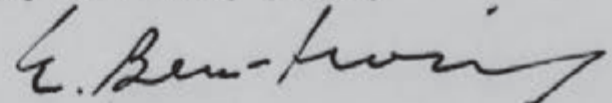
I hope this letter still reaches you in Tel-Aviv. Judging by the dispatches, you are still far from having settled matters in the Actions Committee.

As I mention in my letter to Shertok, a copy of which is herewith attached, it was indeed very farsighted on our part to have devoted so much attention to the Catholic Church and to have established in good time contacts and friendly relations with the Catholic hierarchy. This became apparent especially in light of the events of the last two days. The attached copies of my memoranda to Shapiro will give you a fair idea of our efforts here in this respect.

You may also be interested in the second part of my letter to Shertok, which has nothing to do with the Catholic angle. I do think that our policy makers are committing a fallacy by allowing exaggerated figures of Arab refugees to stand unchallenged thereby even contributing themselves to this harmful exaggeration. If you feel the same way about it, do have a word with Shertok on the subject.

With kindest regards and looking forward to welcoming you back very soon, I am

Very sincerely yours,



Eliahu Ben-Horin

EBH/lb

Encls

לכבוד
מר משה שרתוק
מיניסטר לענייני חוץ
ממשלת ישראל
תל-אביב, ישראל
מר שרתוק הנכבד,

מה שקרה בשבועות האחרונים בשטח המקומות הקדושים לנוצרים מוכיח עד כמה שהיה חשוב לקשור בעוד מועד קשרים ידידותיים עם ראשי הכנסייה הקטולית. כתבתי לך בעניין זה במכתבי הקודמים וחנני מצרף בזה העתקה של שני חזכירים ממני למר שפירא, מנהל הועד הציוני לשעת חירום, המסבכים את השיחות שהיו לי במשך הימים האחרונים עם חשובי הקטולים בושינגטון ובניו-יורק. אני ביחוד מפנה את תשומת לבך לשיחה שהיתה לי אתמול עם מונסיניור מק-מיהון, ידימינו של קרדינל ספלמן, האיש שחתם את החלונה לאולם בשבוע שעבר.

אליהו אפשטיין, שאהו אני נמצא במגע מחמיר בכל השאלות האלו, חשב שהחצעה שעשיתי למק-מיהון בשמי אני בנוגע למברק מספק לספלמן, שתכלול הזמנה לשלוח משלחת קטולית ארצה, היתה הצעה מצוינה. אבל כמובן, עלינו לחכות עד שאשמע ממק-מיהון בנוגע לתגובתו של קרדינל ספלמן, לפני שנוכל לעשות דבר מה בכיוון זה; זאת אומרת, אם גם בעיניך תיראה ההצעה הזאת.

בהזדמנות זו הייתי רוצה להפנות את תשומת לבך לעניין אחר. דברתי על זה לפני מספר שבועות גם עם אוברי איבן וגם עם ארטור לורית. אמרתי להם שלפי דעתי פרסום הגזמות על מספר הפליטים הערבים מארץ ישראל יכול להזיק לנו בעתיד בשעה שיבוא התסדר עם הערבים, אשר אולי יכלול את החזרת הפליטים לישראל. אז הערבים, בהסתמכם על המספרים שפורסמו בשעתם בעתונות העולמית, ושללא הוכחות על ידי ישראל, יוכלו לחביא לארץ המונים אשר אף פעם לא היו בארץ. גם איבן וגם לורית נהנו צדק לאזרחתי. אבל אני קורא עכשיו מברק של שרות, אונת מתל-אביב, מיום 22 לאוגוסט, המצטט דבר של המיניסטריין הישראלי לענייני חוץ, שהעריך את מספר הפליטים הערבים בין 300,000 עד 700,000.

יחנן שיש לך ולממשלת ישראל בזונות בזה הגנוזות ממני. אבל חסלה לי, אם אומר שלפי דעתי הודעות מעין זה יכולות לעלות לנו ביקר בעתיד. אפילו הערבים עצמם, עם כל דמיונם המזרחי הטוב עליהם, אף פעם לא דברו על 700,000 פליטים ערבים. מה הוא המעם בזה שאנו נפרטם מספר מוגזם זה?

ברגשי כבוד,

שלך,

אליהו בן-חורדין

MEMORANDUM

To Harry L. Shapiro

Date August 20, 1948

From Elishu Ben-Horin

I just returned from Washington from conferences with Catholic dignitaries, which I feel were both interesting and extremely useful. By the way, this feeling is shared by Mr. Fahy, who accompanied me and took an active part in these talks.

Our first conference was with Msgr. Carroll, the Executive Director of the National Catholic Welfare Conference — the organization of all the Catholic bishops in the United States, and their political and public relations arm. Carroll, a very amiable man, unhesitatingly gave us assurances similar to those which Dr. Silver and I received from Msgr. McMahon and Msgr. Griffiths in New York. In fact, he went further than that, expressing his personal endorsement of Zionist aspirations in Palestine.

When I showed him the report on Father Anderson's lecture, he said that he knew Father Anderson only slightly and that he therefore couldn't judge whether this report sounds true to type. However, he added, that as a man who is in permanent contact with all the Catholic publications and all the bishops, he wants to assure me that not even once has he heard any Catholic bishop or priest make statements along these lines, and that he finds it difficult to believe that a Catholic priest spoke in these terms on the Palestine question.

I was very careful in pointing out to Msgr. Carroll, when I submitted to him the report on the Anderson lecture, that we never had a chance as yet to establish the veracity of this report, and therefore I submit it to him subject to this reservation. This turned out to be very prudent of me, especially in light of what happened the next day during our conversation with Father Walsh and Father Anderson.

To come back to our conference with Msgr. Carroll, I also raised the question of the news from Palestine published in the Catholic press, pointing out that sometimes a distorted picture is presented of events in Palestine. I added that I do not suspect ill will on their part, but rather ignorance or inadequate information at the source of the news. I further suggested that it might be a good idea for the Catholic News Service, attached to Msgr. Carroll's organization, to check in certain cases their news with us before circulation. Carroll thought that this was a sound idea and he immediately took us down to see the Assistant Director of the News Service, Mr. Burke Walsh, with whom we had a short and satisfying talk. He promised to consult us when the occasion arises.

August 20, 1948

The next morning we had a conference with Father Edmund A. Walsh, Vice President of Georgetown University and Director of their famous School of Foreign Relations; and Father Anderson, the latter having been in New York, was called especially to Washington to attend this conference with us. Father Walsh turned out to be all what I heard of him from Akzin and others in Washington, namely one of the most outstanding laymen in the Catholic Church in the United States, a man of an excellent mind, and a great authority on Russia and other foreign policy affairs. Our conversation lasted for 2½ hours, and it might have lasted much longer but for my breaking it up because of a lunch appointment which Leo Salk arranged for me with a radio commentator, Earl Godwin (sponsored by Aramco). At the very outset of our conversation after mutual introductions were over, Father Walsh showed us a statement made by the Pope on August 3, 1946, on the occasion of an audience granted by the Pope to a six-man Arab delegation which came to the Vatican hoping to get Catholic endorsement of Arab aspirations in Palestine. I attach a copy of this statement, which we may consider as absolutely fair from our viewpoint. I then told them of the sources of our perturbation recently and specifically raised the question of Father Anderson's reported lecture, asking once again the reservation that we don't know how reliable and true the report is that we have. I gave the report first to Father Anderson and then to Father Walsh. Father Anderson's first reaction was that "it is a highly unreliable summary". Father Walsh said that if he were Father Anderson he would refuse even to discuss this report unless the man is produced who wrote it; that it is his practice to send this kind of anonymous communications and complaints to a "nuts" file which he has in his office, and that is what he would advise Father Anderson to do. To this I answered that Father Anderson would obviously be within his rights if he accepted Father Walsh's advice; that I do not know any more about this lecture than what is written in the report; nor do I know the name of the man who wrote it.

Father Anderson in the meantime started to analyze this report and the main, very essential point which he mentioned at the very outset of his analysis was, that he delivered a lecture to the Cardinals Coordinating Committee in May 1947, not in May 1948. This, of course, put a different complexion on the whole thing, because it was a long time before Israel was established. However, I asked Father Anderson whether he would allow me to profit by this occasion of our meeting together and would tell me whether he entertains any of the views attributed to him in this report, unreliable as it may be. Our conversation thereupon developed along the opinions attributed to Anderson in the report. To make a long story short, both Fahy and I arrived at the conclusion that while Msgr. Carroll, Father Walsh and other Catholic dignitaries whom we met are basically leaning towards a pro-Zionist position on the Palestine question, Father Anderson is no friend of ours.-- to put it mildly. The man must have been indoctrinated by the anti-Zionists, and probably never heard a true Zionist presentation

and interpretation of the Palestine problem. It is needless to say that both Fahy and I did quite a bit in presenting the Zionist viewpoint during this session. Father Anderson was very definitely on the defensive and very much so. Fahy told me on our way from the conference that he feels sure that Anderson will think twice now before making any anti-Zionist statements, and I think that Fahy is right.

I wish to add that I found Fahy's cooperation in these talks not only extremely charming and pleasant but also very useful.

It was very unfortunate that the same afternoon the news was published from Palestine about the Catholic circles there accusing the Israeli Army of looting some Catholic institutions. Eliahu Epstein told me that he immediately wired to Tel-Aviv asking for either refutation or clarification of this matter, as he felt that it might do us a great deal of harm if the accusation stands without any proper reaction on our part.

EBH/lb

P.S. Our lunch, Leo's and mine, with Earl Godwin -- unrelated to the Catholic conversations -- was very pleasant and I am sure will prove to have been useful. We discussed mostly the Palestine and oil affairs and enlightened Mr. Godwin on the subject. He is undoubtedly a very friendly man in general, and also a friend of the Jewish people and of Palestine. I think that we should have no doubts on this account.

C
O
P
Y

ADDRESS OF THE HOLY FATHER TO THE DELEGATES OF THE
ARAB HIGHER COMMITTEE OF PALESTINE - 3 August 1946

We are happy, first of all, to receive a Committee which comes to us in the name of a People whom we know and esteem for their generous character and attachment to certain basic religious principles which constitute an indispensable condition for social order and for civilization.

Secondly, we cannot but be impressed by the composition of this present Committee.* It is a pleasure for Us to welcome it as a symbol of social solidarity and of that peaceful community which, in spite of the diversity of its racial groups, ought especially to have its center in Palestine, where Jesus, the Prince of Peace, proclaimed and brought peace to men of all times and of all nations.

Certainly, peace cannot be established except on truth and on justice. That supposes respect for the rights of others, respect for certain acquired positions and traditions, especially in the domain of religion. It supposes, likewise, the strict fulfilment of duties and obligations binding on the diverse groups of inhabitants.

That is why, when we have received, even in recent days, numerous appeals and protests from different parts of the world and on behalf of a variety of causes, it is superfluous to tell you that we disapprove of all recourse to force and violence, whatever its origin. So also we have condemned on repeated occasions in the past the persecutions that a fanatic antisemitism launched against the Jewish people. We have always maintained this attitude of perfect impartiality, however varied the circumstances, and We propose to maintain it in the future as well.

Clearly, one cannot interpret as indifference, this impartiality which our Apostolic Ministry necessitates in Us and which places Us above those conflicts that beset human society, especially in the present troubled times. We assure you, also, that insofar as it depends on Us and according to possibilities that may be offered Us, We will strive that justice and peace in Palestine may become a blessed reality; a reality producing through the effective cooperation of all interested parties an order that will guarantee to each of the parties at present in conflict security of existence along with those physical and moral conditions of life that are the normal foundations of material and cultural well-being.

It is in these sentiments that, thanking you sincerely for your visit, We give you assurance of Our paternal good wishes for you, for your families, for those who are dear to you and for your entire People.

* The 6 Delegates were Moslem and Christian; among the latter were Orthodox and Catholic.

Harry L. Shapiro

August 25, 1948

Eliahu Ben-Horin

We were of course greatly perturbed when we read in the press about the memorandum submitted by Msgr. McMahon, on behalf of Cardinal Spellman, to the United Nations asking for an investigation of the reported desecrations of holy places in Israel. I phoned Msgr. McMahon, who told me that he had mailed to Dr. Silver, Rabbi Lander and myself copies of his letter to the United Nations, as he didn't want us to learn about this development from the press. I thanked him for that and went to see him yesterday. We had a talk which lasted for about an hour and twenty minutes.

When I came, I presented him with a copy of the cable received by Eliahu Epstein from Mr. Shertok in reply to his inquiry regarding the reported desecrations. I also showed him a clipping from yesterday's New York Times carrying a more elaborate statement by Mr. Shertok on this subject. To this Msgr. McMahon remarked that we have a better press than they, and I answered that if he is referring to the memorandum of the United Nations submitted by them, I did not think that it deserved a better press. This he took hard, questioning me why I said that. I explained that I was not surprised at their request for an investigation in this case, but I failed to see like promptitude and vigor on their part when the Arabs shelled Jerusalem and actually destroyed Christian holy places. Here, Msgr. McMahon made a very fine distinction, which I admitted to him had escaped me previously. He said: "That was war, and in war there is destruction. It was so also during the European War and there is nothing we can do about it. But here we are dealing with desecrations, and I consider it not only our right but also our duty to turn to that organization which is responsible for setting up the State of Israel and to ask for an investigation. He did not accuse the State of Israel. We even admitted the possibility of these things having been perpetrated by irresponsible elements. We further recognized the existence of the State of Israel in our letter to the United Nations. I really do not think that you have any reason for resentment on this account."

I told him then that after he made this distinction the matter became clearer to me. Whether or not I agree to the validity of this distinction, I can see the logic of it. I asked him, however, whether he received the reports about recent assassinations of Christians, including Christian priests, in Lebanon and about the protest lodged by the Melchite Patriarch with the President of the Republic. He said that he had. I then asked him whether he would want to explain to me why they were so prompt in protesting in the case of Israel and why they do nothing about the persecution of Christians in the Arab countries. He said that I was badly mistaken and that they were constantly being occupied with defense of the Christian rights in the Arab States, and that in fact they made many more presentations with regard to the Arab States than in the case of Israel.

August 25, 1948

I asked him why doesn't Cardinal Spellman send a mission of his own to Israel to see on the spot what is true and what is untrue in the reports of the desecrations and also what measures the Israeli Government has taken to control the situation. He answered that this, as a matter of fact, is being discussed in their circles. At this stage, I told him that I had an idea -- emphasizing that I hadn't discussed it with anyone as yet and that I was mentioning it to him on my own responsibility -- which may contribute a great deal to a better understanding between the Catholic Church and the State of Israel. My idea was that I may be able to induce the Provisional Government of Israel, or the Foreign Minister Mr. Shertok, to cable to Cardinal Spellman an official invitation to send a mission to Israel for this purpose. But, I added, before doing anything in this direction, I would like to be sure how Cardinal Spellman would receive such an invitation and what would be his reaction. Msgr. McMahon answered that he is, of course, in no position to answer it, but he was going to take it up with Cardinal Spellman and would let me know.

(When I later reported the conversation with Msgr. McMahon to Eliahu Epstein, he thought that this was a very excellent idea on my part and that if Spellman reacts favorably to it the matter should be immediately arranged.)

Our conversation went on for a long time, touching also on the subject of anti-Semitism and anti-Catholicism. Msgr. McMahon was particularly bitter about the fact that the American Jewish Congress saw fit to back up the Nation on the question of the ban on that magazine in public schools. He said: "What would happen if certain publications used in the schools would have published a number of anti-Semitic articles and then when the Jews would protest the admission of this publication into the schools, a Catholic organization would start siding with the publication against the Jewish people." I had to admit that I couldn't see how the American Jewish Congress as such took any stand in this matter. He said that he couldn't see it either, but there we were.

Our conversation was altogether very friendly and may be considered a further contribution for better relations between us and the Catholic hierarchy.

EBH/lb

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

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date August 31, 1948

From Mr. Eliahu Ben-Horin

Judging by the news from Palestine, you are about to return to the states. I, therefore, mail to Cleveland the attached copy of a memorandum which I sent to Mr. Shapiro yesterday, which I feel may interest you.

Best regards.

EBH:SR

Enc



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

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

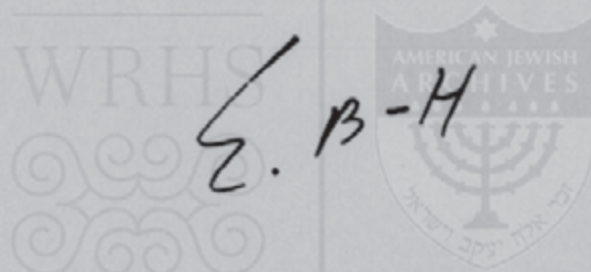
Date September 9, 1948

From Mr. Eliahu Ben-Horin

I mentioned to you yesterday the letter I received from Msgr. McMahon. Herewith enclosed is a copy of this letter for your information. The communications from me to which McMahon refers in his letter contained dispatches from Israel indicating a favorable attitude on the part of the Israeli Government towards various Catholic affairs.

Best regards.

EBH:SR
Enc



CATHOLIC NEAR EAST WELFARE ASSOCIATION
480 Lexington Ave.
New York 17, N.Y.

September 7, 1948

Mr. Eliahu Ben-Horin
American Zionist Emergency Council
New York City 17

Dear Mr. Ben-Horin:

I was out of the city when your communications arrived, but I want you to know that I appreciate your kindness in sending them. They show a sincere desire on the part of the Israeli government to alleviate the tragic conditions in Palestine.

Only one recent news dispatch displeased us here. In it an official of the Israeli government brands as antisemitic one of the references in our letter to the United Nations. This is pure calumny and no amount of debate can erase it.

As you know, our dealings with the United Nations have been completely objective and within our right as an Association representing multitudes of Christians in the Middle East. We shall always resent the charge of antisemitism, when we pursue this objective aim.

Hopeful that this note finds you in God's good health, and repeating my own deep appreciation of your kind cooperation, I am

Cordially yours,

Thomas J. McMahon
National Secretary

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Constituent Organizations

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Zionist Organization of America

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

September 9, 1948

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Dr. Silver:

Sidney L. Herold, who returned a few days ago from Europe, told us -- Harry Shapiro and myself -- quite a few interesting things which he had heard from James McDonald, with whom he travelled from New York to Amsterdam. We asked Sidney to summarize this information in the form of a memorandum. This he now has done, and I enclose a copy of his memorandum.

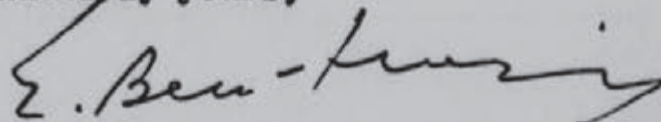
However, in a personal letter to me accompanying the memorandum, Sidney writes: "... On going over my memorandum on my various conversations with Mr. McDonald, I find much that I would hesitate to put into a report. Mr. McDonald was so frank and open with me that if it had not been that I felt it proceeded from genuine friendship and from a most intense sympathy for our cause, I would have considered it naive. For this reason, I am being rather sketchy in the accompanying report . . ."

"I would not mind writing you, personally, a review of all my conversations; but I feel that in a report, no matter how confidential, I owe it to Mr. McDonald not to say everything that he told me about the inner workings of the State Department. I know you will understand."

Please keep this reservation in mind when you read Mr. Herold's enclosed memorandum which I still find, in parts, very interesting.

With my best regards to you and Mrs. Silver, I am

Sincerely yours,


Eliahu Ben-Horin

EBH:SR
Enc

September 7th, 1948

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL.

From: Sidney L. Herold

To: Eliahu Ben-Horin

As I told you in New York, I had many long and interesting conversations on shipboard with Mr. McDonald. I am convinced that he is not only a most zealous advocate of the Zionist cause, but that he is determined to do whatever he can, consistent with his official duty, to aid us in the firm establishment of the Commonwealth.

One of the most interesting highlights of these conversations was his statement to me with respect to the changed mental attitude of Marshall and of Forrestal. This, he assured me, is due to the military successes of Israel, and to the confidential reports that have come direct to Marshall respecting Israel's military strength, and the nature of its military organization. In this, Major Elliott's reports played a very large and important part.

I gathered that Lovett's pro-Arab and pro-British attitude has in no manner been changed, and that, unfortunately, Marshall has great confidence in Lovett. Also, that the intermediate and lower levels of the State Department are, as you know, still maintaining their hostile attitude toward us.

But the interesting part of these discussions was the change in the personal attitude of Marshall and of Forrestal because of Arab weakness and Israeli strength, contrary to the impression they had formed from military reports prior to Elliott's visit to Palestine.

McDonald has been around quite a bit, as is illustrated by the precautions he has taken to protect himself against sabotage at home, as I told you in New York.

I might also state that Mr. McDonald was very loud in his expressions of admiration for the great ability of Major Eban, and of Mr. Epstein, and he expressed himself to the effect that their ability and savoir-faire had made a great impression on American officials.

I think I told you also that he stopped off at Geneva to see Weizmann, and at Rome to see the Pope, before proceeding to Tel Aviv - going, of course, first to London.

In fine, I am convinced that a very wise choice has been made in his selection, both from the standpoint of American interest and of the Zionist cause. I have reason to believe that what he told me about de jure recognition is not far off, and that he will have much to say as to the date on which that complete recognition will come. I am looking for it prior to the Paris meeting of the Assembly.



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

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date September 14, 1948

From Mr. Eliahu Ben-Horin

I wrote a report to Shertok about the El Kataeb -- after Lourie assured me that he would be able to send it safely to Shertok. I enclose a copy for your information.

Best regards.

E. B-H.

EBH SR
Enc



13 לספטמבר, 1948.

סודי בהחלם!

לכבוד
מר משה שרתוק
מיניסטר לעניני חוץ
ממשלה זמנית
ישראל

מר שרתוק הנכבד,

ארחור לוריה אמר לי ששכול לשלוח את המכתב אליך באופן בטוח.
אחרת לא הייתי כותב את המכתב.

זה כמה שבועות ששוחה כאן משלחת של התסדרות "אל כחאיב" מהלבנון,
בראשות עליאס ראבבי. זה בארבעה חדשים שהמשלחת מסיירת את ארצות
הגולה הלבנוניות. היא בקרה באי-אלו ארצות באפריקה, אחרי כן בארצות
דרום-אמריקה ולבסוף הגיעה הנה. כאן בארצות הברית היא הייתה בעיקר
בקשה עם הכומר עואד.

הכומר עואד בא אלינו יום אחד ומסר לנו שהדברים הגיעו למצב כזה
בלבנון ש"אל כחאיב" מוכן להתחיל במרד צבאי לשם מיגור הממשלה ותפיסת
השלטון. אולם בשביל זה נחוצה להם עזרה ממשיה. לפי דבריו, הצרפתים
מוכנים לעזור להם, והם היו רוצים לדעת כמה אנו נוכל לעזור. תשובתי
הייתה שזוהי שאלה הנמצאת בהחלם מחוץ לסמכות שלנו כאן; שזוהי שאלה
שעליה יוכלו לקבל תשובה רק ממשלה ישראל. אבל הוספתי לזה שבעוד שאני
יודע את השקפותיו של הכומר עואד עצמו ושבינינו קיימים יחסים ידידותיים,
אין אני יודע מהי העמדה של "אל כחאיב" בשאלת ארץ ישראל. הוספתי
ואמרתי, שאם מותר לי לתת עצה, הרי הייתי מיעץ לאנשי ה"אל כחאיב"
בשעה שהם יבואו לדבר עם ממשלת ישראל, שיבואו כשותפים מלאים וידברו
גלויות ובפה מלא. לזאת הכומר ענה שהוא עדיין איננו יכול לתת לנו
פרטים על העמדה של "אל כחאיב" בשאלת ארץ ישראל אולם תהיה לו באותו
היום שיחה עם ראבבי לבדו, ואחרי זה הוא ידע יותר. בו בערב עואד סלפן
לנו להגיד שהוא מצא את ראבבי פרו-ציוני לא פחות מעצמו או הארציבי שופ
מבראק; ושראבבי רוצה מאד להפגש עם אנשינו ולדבר עמם.

לאחר שאליהו אפשטיין, רופר ואיבן נמצאים כרגע מחוצה לארצות הברית
הצענו לראבבי - אחרי התיעצות עם דר. סילבר - שהמשלחת בדרכה חזרה מארצות
הברית ללבנון (הם מפליגים מחרתיים) תעמוד בפריז ותפגש שם עם רופר, ארזי
ואחרים מבאי-בוחכם. ראבבי הסכים לזאת ברצון ואני כתבתי לרופר ושולמית
שורץ כתבה לארזי על בואה של המשלחת.

בשבוע שעבר סדרתי שדר. סילבר יקבל את מר ראבבי ואת הכומר עואד. אני
לווייתי אותם לדר. סילבר וזו הייתה שיחה ידידותית. הסברתי מראש לראבבי
שזו תהיה רק "courtesy call" מכיון שדר. סילבר אשר איננו מיצג את ממשלת
ישראל, לא יוכל להגיד להם שום דבר בנוגע לשאלה המעניינת אותם.

דברתי עם ארחור לוריה וספרתי לו על העניין הזה. לאחר שאליהו אפשטיין

לא יחזור לפני הפלגה המשלחה, יחבן שנסדר עוד לפני יציאתה פגישת בין
ראבבי והייד מושינגטון, בהשתתפות לוריה ובהשתתפותי אני. אם הפגישת
הזו תתקיים, תקבל בלי ספק דו"ח או מהייד או מלוריה. אחרת נחכה
להתפתחות הדברים מהפגישת של ראבבי עם אנשיך בפריס.

בכבוד רב ובידידות,

אליהו בן-חורין



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

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date September 14, 1948

From Mr. Eliahu Ben-Horin

Following our telephone conversation I phoned Washington and Schulson will phone back and will be instructed to make the necessary inquiries at the State Department. In the meantime, I enclose for your information a copy of a memorandum from B. Shitrith, Minister of Minorities to Ben-Gurion and Shertok on the question of the Jews in Iraq.

Best regards.

EBH:SR
Enc



STATE OF ISRAEL
MINORITIES OFFICE
Hakiryah

18 Tammuz 5708
25 July 1948

TO: Prime Minister and the Minister of Security
Minister of Foreign Affairs

FROM: Minister of Minorities

Subject: Jews of Iraq

As a continuation to the letter of the Prime Minister of July 20, 1948 No. /176, and to the letter of Mr. Shimoni of the Middle East Department of July 21, 1948, No. 1395/48 and of July 22, 1948, 1467/48, I bring to your attention the following details:

1. Saturday night, July 10, 1948, radio Iraq made the following announcement: "Every native of Iraq who has fought with the Zionist forces, or who has been proven to be a Zionist, will be punished by death or by life-long hard labor."

Many Jews heard the broadcast mentioned above, and in particular, Rachamim Rajuan, who is prepared to give us a sworn statement on it when it will be requested.

2. Sunday, July 11, 1948, radio Ramallah broadcast the following announcement: "The Government of Iraq promulgated a law according to which all Jewish families who have any connection with Zionism will be punished by death or by life-long hard labor." The Mr. Rajuan, mentioned above, heard the aforementioned broadcast.

3. Besides Mr. Rajuan, some of the members of the family Bashi are prepared to bear witness to this matter, and likewise Iraqi Jews who live in Ramat Gan and Tel Aviv.

4. According to information based on reports which reached the delegation of the Iraqi community through letters that came from Iraq through the United States, it is possible to state definitely that the Government of Iraq has already taken measures against the Jews of Iraq, in that they froze the property and the merchandise which belonged to Jews, and no Jew will be able to enjoy more than 20% of his property. Money belonging to Jews deposited in the bank was frozen and no Jew can receive more than 2% of his deposits.

5. Jews who purchased property in Israel have been placed in detention camps. They number between 400 and 500 individuals, some of whom were placed in house arrest because of their being senators or high government officials.

6. A general prohibition was placed on the departure of any Jew from Iraq to any place whatsoever. With regard to the Jews who left Iraq and who, to accomplish this, were compelled at that time to deposit a sum between 2,000 and 5,000 Palestinian pounds, the government confiscated the aforementioned sum for the State Treasury of the Government of Iraq.

7. Tens of Jews were sentenced to various periods of imprisonment up to 5 years for the crime of sympathy for, or ties with, Zionists.

There will soon be in my possession a letter that was sent from America which details the reprehensible deeds of the Government of Iraq.

B. Shitrit
Minister of Minorities

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

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Silver

Date September 15, 1948

From Eliahu Ben-Horin

Enclosed please find copy of the telegram to Secretary Marshal, which I changed according to your wishes.

I contacted Dr. Karl Braun, and am meeting him this afternoon. He confirmed to me that Ades is the Ford representative in Iraq. So, we shall pursue also the Ford line.

We are trying to arrange a little conference for tomorrow with the American Jewish Committee and the other interested organizations, and we shall formulate our plans there with regard to the Committee.

Best regards.

Enc.

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WESTERN UNION

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

SEPTEMBER 15, 1948

ALS
AT
BA
HPM
SS

SECRETARY OF STATE
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

DEEPLY SHOCKED BY ASSOCIATED PRESS DISPATCH FROM BAGHDAD OF SEPTEMBER 13 REPORTING DEATH SENTENCE AND 20 MILLION DOLLAR FINE IMPOSED BY IRAQI GOVERNMENT ON SHAFIQ ADES, DISTINGUISHED JEWISH CITIZEN OF IRAQ, ALLEGEDLY FOR HIS PRO-ZIONIST ACTIVITIES. 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 WHOLESALF PERSECUTION AND OPPRESSION OF NATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS MINORITIES IN THE ARAB LANDS. I WOULD THEREFORE GREATLY APPRECIATE IT IF YOU WOULD FIND IT POSSIBLE TO USE YOUR GOOD OFFICES IN ORDER TO ASCERTAIN THE EXACT FACTS OF THE SITUATION. FEEL CERTAIN YOU WILL APPRECIATE THAT ANY DELAY MAY COST A HUMAN LIFE AND CAUSE IRREPARABLE CONSEQUENCES. RESPECTFULLY.

ABBA HILLEL SILVER
CHAIRMAN, AMERICAN ZIONIST
EMERGENCY COUNCIL

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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

September 16, 1948

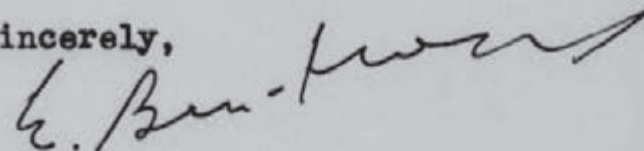
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

A few days ago we received, through Arthur Lourie, a copy of a letter sent by Msgr. Antonio Vergani, Vicar-General of the Latin Patriarch in Galilee to Rabbi J. L. Fishman, Minister for Religious Affairs. We made good use of this letter, having multigraphed it and circulated it among our Catholic contacts. Thus far, we have had one favorable reaction - in a letter received yesterday from Msgr. McMahon. I am enclosing copies of both Msgr. Vergani's and Msgr. McMahon's letters.

With my best wishes, I am,

Sincerely,



Eliahu Ben-Horin

EBH:dg
Enc.

COPY

CATHOLIC NEAR EAST WELFARE ASSOCIATION
480 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

September 14, 1948

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

Dear Mr. Ben-Horin:

I have your gracious communication of September 13, and I was happy to read the enclosure. May this description be the beginning of happy relations, and may we soon see the day when thousands of Christian refugees may return to their homes in the State of Israel. A gigantic relief problem has been created by this displacement, and I am sure that half the problem would be solved were these people to return home.

Assuring you of my continued good wishes and gratitude for your own cooperation, I am

Cordially yours,

/s/ Thomas J. McMahon

National Secretary

TJM:MK

C O P Y

(Translation from Italian)

Nazareth, 26th August 1948

Rabbi J. L. Fishman
Minister for Religious Affairs

Sir,

Pending the submission to you of a detailed report concerning the happenings that took place in the whole of Galilee, we should like to declare, in our capacity as Vicar-General of the Latin Patriarch for Galilee, that since the appointment of Liaison Officers for Religious Affairs in Nazareth and Haifa, many difficulties have been smoothed out. This was also due to the personal qualities of the Liaison Officers, who are deserving of every praise. Even prior to the appointment of Liaison Officers, attempts had been made by Messrs. Ya'eli and Beilin to remove the difficulties, and we shall always be most grateful to these gentlemen for the understanding they displayed and for the assistance they rendered us in most difficult and delicate circumstances. We are glad to be able to mention, inter alia, the agreement, which, thanks to the good offices of Mr. Varadi, was concluded between the military authorities and ourselves regarding searches which may possibly have to be made in Nazareth and the surrounding area. These searches are to be carried out by unnamed persons and in the presence of the religious authorities.

At the same time many minor difficulties concerning permits for the freedom of movement and exercise of religious activities have been removed.

In Nazareth itself, when the city was being occupied, with the sole exception of one incident in the house of the Salesian Fathers, the Israeli troops behaved in an unexceptionable manner in their treatment of houses, institutions and religious persons; and apart from one further incident at the Nunnery of the Sisters of St. Claire, the Israeli troops behaved in a correct manner also in the subsequent searches. Moreover, in various places the Israeli troops are now in fact rendering willing assistance to religious persons e.g. in the case of the Sisters of Sepphoris and of Capernaum.

If unfortunate incidents have occurred in various places, it is my conviction that this was in no way due to any supposed hostile attitude on the part of the authorities or to any instructions received, but that it was the result of bad conduct on the part of individuals of dubious responsibility. Having regard to the goodwill displayed by the Government in appointing Liaison Officers, we trust that the damage will be made good, and that such incidents will not recur. In all sincerity we wish to say that, as a party directly interested, we could hardly suggest a better means than the appointment of Liaison Officers for the settlement of the problems confronting us and for the prevention of future difficulties.

The occupation by Israeli troops does not constitute any obstacle to the free exercise of Catholic Worship in Nazareth and the surrounding area. Indeed, thanks to the personal interest displayed by you, facilities have been provided for the Christian religious leaders to move about freely even during curfew hours.

We also trust that you will be good enough to see to it that the Catholic schools in this area are in a position to continue functioning, and that they obtain from the Government of Israel assistance in larger measure than they received from the former Government.

Similarly we hope that the restrictions on the freedom of movement throughout this area, to which we had cause to refer in our previous reports, will be partially lifted as a result of the interest displayed by the Liaison Officers, who are anxious to visit our institutions and will thus make it possible for us to visit them in their company.

However, we should greatly appreciate it if you would kindly help us to obtain a permanent permit to visit the following localities for the purpose of exercising spiritual ministry: Nazareth, Haifa, Acre, Shafa 'Amr, Kfar Canna, Tiberias, Capernaum, Tabigha, Reneh, Jaffa of Nazareth, Mujeidal and Sepphoris.

We shall always be very glad to stress what the Liaison Officers and Authorities are doing on our behalf (this will be accorded special mention in our general and final report) and we are sure that, through collaboration with your envoys, we shall reach a satisfactory solution of all the difficulties arising out of the war situation. In particular, we rely upon your good will towards us and upon your personal understanding of our position and of the moral value represented by the Catholic Institutions in this country.

Yours etc.....

Mgr. Antonio Vergani

Vicar-General of the Latin
Patriarch for Galilee.

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

September 22nd, 1948

CONFIDENTIAL

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

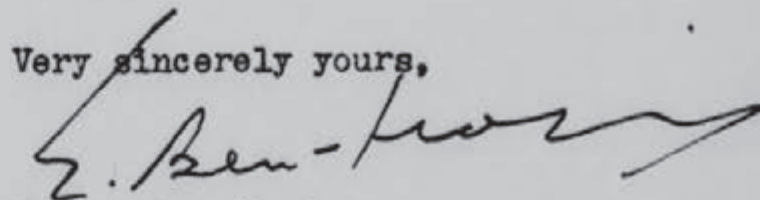
I received this morning some information, which I am conveying also to Mr. Shertok, and which, if true, is rather important. The information emanates indirectly from our old "friend", Loy H. in the State Department, who seems to be still a power behind the scenes in Middle Eastern affairs.

According to the information, large quantities of Australian and British surplus arms fell into the hands of Arab buyers in the Singapore area. These arms were subsequently smuggled, and maybe are still being smuggled, on oil tankers into Saudi Arabia. The story goes on that a considerable number of volunteers for the Arab war against Israel have been enlisted in southeastern Asia and were being formed into three brigades.

Because of Saudi Arabia's facility to get those smuggled arms and also because of the rift between Egypt and the Mufti on the one hand and Abdullah with Iraq on the other hand, the center of influence of the Arab League is being shifted these days from Cairo to Riyadh.

With best regards, I am

Very sincerely yours,



Eliahu Ben-Horin

EBH:mab

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date September 16, 1948

From Eliahu Ben-Horin

*Not enclosed
E.R. 5*

1. Here are the developments in the Ades case, after I spoke to you on the phone in the morning. I spoke to Herbert Bayard Swope and he promised to do all he could and more - by himself and through Baruch. Akzin spoke to General Adler of the New York Times, who promised to lend a helping hand. I told you about my conversation with Monsignor McMahon, and I am now enclosing a copy of my letter to him. We are sending out a release today, to the press, built around your wire to Marshall and the Jewish editors' telegram to Truman. Stephen Wise will be asked this afternoon to cable to Mrs. Roosevelt to Paris.

2. I read the Sulzberger piece in the Times, on which you asked me to comment, and I found it to be - if I may use Sulamith Schwartz's characterization of it - "stuff and nonsense." It is a piece of British propaganda, which the New York Times is always glad to dispense. It is full of unsubstantiated hints and contradictions.

Another item on the ex-Italian colonies, which appeared in the press yesterday, seems to me much more interesting, as it proves again how subservient the State Department is to Downing Street. I refer to the news that the U. S. A. changed its position and does not any longer demand the return of the colonies to Ital...

Best regards.

E. B-H.

Enc.

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

MEMORANDUM

To Members of American Zionist Emergency Council **Date** September 27, 1948

From Harry L. Shapiro

The enclosed memorandum with attachment was sent today to the Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees.

1d
encs.

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

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees **Date** September 27, 1948

From Harry L. Shapiro

Attached hereto is the article by Eliahu Ben-Horin which I promised to send you in my memorandum of September 24. Please make it available to editors, publishers and radio commentators as requested.

Regards.

HLS:FB
Enc.

NOTE: Advance copy of article,
to appear in forthcoming
issue of The New Palestine.

IF BERNADOTTE WERE STILL ALIVE

by

Elishu Ben-Horin

The shadow of the Bernadotte assassination hovers heavily over Palestine. In distorted form and proportions, it fills the Palais de Chaillot in Paris. The well-meaning Swedish nobleman of yesterday has become the great martyr of today. His proposals for the settlement of the Palestine conflict, concluded on the eve of his tragic and untimely death, are presented to the General Assembly in a halo of sanctity and martyrdom. As Secretary Marshall said in his speech in the Palais de Chaillot advocating the acceptance of the Bernadotte proposals: " . . . He gave his life to this effort."

Thus, a plan for the solution of an extremely involved and tragic problem, offered by one man -- no more gifted and infallible, no less weak and erring than many other men -- has become an almost sacred political testament.

The proposals of the living Count Bernadotte could have been freely discussed, changed, severely criticized, accepted or rejected. The proposals of the assassinated Bernadotte are proffered to the world community as a dictate which must be accepted in toto, in order to provide an everlasting monument to the Mediator who lost his life in the service of the world organization of nations.

All this, of course, is, at best, illogical sentimentality. Mahatma Gandhi, assassinated, was as right or as wrong in his political precepts as Mahatma Gandhi, alive. Leon Trotsky, Abraham Lincoln, Jean Jaures and Folke Bernadotte did not become wiser by being assassinated. A few hysterical hotheads in Palestine, in India, in the United States or elsewhere in the world can take away a human life of great value but they cannot change the march of history. Nor can the abominable act of the Jerusalem murder alter by one iota the actual merits of the Bernadotte plan for Palestine.

It is only after we remove the shadow of the Bernadotte assassination from our thoughts and consider the Bernadotte plan as if the late Mediator were still alive -- as we all sincerely wish he were -- that we shall be able to judge his proposals on their merits.

The most striking feature of the Bernadotte plan, in my judgment, is the absence of any central idea guiding its author. Count Bernadotte offers us a compromise. That much is clear. But what was the main motive behind the framing of a compromise? Did Bernadotte himself believe that his new proposals were likely to bring about peace and amity between the Jews and the Arabs; secure the peaceful existence of a viable state of Israel; and contribute to stability and progress in the Middle East? Or did he, without believing that himself, simply want to put an end to a Don Quixotic mission which obviously defied all efforts at mediation and settlement?

Count Bernadotte's first conclusion, namely that peace must return to Palestine and that in general, peace is better than war, will, of course, be wholeheartedly accepted by peace-loving people everywhere. However, when one goes beyond this platitude, one looks in vain for a workable plan which has better chances of peaceful implementation than the original United Nations decision.

The parties to the conflict will gladly accept those proposals which suit their respective purposes, as indeed they have already done.

The Arabs, rejecting the plan, as a whole, have graciously consented to accept the recommendation establishing the right of repatriation for Arab refugees, and also the recommendation on the special status of Jerusalem (which "translated into Arabic" means that Jerusalem should be excluded from the area of Israel). Israel has welcomed Count Bernadotte's confirmation of the reality of Israel's independent existence, not that this very striking aspect of Middle Eastern life actually needed additional confirmation. Israel has, however, questioned the plan's territorial suggestions with regard to the Negev and Jerusalem.

Mr. Ernest Bevin, on the other hand, announced in Parliament that Britain "supports the Bernadotte plan in its entirety" (what he undoubtedly liked most was the cutting off from Israel of the entire Negev) but, at the same time, managed so to read the plan as to conclude that "it does not involve the recognition of Israel . . ."

In other words, we are now exactly where we have been all the time. The Arab League, faithful to its best traditions, has unconditionally rejected the Bernadotte proposals. Israel is willing to sit down and talk peace. Great Britain would carefully remove the sugar-coating and serve us the bitter pill. The United States of America, or at least Secretary Marshall, is ready to utilize the political testament of the martyred Bernadotte as an avenue of escape from the conflict over Palestine which has embittered American political life for years.

The fact of the matter is that in the Palestine controversy, which has now grown into a matter of world-wide dimensions, there is only one party for whom this is a question of life and death. That sense of urgency was probably the strongest psychological factor behind Israel's victories in the Arab-Jewish war. It is the most potent element in Israel's approach to the Bernadotte plan, as well.

For Israel and Zionism, there always has been and there still is an irreducible minimum beyond which they cannot go: the complete sovereignty and viability of the State of Israel. This is the criterion by which Israel will take its stand on the Bernadotte proposals. The late Mediator's plan offers recognition of Israel's sovereignty but he undermines the viability of the Jewish State. For Israel without the Negev is a state in a strait jacket. There will be no room for immigration and colonization. It would be a death sentence to all the hopes of the Jewish DP's in Europe and of the million Jews in Arab lands. No government in Israel that accepted such a settlement would remain in office for a fortnight.

There was constructive political thought behind the UNSCOP partition proposal adopted last November by the General Assembly. It was intended to solve

the Palestine question and, with it, the problem of Jewish homelessness in the world. The Negev was the main ingredient in the solution, since it was to provide the space for new agricultural settlement and development. Take the Negev away and the solution is gone.

The Count's proposal for the disposition of the Negev is the clearest example of the absence of any central idea guiding him in the formulation of his plan. No explanation is given for taking the Negev from Israel and bestowing it upon the Arabs. There can, indeed, be no explanation. King Abdullah does not know what to do with the vastly underpopulated 35,000 square miles of Transjordan's present area. Count Bernadotte could not claim that King Abdullah needed more "lebensraum". Nor could he claim that the Arabs would develop the desert land of the Negev into a productive agricultural area, as the Jews intend to do. The real motive behind this proposal could obviously not be mentioned: it would provide military bases for the British, close to the Suez Canal, under Abdullah's nominal protection.

Israel may be willing to bargain on the other proposals of Count Bernadotte: the status of Jerusalem, the free port in Haifa, the internationalization of the Lydda airport, but not on the Negev. Some people, especially our good old friends, Mr. Ernest Bevin and Sir Alexander Cadogan, have seized upon the Bernadotte assassination as a God-given opportunity to stampede Israel, on the one hand, and the United Nations, on the other, into unconditional acceptance of the Bernadotte plan. Unfortunately, the United States delegation to the General Assembly seems to have fallen into this trap. Fortunately, the Israeli Government has kept a cool head.

The assassination of Count Bernadotte -- let us recapitulate -- is a terrible crime, for which nobody but the assassins are responsible. As for the Bernadotte proposals, we must discuss them, analyze them, accept or reject them, as if Bernadotte were still alive. Or in the words of Dr. Frank Kingdon's column in the New York Post: "It is up to the U.N. to show that the assassin's bullets did not murder justice".

9/27/48

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

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date October 14th, 1948

From Eliahu Ben-Horin

I am enclosing for your information a copy of a letter I received from Rabbi Jacob Herzog, Director of the Department of Christian Communities, in the Ministry of Religion in Tel Aviv, as well as a copy of my reply.

Kindest regards and "Gmar Khatima Tova".

EBH:MB
Enc.

E. B. H.

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מדינת ישראל
הממשלה הזמנית
משרד הדתות

מחלקת העדות הנוצריות

ב"ה, הקריה, ד' אלול תש"ח
8 ספטמבר 1948

לכבוד
מר אליהו בן חורין
מסועצה הציונית לשעת חירום
ניו-יורק

מר בן חורין הנכבד

מכתבך אל שר החוץ מיום 25.8.48 הועבר אלינו.

כפי שנאמר במכתבי האחרון אנו עושים מיטב יכולתנו
למנוע בעד התעמולה הארסית ההולכת ומחוכנת נגדנו על ידי
חוגים עוינים שונים. לפי ידיעות מצירות ישראל בושנגטון
שכנה הסערה סביב השמועות על חילול הכנסיות בעתונות ארצות
הברית. שר הדתות הסכים שהודעת ההכחשה שיצאה לפני זמן מה
ממשרדנו יפורסם כמאמר ממנו בעתונות הקתולית בארצות הברית.
בקרב יופיע ממשרדנו או ממשרד החוץ דין וחשבון מפורט על
מצב המקומות הקדושים לנצרות בישראל. סקירה זאת חכיל גם
מממשלת ישראל. מדויקים בדבר מקרי החילול
ממקומות שחוארו בחוץ לארץ כמסע חילול שכאילו הודרך מגבוה נגד
מוסדות קטולים בישראל.

אני שמח להדיעך שהיחסים עם הכמורה הראשית הולכים
ומשתפרים. הדי השפור הזה בודאי יגיעו בקרוב גם לחוגים
שאתם אתם מקיים קשרים. קציני הקשר שלנו בחוץ הצבא הנם לעשרה
רבה וראש הכנסייה הלטינית בגליל במכתב לשר הדתות מעיד על
הצלחתם הרבה.

במשך השבועיים האחרונים המסכנו במאמצים להכשיר פה
אח הקרקע לקראת פגישתנו הקרובה עם אנשי
בואח'קן. על פגישה זו בודאי תקבל ידיעות דרך צנורות *Congregazione Orientale*
וכמובן שאנו נודיע לך על התוצאות בהודמנות הראשונה. אנב
ליריעתך, מרגיש מקדונלד מקיים קשר הדוק עם הקרדינל ספלמן
ועם הוואח'קן בדבר זכויות הקטולים בישראל. על נושא זה שוחחנו
אתו רבות. הוא מגלה הבנה רבה וגישה מאד מציאותית.

בכבוד רב,

הרב יעקב הרצוג
מנהל המחלקה

יום ג', ערב יום-כפור תש"ט
12 לאוקטובר, 1948

לכבוד

הרב יעקב הרצוג
מנהל מחלקת העדות הנוצריות
משרד הדתות
הממשלה הזמנית
תל-אביב

הרב הרצוג הנכבד:

קראתי בענין רב את מכתבך מיום 8 לספטמבר 1948. אולם מצטער
אני ביותר שלא טצאת לנהוץ לשלחו בדאר אוירי. בגלל האיחור הרב בקבלת
מכתבך אפשר להגיד על רוב הדברים הנזכרים בו "עבר הזמן", בטלו הקרבות".

אני מקוה שאתה וחבריך לעבודה מבינים שאנו כאן נמצאים באוירה
די עצבנית בקשר עם ההאשמות הנפוצות מזמן לזמן - בכל השטחים - נגד
מדינת ישראל. כדי שנמלא את חפקידנו כראוי, אנו מוכרחים לפעול בזריזות
רבה. מוכן מאליי, שאם זה לקח ששה שבועות לקבל חשובה הרי יהיה לנו
קשה מאד לפעול מה באינו שהיא הצלחה. משום כך אקדם בברכה את בעתיד
הקשרים בינינו יהיו יותר הדוקים ויותר זריזים.

אתה מוכיר את מכתבך האחרון. עד עכשיו לא קבלתי אף מכתב
ממך, ולכן אינני יודע לאיזה מכתב אתה מתכוון.

זה נכון שהסערה של ההאשמות נגדנו ביחס לחילול הכנסיות שכבת
במקצת. אולם במדינה זו יש מאות על מאות עתוננים, שבועונים וירחונים
בעלי תפוצה רבה, וזה יקח שבועות וחדשים עד שכל העתוננים האלה יפרסמו
את ההאשמות האוליגניליות נגדנו. שמחתי איפוא, מאד כשקבלתי העתקה
מהמכתב שהזיקר ג'נרל של הפטרירך הלאטיני בגליל' שלח אל הרב פישמן ורצייתי
לחת לזה פרסום גדול בעתונות הקטולית בארצות הברית. לצערי, אבל, הצירות
של ישראל כאן אסרה עלי. את הדבר הזה בחתאם להוראות שקבלה בזמנה מחל-אביב.
השחרלתי להעביר את רוע הגזירה הזאת, אבל לפי שעה בלי הצלחה. יש להצטער
על זה ביותר, כי שרות התרשות הקטולית בושנינגטון, שזהו השרות המרכזי
המשמש את כל מאות העתוננים הקטוליים, היה מוכן לפרסם את המכתב מאת וגרני
אל הרב פישמן. עד היום הזה אינני מבין מדוע הממשלה בתל-אביב מנעה את
פרסום המכתב הזה. רוצה אני להדגיש שלו יכולנו לפרסמו זה היה לנו לעזר
רב ביותר ביחסינו עם הקטולים וכלפי דעת-הקהל האמריקאית.

אינני יודע דבר על הפגישה עם
Congregazione Orientale. אשמח מאד אם חוכל להודיע לי על כך. על היחסים של ג'מס מקדונלד עם
הותיקן וספסמן אני יודע. הוא כמובן אחד הידידים הכנים והטובים ביותר
שיש לנו. הוא גם ידידי הפרטי ואשמח אם תמסור לו שלום כשתראתו.

בכבוד רב ובאיחולי שנה טובה,

אליהו בן-חורין
יועץ לעניני המזרח התיכון

אבישא

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

SPECIAL DELIVERY AIRMAIL

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date October 28, 1948

From Eliahu Ben-Horin

As agreed over the telephone, I enclose a copy of Monsignor McMahon's letter and the draft of my reply. I shall wait to hear from you tomorrow morning.

Best regards.

E. B-H.

2 suggested by phone revision
of B-H letter

EBH:DG
Enc.

CATHOLIC NEAR EAST WELFARE ASSOCIATION

480 LEXINGTON AVENUE

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

October 21, 1948

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

Dear Mr. Ben-Horin:

I have just received your gracious letter in which you express amazement and concern over the question and answer in the magazine called "The Christian Family and Our Missions". I still think that you should endeavor to be in touch with the editor of this magazine and clarify the position of Zionism.

On our side I have been bewildered in the past few months over the attitude of Jews in general towards relief attempts in and around Palestine. You may know that at the request of the United States Government and its Advisory Committee on voluntary relief all the Christian groups that have been doing relief in the Near and Middle East for scores of years joined together to set up a joint committee in order to take care of the vast number of refugees, which according to U. N. statistics are in the neighborhood of 467,000. When notice of our efforts appeared in the paper the United Palestine Appeal attacked our group as political. Our intention was to invite a Jewish representation on our committee since you too have refugees and, as you know, you are in danger of having even more from Arab countries. It was our intention to administer relief regardless of race or creed, and our notes on our minutes, which I personally urged, were intended to avoid all political maneuvers.

We all were then very much surprised to be attacked by the Jewish group, and we have found it most difficult to obtain Jewish representation. Of course, we should have to avoid any political connotation in any Jewish group that would be present on our committee.

All this is very sad at a time when the Middle East is in such a tragic condition where everyone stands to lose out. I think you will agree with me on this last statement. I have dedicated my life for many years to purely humanitarian enterprises for the Near and Middle East, and I cannot be accused of political inclinations. Naturally, as a Catholic I am interested in keeping high the prestige of my Church in the Middle East. But I, like the other Christian bodies, have been willing to pool resources in order to assuage the distress of the people in the Near and Middle East. It seems to me highly unfair that in such conditions and in view of our motives we should be opposed where human life is concerned.

Mr. Eliahu Ben-Horin
October 21, 1948
Page two

I submit these matters to you as another point of view far more important than the relatively few attacks on Zionism, that have appeared as the individual expressions of editors or writers in our Catholic papers. I do hope that we shall be able to make our opposition understand what we are trying to do.

Again I thank you for the cordial relationship which you have always maintained with this office. It is because of this that I make bold to inform you as to these latter developments.

My kindest personal regards.

Cordially yours,

/s/ Thomas J. McMahon
National Secretary

TJM:MK

EBH Letterhead

October 28, 1948

Very Rev. Msgr. Thomas J. McMahon, S.T.D.
Catholic Near East Welfare Association
480 Lexington Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Monsignor McMahon:

As I explained to you yesterday over the telephone, the delay in my answer to your very kind letter of October 21 was due to the Jewish holidays. I now have your letter before me, and I would like to deal with the two questions: the one which you substantially leave unanswered, and the second, which you raise.

The two questions are obviously unrelated, and whatever you or I may have to say on the problem of the Arab and other refugees does not affect an unfair attack on Israel and Zionism in a Catholic publication. I, moreover, willingly grant you that the question you raise is of incomparably greater importance than the subject of my last letter to you. Still, I am compelled to repeat my appeal to you for fairness and correctness in the Catholic press in its discussions on the Holy Land. When the mind of a non-informed reader is poisoned with the kind of stuff which The Christian Family and Our Missions has published, it is afterwards extremely difficult to disabuse his mind and to eliminate the misconceptions. Would it not be fair and right for the proper authorities of the Catholic Church to acquaint the editors of the various publications with all the aspects of the problem, with the official stand of the Church on the question of Palestine, with the substance of our various representations and communications - so that in the future Catholic readers may not be fed with such malicious distortions?

As to the question of the refugees, I, personally, have been all along deeply interested in this problem. I have carefully read not only the press reports but also the reports and minutes of the meetings of your relief group, and have discussed this problem with my colleagues. By this I wish to indicate that I am fully aware of both the humanitarian and political implications of this problem.

Very Rev. Megr. Thomas J. McMahon, S.T.D.

October 28, 1948

That there is a very definite political aspect to the question of the Arab refugees, I am certain you will agree with me. These are not refugees from a flood or an epidemic. They are refugees from a war of aggression which their own kings and leaders started. Furthermore, they have become refugees mainly because their leaders urged them to run away. They could have stayed in their homes enjoying as much safety as their "Jewish conquerors". (A letter of mine on this subject was published, in August, in the New York Times. In case you missed it, I attach a copy, which kindly return upon perusal).

Writing to you in the same spirit of friendship and frankness which characterized your letter, let me add that there is also another political implication to this problem. The Arab war against Israel and the Jews is not over yet. They continue to harass the small state of Israel in every way possible, and also to wreak terrible vengeance upon the defenseless Jewish minorities in their lands. You are familiar with the Shafiq Ades case, and this is not a unique incident in the practices of the Arab countries. The Arab refugees are a definite liability on the hands of the Arab states - a liability for the very existence of which those Arab States are directly and indirectly responsible. Under the circumstances, any measure of relief provided for the Arab refugees on humanitarian grounds (relief which those unfortunates badly need) is so inseparable relief also for the Arab Governments in their war of aggression against Israel. There is no getting away from this tie-up between help to the homeless and hungry - a highly commendable humanitarian undertaking - and the political and military profits which the Arab League must derive from it.

May I also point out to you that the Arab governments themselves do not seem to show too much concern. Nor are they willing to devote their resources to the refugees. If Egypt, Iraq, Syria and the others would have spent half of the money that their war on Israel costs them for relief of the refugees, the latter would be in a much better position. Likewise, King Farouk and King Ibn Saud could have taken care of the whole problem by devoting their great personal wealth to the Arab masses whom they made homeless and hungry.

The above is eminently true as long as we analyse the problem from a short range viewpoint. Should we, however, approach the question from a long range viewpoint, the entire situation may appear in a different light. If your relief group was to embark on a program which would include - as you rightly suggest in your letter - not only the immediate problem of the Arab refugees from Palestine, but the hundreds of thousands of potential, Jewish and Christian, refugees from the Arab lands, that would be a different story. What is more, this body which includes so many humanitarian organizations is well in a position to try and map out a plan for a permanent settlement or settlements for the various national and religious minorities in the Middle East. If your Committee, or you personally, have such a long range, constructive program in mind, I feel reasonably certain that both the Government of Israel and the various Jewish organizations in the United States

Very Rev. Msgr. Thomas J. McMahon, S.T.D.

October 28, 1948

would be willing to lend a helping hand and take an active part in the implementation of such a program.

This letter is written not on the stationery of the American Zionist Emergency Council but on my personal letterhead, in order to underscore the strictly personal character of the above utterances. Kindly treat them accordingly.

Looking forward to seeing you next Wednesday, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

EBH:DG

Eliahu Ben-Horin

P. S. By way of correction: ~~to~~ the best of my knowledge, the United Palestine Appeal never "attacked" your group.



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

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date October 29, 1948

From Eliahu Ben-Horin

I enclose a copy of my letter to Walter Eytan, of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Tel Aviv on the McMahon matter.

I am also enclosing a copy of my reply to Monsignor McMahon in its final form.

Best regards.

EBH:MB
Enc.

2. B-H

October 29, 1948

Mr. Walter Eytan
Director General
Ministry for Foreign Affairs
Tel Aviv, Israel

Dear Mr. Eytan:

The news of Monsignor McMahon's mission to Palestine, on behalf of Cardinal Spellman and the Catholic Church, has undoubtedly reached you. Consequently, the letter I received a few days ago from Monsignor McMahon gains in importance. McMahon's task in Palestine and in the Middle East will be mainly the problem of the refugees. His letter to me, a copy of which is attached, deals with this problem. After giving this matter due consideration and after consulting my colleagues, I replied as per enclosed copy. When you read my reply, please keep in mind that it is a strictly personal letter, written on my personal stationery, and that I emphasized the personal character of this letter and of the views expressed therein both in the concluding passage of my letter and in a conversation over the telephone with McMahon. Indeed, he assured me that, beside himself, only Cardinal Spellman will see my letter.

On the other hand, I felt that a clear statement on the refugee issue could be beneficial to us and that it would be wrong for us to be maneuvered into a defensive position. I hope that Mr. Shertok and you share this viewpoint.

Monsignor McMahon will be leaving for the Middle East in about a fortnight, but he will stop in Rome on his way. I am having lunch with him next week, and if anything of interest develops, I shall let you know. In the meantime, I wish to emphasize the importance of McMahon's mission to Israel and the Middle East. He is the trusted representative of Cardinal Spellman and he is the leading Middle East authority of the Catholic Church in America. His reports, both on the question of the refugees and on the position of the Holy Places and of the Christian minorities in Israel, will have a decisive influence on Catholic policies and will also carry weight with the Vatican. This should be kept in mind by the Government of Israel and all those governmental agencies and men who will be in touch with McMahon.

For your information, Monsignor McMahon is a soft-spoken man, very polite and friendly, but on occasions he can be as firm as a rock.

He really knows the Near East and all the forces at play there. In our contacts with him, we found him to be fair and correct, and on the whole, I am inclined to expect good results from his forthcoming trip.

If I may make another suggestion, I would advise you to have a confidential talk on the subject with my good friend, James G. McDonald. Show him this report as well as the attached exchange of letters. First of all, it is important that Mr. McDonald should be au courant of this exchange of views. He may find it helpful when McMahon calls on him. Secondly, the advice which McDonald may give would be invaluable for your contacts with McMahon.

I would appreciate hearing from you after Monsignor McMahon's arrival in the country.

Sincerely yours,

Elisha Ben-Horin

EBH:MB
Enc.

October 29, 1948

Very Rev. Msgr. Thomas J. McMahon, S.T.D.
Catholic Near East Welfare Association
480 Lexington Ave.
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Monsignor McMahon:

As I explained to you the other day over the telephone, the delay in my answer to your very kind letter of October 21 was due to the Jewish holidays. I now have your letter before me, and I would like to deal with the two questions: the one which you leave substantially unanswered, and the second, which you raise.

The two issues are obviously unrelated, and whatever you or I may have to say on the problem of the Arab and other refugees is in no way connected with an unfair attack on Israel and Zionism in a Catholic publication. I, moreover, willingly grant you that the question you raise is of incomparably greater importance than the subject of my last letter to you. Still, I am compelled to repeat my appeal to you for fairness and correctness in the Catholic press in its discussions of the Holy Land. When the mind of an uninformed reader is poisoned with the kind of stuff which The Christian Family and Our Missions has published, it is afterwards extremely difficult to disabuse his mind and to eliminate the misconceptions. Would it not be fair and right for the proper authorities of the Catholic Church to acquaint the editors of the various publications with all the aspects of the problem, with the official stand of the Church on the question of Palestine, with the substance of our various representations and communications - so that in the future Catholic readers may not be fed with such malicious distortions?

As to the question of the refugees, I, personally, have been deeply interested in this problem all along. I have carefully read not only the press reports but also the reports and minutes of the meetings of your relief group, and have discussed this problem with my colleagues. By this, I wish to indicate that I am fully aware of both the humanitarian and political implications of this problem.

That there is a very definite political aspect to the question of the Arab refugees, I am certain you will agree with me. These are not refugees from a flood or an epidemic. They are refugees from a war of aggression which their own kings and leaders started. Furthermore, they have become refugees mainly because their leaders urged them to run away.

They could have stayed in their homes enjoying as much safety as their Jewish conquerors. (A letter of mine on this subject was published, in August, in the New York Times. In case you missed it, I attach a copy, which kindly return after perusal).

Writing to you in the same spirit of friendship and frankness which characterized your letter, let me add that there is also another political implication to this problem. The Arab war against Israel and the Jews is not yet over. They continue to harass the small state of Israel in every possible way, and also to wreak terrible vengeance upon the defenseless Jewish minorities in their lands. You are familiar with the Shafiq Ades case and, unfortunately, this is not a unique incident in the practices of the Arab countries. The Arab refugees are a definite liability on the hands of the Arab states - a liability for the very existence of which these Arab States are directly and indirectly responsible. Under the circumstances, any relief provided for the Arab refugees on humanitarian grounds (relief which those unfortunates badly need) is so inseparable relief also for the Arab Governments in their war of aggression against Israel. There is no getting away from this tie-up between help to the homeless and hungry - a highly commendable humanitarian undertaking - and the political and military profits which the Arab League derive from it.

May I also point out to you that the Arab governments themselves do not seem to show too much concern. Nor are they willing to devote their resources to the refugees. If Egypt, Iraq, Syria and the others would spend half of the money that their war on Israel costs them for relief to the refugees, the latter would be in a much better position. Likewise, King Farouk and King Ibn Saud could have taken care of the whole problem by devoting a fraction of their great personal wealth to the Arab masses whom they made homeless and hungry.

The above is eminently true as long as we analyze the problem from a short range viewpoint. Should we, however, approach the question from a long range viewpoint, the entire situation may appear in a different light. If your relief group were to embark on a program which would include - as you rightly suggest in your letter - not only the immediate problem of the Arab refugees from Palestine, but the hundreds of thousands of potential Jewish and Christian refugees from the Arab lands, that would be a different story. What is more, this body which includes so many humanitarian organizations is well in a position to try and map out a plan for a permanent settlement or settlements for the various national and religious minorities in the Middle East. If your Committee, or you personally, have such a long range, constructive program in mind, I feel

reasonably certain that both the Government of Israel and the various Jewish organizations in the United States would be willing to lend a helping hand and take an active part in the implementation of such a program.

In conclusion, I would like to emphasize that far from "attacking" your relief group - as you mistakenly state in your letter - the Zionist movement and the State of Israel are genuinely concerned with the plight of Arab refugees. On purely humanitarian grounds, they would be willing to participate in the relief program, if they were certain that their offer of help would be welcome by the Arabs. Let me recall to you the case of the cholera epidemic in Egypt, last year. Hundreds of people were dying daily in Egypt, but when the Hebrew University in Jerusalem offered Egypt large supplies of anti-cholera vaccines and a medical mission to help fight the epidemic - the Egyptian Government rejected the offer without even a word of thanks. You cannot blame Israel for not wishing to place itself again in a similar position.

Another point which I would like to make is that the quickest and surest way of providing relief to the unfortunate refugees is obviously to end the Palestine war. No measures of relief could be half as effective as the end of the war and permanent resettlement of the refugees.

This letter is written not on the stationery of the American Zionist Emergency Council but on my personal letterhead, in order to underscore the strictly personal character of the above utterances. Kindly treat them accordingly.

Looking forward to seeing you next Wednesday, I am

Very sincerely yours,

EBE:MB

Eliahu Ben-Horin

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date November 8, 1948

From Elishu Ben-Horin

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

As I told you over the telephone last week, I was invited by Cardinal Spellman to have lunch with him today. In addition to the Cardinal, Monsignor McMahon, Bishop Arnold, Chief of the Military Chaplains, with the rank of Brigadier-General, Monsignor Kellenberg, Chancellor of the Diocese of New York and Monsignor Murphy, personal secretary of the Cardinal, attended the luncheon. However, the latter three did not participate in the conversation - a very lively one - which went on for about 1½ hours between Cardinal Spellman and Monsignor McMahon, on one hand, and myself on the other.

First of all, one general remark: the Cardinal was not only extremely polite and obliging but also friendly throughout our conversation. He started the conversation by asking me whether I thought that the American government will now be more favorable to Israel. To this, I answered that as Truman is now President in his own right, and as he has been favorable to Israel all along, whereas the State Department followed the British policy, it is to be hoped that President Truman will now be in a stronger position to influence the Palestine policy of the United States government. Cardinal Spellman did not react to this except to shake his head affirmatively.

The first hour or so was exclusively devoted to the question of the Catholic churches and desecration of holy places. The Cardinal opened the conversation by saying they are very much worried, and that they continue to receive reports and letters from Israel that desecration of their places of worship is taking place; and that the Israeli government is leasing or confiscating Catholic institutions for their own purposes. They received the most recent communication to this effect this morning. He added that if he were to publish these letters and reports which they have received, as they are, this, in itself, would have a very inflammatory effect on public opinion in the United States. However, he was not going to do this and he was now sending Monsignor McMahon to Israel so that he can get a complete picture of the situation. He was nevertheless asking me how I would explain these circumstances.

I commenced by asking the Cardinal whether the report of desecrations relate to the early days of the Arab-Jewish war or to recent developments. While asking this, I emphasized that in those early days, the Arab Legion, under the direction of Christian officers, was shelling and destroying Jewish synagogues, and that while I did not want to condone any of the regrettable acts which might have taken place at the time, one should keep in mind the provocation under which some irresponsible elements might have acted. Furthermore, as we know from official statements by the Israeli government, those responsible for acts of desecration were severely punished. However,

should the news quoted by the Cardinal refer to recent developments, then I do not know what to say. All I can say is that the Israeli government has displayed a desire to provide full protection for the various Christian communities. I recalled to the Cardinal statements by Catholic dignitaries testifying to a fine modus vivendi established between them and the Israeli authorities. The Cardinal asked me for specific reference in this respect and I provided him with same.

As to the reports about the Israeli government taking over Catholic institutions, I said that I did not know anything about it, but I recalled to Monsignor McMahon the report which he conveyed to me at the time about the Israeli government supposedly intending to impose taxation on churches; and that after the necessary inquiries were made, this report was found to be baseless. I concluded by reminding Monsignor McMahon that when I discussed matters with him a couple of months ago, immediately after the submission of their memorandum to the United Nations, I suggested that Cardinal Spellman send a mission of his own to Israel to investigate the situation with regard to the holy places and the freedom of the Catholic communities. I added that I welcome strongly, and I feel that the Israeli government would welcome, Monsignor McMahon's mission to Israel, and that his report will give the Cardinal a first-hand picture about the state of affairs.

The Cardinal asked me then what was the official position of the Israeli government on this question, and I gave him a suitable reply which he accepted with satisfaction.

Cardinal Spellman then asked for my personal, off-the-record, opinion about the recent encyclical of the Pope on the question of Palestine. Quoting the Cardinal's words that it was a "personal" and "off-the-record" opinion, I said that I prefer His Holiness' statement on Palestine made to a delegation of the Arab Higher Committee in 1946. I said that whereas that statement was made in the spirit of impartiality and fairness to Jewish aspirations in Palestine, the encyclical was rather unfriendly and never even mentioned the Jewish people by name. To this, the Cardinal answered that as he understands it, it was because of the delicate situation that the Pope did not mention the Jews; if he were to mention them, he would have had to mention them unfavorably in connection with the desecration of holy places. But, he added, I did not answer his question with regard to His Holiness' statement on the internationalization of Jerusalem.

I then analyzed, at some length, the developments with regard to the status of Jerusalem. I recalled that when the United Nations passed its decision on Palestine, the Jews accepted that decision, including internationalization of Jerusalem; that it was Bernadotte who suggested that Jerusalem be handed over to King Abdullah. I went on to say that events have shown the complete indifference of the entire Christian world to the fate of Jerusalem and that the preservation of Jerusalem fell entirely on the slim shoulders of the Jewish community. I further explained the evolution in thinking and the necessity for Israel to

secure the life of the sizeable Jewish community in Jerusalem, and I concluded by saying that even now, Israel is willing to accept the internationalization of the holy places, including the Old City of Jerusalem but that the New City is to be incorporated into the State of Israel to ensure proper communications between Jerusalem and the hinterland. With this reservation, I can express no objection to the position taken by His Holiness in the encyclical. On the whole, Cardinal Spellman and his associates accepted this explanation favorably, with Monsignor McMahon emphasizing that the Holy See was equally opposed to the Bernadotte plan for Jerusalem as it would be to any suggestion which would hand over the holy places into Jewish control. I remarked that the Jewish people do not want to assume control over the holy places.

Then the question of the refugees was raised. Monsignor McMahon first spoke about the transfer idea which I promulgated in my book and also in my letter to the New York Times. He presented it in such a way as if I were against the existence of any Christian community in Palestine. I answered that he was reading into my suggestions something that wasn't there and that I never advocated segregation along religious or racial lines, and that the transfer plan was based on political, economic, and social considerations rather than on religious ones.

The Cardinal took over at this point by shifting the conversation to the question of the Arab refugees, emphasizing how important it was on humanitarian grounds to give them help and that in his judgment, it would be right and politic on the part of the Jews to participate in this effort.

Monsignor McMahon assured him that he found me very cooperative in this respect and that I, too, felt that American Jewry should participate in this relief program.

I then asked for the Cardinal's permission to reiterate the stand I have taken on this matter in my conversation last week with Monsignor McMahon, emphasizing the personal character of the views expressed and referring to my personal letter to Monsignor McMahon on this subject on the political aspects of the problem, which I knew the Cardinal had read; (at this juncture, the Cardinal interrupted me with a smile, saying that I expressed my mind very strongly). I said that I had discussed this matter with Dr. Silver and I was glad to find that Dr. Silver felt the same way about it. However, as Monsignor McMahon was rightly emphasizing, in view of the apolitical character of the agencies participating in the relief group, it would not be so easy to find a Jewish agency which could associate itself in this drive. The J. D. C. does not operate in the Middle East. On the other hand, all the Jewish organizations which do operate in the Middle East are naturally connected with Palestine and Zionism. Hadassah, for instance, can be regarded as a purely humanitarian organization handling medical institutions, but it cannot be denied that

Hadassah is part and parcel of the Zionist movement. I went on to say that if we speak only of a gesture on the part of American Jewry, this can be achieved by the Z. O. A. or other Zionist groups making a contribution to the relief program, but, as I understand it, what is needed is more organic Jewish participation in the relief program. After I submit a full report of our conversation to Dr. Silver, I hope that a way may be found to solve this problem, maybe by inducing the J. D. C. to associate itself with the relief group, or maybe the American Jewish Committee or the American Jewish Congress could provide the proper representation of American Jewry in this effort. The Cardinal reacted favorably to the idea of the American Jewish Committee.

In an earlier phase of the conversation, when Cardinal Spellman spoke about the recent statement of the Pope, I asked him whether he would consider it desirable if I stop over in Rome, either on my way to Israel or on my way back, in order to clarify the situation on all the matters of desecration, etc. To this, the Cardinal answered that it might be desirable for me to go to the Vatican on the way back from Israel, when I will be armed with first-hand information, but that Monsignor McMahon and I would be able to decide on this matter when we are together in Israel. Should I return from Israel before Monsignor McMahon, then the Monsignor would be able to arrange for my visit to the Vatican.

I have tried to make my report about this conference with Cardinal Spellman as comprehensive as possible, both because of the importance of the subjects discussed and because it was our first direct contact with Cardinal Spellman.

Best regards.

EBH:MB

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date November 10, 1948

From Eliahu Ben-Horin

As I told you over the telephone, I phoned Mr. Shertok in Paris this morning, reported to him the developments with regard to the Arab refugee problem, and conveyed the suggestions for Jewish participation in the relief group as formulated in our conversation yesterday.

Mr. Shertok agreed with the two suggestions, namely:

- a) that it would be desirable for American Jewry to be represented on the relief group, emphasizing that it should bear a purely humanitarian character; and he strongly endorsed your choice of the B'nai B'rith as the body to appear on our behalf in this matter.
- b) that it would be politic and right for us to make a gesture in the form of a contribution, when the appeal is made. I mentioned the ZOA as the possible contributor, but the question of what Zionist body would make the contribution was left open. If you wish, I can take up this matter with Mr. Shertok when I see him next week, although I personally think that this can be decided here on the spot.

Best regards.

EBH:MB

E. B-H

Rome, November 30, 1948

Dear Abe:

As you see, I am still in Rome, although, according to schedule, I should have been in Israel since yesterday. The Trans-Caribbean line seems to be irregular, not only by name. However, we are leaving tonight. My three days of boredom in Rome are almost over.

McMahon, who arrived in Rome one day ahead of me, lavished on me hospitality beyond all expectations. On Sunday, he spent with me over six hours, showing me Rome - including the Vatican, which is closed to visitors on Sunday. As he lived and studied here for six years, I could not have a better guide. He then entertained me to lunch at the place he stays, which was attended by another Monsignor (the president of the Vatican's Court) and two priests. We had very pleasant and friendly few hours together.

McMahon was received by the Pope, who - to put in his own words - was very much interested and approving of McMahon's mission. He then had two long talks with the Pope's Middle East expert, Cardinal Tysserand (I am not sure of the spelling). In fact, ~~if~~ should I have come one day earlier, McMahon would have brought me together with the Cardinal, who left the city yesterday. McMahon is staying on here until the end of the week.

I met the local Israeli Consul, who was advised of my arrival by Shertok, and I am going now to visit our Aviation School: about 40 boys

Paris, November 18, 1948

Dear Harry:

This being my first letter from Paris, I will try, in addition to the report on my doings, to convey to you some impressions I gained. But let's first get over with the "business" part of the letter.

Shertok, whom I contacted immediately upon arrival on Sunday, could not see me before Tuesday, the 16th. As he put it to me over the phone: "I am willing to work 24 hours a day, but not 25." From what I have seen since of his and the delegation's work, he did not exaggerate. They are working like hell. On Tuesday, after many postponements and changes caused by a sudden call for Shertok to the Political Committee and by this and that, I finally sat down with him for a long pallover (which of course has been interrupted every three minutes). He was greatly interested in my report, especially in my negotiations with the Catholics, in McMahon's forthcoming trip to Israel and in the question of the Arab refugees. With regard to the latter, his cable to Frank Goldman of the B'nai Brith was sent off in my presence; in fact, I drafted it for him. He fully approved of my line of argumentation in the Spellman conference. It seems - and Eban told me so in so many words - that much worse things than those publicized did take place in the Catholic institutions, and as Eban put it: "We were fortunate that reports about these wild doings have not reached America."

As you know from the press, James G. is supposed to come here in response to an urgent call from the Secretary. I do not know whether this is a true story or a canard, but I am waiting here for his arrival. I asked Shertok his opinion whether I should proceed to Israel in case I meet James here. He said "Most definitely", because of the importance of my being there when McMahon comes. I felt the same way about it. Furthermore, even if I meet James here, the atmosphere of Paris in the days of the U.N. session is not conducive to long talks. I was glad to hear that Shertok felt the same way about it, and I feel sure that this would meet with Dr. Silver's and your approval.

In the meantime, I had to prolong my stay in Paris for 2 reasons: a) I want to see James if he is coming, in order to know when he plans to return to Tel Aviv; b) I am waiting for the interview with Hector McNeil. Shertok approved also of this idea. Both he and Eban felt that it would be interesting. Walter Kerr, of the Herald Tribune in Paris, with whom I had to clear this matter, also liked the idea of such a piece. I am now waiting to hear from McNeil.

I discussed with Kennan and Eban your request with regard to the Chicago Daily News. Eban promised to let me have the material they have within a couple of days, and I shall then airmail it to Judge Fisher in Chicago.

The following will be of special interest to Sulamith. Yesterday I had a long session with Sasson and Arazi. They were very laudatory about our work in the States in the field of their activity and henceforth intend to be in permanent and direct contact with us. Their report of ~~xxxx~~ their contacts with the E.K. delegation in Paris, or particularly with Mr. R., has nothing in common with the version given to me by E.E. I will tell you in more detail when I am back. One of the men of

their Department is now on his way to South America to serve as special Attache for these matters at the Israeli Legation in Uruguay, if I am not mistaken. He was instructed by them to be in direct touch with us and to cooperate with us. The Minister and First Secretary are now here on their way to Uruguay (if it is Uruguay), and Sassoon suggested that they arrange a meeting between me and them, so that we talk over matters. By the way, Sulamith, did you know that the latest, very long memorandum on the Christian institutions is the work of Marie Syrkin? She is now temporarily attached to the Government for this kind of work.

This, I believe, takes care of the business report, except to add that Schulson is working very conscientiously and is of definite help. I saw also Charles F., who left yesterday for a few days in Germany.

Palais Chaillot is like a madhouse. I gained entrance there first as Hy Schulson, and then under my own name, on the strength of my Herald Tribune credentials, but who has the patience to sit there through the interminable speeches of the Arab delegates. It seems that this is the only thing they are capable of doing. ~~It~~ There is a general conviction that this UN session will accomplish nothing in any field. If however we are driven to openly defy the November 4th resolution, then the British will have achieved one thing: in the eyes of world public opinion we shall be those who undermine the authority of the U.N. That is why Shertok, Eban and the others of the delegation are definitely against a straight "no" answer on the part of the Israeli Govt with regard to the implementation of the Nov. 4th resolution. The key to the situation lies of course in Washington, and time must be gained until the President has time to introduce the reported reorganization and shifts, which may have a decisive influence on our fortunes in the UN.

I am mailing a copy of this to E AHS in Cleveland, as I feel that some of the above may be of interest to him.

My very best to all colleagues and friends.

Sincerely,

E. Ben-Hur

*My best regards to you
and yours,*

EBH

Paris, November 20, 1948

Dear Abe:

I know from the press that Harry is already on his new job. Please transmit to him my congratulations. I know that he is facing a difficult assignment, but knowing his abilities I am sure he will lick it. My congratulations and best wishes also to you in your new role of Executive Director of the Council.

James G. arrived the day before yesterday. I had breakfast with him yesterday morning and a talk in the evening. As you probably know, he had to insist quite a bit before he was invited here. The main official reason for his being here is the question of the Arab refugees, to which he devoted a great deal of attention. Some time ago, he sent to Washington a comprehensive memorandum on the question, which was received there very well, and which made of James the champion of Arab welfare - a very unexpected development in the eyes of his colleagues and superiors, ~~but~~ which however contributed to the improvement of James' standing with the Dept. It is needless to say that he heard with gratification the news I gave him about the forthcoming association of the B'nai Brith with the Arab refugees appeal. (By the way, did it materialize in the meantime? I would very much like to know the developments in this respect since my departure).

So, when James was received by the Secretary yesterday morning, the first quarter of an hour was devoted to the question of the refugees. But about 45 minutes more were taken up by the political issues. James told me in some detail what he had to say to the Secretary, remarking that the latter was a very good listener. And he told him plenty: the facts of life in general, and particularly about the fatal British mistakes in Palestine, Bevin's hatred for the President and for the Jews, the cardinal British mistake of building on Arab loyalty and strength (which are both non-existent), the relative strength of the Jews and the Arabs (quoting from his military attache), about the Negev and why it is imperative for us to have it, etc. To all this the Secretary listened with great attention and interest, and ~~James~~, as James remarked to me, he is not the kind of a guy who spends a full hour for an interview unless he is interested. This talk was undoubtedly important both on its merits and especially in view of the forthcoming consultations of the Secretary in Washington.

James, too, was greatly interested in my report about the Catholic negotiations. He is looking forward to seeing McMahon both here and in Tel Aviv. Shertok will have lunch with McMahon and me.

James did not offer yet an adequate explanation for the invitation he sent me, and I am not pressing him for one as the atmosphere here and the limited time do not encourage long talks. As James put it, he wants to spend his time here not with friends but with those who need conviction and persuasion - which is reasonable. I told him about the various missions I have, adding however that my primary assignment was to be at his disposal. Accordingly, I wanted to know whether he would like me to wait for him here and go back to Israel on the same plane, or go to Israel, attend there to my other assignments and wait for his return. He said that he intended to stay here about ten days, but he has just arrived, and

why don't I wait a few days. So, I am waiting. In fact, I would have to wait anyway for McMahon, who according to your cable arrives here Monday.

The Israeli reply to the U.N. was clever and, for the time being at least, saved us from a very awkward situation. Ross of the American delegation told yesterday one of the Israeli delegation that they intended yesterday to speak up in the Political Committee in favor of Israel's admission into the UN, but then they got cold feet fearing that Israel may send in, yesterday, a straight negative reply and thus hardly live up to the qualification of a "peaceful nation" worthy of admission into the UN. However now, he continued, after this excellent reply, the USA delegation is going to make this speech on Monday, asking for Israel's admission. I sell it to you for what I bought it. This is the story as told to me last night by Gideon Raphael (Rufer).

As far as I can figure out the "program" of the Israeli Govt at this session of the UN, they want to achieve here (a) Admission into the UN; (b) No change in the actual military status quo in Palestine; (c) The elimination of the truce and truce observers nuisance, to be substituted by an armistice.

Best regards to you and all colleagues.

Sincerely,

EBH

P.S. I am sending a copy to HS in Cleveland.

27 p/6

17/18

Dear Abe:

November 24, 1948

I just returned from lunch with Shertok and Monsignor McMahon, which lasted for two hours. McMahon arrived yesterday, phoned me the same day, and the two of us had dinner last night and a very long and friendly ~~thangkt~~ talk. He has made one change in his plans, namely to ~~after~~ Rome straight to Israel, and not, as he planned before, first to Egypt and Lebanon, and then to Israel. This is all to the better: not only because I will be in Israel during his stay there, but also because his first-hand knowledge of the facts will come in handy when he meets the pro-Arab clergymen in Egypt, Lebanon and the other Arab lands. Shertok felt the same way about it.

me/

McMahon gave the Cardinal's regards, told me of a Conference of Bishops in Washington prior to his departure at which he made a special point of praising our mutual relationship - with Cardinal Spellman nodding in assent - and today he was most appreciative of the opportunity to have had a long, pleasant and interesting talk with Shertok. By the way, during my talk with Shertok, last week, I asked whether the Israeli Govt would want me to stop in the Vatican on my way back, if McMahon would be willing to arrange for the necessary appointments there. Shertok was rather doubtful whether this would be advisable, because, as he explained, a mission of the Israeli Ministry of Religions spent a couple of weeks in Vatican, several weeks ago, had many talks with leading people there - though not with the Pope himself - and that it ~~the~~ ^{was} impression of that delegation that the Vatican would welcome now not visits from Israel ~~but~~ actual deeds in Israel which would live up to their expectations. However, Shertok added, when the time comes to decide on this matter, we shall discuss it in Tel Aviv. Today, Monsignor McMahon raised on his own initiative - during our lunch with Shertok - the question of my stopping in Rome on my way back from Israel for an interview with the Pope, which he feels sure that he would be able to arrange. It is needless to say that, on this occasion, Shertok expressed his wholehearted approval as to the desirability of such an interview. Accordingly, it seems likely at the moment, that on my way back I shall spend a couple of days in Rome.

It seems that I shall be away from New York longer than I thought originally. My waiting first for James' arrival and later for McMahon caused already a prolongation of my stay in Paris from 3-4 days to 2 weeks. Rome may also take a few days on my return trip. I shall be leaving Paris for Israel this Saturday, Nov. 23rd, and I shall arrive there on the 25th. James remains here for the time being - engaged as he is ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ efforts to straighten out the situation. Before leaving, I shall have one long talk with him, and if something of special interest emerges, I shall not fail to inform you.

The invitation to BBNx B'nai Brith to join the committee for Arab relief has not been extended yet. It seems that McMahon misunderstood me, when I spoke to him last in New York over the phone. However, he is cabling or writing today to New York, asking that the invitation be immediately sent to the B'nai Brith in Washington. As you know from my

previous letter, Shertok sent the cable we wanted him to send to Frank Goldman. Dr. Silver, on his part, wrote a letter to Goldman before I left the States. So, everything should be arranged smoothly. Still, I think it would be advisable for you to contact Frank Goldman or Maurice Bisgyer and make sure of their acceptance of the invitation and of their keeping us au courant of all the developments. If you in turn would inform me of these developments, it would be helpful. By the end of next week, I shall be seeing McMahon in Tel Aviv, and I would like to know by then the state of affairs with regard to the Arab refugee relief.

Please tell Sulamith that when I received, yesterday her letter enclosing the clipping from the Register my reaction was that in light of McMahon's trip to Israel and his forthcoming report, which is bound to superceed and outweigh all the previous statements - at least in its influence on the Catholic press in the USA - it is not worthwhile to raise any questions now with regard to any unfavorable items which may appear in Catholic publications. When I have shown the clipping to McMahon, last night, his reaction was exactly the same. In fact, he said it in so many words. Of course, we cannot say what will be McMahon's Report. It will depend on the actual facts of the situation, as well as on the reception, guidance and interpretations which will be accorded to him. But of one thing I have no doubt, and that is of the impact which the report of Spelman's man will have on Catholic opinion in the United States and not only in the United States.

As Schulson keeps you fully informed of U.N. developments, I don't have to write you about that. Eban delivered yesterday an excellent speech. The only criticism one can offer is: the excessive length of the speech. As many a good orator, Eban seems to admire listening to himself and he gets carried away by his eloquence, but his statement as a whole was extremely good both in contents and delivery. If what Eban told me and Charles Fahy this morning is true, it seems pretty certain that the Security Council may vote favorably on Israel's admission into the U.N. According to him, six votes in favor are in the bag; if I am not mistaken he counted the following six: USA, Russia, Ukraine, Columbia, Argentina and Australia (or is it Canada that is a member?). The seventh vote required they expect from France.

The number of people from Palestine one meets in the halls and corridors of Palais de Chaillot makes one wonder whether there are still some Jews left in Israel. One Palestinian journalist counted yesterday ~~that~~ in the conference room itself ~~he counted~~ 23 people of the Israeli delegation and its honored guests. He said that he sent a dispatch to his paper in Tel-Aviv about that (no other delegation has more than 5-6 people, guests included), adding that he saw James coming into the press gallery and sitting there, and if this "passt" James it should damn well suit the various gentlemen from Tel Aviv and their matrons. There is something to that.

My very best to you and all friends and colleagues.

Sincerely,

Elihu

P.S. Tell Isreeli I saw Dingall, who is scheduled to leave tomorrow. He met Max James and was very pleased.

*Best regards
E. B. H.*



HOTEL DE PARIS

8, BOULEVARD DE LA MADELEINE

PARIS

TÉLÉPH. OPÉRA 51-13 (Lignes groupées)

ADRESSE TÉLÉGR. TELPARIS-PARIS

November 26, 1948

Dear Dr. Silver:

You know of my doings in Paris from the copies of my letters to the office, which I regularly send you to Cleveland. Since my last letter to Abe Tuvim, there is little I have to add - except that I had tea yesterday with Golda Mayerson who was worried about Montor, who in her judgment is almost irreplaceable. She said that according to her understanding a compromise agreement has been reached and Montor came back to the UPA-UJA. Whether it is so or not, I don't know, but you surely do.

McMahon left already for Rome; I am leaving tomorrow morning; and James, who in the meantime arranged to be requested by his superiors to stay on until the end of the session, will be back in Israel by the middle of December.

However, the main purpose of this letter is to get your approval and blessings for what may turn out to be a new chapter in my life and activities. You will recall our conversation on the eve of your last trip to Israel and my request to you to keep in mind my desire for an early return to Palestine. I, on my part, gratefully remember your understanding for my request. It seems now that there

is an attractive opening for me, which presents the elements of challenge and satisfaction - without which, I believe, no success can be attained in the type of work which I am capable of doing.

Here is the story. In Palais de Chaillot, I run across Dr. Azriel Karlebach, whom you know. He told me that the World League of Jewish Journalists, and particularly its Israeli Branch (of which Karlebach seems to be the founder and one of its leaders), was entrusted by the ~~xxxxxxxix~~ Jewish Agency in Israel with the task of establishing the Dept of Propaganda. Nominally, the matter lies within Dobkin's Dept of Organization, but it appears that realizing the magnitude of the task and its specific nature, the above League was handed the job of finding the man who would be able to build and head this "Ministry of Propaganda". There were negotiations with Gershon Agronsky, but he did not want to give up the editorship of the Palestine Post. Karlebach suggested my name, which he says was well received. Now, seeing me in Paris, he submitted the matter to me.

My first reaction was that this is the kind of work - establishing the entire network of Zionist propaganda in the world (radiostations; news services, political and economic, in all the languages; magazines, illustrated publications, photo services, etc.) - which appeals to me, and I am therefore interested in his offer. However, I added, I would like first to make sure of:

- 1.- Mrs Ben-Horin's consent (in light of my wife's eagerness to return to Israel, this is a formality);
- 2.- Dr. Silver's approval; 3.- Although I will work under the auspices of the Agency, and according to



HOTEL DE PARIS

8, BOULEVARD DE LA MADELEINE

PARIS

TÉLÉPH. OPÉRA 51-13 (Lignes groupées)

ADRESSE TÉLÉGR. TELPARISO-PARIS

- 3 -

Karlebach, a great deal of freedom will be accorded me in shaping the program and policies of the Dept, I would like to know that my appointment would be welcome to the Israeli Govt and that I can count on their cooperation, especially of the Foreign Ministry.

With regard to point (2), Karlebach, ^{remained} that you would be interested in having a man like me in a key position, handling Zionist propaganda in the world. I endorsed this belief of Karlebach, but I would like, of course, to hear from you. I then went to see Shertok on this matter, and I am glad to report that his reaction was extremely encouraging. He first embarked on a speech full of praise for me and my qualifications. Then, remarking that while the above was his personal viewpoint, he wants to assure me officially, on behalf of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, that I will get from them wholehearted cooperation.

So, that is that. If I have your approval, there seems to be no obstacle on the way of concluding the matter before I leave Israel on my way back. I hope that I made myself clear that as much as I wish to settle again in Israel, I shall do so only if you feel that I can be released from

my present duties in the Emergency Council. In many ways, moreover, this new job of mine - if it materializes - will be a continuation of my present work in AZEC, and my contacts in the USA, both Jewish and non-Jewish, would be extremely helpful.

I submit to you this entire proposition at a very early stage of the negotiations, as I want to be sure of your attitude before I proceed any further. An early word from you - to the Gat Rimmon, Tel Aviv - would therefore be greatly appreciated. It is needless to add that in any case I would not like to burn the bridges behind me, before I am certain that the bridge before me exists. In other words, only after I hear from you, shall I be able to proceed with formal negotiations and eventual acceptance of the post. Until then, my status with Azec remains unchanged.

With my very best regards to you and Mrs Silver,

Sincerely,

Eliahu

December 6, 1948

Mr. Eliahu Ben-Horin
Gat Rimmon Hotel
Tel Aviv, Israel

My dear Ben-Horin:

I received your letter of November 26th and I was interested in the proposition which was made to you. If it is really to be the head of the Ministry of Propaganda and you are informed beforehand what your province will really be - your authority, the degree of your independence, tenure of office, etc. - I would certainly advise you to accept it, knowing as I do your desire to settle permanently in Israel. I should advise you to go at this thing very circumspectly. You ought not to make up your mind until after the elections in Israel.

While your work here is most valuable, it is certain that before very long the Zionist Emergency Council will have to reorganize and sharply curtail its activities. You need not feel that there will be any deterrence on our part. Let me know what you finally decide to do.

I am particularly anxious to know about Monsignor McMahon's visit to Israel.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er

HOTEL GATRIMMON
TEL AVIV, ISRAEL

December 10, 1948

Dear Abe:

It is only two days since my arrival in Israel. From this you will understand - and rightly so - that there was a further delay in my departure from Cyprus. The British cancelled the license of the Mediterranean Airlines for the service to Haifa, and after staying in Nicosia of all places for 4-5 days we finally made our exit not by plane but by boat. It was the small Israeli ship Hatiqua (about 600 tons), carrying 200 immigrants from the Cyprus camps, that accomodated McMahon, myself and 3 more "honorable" guests.

Shertok did his part in advising the Foreign Office here and the other governmental agencies as to the importance of McMahon's mission. The two of us were therefore expected and properly received from the moment we landed in Haifa. Also two Catholic dignitaries, including the famous Monsignor Vergani, were at the pier to greet McMahon. I asked Vergani whether he had many attacks of hicoughs in recent months, as his name figured very prominently in our New York discussions. Jacob Herzog of the Ministry of Religions in Tel Aviv was ready to leave for Haifa, but I asked to advise him not to come immediately as I wanted to (a) have a talk with him and other people in charge before they meet the Monsignor; (b) prevent the impression that we are overbearing in our kindness to the point of taking up all of McMahon's time and not letting him be with his own people. Accordingly, after seeing the Monsignor installed in a hotel in Haifa, and after a talk with Bailin, the Foreign Office man in Haifa, in which I outlined the way the Monsignor should be treated, I went to Tel Aviv. The same afternoon, Herzog called on me and we had a long talk. He is a nice young man, intelligent and cooperative. He displayed complete willingness to be guided by my advise. How far he will actually follow it remains to be seen. Next day, I had a long session with Dr. Vardi, the man who was originally appointed as Director of the Section of Christian Churches but was soon shifted to the position of Adviser with the same rank, because he is not a religious Jew...He is undoubtedly the one real expert they have on all the problems of Christianity in the Holy Land. Shertok told us that much in Paris, and I know the man many years. Yesterday I had lunch with Walter Eytan and today a long talk with Marie Syrkin and Mr. Herman of the Press Dept.

After all these talks and two days of looking around, a pattern begins to emerge. There is little doubt that what Aubrey Eban told me in Paris (that thank God not everything is known that did happen) was no idle talk. They all seem to realize that McMahon is by far the most important visitor they have at the moment in the country and that there are bound to be far-reaching consequences to his visit, which therefore should be handled with greatest care. Herman (by the way, he impressed me as a bright and effecient fellow) and Marie Syrkin feel that it would be very desirable for me to accompany the Monsignor on a thorough tour of the country beyond and above the Catholic institutions. I fully agree with them, at least with the part relating to the Monsignor's tour. In fact, I talked to McMahon about this on our way to Israel. Against the background of the destruction suffered by Jewish settlements, the picture of destruction in the Arab and Christian sectors will appear in a different and much milder light. Although a plan for my independent tour of the country was worked out today, I am waiting to hear from Jacob Hertzog who went yesterday to Haifa to see McMahon, before deciding my own itinerary.

So far about McMahon. McDonald has not returned yet, but he is expected any day now. In the meantime, his Councillor Knox, to whom I brought a letter from James, invited me for dinner last night, attended also by two of the Attaches. We spent several pleasant and instructive (for them) hours. McDonald has a very fine team here, all of them friendly to Israel. Knox struck me as a particularly nice and intelligent person; a career diplomat of many years standing who somehow preserved a searching mind and a humane approach to things. McDonald deserves congratulations for selecting such a good team.

I did not have time yet - in these two days - to even approach the field of internal relations and politics. Nor am I particularly anxious to plunge into that ocean. However, I will have to. As far as my personal experiences go, I am thus far treated nicely by all and sundry. It seems that both the people in Paris and here accept that fact that somehow - God knows how - I happen to act as an unofficial Ambassador at Large or trouble-shooter, and as long as they have no cause for complaint - everybody is happy.

Abe, please make a copy of this letter and send it to AHS. I think that this is better than my mailing him a copy. For the same reason, I won't write to you about many things, which are better left for my oral report.

Best regards to all of you.

Sincerely,

Eliahu (Ben-Horin)



Jerusalem, Dec. 17, 1948

Dear Abe:

A couple of hours ago, I reached Jerusalem - in company with Monsignor McMahon and Monsignor Vergani. On our way from Tel Aviv, we visited Ramleh and Lydda, two former Arab towns in which very few Arabs are left. The settlement of Jews in Ramleh is well under way, and the next week the same process is to begin in Lydda. We visited the Catholic institutions there, and had lunch with the Military Governor of the district - an extremely intelligent Tel Aviv lawyer who handles the situation, including the problems of the local Christian population and places of worship, with great care and tact. The two Monsignors had only praise for the man and his administration, which seems to be the best in the country in this respect. Tomorrow is Sabbath and therefore we shall not be able to start touring Jerusalem and inspecting the damage done before Sunday. However, one interview - with the Military Governor, Dr. Joseph - is already fixed for tomorrow morning. I will meet with him about half an hour earlier, so that he should be au courant.

A few days ago, I went down to part of the Negev, where I saw and heard a tale which it is hard to re-tell. In any case, I wanted Monsignor McMahon to see the Negev for himself, and he did see it yesterday. I told him plainly that if he restricts his visit to the Arab and Christian areas and sees the destruction and suffering there without having had a look at the Jewish areas, he is apt to see things out of focus. He agreed with that and went together with Vergani to visit all those places which I visited two days earlier - and they were duly impressed.

Prior to their arrival in Tel Aviv, the two Monsignors visited Haifa, Nazareth, Acre and a number of Christian localities in Galilee. On the whole, they were impressed with the fairness and good will of the local military administration and the liaison officers of the Ministry of Religions, who, as a rule, seem to be good men. However, in the eyes of McMahon, the preservation of the Catholic positions in the country is indivisible from the preservation of the communities themselves, and those are mostly out of the country...

The crux of the problem is of course Jerusalem, and therefore our people in Tel Aviv felt that I should be with him here in order to soften the blow with the help of "the personal touch". We shall remain here until Monday, when McMahon and Vergani will "cross the lines" on their way to Bethlehem, and I will return to Tel Aviv. McMahon expects to spend a number of days not only in Bethlehem - where he is to consult with Archbishop Testa, the Apostolic Delegate - but in other places of the Arab area. He will then come back to Tel Aviv. It is planned that on his return to Tel Aviv he will meet with Shertok, if the latter is back by then from Paris, and also with Ben Gurion. He has paid already courtesy visits to Rabbi Fishman and Walter Eytan in Tel Aviv. When McMahon leaves for Bethlehem, I shall go back to Tel Aviv. I have still to spend a few days in Haifa and the North and I also want to go deeper down the Negev - which was impossible because of the mud. It is raining all the time and the rainfall this year is simply terrific.

McDonald is back and I had dinner with him the other night. We talked about many things but thus far he does not disclose why he invited me here - unless he has nothing to disclose, because he simply wanted to have a few talks, and/or wanted me to talk to the members of his mission and explain things to them. He assures me that I won't know more about it - why he invited me here - than I know now.

In the meantime, I am having talks with people of all parties and of all walks of life, which would supply me with material for my Harper's article and for the Herald Tribune articles and also enable me to give AHS and you a comprehensive report as to the state of affairs here. Early next week, I will send my first piece to the Herald Tribune: on the local oil problem, the Iraqi pipeline and the Haifa refineries.

I saw Israel Goldstein immediately upon his arrival and had a short talk with him. He told me how matters were finally settled in the UPA-UJA, but did not have enough time to talk.

Dingall was supposed to leave this morning for the States. I gave him two messages for you, which I am sure he will deliver to you, and the matter will be taken care of by you.

I am surprised that since my departure - over a month now - I did not receive from you even one line. I realize of course that you are very busy, but if you could spare the time for a letter about the state of affairs at the American end and the happenings around AZEC, I would certainly appreciate it. Last week, the Palestine Post published a dispatch from its New York correspondent - Jessie Lourie is his name, I believe - under the heading "Beginning of the End". The story told in that cable was that after Silver and Neumann refused to take action with regard to the Beigin campaign, it is now considered that there is no room any longer for Zionist political unity in the USA, and this spells the "beginning of the end" of the Emergency Council. From what I hear, this Jessie Lourie is interpreting events in America in this spirit all the time. There were some pearls of his interpretations in connection with the Montor affair, the Silver telegram to Dewey, etc. Even more than after my previous visit here, I feel that the problem of fair and faithful interpretation of events on the American scene to the people in Israel is a matter of great importance, which deserves careful consideration and appropriate action by AHS and his colleagues.

Please tell Sulamith that I greatly appreciate her keeping me posted on Catholic developments. It's a pity that Karl Baehr did not take her advice not to write to the Catholic News Service. He asked for it, and he got it. Her friend Eleanor is here, and she went with me to the Negev. Tell Harold that many people asked me after his wellbeing and doings.

With my best regards to all of you,

Sincerely,
Eliahu

P.S. Please send a copy of this letter to Dr. Silver.

Tel Aviv, December 20th

I wrote the above in Jerusalem, but there was no sense in mailing from there. When I arrived in T.A. this afternoon, I found your cable and letter of Dec. 6th. I cabled you immediately that I couldn't do myself the Cyprus story (I was only in Nicosia and wasn't allowed to visit the camps; in addition, I am so busy at the moment that I could not run around to cook up a story second-hand.) I asked Charlotte Strauss (her very best to you!) to do it, and she would have undertaken it, but she is leaving tomorrow morning for the Galil for 2-3 days. So, if you cable me the deadline and the desired length of the dispatch I will find someone, either with first hand knowledge or who could get to the source and write what the New Palestine needs. I was with McMahon until the last minute when he left to cross the lines into the Old City and Bethlehem. He will be back here in about 8-10 days. But about the visit to Jerusalem - see my next letter.

GAT RIMMON HOTEL

TEL AVIV · PALESTINE
79 HAYARKON STREET · 'PHONE 4471/2



מלון גת-רמון

תל-אביב · ארץ ישראל
רח' הירקון 79 · טלפון 4471/2

December 22, 1948

Dear Dr. Silver:

I am very grateful to you for the friendly and penetratingly sound advice contained in your letter of December 6th. Although Dr. Karlebach - the "Shadkhan" in this matter - is not yet back, and no developments whatsoever have taken place in this respect since my arrival in Israel, a fortnight ago, it becomes more and more apparent that Karlebach painted a picture which does not correspond with realities. I do not want to make up my mind as to the merits of the Karlebach proposition until I talk to him again (he is expected back any day now), but I have little doubt that you have hit the nail on the head. In all probability, nothing will come of this thing, at least at the present stage.

From my last two lengthy letters to Abe Tuvim - copies of which are being forwarded to you from N.Y. - you know that thus far the McMahon visit proceeds satisfactorily. I don't hesitate to say that we had every reason to fear a worse state of affairs and consequently bad repercussions. I am confident that, if nothing unexpected happens, his tour in Israel will have beneficial results for our public relations work in the States and our relations with the Catholic world at large. At least, I did ~~the~~ utmost to achieve such results, and, by and large, I received good cooperation from the people here.

In my today's letter to Abe, I indicate my itinerary for the next couple of weeks, when I may be ready to return home - unless you will want me to stay on either in connection with the forthcoming election, or any other assignment. Please let me know in time. At the moment, I must say that the only assignment which takes up the least of my time is the original one. I meet with McDonald every few days, have a long talk with him, and that is that. But the three other missions I have keep me so busy that I don't know whether I am coming or going. Still, I hope to fulfill all of them, and, in addition, bring you as comprehensive a report as possible on all the aspects of present-day realities in Israel.

The titanic job before us now is obviously the economic situation in light of a very large, little organized and unprepared immigration. The question of housing, work, training, over-all absorption and over-all financing presents the big problem, for which there seems to be no solution in sight. Either obvious alternative - to proceed with the immigration on its present scale and in its present form or to restrict it - seems to be equally unacceptable and apt to produce very undesirable effects: in one case consequences of a social and economic nature, and in the other

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- 2 -

case of a moral and political nature, but the choice, if there is any, is between two evils.

The results of the UN session in Paris proved of course a great disappointment to the people here - both in Government and in the street. Where this is going to lead, remains to be seen. In the first place, it is bound to fortify the conviction that the "Geulah" cannot come - not in good ~~time~~ time anyway - from Paris or Lake Success; and that, even more than in the past months, the decision is to be found right here on the spot: all kinds of decisions, including an agreement with parties or party in the other camp. In this respect, there is very little of a tangible character as yet. Yesterday, I had a long talk with Eliahu Sasson and his top assistants. We went over the situation in all the neighboring lands, one after another, and the sum total was extremely unclear. There are speculations and expectations, but nothing beyond that. The British factor continues to loom most prominently in the picture. ~~From~~ From whatever angle you approach the problem, they still have most of the say in this part of the world and they still hold most of the cards in the deck. Of course, it can be safely predicted that if and when Britain comes to terms with us, they will jump far ahead of the U.S.A. in re-establishment of their economic and political positions and in gaining favors with Israel. But this is a grey horse of a different color.

With my kindest regards to you, Mrs Silver and the boys,

Sincerely,

Eliahu

P.S. Could you ask your secretary to make a copy of this letter - except for the first passage, dealing with my personal problem - and send it to the office in N.Y. They may be interested in some of the above.

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

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date January 26, 1949

From Eliahu Ben-Horin

I am enclosing a copy of my report to Mr. Shertok on the Cardinal Tisserant interview.

Photostats are being made of my article in the Herald Tribune on "Minorities in Israel" and as soon as they are ready, I will send you a copy.

May I take this opportunity to thank you most sincerely for your hospitality and kindness during my visit in Cleveland.

Best regards.

E. B-H.

EBH:MB
Enc.

MEMORANDUM

To Moshe Shertok

Date January 17, 1949

From Eliahu Ben-Horin

This morning, January 17th, I was received by Cardinal Tisserant, head of the Oriental Congregation and the leading Vatican authority on the Middle East.

Before reporting on our conversation, which lasted for about forty minutes, I think that a word of explanation on the status and functions of the Congregazione Orientale would be in order. It may help us to find our way in the labyrinth of internal Vatican relations and authorities and have the proper sense of values in our own relations with the Vatican.

I understand that the Congregazione Orientale is a unique formation in the Catholic Church, forming in some respects "a State within a State." It is the only Congregation in the Vatican whose authority is not restricted to certain functional or ritual matters, but possesses full jurisdiction over certain territories as well as over all the Oriental Christian communities throughout the world. The territory is the Middle East, in a liberal interpretation of the term: from the Balkans in the West to India in the East and to Abyssinia in Africa. The Oriental Christian Communities include the Maronites, Melkhites, Greek Catholics, Armenian Catholics, etc., wherever they are found in the world.

How important the Oriental Congregation is can be seen from the fact that the Pope himself is the "Pæfect", or the titular chief of the Congregation. Cardinal Tisserant, who actually conducts the Congregation, holds the title of "Secretary". Internally, it is organized along the pattern of the Foreign Offices, with desks for every country which falls within the jurisdiction of the Congregazione Orientale. As there are no similar Congregations for the other parts of the world, this is a unique set-up for the Middle East.

My conversation with Cardinal Tisserant, friendly and pleasant throughout, started with an inquiry on his part after the doings of Monsignor McMahon. I gave him a report about the Monsignor's visit and travels in Israel. When I mentioned the Monsignor's visit to the Negev, the Cardinal asked after the exact location of Negba, stating that when he has visited Palestine Negba did not exist. He embarked then on reminiscences of his first visit in Palestine, in 1904, and the subsequent visits, in 1917 - 1919 (with the French Army) and in 1926.

After listening to his recollections of past days, I tried to transfer the conversation to the immediate issues. It seems that he received already a report from the McMahon-Vergani mission, because he did not hesitate to agree with my summing up of the impressions of the Mission, namely: "...While reprehensible actions have taken place in the heat of war, the Mission was impressed with the good will and understanding of the central and local authorities."

I raised the question of the refugees, pointing out that fewer Christians have fled the country than Moslems, and expressing the hope that, when partial repatriation takes place, more Christians than Moslems will return. He agreed with that, and I wish to emphasize that he did not raise the doubts on this score which we heard from McMahon in Israel ("Bad repercussions for the Catholic Church in the Arab lands, in case preference is granted to Christian refugees in the matter of repatriation").

Another statement of the Cardinal worth recording is one regarding Monsignor Vergani. He praised Vergani's correctness in his reports from Israel, and said: "He started out as a believer in the Arab cause, but he has now changed his views."

I had some difficulty in introducing the question of Jerusalem, but I found a way of doing it by diverting our conversation to the late Archbishop Robinson, the Papal Nuncio in Ireland. I told the Cardinal about my encounters with the Archbishop, in 1938, and how easy it was for us to reach complete agreement on the question of the Holy Places. I went on to say that no difficulty would arise if the internationalization of the Holy Places alone is contemplated, without too broad an interpretation of the term. With this statement the Cardinal fully agreed, saying: "There should be no difficulty at all. It is only Bethlehem, the Old City of Jerusalem and Nazareth that should be internationalized." I did not have the time to question him about the inclusion of Nazareth in the international zone, but I was very well satisfied with his formula with regard to Jerusalem.

The question of diplomatic recognition of Israel did not come up. As it was, the Cardinal gave me much more time than any of his many visitors this morning. After a question from him about the forthcoming elections in Israel and what effect they may have on the state of affairs, and my reply that the elections are not likely to introduce any tangible change in the composition of the Government, certainly not on the top level, he arose, thanked me for the visit, asked me to give his regards to Cardinal Spellman, and thus terminated the interview.

At this writing, it is still uncertain whether I will be received by the Pope. It seems rather doubtful at the moment, as the Pope is extremely busy this week. I will know definitely tomorrow morning.

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date February 8, 1949

From Eliahu Ben-Horin

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

Not all of the items in the following report are of a confidential nature, but some of them are, and I therefore thought it advisable to mark the whole memorandum as confidential.

This is a report about the various talks and conferences which I had in New York, Washington and Boston since my return from Israel.

CATHOLIC AFFAIRS

I have not yet seen Cardinal Spellman, who is leaving today or tomorrow for Cuba. However, I was told by his assistant that the Cardinal wishes to see me, and that our interview will probably materialize when he returns from Cuba in a few days time.

I had a long and friendly interview with Mr. Frank Hall in Washington (as you undoubtedly know, he is the head of the Central Catholic News Service). My conversation with Mr. Hall has borne out what I felt all along - that Msgr. McMahon's forthcoming report on his visit to Israel will supersede all the previous stories from Israel with regard to desecrations, etc. Indeed, Mr. Hall volunteered a statement that all this business about desecrations is so much water under the bridge, as it all happened in the heat of the Palestine war; and that for the last few months, since a stable government was established in Israel, there wasn't even one accusation in this respect. There is a possibility that Mr. Hall may use parts of my article, "Minorities in Israel", which appeared in the Herald Tribune, in the Catholic press in the United States.

At the suggestion of Mr. Tuvim, we arranged a little conference last Friday, with the participation of representatives of the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, the Anti-Defamation League, and the Mayor's Committee on Unity, to which conference I reported on the Catholic aspect of my visit to Israel. All those present displayed great interest in this report, and, at their request, I will prepare a memorandum on this subject, for them to send out to all their local committees. Judge Froskauer, with whom I spent over one hour a week ago, was also very interested in what I had to tell him about the Catholic situation. Otherwise, I had quite a discussion with him on internal matters on the American-Jewish scene - a discussion in which your name figured very prominently. With your permission, I prefer not to write about it, but leave it until we meet.

MISSION ON BEHALF OF McDONALD TO BUXTON

I hope you will recall what I told you about the mission to Buxton with which McDonald entrusted me. I was in Boston last week and had a long and thoroughly enjoyable few hours with Frank Buxton. He promised to attend to McDonald's request and he hopes to be able to settle it satisfactorily.

Our conversation covered, of course, wide ground, but you know how devoted Buxton is to our cause; so, there is nothing to report about that.

ELIAHU EPSTEIN

I gave Epstein a report about my doings in Israel, and he returned the courtesy by describing conditions in Washington to me, especially in the State Department, as he sees it. There was only one item which may be of interest to you in this connection, namely that, in Eliahu's judgment, it is Webb rather than Acheson who is the trusted man of the White House and the State Department; and that Webb may exercise greater influence in the day to day conduct of the State Department than the Secretary. Charles Fahy, whom I saw later the same day, and whom I cautiously questioned on this point, was not certain at all as to division of functions and influence between Acheson and Webb.

Epstein told me that he received a letter from the Foreign Ministry in Israel on the subject of our activities here, especially in the Catholic field. He went on to ask me what would be my ideas as to the proper coordination between us. He said he understood that I raised in the Kirya the question of the proper contacts, and that didn't I think that the proper way was to maintain all the contacts through him. He added that by that, he didn't mean to rule out direct contacts between us and the Foreign Ministry in Tel Aviv, but he felt that the right way to do it would be through him, as the chief representative here. I agreed with him on that, and explained what prompted me to put this question in the first place. I told him that during my stay in Tel Aviv, I found that various sections, quite numerous at that, of the Foreign Ministry, and of other Ministries, were interested in one or another aspect of our activities in the States. Each of them wanted reports about developments. This, I said, would not be practical as it would involve sending numerous reports to various addresses on everything we are doing. On the other hand, we are widely interested in receiving regular and prompt information from the Tel Aviv end, as we cannot work in a vacuum. That is why I put the question to Mr. Shertok as to proper coordination and contacts. I went on to say that I fully agree with Epstein that the orderly way of contacts would be through him, and I am willing to abide by that, except for certain cases when we may feel that a direct approach would be advisable. In such cases, we would immediately send him any copy of direct communications to Tel Aviv, as we have done in the past. With this, Epstein willingly agreed.

POSSIBLE REVIVAL OF THE HOOVER PLAN

I believe I reported to you at the time, several months ago, about the urgings on the part of the Israeli Government to publicize the Hoover Plan. In the course of my conversations with Mr. Shertok, and at the other conferences, with the participation of Msgr. McMahon, ample evidence was forthcoming to the effect that the leaders of the State of Israel are now very much in favor of the idea of transfer, or as they call it "Exchange of Populations". Tempora mutantur...

A few days ago, I received a telephone call from Col. Elyachar, one of the leaders of the group of Jewish engineers active on behalf of the Haifa Technion. You may recall the man, as he was one of the delegation of engineers which visited you a few months ago in the Jewish Agency building. I was also present at that meeting. He is Palestine born, a construction engineer of standing, a wealthy man who recently donated \$25,000 for the erection of a library in the Haifa Technion. You may further recall that after Herbert Hoover issued his statement, in 1945, this group of engineers displayed interest in the Hoover Plan, and I had a few sessions with them. Elyachar was one of this group.

Elyachar now phoned me to say that, in his judgment, the time has now arrived for the revival of the Hoover Plan, and he asked me what I thought of it. Yesterday, I had lunch with him and a long talk. I told him that I was writing two articles for the New York Herald Tribune on "The Fate of the Arab Refugees" in which I will advocate the Hoover Plan as the only solution. If the Tribune publishes these articles, as I hope they will, this will provide the best push for the revival of public interest in the Hoover Plan. After that, it should be easier to consolidate a group of people who would take upon themselves the sponsorship of the Plan. This is even more important, more urgent, and more plausible at this moment than ever before - particularly in the light of the recent grant of sixteen million dollars by the U.S.A. for relief to the Arab refugees, and the large-scale plans of President Truman and the U. S. Government for a Middle East aid program. Now is obviously the time to promote large constructive schemes in that part of the world, and it is our business to see to it that Israel profits from these schemes.

I would be greatly interested in having your reaction to the above.

Best regards.

L.B.H.

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date February 11, 1949

From Eliehu Ben-Horin

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

Among the people to whom James McDonald wrote letters suggesting that they may be interested in hearing my impressions and observations in Israel, was Thomas Murray, whom McDonald described to me as the most influential layman in the circles of Cardinal Spellman.

The other day, I was invited by Murray to his Park Avenue residence for a long talk with him and Msgr. Griffiths. You probably remember Msgr. Griffiths, who was present during our first interview with Msgr. McMahon. Msgr. Griffiths is the Chancellor of Military Ordinariate in Cardinal Spellman's office.

We were together for nearly two hours, and the two gentlemen were very much interested in my report, which, of course, was mainly devoted to Catholic business. After describing McMahon's tour, I spoke at some length about the problem of Jerusalem and the holy places, as well as about the Arab refugees. I made a point of telling them about Msgr. McMahon's reservations and objections on the question of Jerusalem, and on the question of the refugees. I also told them, however, about my conference with Cardinal Tisserant, and that he was more favorably inclined on these issues than Msgr. McMahon. I must say that both Msgr. Griffiths and Mr. Murray received my statements and explanations without one word of objection. On the contrary, I had a definite feeling that they were inclined towards the solutions which I outlined.

On the question of refugees, I spoke at some length in favor of a transfer, or exchange, of populations. Griffiths promised to report this conversation to Cardinal Spellman, who left for Cuba, but who is expected back in a few days. I am still waiting to hear about my interview with the Cardinal.

In this connection, you would be interested in a letter just received by Father Awad from Cardinal Tisserant in Rome. The Cardinal writes: "...I think you are right in your view about the opportunity of the alliance you wrote me about (he refers to a Lebanese-Israeli alliance advocated by Father Awad - EBH). I am speaking in the same sense, when I have occasion to do it. I am glad that France and other countries have finally accepted the fact of the new State." I think that this is a very remarkable statement, coming as it does from Cardinal Tisserant, the head of the Oriental Congregation.

Best regards.

EBH:MB

E. B-H.

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

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date February 14, 1949

From Eliahu Ben-Horin

In one of my previous memoranda, I mentioned that the representatives of the organizations to whom I reported on the Catholic aspect of my trip to Israel, had suggested that I prepare a memorandum for them which they would send out to their local committees.

I have prepared this memorandum, and I thought you might wish a copy of it, which is herewith enclosed.

Best regards.

EBH:MB
Enc.

✓. B-H.

MEMORANDUM

JEWISH-CATHOLIC RELATIONS IN AND OVER ISRAEL

Past Recriminations

During the first months of the Palestine War, reports describing desecration of Christian sanctuaries by Jewish soldiers were widely publicized in the American press, particularly in Catholic publications. Needless to say, these reports had an unfavorable effect on Jewish-Catholic relations in the United States and the world over. If left unchecked, this development could have led to most undesirable results both for the State of Israel and for the Jewish communities in many lands.

We, therefore, feel that a recent report on this question by a competent eye-witness deserves our careful attention. We refer to a survey of Catholic institutions and interests in Israel made by Eliahu Ben-Horin, well-known writer and Adviser on Middle Eastern Affairs to the American Zionist Emergency Council. Part of Mr. Ben-Horin's tour of Catholic institutions in Israel was made in the company of Monsignor Thomas McMahon, who represented Cardinal Spellman on a special mission to the Middle East, and Monsignor Anthony Vergani, Vicar-General of the Latin Patriarchate in Israel. Mr. Ben-Horin is therefore in a position to report to some extent the impressions of these two Catholic dignitaries.

Not One Incident in Many Months

Mr. Ben-Horin's report was submitted at a conference of representatives of Jewish national organizations. The outstanding feature of his report is the fact that not a single case of desecration or mistreatment of Christians has taken place since the establishment of the Government of Israel. This merely reemphasizes the truth that whatever excesses occurred, took place during the height of the Palestine War last summer and were perpetrated by irresponsible individuals; accordingly, responsibility for those acts cannot properly be

ascribed to the Government of Israel or the Jewish community as a whole. From the moment stable government was established in Israel, not one serious complaint was recorded.

Minorities in Israel

In an article under the above title, published in the New York Herald Tribune of January 5, 1949, Mr. Ben-Horin described and analyzed the facts about the situation of the national and religious minorities in Israel and the treatment accorded them by the Israeli Government. A large-scale and costly program of education for Arab children has been adopted and put into operation by the Government, at the expense of the state budget. The minorities, Christian and Moslem, enjoy complete equality of civil rights, with the exception of freedom of movement for the duration of the war. As soon as peace is established, this single restriction will be removed. The special needs of the various religious communities are catered to by the government with the greatest care and understanding. In his article, Mr. Ben-Horin described a Christmas party tendered the Christian prisoners of war by the Israeli command of the camp, which he attended, along with a Catholic Bishop and an Arab Catholic dignitary from Haifa. Both the prisoners and the Haifa visitors praised the Israeli authorities for the humane and considerate treatment they accorded the prisoners of war.

The Christian Communities

The mass flight of the Arabs from Palestine has left only about one hundred thousand of them in Israel. However, it was mostly Moslems who ran away. Of the million Moslems, only about 50,000 stayed behind, whereas an equal number of Christians remained out of a total pre-war community of only 125,000. Nazareth and the Christian villages in Lower Galilee now hold the majority of the Christians in Israel. Their churches and monasteries were hardly touched by warfare. Most of the Christian communities in this area are intact.

In the mixed cities of Palestine -- Jerusalem, Haifa, Jaffa, Acre -- the Christian population has decreased in number through the Arab flight, but the communities exist, enjoy complete freedom to practice their faith, and most of the churches are in perfect condition. The same is true of the smaller towns, like Ramleh, on the Tel Aviv-Jerusalem road. It was mainly in Jerusalem, where a battle of artillery went on for months at close range, that churches as well as synagogues suffered damage from warfare. The Church of Dormition on Mount Sinai, just outside the walls of the Old City, was hit by many Arab shells. The same applies to the Church of Notre Dame, which is on the border dividing the Jewish positions from the Arab. Wherever physical damage was inflicted on Christian churches, it was done by Arabs, namely by the Transjordan Legion. This fact is proved beyond doubt.

On the other hand, the Israeli authorities -- central and local -- have not only done their utmost to repair whatever internal damage was done by Jewish soldiery, but take good care to supply all the needs of the Christian communities. Thus, despite the grave shortages of food and the severe rationing in the country, the Government has regularly supplied food to the old and infirm of the Christian communities in Jerusalem, footing the cost itself. All through their tour of Israel, the two Monsignori and Mr. Ben-Horin came across cases of excellent care and understanding displayed by the Israeli authorities towards the needs of the Christian communities. When, for instance, the sisters of the French Monastery in Ein Karem, outside of Jerusalem, asked the Israeli Military Governor of the area to intervene on their behalf with the Transjordanian authorities in the Old City for the release of their Mother Superior, the latter was brought back to the Monastery the same afternoon.

Prospects of Future Relations

Summing up, Mr. Ben-Horin arrived at the conclusion that there is no

reason to expect future complications in Jewish-Catholic relations, as far as the safety of the Catholic sanctuaries and the rights of the Catholic community in Israel are concerned. However, there are other problems concerning Israel which will surely effect Jewish-Catholic relations in the future. The question of the administration of the holy places is one of these problems. However, there are indications that this issue may be resolved in the not too distant future in a manner satisfactory to all concerned. Israel unconditionally favors the establishment of an international regime for the holy places, as long as the latter term is not interpreted too broadly. In other words, Israel supports an international regime for the Old City of Jerusalem, but is unalterably opposed to the inclusion of New Jerusalem (which contains no holy places) in the international area. Although the Catholic Church has thus far failed to express itself authoritatively on this issue, there are reasons to believe that an Israeli-Catholic understanding may be reached.

The most difficult problem, and the one whose solution will probably require the greatest effort on the part of all concerned, is the problem of the Arab refugees. Hundreds of thousands of them are today homeless and hungry. Even though the responsibility for their plight does not lie with Israel, as long as their fate remains undecided the pressure of their presence on the borders of Israel is bound to prove a serious irritant both in Jewish-Arab and in Jewish-Catholic relations. It is to be hoped that before long a constructive plan will be evolved for a permanent solution of the problem of the Palestine Arab refugees.

* * *

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Constituent Organizations

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

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

February 15, 1949

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

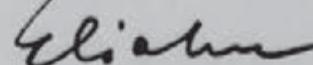
In a letter I received today from our friend, Sidney Herold, he writes about the Weizmann memoirs as follows:

"...I have just finished reading the Weizmann memoirs. I finished them with two distinct reactions: one, a renewed sense of the part that Dr. Weizmann played in the formulation of the Balfour doctrine and, incidentally, of the mandate; the other, an uncomfortable sense that what would otherwise be the personality of a great man is distinctly marred by a self conceit which prevents him from giving deserved credit to others. His memoirs confirm me also in the conclusion that I had previously formed - I deserve no credit for this, because I think all thinking Zionists were of the same opinion - that but for the stand Silver took, there would today be no State of Israel. Certainly, if left to Weizmann and his followers alone, the British would still be in Palestine. And, parenthetically, my own opinion is that they would be there today if it had not also been for the "terrorists" whom Dr. Weizmann so strongly condemns."

This reminded me of our conversation on this subject in Cleveland, and I thought that you would be interested in reading the remarks of Sidney Herold.

My very best to you.

Sincerely yours,



Eliahu Ben-Horin

EBH:MB

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Constituent Organizations

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

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

February 28, 1949

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

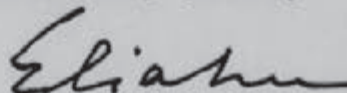
Dear Dr. Silver:

This is one of the two matters which I wanted to discuss with you when I phoned you this morning. The enclosed copies of a letter from Harry Zinder, in Washington, and of a memorandum to Abe Tuvim, are self-explanatory. I took this line with Zinder after previous consultation with Abe, and I hope that you will approve of it.

As to the second matter which has nothing to do with the Emergency Council, I may either write to you about it within the next few days, or wait until I have a chance to talk to you on one of your future visits to New York.

With my very best regards to you and Mrs. Silver,
I am

Sincerely yours,



Eliahu Ben-Horin

EBH:MB
Enc.

C O P Y

STATE OF ISRAEL
Provisional Government

Office of the Representative

2210 Massachusetts Ave.
Washington 8, D. C.

Adams 5411

February 25, 1949

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

Dear Ben-Horin:

I am enclosing for your information a copy of an article which appeared in "Christianity and Crisis". The viciousness of this attack is symptomatic and indicates possibly that the Protestants are picking up where the Catholics left off.

I believe it absolutely vital that a number of interested people meet here in Washington at the earliest possible time for a discussion of certain mutual problems. There is, in addition to the attacks by various religious groups, the major question of our position regarding the Arab refugees, and I suggest that if you can make it, we meet in Washington on March 3rd. Invitations to this meeting are going out to Dr. Karl Baehr, Mr. Harold Manson, Mr. Ben Epstein and Mr. Joel Wolfsohn.

I have also sent a copy of this article with suitable comments to Dr. Sterling W. Brown of the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

I would appreciate your confirming your ability to be present on Thursday, at 11:00 a.m.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) H. Zinder

Harry Zinder

HZ:jw

MEMORANDUM

To Abe Tuvim

Date February 28, 1949

From Eliahu Ben-Horin

I want to give you a full report on the telephone conversation I had this morning with Harry Zinder, in Washington, on the subject of his invitation to me to participate in the conference which he is calling in the matter of the Coffin article in Christianity and Crisis.

I told him, first, that neither Karl Baehr nor I would be able to come to this conference, and I went on to ask him who Ben Epstein and Joel Wolfsohn, mentioned as invitees to the conference, are. When he told me that these aforementioned gentlemen were representatives of the Anti-Defamation League and the American Jewish Committee, I told him that this matter, in general, as it concerns the American scene, should be handled by the American Zionist Emergency Council. To this, he replied that it wasn't this topic alone that he intended to discuss, but also the question of the Arab refugees, as it is mentioned in his letter. I added that the question of the Arab refugees, as far as it concerns public relations on the American scene, should be dealt with through us.

Here, Zinder embarked on a long tirade, saying that he doesn't understand it; that the Emergency Council couldn't possibly speak for the State of Israel, that what he can do is to convey to each of the organizations separately the viewpoint of Israel in this problem, or to invite all organizations - the American Zionist Emergency Council, the American Jewish Committee, etc. - and present to them the stand of the Israeli Government, and those organizations that will want to promote this angle will then do so. To this, I replied that it won't do for him to put us and the A. J. C., or other organizations, on the same footing; that as long as the A.Z.E.C. exists - unless he wants to do away with us - it is our function to serve as the central body for Zionist public relations in this country. As Zinder mentioned previously in the conversation that he was inviting non-Zionist organizations, I told him that we were working very harmoniously with those non - but pro-Zionist - bodies on every question where they wanted to cooperate in the interests of the Zionist cause, and I don't see why, in this particular instance, a new procedure should be adopted.

I went on to tell him that I heard of a meeting which took place in the Jewish Agency with the participation of Eliahu Epstein, where it was suggested that a special section be set up in the public relations department of the Agency to handle the Arab transfer project. I said that this, too, seems to be the wrong thing to do, as it is a matter which should properly be handled by the Emergency Council. Furthermore, I was rather surprised that neither Eliahu Epstein nor anyone else thought of inviting me to such a conference, as I happen to be the one who first advocated the transfer idea years ago, at a time when the initiators of this meeting strongly

objected to it. I feel this to be a personal slight which I do not think I deserve.

Zinder said that he hadn't heard a thing about such a meeting, and was surprised to hear that the meeting took place, and that he will take it up with Epstein and let me know.

As to the conference this Thursday, he said that in view of our objections, he is calling it off. I suggested to him that in order to avoid misunderstandings in the future, a delineation of functions should be made.

Best regards.

EBH:MB



80-09 35TH AVENUE
JACKSON HEIGHTS
NEW YORK, N. Y.

ILLINOIS 7-4695

CONFIDENTIAL

March 1, 1949

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I hope you feel like thanking God that the U.P.A. controversy is over. The other side won this round, but I do not have to tell you that it is a Pyrric victory. Unfortunately, it will not be Messrs. Morgenthau and Montor, nor Mr. Kaplan who will pay the price for this foolhardiness, but the penniless immigrants and the State of Israel as a whole. However, you cannot possibly set your head on other people's shoulders, or lend them your brains. That's the way they wanted it, and that's the way they'll have it. Maybe, by 1950, they will have learned their lesson.

Still, I hope that you do feel like thanking God that you are out of it for the moment, and that you can now devote your mind to problems and projects outside the UPA-Montor problem. There is one idea which I wanted to submit to you, and, if I have your blessings, I would like to undertake the organization of the thing.

I was thinking of it for some time, but now the moment is ripe for its materialization: an American-Israeli Chamber of Commerce. It should start in the U.S.A., then in Israel, then in all the countries of the Western Hemisphere interested in trade with Israel.

In writing to you, I do not see any necessity to enlarge on the importance of the project itself. Let me, however, emphasize the desirability and plausibility of a Z.O.A.-supported initiative and influence in this matter. Most of the people potentially interested in business and investments in Israel are to be found in the ranks and periphery of the Z.O.A. Also in Israel, if it is to be a real Chamber of Commerce and not one more government-controlled office, the people active there would belong to the same middle class category - although cooperative institutions should be welcome, of course.

There is little doubt that if we do not take the initiative now and begin immediately to organize the thing, Mapai, through one of its many institutions, will do so before long. Whoever will be first may retain the initiative and influence in the future.

80-09 35TH AVENUE
JACKSON HEIGHTS
NEW YORK, N. Y.
—
ILLINOIS 7-4695

- 2 -

One may raise the objection that the thing cannot be organized and put in operation without the consent and co-operation of the Israeli Government. This is true, and this provides one of the reasons why the Z.O.A. should not appear officially in this connection. There is another, even more valid reason against an open Z.O.A. association: the non-political, purely trade character of the Chamber, in which many Gentiles and corporations should participate.

Accordingly, if I have your approval, I would proceed with it in the following manner. First of all, I would try to get a very prominent American, Jew or Gentile, with a big business name, to accept the Honorary Presidency of the Chamber. The ideal name for that would be Bernard Baruch. Then, the first organizing Committee of about a hundred Jewish businessmen should be created. Only after that, the Israeli authorities should be approached. It can be so manipulated that the first hundred names should include a considerable number of people who are on good terms with everybody, so that the Z.O.A. backing should not be too obvious.

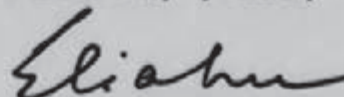
You will probably smile bitterly and say "Gute Zeiten" that a Z.O.A. effort on behalf of Israel has to be camouflaged in order to gain Israeli support. I am ready to smile with you, and as bitterly, but you will agree with me that we cannot fold our arms and totally withdraw from the scene. The baby is as much ours as theirs.

The American-Israeli Chamber of Commerce will represent the only organized group of business interests directed towards Israel, and will therefore be the natural springboard for every and all economic plans.

Please give this matter some thought, and let me have your opinion as soon as you possibly can.

My very best to you and Mrs. Silver.

Sincerely yours,



Eliahu Ben-Horin

EBHMB

C
O
P
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HERMAN P. TAUBMAN

March 2, 1949

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

Dear Eliahu:

I learned upon my return from an extensive business trip, that during my absence from the office Mr. Berkson was in Dallas talking to a few of my friends who have some small oil interests, about the possibility of organizing a group to develop oil deposits that might be found in the Negev. As far as I know he didn't get very far as most of them told him they would want to confer with me before they went into such a venture.

My reaction, offhand, without knowing more of the facts about the plans or ideas the State of Israel may have with respect to oil development in the Negev or any other part of Israel, would be that this should be very carefully considered and no concessions should be given to anyone even if they were ready for such a development. I am sure Mr. Fohs and Judge Herold feel the same about this, that if the State of Israel is ready for such development it must guard against any promotional schemes from any source, even those who perhaps may mean well in the beginning and later exploit their resources without proper income due to the State of Israel itself.

I would therefore recommend that you investigate what might be in the offing by either the Berkson crowd or others with respect to oil in Israel. Also will appreciate hearing from you if you may know or can find out the feeling of the Israeli Government towards such a development. I am confident that we can get the backing of a proper group at the right time, that will have the aim and function to see that the interest of the State of Israel is well guarded. Frankly, until Israel is well entrenched all such development should be discouraged because we will create more animosity and jealousy from many sources, most of which you are familiar with.

Mrs. Taubman has been talking very favorably that we might make a trip to Palestine and when we do I plan to bring along my son Louis who is a graduate of Stanford University with a Masters Degree in Petroleum Engineering, and since he has been out of school for nearly four years he has been spending his time in the oil business with my Company. And while I would not depend on his judgment for an undertaking like this, I think for preliminary purposes he could be of considerable help.

Since you have made so many trips, in addition to the fact that you lived in Palestine for a considerable length of time, I might ask you for a few

- 2 -

suggestions as to when would be the best time to go and how to go about having a pleasant trip; particularly, which would be the best and safest travel and how to go about getting reservations to Palestine and after we get there. If you have the time to drop me a line answering some of my questions, I would appreciate hearing from you.

We are hopeful of being able to attend the "Salute to the President of Israel" April 23rd at which time we are looking forward to seeing you.

Trusting that you and your family are enjoying good health, and with kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Herman

H. P. Taubman

HPT:IHC

cc: Judge Sidney Herold
Shreveport, La.

EBH letterhead

AIR MAIL

March 14, 1949

Mr. Herman P. Taubman
808 Gulf States Bldg.
Dallas 1, Texas

Dear Herman:

I just received your letter of March 2, which I read with interest. First of all, who is this Mr. Berkson you write about? Is it Peter Bergson, or someone else? If it is Peter Bergson, then it looks like one more stunt on the part of this crowd, with very little substance to it.

When I was in Israel recently, some people of the Israeli Foreign Office consulted me with regard to the chances of interesting one of the big American oil companies in a concession in the Negev. My reply was: (1) it is premature; (2) it is not likely that any of the big companies would be genuinely interested in producing oil in Israel, for the obvious reason that they have sources of almost unlimited supply in the Middle East, and it would not pay them, commercially, to try to develop a new source of limited supply; (3) from every viewpoint, it would be much more advisable to find a group of Jewish independent oil producers in the States for this purpose. I added that a group of Jews would be interested in such a concession not only from a commercial standpoint, but also from a sentimental one.

As you see, you and I thought along the same lines. When you are here next month, we can go into this matter more thoroughly. In the meantime, however, I would like to draw your attention to the possibility or advisability of getting the Israeli Corporation - when it develops financially - associated in one way or another with such an effort. I understand that Herman Weisman or Harry Shapire, or both, are to come out your way at the end of this month in connection with the plans of the Israeli Corporation. You will probably meet them and you will then be able to discuss any such possibility with them.

Your idea of making a trip to Israel, or rather Mrs. Taubman's idea (we get all our ideas mostly from our wives) is an excellent one. However, the best time to go there is in the spring. April, May and early June is the right time. I wonder whether you will be able to do it this year.

As to the mode of transportation, do you want to go by ship or by air? Anyhow, if things develop favorably in this respect, I would advise you to start making inquiries - or I would be glad to make them for you - if and when you decide on the approximate date

- 2 -

of your departure; otherwise, all the information I will give you will be theoretical. I will also advise you then with regard to hotel reservations in Israel.

Looking forward to seeing you in New York, and with best regards to you and the family, I am

Sincerely,

EBH:MB

Elihu Ben-Horin



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

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date March 8, 1949

From Eliahu Ben-Horin

I enclose copies of a letter which I received from Mr. McDonald, and my reply, which I mentioned to you last night.

I am also attaching, for your information, a copy of a letter I received from Mr. Jacob Herzog, Ministry of Religions, in Tel Aviv.

Best regards.

E. B-H.

EBH:MB

Enc.

COPY

THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

PERSONAL

American Embassy
Tel Aviv, Israel
February 16, 1949

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

Dear Ben-Horin:

I am grateful to you for your cable about our Government's decision to raise the status of the American Mission here.

I hope I may be worthy of the confidence the President has thus expressed in me and of the opportunity he has given me to work with the Government and people of Israel for the development of even closer relations between our two countries.

Reading and hearing about your adventures getting out of Israel and on to the States made me think that you really should have had a personal courier. Now I am anxious to have a long letter from you giving me the authoritative news of what happened en route and also your personal and confidential comments on developments at home. Do write soon.

All the McDonalds, Miss Clark and the men at the office send their warm regards.

Cordially yours,

/s/ James G. McDonald

P.S. By the way, I hope that your chiefs were pleased with the results of your mission.

AIR MAIL
PERSONAL

March 7, 1949

Honorable James G. McDonald
Ambassador to Israel
Tel Aviv, Israel

Dear Mr. McDonald:

Thanks very much for your letter of February 16. I was very glad to hear from you, although the assignment you give me this time - and, for a change, you spell it out in so many words - to supply you "with personal and confidential comments on developments at home" is a tall order. However, I will try.

I take it that by "developments at home", you mean primarily the happenings on the American Zionist scene. The external facts relating to these developments are known to you, and I have nothing to add. The interpretation of these facts is, of course, a different matter.

Being mostly interested in the foreign policy of Zionism, I did not take an active interest in the internal goings on in the U.J.A. But matters have reached such a stage that the developments on the money-raising front cut across the future of the entire Zionist movement in the United States and also in Israel.

I do not know how things look to you, at a considerable distance from the scene, but as I see them, more or less on the spot, it is a sad picture. If one ever dreamt of a day of peace and amity in Zionism, when all the forces and factions would unite in a supreme and coordinated effort of upbuilding, this looked like the ideal moment for it. Alas, it was not to be. The day of the great historical triumph has turned into the day of the great quarrel.

Leaving aside the question of guilt - not that I don't hold very definite views on the subject - I feel that some people are guilty of short-sightedness and faulty thinking. Their first grave mistake is that they seem to prefer a partnership with "the fair-weather Zionists" to the natural partnership with the old and tried guard of American Zionism, which has had such a considerable share in the very achievement of statehood for Israel. Such a policy is not only highly unbecoming but is also lacking in vision. Israel is now over the first hurdle, but there will be many more hurdles on its way, when the wholehearted cooperation of American Zionism will be imperative. Why then undermine the spirit, the enthusiasm and devotion of the Zionists of America and of their leaders?

On the American scene, I am afraid the array of forces at the service of pro-Arab propaganda is already very formidable. I enclose a copy of a memo sent out the other day to all the local Emergency Committees, outlining the far-flung local anti-Zionist front in America. Yet, the same people who were set on pushing Silver out of the U.J.A. are now trying to undermine and possibly liquidate the American Zionist Emergency Council - the most efficient political and public relations organization which Zionism has ever possessed in any country.

I am afraid that you are getting more than you bargained for. My letter, slowly but surely, develops into an article, so I had better stop, here and now. The above comments may give you an idea of my thinking on the subject.

My best to you, the McDonald family, and your colleagues and assistants.

Sincerely,

Eliehu Ben-Horin

/s/

EBH:MB
ENC.

הענין

מדינת ישראל

הממשלה הזמנית
משרד הדתות

המחלקה לעדות הנוצרות

ב"ה, הקריה, כ"ח שבט תש"ט
27 פברואר 1949

לכבוד
מר א. בן-הורין
המועצה הציונית לשעת חרום
ניו יורק

בן הורין ידידי,

רב תודות לך על מכתבך מיום 28.1.49 וכן על המאמר

שצורף אליו.

הרשני לברכך על הצלחתך בהעמולה בקשר ליחסינו למיעוטים
ועל הדרך שבה הנך מיצג את העניין.

ראיתי גם ראיתי את הדו"ח שלך לשר החוץ על שיחתך עם
הקרדינל סיסרן ברומא. מקורותינו נוטים לאשר את הרשמים שהבעת בדו"ח
הנ"ל, אולם אין אנו יכולים לקבוע עדיין בודאות את מידת השפעתו של סיסרן,
במיוחד מאז סיפוחו של ולרי ה-Assessor לבג"מ המזרחיות.

קראת בודאי שבכנסת נוכחו נציגי כל העדות הנוצריות
מלבד וורגאני. האחרון הגיע עד לירושלים מנצרת אולם ברגע האחרון קבל
הוראה או עצה לא להופיע. הוא הצטער על כך בכנות.

כתוב נא לעתים על המחרש בשטח עבודתך ואנו נשמח להודיעך

על הנעשה כאן.

בכבוד רב,

י. הרצוג
מנהל המחלקה

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

March 8, 1949

Eliahu Ben-Horin

I enclose copies of a letter which I received from Mr. McDonald, and my reply, which I mentioned to you last night.

I am also attaching, for your information, a copy of a letter I received from Mr. Jacob Herzog, Minister of Religions, in Tel Aviv.^{ky}

Best regards.

EBH:MB

Enc.



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 10, 1949

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

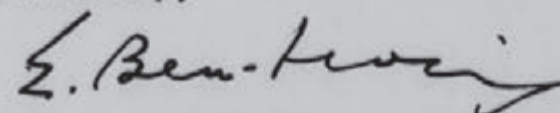
Dear Dr. Silver:

I feel that you will be interested in reading the enclosed copy of a letter I received yesterday from James McDonald. I particularly draw your attention to the copy of his letter to Sidney Herold. In this connection, Abe Tuvim suggests that I communicate to Hy Schulson, in Washington, the passage in McDonald's letter to Herold, on page 1, beginning with the words "For the success at Rhodes....". What Tuvim has in mind is that Schulson may pass on this particular passage through David Niles, or someone else, and this would benefit McDonald. Should I do this?

The first meeting of the committee of three - on the transfer business - is set for tomorrow morning in Washington. In the meantime, I had a long talk yesterday over the telephone with Schechtmann. It seems that the Agency is much more upset about this arrangement than we are. Indeed, Schechtmann intends "to have it out" with Epstein tomorrow. I will see what happens tomorrow in Washington, and I will, of course, report to you. You may also be interested in the attached copy of a letter I received from Sumner Welles.

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

Sincerely,



Eliahu Ben-Horin

EBH:MB
Enc.

C
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P
Y

THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

PERSONAL

American Embassy
Tel Aviv, Israel
February 25, 1949

Mr. Eliahu Ben-Horin
80-09 35th Avenue
Jackson Heights, New York, N. Y.

Dear Ben-Horin:

Your letter of the 31st was doubly welcome, bringing the news of your arrival in New York and of your adventurous journey and first weeks at home.

I am sorry you did not see His Holiness and I am glad that you had such a satisfactory talk with Cardinal Tisserant. Do let me know when you have talked with the people at 52nd Street.

It was good of you to be so generous in your estimate of my work when you reported on it to Dr. Silver. I hope that before you receive this the UJA battle will have ended, if not in a final peace, at least in an armistice. Perhaps we shall have to assign Bunche as Mediator!

Your friend, Sugrue, is becoming so absorbed in Israel that it looks as though he may never leave! This week he is in Jerusalem and presently goes off for several weeks to one of the kibbutzim to write.

My own present feeling about the situation here is summed up in a letter I have just dictated to our mutual friend, Herold. I enclose a copy for your personal reading.

Thanks for letting me see the reprint on "Minorities in Israel". It is pertinent to today's discussions of the POC.

The family and Miss Clark all send their best wishes.

Cordially yours,

/s/ James G. McDonald

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PERSONAL

American Embassy
Tel Aviv, Israel
February 24, 1949

Mr. Sidney Herold
Shreveport
Louisiana, USA

Dear Mr. Herold:

I am grateful to you for your cable about our Government's decision to raise the status of the American Mission here.

I hope I may be worthy of the confidence the President has thus expressed in me and of the opportunity he has given me to work with the Government and people of Israel for the development of even closer relations between our two countries.

It was a thrilling moment yesterday afternoon when the Foreign Office called to give me advance news of the decision to sign the Israel-Egyptian Armistice today. It promises to be, as Shertok put it, the "turning point". Now that Egypt has recognized Israel through this successful formal negotiation, none of the other Arab states can argue with any show of reason that "loyalty to the Arab cause" forbids their carrying on formal negotiations. Moreover, from what I have been told about the informal exchanges between the Egyptians and Israelis at Rhodes, the Armistice is considered by both sides as only preliminary to further immediate steps towards resumption of normal relations.

For the success at Rhodes, perhaps the major credit should go to Bunche whose patience and energy were inexhaustible and whose objectivity commanded the respect of both sides. But, off the record, I am glad to be able to add that in my opinion the policy of the President and the Department from the critical day, December 31, until the last crisis was past has been a clear force for agreement. It would not be proper for me to be more explicit but I am sure I do not exaggerate.

The next weeks and months will continue nonetheless to be difficult but I am hopeful not so critical as those during the past year. What has been achieved since May 14 is so far beyond what could reasonably have been expected that the future should hold no insuperable obstacles, especially if the knowledge and wisdom which has heretofore controlled major policies here continue to control and if the West is realistic in its appraisal of forces in this area. The chief danger that I see - aside of course from the possibility of a world cataclysm - is that some of the leaders of the West may insist on solutions here which according to the copy book are "just and right" but which, disregarding the realities of the situation might invite a disastrous conflict between the UN and Israel. Decisions arrived at in Paris or Lake Success, often as a result of pulling and hauling on extraneous issues and which after a period of months have ceased to be applicable, can be extremely dangerous if a serious effort is made to impose them against the will of the peoples directly concerned.

As a lifelong student of international relations and ardent advocate of an effective world organization, I am more and more convinced that the judgments of the Council and the Assembly of the UN are sometimes so unrealistic that they diminish rather than increase the chances of peaceful solutions. Watching closely what happened in Paris and assessing it against the background of my knowledge of conditions here and in the neighboring countries, I was frequently frightened at the obvious possibility that the vast and cumbersome UN machinery might do more harm than good. That this was not the result was in my opinion primarily due to Dulles' leadership. He never posed as an expert in this part of the world but from the beginning he had a grasp of realities which made most of the experts look like amateurs.

I am not defeatist about the effectiveness of international organization but I am sure that to treat any particular decision of the UN as sacrosanct irrespective of its lack of applicability - the result either of initial unsoundness or because of changed circumstances - is to bring disrespect upon the UN and to weaken its prestige. I hope, therefore, that all those who have to do with shaping national policies will regard UN decisions, e.g., that for the internationalization of Jerusalem, as general guides rather than as binding obligations which cannot be adjusted to subsequent fundamental changes.

Why don't you and Mrs. Herold come on out to Israel this spring? The weather will be perfect and by then TWA and KLM will have brought western Europe within eight to twelve hours of Lydda. We should love to see you.

Cordially yours,

M:C

James G. McDonald

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SUMNER WELLES

Oxon Hill Manor
Oxon Hill, Maryland

March 3, 1949

My dear Mr. Ben-Horin:

I am truly grateful to you for your letter of March 1.
I appreciate deeply the message you have sent me.

My recovery unfortunately has been slower than I had hoped and it at length became obvious that I would have to give up all of my work for a period of some months if I was to expect to be able to resume my normal activities in the future.

In any event, if the situation turns out satisfactorily, I shall hope to be able to resume my column at some future date and in that case you may be sure your letter will be a source of real encouragement to me.

I am doing my utmost to follow closely the course of developments in Israel and I have been rendered really happy by many of the signs now apparent that some of those obstacles which seemed almost insuperable a year ago are being so successfully surmounted.

With my renewed thanks and with my warm personal regards, believe me,

Yours very sincerely,

/s/ Sumner Welles

Mr. Elishu Ben-Horin
80-09 35th Avenue
Jackson Heights
New York, New York

C
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The Personal Representative of the
President of the United States of America
To His Holiness Pope Pius XII

2 Via Boncompagni
Rome, Italy

March 11, 1949

Dear Mr. Ben-Horin:

Thank you so much for your letter enclosing a
reprint of one of your recent articles in the New York
Herald-Tribune which I am reading with particular
interest.

I also wish to express my sincere appreciation
of your very kind remarks in connection with your
recent visit to Rome.

With assurances of entire cooperation and many
kind regards and best wishes, believe me,

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Franklin C. Gowen
Special Assistant to
the Honorable Myron C. Taylor

Eliahu Ben-Horin, Esquire,
80-09 35th Avenue,
Jackson Heights,
New York, N. Y.

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

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date March 11, 1949
(dictated but not read)

From Eliahu Ben-Horin

WRHS
The enclosed copy of a letter from Stephen B. L. Penrose, President of the American University of Beirut, to Karl Baehr, undoubtedly represents an important facet in the anti-Zionist and anti-Israeli propaganda, and I thought that you would want to read it.

Best regards.

EBH:MB
Enc.

E. B. H.
(mp)

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT
AND INTERNATIONAL COLLEGE

February 10, 1949

Rev. Karl Baehr, Executive Secretary
American Christian Palestine Committee
41 East 42nd Street
New York, U. S. A

Dear Mr. Baehr:

I have received and have read with interest the statement adopted by the National Executive Council of the American Christian Palestine Committee. I presume that it was sent to me as one who is considered to be "in a position of strategic leadership in the American colleges of the Middle East" although I am not at all sure to what the word "strategic" applies. My position certainly has no bearing upon the development either of military or political strategy.

My inclusion in the list of your correspondents in this connection is a matter of some surprise to me due to the fact that, in correspondence with other persons, you have openly questioned my concern for the very purpose to which I am dedicating my life and energies, namely, bringing into the Near East of the forces of Christian democracy, industry and western civilization. To this work I am convinced that I have been prepared for, and called of God. It has troubled me no little that you, as Executive Secretary of a nominally Christian organization, should appear to be so assured in your criticism of me.

I have a number of questions and comments relative to the ACP's statement. Since, in a way, they are quite as significant as the statement itself, I hope you will circulate them to the members of the committee.

In the first place, I wonder about the name of your committee. It is certainly not a committee concerned with the development of a Christian Palestine for you should know that the Christians in Palestine are among those who have suffered most as refugees from their homeland. (Please see attached letter from Pastor Guba'in.) The fact that they are Arabs does not prevent their being Christians, and this fact should be a matter of concern to your committee.

The statement's reminder to us who are engaged in Christian work in the Near East that we should remember our debt to Israel's prophets and to Jesus a Son of Israel would indicate to me a curious religious bias, as well as a complete misconception of the nature of the modern state of Israel. I think of Jesus as the Son of God, not as a Son of Israel, and although I am fully aware of His historical derivation from Judaism, I have always believed that a sharp break occurred when His own people refused to accept His teachings and crucified Him. I speak of this simply as a fact to be considered among those facts of which you would remind me. None of them has any bearing on the establishment of the state of Israel, whose own leaders have denied the existence of religious influences in their purely secular government.

The statement of your National Executive Committee makes me wonder most concerning the sources of your information on the situation in Palestine and the Near East. Obviously no attempt at all has been made to secure any information from American Christians in the Near East although one might expect that this would be the primary source of intelligence on the part of the American Christian Palestine Committee. I have yet to meet a single American who knows this area from long personal experience who could possibly subscribe to a number of your statements which are made so categorically as to imply that they are confirmed facts. The confirmation can only have come from sources which you considered to be unbiased but it cannot have been a Christian source, for a Christian source would be unbiased but it would seem to me that the American Christian Palestine Committee should at least consult those experts in the field before committing itself in such an unfortunate way.

I refer particularly to the expression of "satisfaction over the scrupulous manner in which the Government of Israel has observed its well-understood duties of respect for and protection of the Christian holy places and shrines on Israeli territory." The rest of paragraph 3 in somewhat the same vein is obviously based upon a complete lack of knowledge of the facts with which every Christian who lives in the Near East is familiar. I presume that you would not believe the statement we could make concerning the military use by the Israeli forces of Christian sanctuaries, convents and hospitals which could be corroborated by UN records. Presumably you would overlook the murder in cold blood of the Father Superior of the Hospice of Notre Dame in Jerusalem. These are events, like the unpunished murder of Count Bernadotte, which sicken the souls of Christians in the Near East and make them perhaps unduly sensitive to such blithe "expressions of satisfaction" on the part of the American Christian Palestine Committee.

With regard to paragraph 7 of the statement, somewhat the same approach is apparent in the expression of regret concerning the Arab States. You obviously do not know and cannot appreciate the fact that caring for 700,000 refugees is a task far beyond the capacity and the experience of small nations which have only recently acquired their independence and are struggling to develop their own internal stability. Yet, in spite of this fact, I have with my own eyes witnessed remarkable efforts on the part of both Lebanon and Syria to take care of the refugees within their borders by regular contributions of money and food. What else do you think has kept the refugees alive this long during the six months in which UN relief efforts have been slowly getting under way? I would remind you that the United Nations has recommended the expenditure of 32 million dollars for supplementary relief work, as they have belatedly become convinced that the problem is one of such vast international importance that it requires international cooperation for even temporary solution. I ask you to recognize also that the number of Arab refugees far exceeds the total number of displaced Jews in all of Europe. One can hardly "express satisfaction" with a solution to the homelessness of the European Jew which creates a problem far greater than that which it was designed to solve.

I would point out, furthermore, with regard to the same paragraph, that everyone who has had extensive contact with the refugees from Palestine is keenly aware of the fact that their flight from Palestine was not caused by the incitement of the Arab leaders, but in large measure by sheer panic because of such a campaign of frightfulness on the part of Irgun Zvai Leumi as was typified by the horrible massacre of Deir Yassin. A panic once started and intelligently stimulated is likely to spread beyond control and this is what actually happened. The story which attributed the flight to Arab instigation and British connivance is a clever bit of propaganda on the part of the Zionist organization. Behind, there is a good deal of communist influence which will diminish as soon as the Russians have shifted their base from support of Israel in order to continue the condition of political chaos which was the original reason for their espousal of the Zionist cause.

I am in agreement with the hope expressed in paragraph 4 of the statement that an international body be established to safeguard the Holy Places. I would point out, however, that it is this very interest on the part of the American Government which is the major basis for dissatisfaction with us on the part of the Israelis, which has led to the still dangerous position of our Government representatives in Jerusalem. These facts should also be known to your committee. You will not find that either the Government of Israel or the Zionist organization in America is in sympathy with your views in those matters.

In paragraph 9, you recommended that we Christians in the Near East "consider seriously their attitude and influence toward Israel." I presume that you mean "reconsider" since

our original attitude has been seriously considered on the basis of facts which are at our disposal. For myself I may say that I recognize the factual existence of the State of Israel and, although I was vigorously opposed both to the method and real purpose of its establishment, I will do everything in my power to ensure the preservation of peace and the development of friendly relations in the Near East which the establishment of this state has made so difficult; but I would add that, so far as my influence toward Israel is concerned, it is insignificant compared with the efforts which must be exerted upon Israel for, in the final analysis, it is upon the actions and intentions of this country, now given wide diplomatic recognition, that the future development and maintenance of peace will depend. Permit me to urge, therefore, that the American Christian Palestine Committee in turn bring whatever influence it can to bear on the representatives of Israel and upon its supporters in the U. S. to ensure that, by its actions, this government may rapidly move to dissolve the fears and doubts which its previous actions have engendered.

This would be a job worthy of the highest aim of the ACPG and it would supplement the work which Christian leaders are doing to influence the views of their associates in Arab countries. With regard to the "long-range approach" which you criticize me for lacking, I would say parenthetically that the A.U.B. has had nothing else in mind since its foundation 82 years ago. It has believed from the beginning that the way in which to develop an appreciation of the better aspects of western culture and an extended practice of the principles of Christian democracy is through the process of education which must inevitably be of long duration. Experience has shown that no amount of imperialistic good example can produce sincere imitation on the part of peoples who fear and hate the proponents of the "good example."

The optimistic expectation that Israel will serve such a purpose flies in the face of all previous experience. Yet this argument has been used time and again to justify imperialism. I would suggest that you revise your views concerning the beneficial effect of the establishment of Israel in the light of a careful study of history.

You will undoubtedly assume that, because of my opposition to a non-religious, purely political development, I am anti-Jewish (I do not say "anti-Semitic", since the Arabs also are Semites). To counter this view, I would have you bear in mind that even at this present moment, there are fifty Jewish students in the A.U.B. who are accepted by ~~this~~ ^{their} thousands of Arab associates as members in good standing of the student body. I can only hope and pray that their position may not be jeopardized by ill-considered and improperly informed actions, either on the part of the American Government, or by well-meaning organizations, such as the American Christian Palestine Committee.

Finally, may I suggest that your committee devote more energy than is implied by the half-hearted statement in paragraph 7 to stimulate the efforts of the international community and government of the U.S. in giving aid and relief to Arab refugees from Palestine. It is now intensely cold even in Beirut and if this weather continues, heavy mortality may be expected among the hundreds of thousands of destitute people who are sheltering miserably in whatever buildings can be found to offer them a roof. The relief offered by the UN is not yet under way on any large scale due to the fact that funds to support this effort have not yet been voted by the governments involved. The League of Red Cross Societies cannot take chances with an extended effort for which funds are not definitely forthcoming. In the meantime, people are starving and freezing.

Yours, for Christian service,

/s/ Stephen B. L. Penrose
President

**COUNCIL OF THE ARAB EVANGELICAL
EPISCOPAL COMMUNITY IN PALESTINE AND TRANSJORDAN**

Amman, 13.9.1948.

The events of the past eight months in Palestine have been reported to some extent in the newspapers and magazines of America and England. The efforts of the United Nations to bring to a successful conclusion the policy which they initiated have also been noted, and now the urgent problem created by hundreds of thousands of Arab refugees has been given some prominence. But what is known of the effect of recent events on the life of the Christian church? The purpose of this memorandum is to bring to your notice the plight of that part of Palestinian Christianity which is known as the Arab Evangelical Episcopal Community. This Community had in Palestine (apart from Transjordan) 12 Churches and five schools served by seven Arab Clergy and Lay helpers. What has happened to these Churches and the 4000 church members? At the present moment the Churches in Jerusalem, Jaffa, Nazareth, Acre, Kafr Yaseef, Shefa Amr, Beisan, Ramleh are in Jewish hands. Of the Clergy three are in the Jewish occupied territory, and four are in Arab held territory. What of the Church members? There are still churches unaffected by disaster in Ramallah, Nablus and Rafedias and some refugees from other places are to be found in these "parishes" but the majority are scattered throughout Transjordan, Syria, Lebanon and even Cyprus and Egypt.

Most of the Church members who in the past have helped the Church in many ways are now themselves in great need of help. Almost all have lost their means of livelihood, many of them have lost all their possessions while others were able to carry away a few things like mattresses and clothes. "To beg they are ashamed." In the past they have lived comfortably as civil servants, teachers, shopkeepers, etc. Many had bought or built their own homes, and now they have been driven out of their homes. What little ready money they could carry away is almost gone. Others who were comfortably off are now almost destitute because their money is "frozen" in banks which are now in Jewish hands. As with the people so with the Church Council which regulates the affairs of the Churches. After many years they had almost reached the point of being self-supporting. Their annual budget for Churches and schools amounted to about LP.11,000. This amount was raised for the most part by contributions and collections from Church members and the income from church property houses, shops, etc. But now most of the churches are closed, the members are themselves in need and nearly all the Church property is in the hands of the Jews.

I have been visiting most of the scattered members of the Community, and I found that immediate steps must be taken to bring some measure of relief to these our brethren and this memorandum is sent out in the hope that it will move those who can send help to the Church in Palestine in its hour of need. A solution to Palestine's troubles has still to be found and the coming months are bound to see more and more of need.

Not unexpectedly, a wave of bitterness and near despair has swept over many of the Christians as the days have gone by and they see more and more of Palestine occupied by the Jews. It is for the Christian Church in many lands to demonstrate to the Church in Palestine that though political aspirations may divide and destroy, there is within the Church of Christ that power which unites and heals. So will the Church in Palestine be encouraged to rise above political considerations and itself exercise the ministry of reconciliation which alone would justify its existence. Brethren, pray for us that out of the present miseries and distresses our Church may emerge purified and strengthened to be a more fitting instrument in the Holy Land for the furtherance of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

H.A. Caba'in -- Chairman

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

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date March 25, 1949

From Eliahu Ben-Horin

Enclosed for your information is a copy
of my reply to Msgr. McMahon.
Best regards.

E. B-H

EBH:MB
Enc.

C O P Y

March 25, 1949

Msgr. Thomas J. McMahon
National Secretary
Catholic Near East Welfare Association
480 Lexington Ave.
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Msgr. McMahon:

I was very glad to hear from you and to know that, after completing your arduous mission, you are safely back and in good shape, I hope. It is needless to say that I was disappointed at not having had an interview with His Holiness, but it was impossible for me to stay in Rome too long. On the other hand, I was greatly pleased with the interview I had with Cardinal Tisserant, who not only possesses an extremely charming personality and wide knowledge of the Middle East, but also a very friendly and understanding spirit. Both Father Biskup and Mr. Gowen, special assistant to Mr. Myron Taylor, assured me that on the next occasion I am in Rome - if I give them advance notice - they will be glad to arrange an audience for me with His Holiness.

I appreciate your sending me a photostatic copy of your latest memorandum to the United Nations, which I read with attention and interest. One statement of yours, contained in the first paragraph of your memorandum, has gladdened my heart. I refer, of course, to your testimony "to the genuine desire of the Government of Israel to repair the damage done and to maintain proper relations with the religious institutes within its boundaries." I was pleased to see that your mission to Israel and the Middle East on behalf of Cardinal Spellman has thus brought about the end of a painful chapter in Catholic-Israeli relations. It seems to me that the way should now be open for an understanding, also, on the other issues still under debate, although I do not find in your memorandum any "progress" in this respect. Both on the question of Jerusalem, and on the ways and means of solving the problems of the Arab refugees, your original position is maintained. You continue to advocate the internationalization of the whole of Jerusalem, and the mass return of the Arabs to Israel. By so doing, I am afraid you would render the complete settlement of the Palestine controversy more difficult. I am sure that this is not your intention, but I am afraid that this would be the effect. As you know from our previous discussions, I disagree with you on these issues, both on the merits of the problems and on grounds of practicability. However, let's talk about it again.

Looking forward to seeing you soon, I remain

Cordially yours,

EBH:MB

Elishu Ben-Horin

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

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date March 29, 1949

From Eliahu Ben-Horin

After a long delay, my article on the Arab refugees and the Hoover Plan will definitely appear this coming Sunday in the Herald Tribune, and we shall thus be able to start working in this direction.

I enclose a copy of the first letter on the subject, which I am sending today to Ted Thackrey of the New York Post.

Best regards.

EBH:MB

Enc.

CONFIDENTIAL

March 29, 1949

Mr. T. O. Thackrey
New York Post
75 West St.
New York 6, N. Y.

Dear Ted:

Slowly but surely, the problem of the Palestine Arab refugees emerges into the very forefront of the Middle East controversy and becomes the main weapon of the anti-Zionist front in the United States. I could provide a long list of illustrations to this effect, but let me just mention a few: (a) At a conference of the Middle East Institute in Washington, the question of the refugees was the main topic of discussion and of attacks on Israel; (b) The same happened at a Protestant conference in Pennsylvania; (c) The memorandum of the Catholic Near East Welfare Association to the United Nations was once again mainly devoted to this problem; (d) Following up the Spelman Memorandum, the last issue of the Catholic magazine, America, comes out with a frontal attack on Israel, in an article "Honor in Israel"; (e) In the latest issue of the Federal Council Bulletin (of the Federal Churches of Christ) a story appears accusing Israel of "persecution and ruthless extermination of Christian Arabs by Jewish extremists in Palestine."

As mentioned, I could go on almost indefinitely, but the above will suffice. It is also natural. As long as the problem of several hundred thousand homeless refugees exists, the pressure of this tragic fact must be felt morally and politically both by Israel and its friends throughout the world. This pressure can be eliminated only through elimination of the problem itself.

It is to an analysis of the problem of the Arab refugees and its possible solution that I devoted an article, which will appear in the Herald Tribune, Section 2, Sunday, April 3rd. In my article, I am trying to show the impracticability of any plans for a large-scale return of the refugees to Israel, and I advocate the Hoover Plan - an Arab-Jewish exchange of populations - as the only constructive and just solution.

Unfortunately, my article was lying in the Herald Tribune office for about two months, and all efforts for the revival of the Hoover Plan had to wait, for the article is to serve as the spearhead in this campaign. What is urgently needed is a crusade for the implementation of the Hoover Plan, and I hereby appeal to the great crusader to head the fight in the field of American public opinion. By so doing, you will render a service to Israel and to the Middle East which will even exceed

- 2 -

your great services of the past.

If this appeal of mine falls on willing ears, let us get together before the end of this week and talk matters over.

With kindest regards,

Cordially yours,

EBH:MB

Eliahu Ben-Horin



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 23, 1949

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

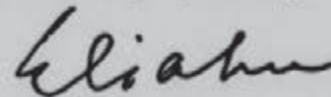
We are also entitled to a little "nakhas" once in a while. This we can derive from the enclosed copy of Msgr. McMahon's letter to me, and especially from the memorandum which the Catholic Near East Welfare Association has submitted to the United Nations.

I specifically refer to what he states at the conclusion of the first paragraph with regard to the desecrations. This statement of McMahon's is "worth all the money", and it's bound to be very effective in counter-acting the accusations of the anti-Israeli front. I really think that the Emergency Council is entitled to a great deal of satisfaction in having brought about this statement of McMahon's.

On this occasion, I also enclose a copy of a letter I received yesterday from Mr. Gowen, Myron Taylor's special assistant in Rome.

With best regards, I am

Sincerely yours,



Elisha Ben-Horin

EBH:MB
Enc.

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CATHOLIC NEAR EAST WELFARE ASSOCIATION

480 Lexington Avenue
New York 17, N.Y.
PLaza 8-2710

President
Francis Cardinal Spellman

National Secretary
Msgr. Thomas J. McMahon

March 22, 1949

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

Dear Mr. Ben-Horin:

Just back at the office for a brief spell and I thought I would write these few lines to you and enclose our latest appeal to the United Nations.

I am hopeful that we can get together in the near future. Unfortunately I will be out of town for the rest of the week.

Father Biskup told me the disappointing news that in your passage through Rome you were unable to stay long enough to see the Holy Father. I, too, had to wait over two weeks for the same privilege.

I am a little weary but I hope you are well rested after your own strenuous trip.

My fond regards!

Cordially yours,

/s/ Thomas J. McMahon

National Secretary.

TJM:ED

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

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date March 30, 1949

From Eliahu Ben-Horin

I enclose for your information a copy of a letter I received today from Mr. Elath. Unless I hear to the contrary, I have an appointment with Mr. Sharet for Monday morning, when I intend to discuss with him the handling of the problem of the Arab refugees on the American scene, and related matters.

I shall, of course, report to you immediately after this conversation.

Best regards.

EBH:MB

Enc.

C-
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STATE OF ISRAEL
Mission to the United States
Washington, D. C.

No. 2429

March 28, 1949

Dear Ben-Horin:

Thank you for sending me the interesting exchange of correspondence between you and Msgr. McMahon. I congratulate you and the Emergency Council on the important work which you have done in this complicated and difficult field.

With kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Eliahu Elath

Dr. E. Ben-Horin
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

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

AIR MAIL

April 4, 1949

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Thanks very much for your gracious note.

McMahon's memorandum to the U.N. served as a signal for a frontal attack on Israel by the Catholic press over the two issues mentioned in your letter: the Arab refugees and the internationalization of Jerusalem. America took the lead by publishing the article "Honor in Israel" in its last issue.

We planned an all-out campaign here on the question of the Arab refugees, which was to be spearheaded by my article in the Herald Tribune. However, I was badly let down by the Tribune. After dragging out the matter for many weeks, promising me time and again that it would appear, and setting one date after another for the publication of the article, and then making it absolutely definite for Sunday, April 3, I received a letter from the Assistant Managing Editor, dated April 2, full of apologies, and undertaking to pay me for the article (which they commissioned me to write and had accepted and praised it!). However, they declined to publish it because the question "is not of sufficient general interest at this time to justify our printing it..."

I don't have to tell you that this explanation sounds fishy, especially when it is offered on the very eve of the U.N. session, where the question of the Arab refugees will figure prominently. What is the true reason is beyond my comprehension. Who was it that exercised pressure on the Tribune?

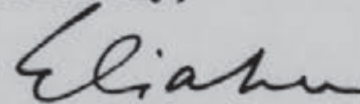
This morning, I started looking for possibilities of placing the article elsewhere. I phoned the Foreign Editor of the Christian Science Monitor, who was receptive to my offer, saying that he was interested in the problem and would be glad to publish an article by me, but, of course, he cannot say anything before he reads it. He further pointed out that the length of the article may be a hindrance. We agreed that I dispatch it to him Special Delivery, and the day after tomorrow I will know his decision. If it works out, then the auspices of the Monitor are as good as those of the Tribune. If not, I will go on looking for some other paper which commands political prestige.

- 2 -

Under the circumstances, I was glad that my interview with Sharett, which was scheduled for this morning, did not materialize, as he was out of town. I would much rather have my talk with him after my article has appeared.

With kindest regards to you and Mrs. Silver,

Sincerely,



Eliahu Ben-Horin

EBH:MB



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

AIR MAIL

April 6, 1949

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

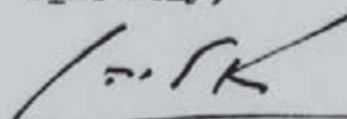
Dear Dr. Silver:

Pursuant to my letter of April 4, 1949, I received a telegram this morning from Mr. Charles Gratke, the Foreign Editor of the Christian Science Monitor, saying: "Can use Arab refugees but suggest compression 1000 words..." This means that the article will have to be cut by about one-third from its present length. However, we all feel that this should be done, and I gave my consent this morning over the telephone to Mr. Gratke.

I expect to get the proofs of the condensed article before the end of the week, and after I O.K. them, the article will be published and we shall then be able to launch the campaign for the Hoover Plan.

Best regards.

Sincerely,


Eliahu Ben-Horin

EBH:MB

80-09 35TH AVENUE
JACKSON HEIGHTS
NEW YORK, N. Y.
ILLINOIS 7-4695

STRICTLY PERSONAL

April 11, 1949

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

If you feel that I am "butting in" where I do not properly belong, I will, of course, abide by your ruling - but as long as there is a chance that what is going on does not have your approval, I feel that I must draw your attention to it.

From what I hear of the developments in the Scope Committee, Dr. Akzin's job with the Emergency Council is to be eliminated. It is true that a suggestion was made that Akzin be attached to the Research Department, but as that Department, as a whole, is to be transferred to the Agency, which would not be inclined to increase its budget, this may hardly be considered a practical suggestion.

I further hear that, from the outset, Akzin's position was misrepresented to the Scope Committee. He was listed in the report to the Committee as head of the Political Department, and as there was general agreement that no Political Department was needed, the Department with its head would be abolished. In fact, we never had a Political Department in the Council, and Akzin - like Lourie before him - is the Secretary or the Political Secretary of the Council.

I am writing you all this not only because I am naturally very concerned about Akzin - a very close friend of many years standing, who, by the way, was instrumental in bringing me into the service of the Emergency Council - but mainly because the functions which Akzin performs are as important today as ever before. I, for one, cannot visualize a properly working machinery of the Emergency Council without a man of Akzin's qualifications and talents doing his proper share.

It looks to me like a bad mistake on the part of somebody, or a sad misunderstanding on the part of many. Whatever it is, I rely on your fairness and understanding and am hopefully looking forward to a timely intervention on your part.

Wishing you and the Silver family a good and "kosher" Pesach,

Sincerely,

Eliahu

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

AIR MAIL

April 13, 1949

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

In a day or two, you will receive a reprint of my article "Iraq Urged As Refuge for Arab Refugees" which appeared in yesterday's Christian Science Monitor. With the advent of Pesach tonight, we arranged with the office which makes the reprints for us to send them out tomorrow, together with a considerable number of letters prepared in advance in anticipation of the article.

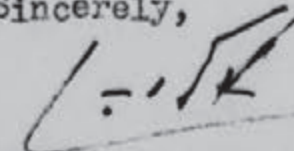
I enclose copies of my letters to Herbert Hoover, Cardinal Tisserant, Senator Brewster, Senator Lodge, William L. Bullitt, James G. McDonald and F. Julius Fohs. These, more or less, represent the types of letters which will be sent out.

In addition to the aforementioned, letters are addressed to the following: Herbert B. Swope, Felix Frankfurter, Esther Herlitz, Chief of the American Desk at the Israeli Foreign Office, Emanuel Celler, the American Jewish Congress, the American Jewish Committee, the Anti-Defamation League, Hamilton Fish Armstrong, Major George Fielding Eliot, Willard Espy, of the Reader's Digest, Bruce Bliven, of the New Republic, Congressman Christian Herter, Alf Landon, Msgr. Thomas J. McMahon (enclosing copy of my letter to Cardinal Tisserant), Charles Fahy, Herbert Feis, Frank Buxton and Sumner Welles.

As you will surely notice, I make a certain statement in my letter to Cardinal Tisserant, which is mainly aimed at the Catholic hierarchy here. Although I emphasized the personal character of my letter, which is written on my personal stationery, I felt that I should clear it with Sharett or Eban. That I did. Eban, to whom I read this letter over the phone, approved of it wholeheartedly.

Kindest regards and again best wishes for Pesach.

Sincerely,


Eliahu Ben-Horin

EBH:MB
Enc

COPY

APR 13 1949

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.
Beverly
Mass.

Dear Senator Lodge:

Slowly but surely, the problem of the Palestine Arab refugees emerges into the very forefront of the Middle East controversy. This is natural. As long as the problem of several hundred thousand homeless refugees exists, the pressure of this tragic fact is bound to be felt strongly. This pressure can be eliminated only through elimination of the problem itself.

You may have read the enclosed article in the Christian Science Monitor, but I attach a reprint for your convenience. It seems to me that by now, all straight-thinking people must realize the utter impracticability of any plans for a large-scale return of the Arab refugees to Israel, and also that the Hoover Plan -- an Arab-Jewish exchange of populations -- is the only just and constructive solution.

What is urgently needed, both from the viewpoint of ending the great suffering of the refugee masses and for stabilization in the Middle East, is a veritable crusade for the implementation of an internationally organized and financed settlement along the lines of the Hoover Plan.

I am greatly interested in your opinion, and whether you would be willing to give to such an effort your very valuable advice and assistance.

With my very best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

EBH:MB

Eliahu Ben-Horin

APR 13 1949

Hon. Herbert Hoover
Hotel Waldorf-Astoria
Park Avenue & 50 Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

The calls upon you during the last few years have been so many, and the tasks entrusted to you of such great national importance, that you may well have forgotten the "Hoover Plan" of September 1945. If you have, the enclosed should serve as proof that there are people who have not forgotten it.

As I tried to show in the article, the Hoover Plan has assumed new significance as the only practical, just and constructive solution for the problem of the Palestine Arab refugees. What is more, the response to the Plan, in 1949, is bound to be incomparably more favorable than in 1945. Of that, I am certain.

In the last few weeks, I have discussed this problem and the possibilities for the revival of the Hoover Plan - with a view for its implementation on a necessary scale - with a number of people. All of them have displayed great interest and approval.

I would greatly appreciate the opportunity of discussing this matter with you at your earliest convenience.

Hoping to hear from you, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

EBH:NB
Enc

Elishu Ben-Horin

APR 13 1949

His Eminence Eugenio Cardinal Tisserant
Congregazione Orientale
Via Conciliazione 34
Rome, Italy

Your Eminence:

Monsignor Thomas J. McMahon was kind enough to send me a photostatic copy of the memorandum he submitted to the United Nations upon his return from the Middle East. One statement of his, contained in the first paragraph of his memorandum, has gladdened my heart. I refer, of course, to his testimony "to the genuine desire of the Government of Israel to repair the damage done and to maintain proper relations with the religious institutes within its boundaries." A painful chapter in Catholic-Israeli relations may now be considered closed.

On the other hand, the memorandum maintains an uncompromising position with regard to Jerusalem and the Arab refugees. It demands the internationalization of the whole of Jerusalem and the mass return of the Arab refugees to Israel. Such an attitude, I am afraid, would render the complete settlement of the Palestine controversy more difficult. I am sure that this was not the intention of Cardinal Spellman and Monsignor McMahon, but this would be the effect nevertheless.

In the enclosed article, which appeared in the Christian Science Monitor, I advocate a solution for the problem of the Arab refugees which seems to me to be the only just, equitable and constructive way of dealing with this explosive issue. Indeed, the Hoover Plan, in my judgment, holds out promise for an effective termination of the refugees' suffering and for a lasting settlement in the Middle East.

I realize, of course, that what is uppermost in Monsignor McMahon's mind in this connection is a desire to see the Catholic communities in Palestine restored, and I fully recognize the legitimacy of this desire. I strongly doubt, however, whether the way to achieve it lies in the direction outlined in the memorandum. On the contrary, the way I see it, if the Catholic Church continues to demand a full-scale return of the refugees -- an utterly impractical, if not impossible, proposition, as I tried to show in my article -- it will have put a serious obstacle in the way of an Israeli-Catholic agreement concerning the return of the Catholic refugees for whom, as you know, the road back would be likely to be opened.

Since the submission of the Catholic Near East Welfare Association's memorandum to the United Nations, the Catholic review, America, has published an article "Honor in Israel", which represents a vigorous attack on Israel along the lines of the memorandum. It is apparent that, unless an understanding is reached in good time, we may be facing a deterioration in Catholic-Israeli and Catholic-Jewish relations, which is bound to be harmful to all concerned.

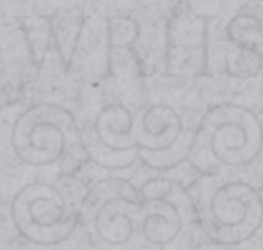
The above is, of course, a strictly personal evaluation on my part, and I am sure that Your Eminence will treat it accordingly. Remembering, however, your understanding attitude and the genuine desire on your part to bring about a just solution of the issues under debate, I felt that it would be right for me to convey to you my thoughts on the subject.

Assuring you of my highest respect, I remain

Sincerely yours,

EBH:MB

Eliahu Ben-Horin



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O
P
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APR 13 1949

The Hon. Owen Brewster
Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Brewster:

Slowly but surely, the problem of the Palestine Arab refugees emerges into the very forefront of the Middle East controversy and becomes the main weapon of the anti-Zionist front in the United States. I could provide a long list of illustrations to this effect, but let me just mention a few: (a) At a conference of the Middle East Institute in Washington, the question of the refugees was the main topic of discussion and of attacks on Israel; (b) The same happened at a Protestant conference in Pennsylvania; (c) The memorandum of the Catholic Near East Welfare Association to the United Nations was once again mainly devoted to this problem; (d) Following up the Spellman Memorandum, the last issue of the Catholic magazine, America, came out with a frontal attack on Israel, in an article "Honor in Israel"; (e) In the latest issue of the Federal Council Bulletin (of the Federal Churches of Christ) a story appeared accusing Israel of "persecution and ruthless extermination of Christian Arabs by Jewish extremists in Palestine."

As mentioned, I could go on almost indefinitely, but the above will suffice. It is also natural. As long as the problem of several hundred thousand homeless refugees exists, the pressure of this tragic fact must be felt morally and politically both by Israel and its friends throughout the world. This pressure can be eliminated only through elimination of the problem itself.

You may have read the enclosed article in the Christian Science Monitor, but I attach a reprint for your convenience.

It seems to me that, by now, all straight-thinking people must realize the utter impracticability of any plans for a large-scale return of the Arab refugees to Israel, and also that the Hoover Plan -- an Arab-Jewish exchange of populations -- is the only constructive and just solution.

What is urgently needed, both from the viewpoint of ending the great suffering of the refugee masses and for stabilization in the Middle East, is a veritable crusade for the implementation of an internationally organized and financed settlement along the lines of the Hoover Plan.

I am greatly interested in your opinion, and whether you would be willing to give to such an effort your very valuable advice and assistance.

With my very best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

EBH:MB

Eliahu Ben-Horin

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APR 13 1949

Mr. F. Julius Fohs
248 Mellie Esperson Bldg.
Houston 2, Texas

Dear Mr. Fohs:

You were one of the very few who were ready to endorse and to support the Hoover Plan, when it was originally formulated in 1945. Developments since then lend great urgency and importance to this Plan. Slowly but surely, the problem of the Palestine Arab refugees emerges into the very forefront of the Middle East controversy and becomes the main weapon of the anti-Zionist front in the United States. I could provide a long list of illustrations to this effect, but let me just mention a few: (a) At a conference of the Middle East Institute in Washington, the question of the refugees was the main topic of discussion and of attacks on Israel; (b) The same happened at a Protestant conference in Pennsylvania; (c) The memorandum of the Catholic Near East Welfare Association to the United Nations was once again mainly devoted to this problem; (d) Following up the Spellman Memorandum, the last issue of the Catholic magazine, America, came out with a frontal attack on Israel, in an article "Honor in Israel"; (e) In the latest issue of the Federal Council Bulletin (of the Federal Churches of Christ) a story appeared accusing Israel of "persecution and ruthless extermination of Christian Arabs by Jewish extremists in Palestine."

As mentioned, I could go on almost indefinitely, but the above will suffice. It is also natural. As long as the problem of several hundred thousand homeless refugees exists, the pressure of this tragic fact must be felt morally and politically both by Israel and its friends throughout the world. This pressure can be eliminated only through elimination of the problem itself.

The enclosed article was supposed to have appeared a long time ago, but it was delayed. All efforts for the revival of the Hoover Plan had to wait, for the article is to serve as a spearhead in the campaign which we are now ready to launch.

Remembering your attitude at the time, I have little doubt that you will want to associate yourself actively with this effort now. We would welcome any suggestions or advice on your part as to how we should proceed in shaping a program of activities which would lead to the implementation of the Hoover Plan on a necessary scale.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

EBH:SR

Eliahu Ben-Horin

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APR 13 1949

Hon. William C. Bullitt
c/o Yale Club
Vanderbilt Ave. & 44 St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Bullitt:

Quite a few years have passed since I discussed with you in the Yale Club in New York the plan for the transfer of the Palestine fellahin to Iraq. You were one of the very few who favored such a solution of the problem. In the meantime, much water has passed under the bridge, and today, we are facing the tragic issue of the Palestine Arab refugees and thus, we are brought back to the same idea which some of us advocated years ago.

The enclosed article was supposed to have appeared a long time ago, but it was delayed. Still, it is timely. In my judgment, there is no answer to the problem of the Arab refugees, but the one outlined in this article. Sooner or later, the powers that be will have to arrive at the conclusion that there is no way back for the refugees; and also that Iraq provides the ideal spot for a large-scale, internationally financed and internationally supervised resettlement. I wish it were sooner rather than later. A great deal of suffering could thus be eliminated, and also many millions could be used constructively, instead of being spent for charity.

I am greatly interested in your opinion, and whether you would be willing to give to such an effort your very valuable advice and assistance.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

EBH:MB

Eliahu Ben-Horin

APR 13 1949

Hon. James G. McDonald
U.S. Ambassador to Israel
American Embassy
Tel Aviv, Israel

Dear Mr. McDonald:

Slowly but surely, the problem of the Palestine Arab refugees emerges into the very forefront of the Middle East controversy and becomes the main weapon of the anti-Zionist front in the United States. I could provide a long list of illustrations to this effect, but let me just mention a few: (a) At a conference of the Middle East Institute in Washington, the question of the refugees was the main topic of discussion and of attacks on Israel; (b) The same happened at a Protestant conference in Pennsylvania; (c) the memorandum of the Catholic Near East Welfare Association to the United Nations was once again mainly devoted to this problem; (d) Following up the Spellman Memorandum, the last issue of the Catholic magazine, America, came out with a frontal attack on Israel, in an article "Honor in Israel"; (e) In the latest issue of the Federal Council Bulletin (of the Federal Churches of Christ) a story appeared accusing Israel of "persecution and ruthless extermination of Christian Arabs by Jewish extremists in Palestine."

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Do you agree with the above and the reasoning of the article? If you do, a word from you to this effect, addressed both to the White House and the Department, would carry much weight.

As always,

Sincerely,

EBH:MB

Eliahu Ben-Horin

AIR MAIL
STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

April 22, 1949

Honorable Moshe Sharett
Foreign Minister
Hakirya
Tel Aviv, Israel

Dear Mr. Sharett:

As our talk did not materialize, I willingly follow your suggestion to write to you instead.

CATHOLIC RELATIONS

You are familiar with the memorandum submitted by Msgr. McMahon, on behalf of Cardinal Spellman, to the United Nations immediately upon his return from the Middle East. McMahon sent me a photostatic copy of his memorandum, to which I replied as per enclosed copy. McMahon's memorandum was followed up by a frontal attack on Israel in the Catholic magazine America, contained in an article "Honor in Israel". Both McMahon's memorandum and America's attack were based, as you know, on the two issues: internationalization of Jerusalem and the Arab refugees.

We had to wait with any effective reply on the question of the refugees until my article on this subject was published. It was first scheduled to appear in the Herald Tribune, but they dragged out this matter for two full months, and then decided not to publish it, at which time I succeeded in placing it in the Christian Science Monitor. After that, we were able to start our counter-offensive. The enclosed copy of my letter to Cardinal Tisserant is part of that counter-offensive.

I sent a copy of my letter to Tisserant to Msgr. McMahon, and I was amazed to receive in reply the kindest and sweetest letter from him, despite my criticism of his and Cardinal Spellman's attitude. Following that, I had lunch yesterday and a three hour conversation with McMahon - frank, outspoken and friendly throughout.

I told McMahon that I did not know what was his aim in taking such an intransigent attitude both on the question of the refugees and of Jerusalem; that obviously no other solution was possible but a resettlement of the refugees and internationalization of the holy places proper; that - knowing how clever and shrewd he was - I suspect that all this is no more than a bargaining device on his part. To the latter remark, he did not react, except for a smile. As to the question of Jerusalem, he maintained that they were on sound ground as they were upholding the original United Nations partition decision. When I continued to argue

As the copies of the
letters to Tisserant,
etc. were sent
to you of the

With the Compliments
of
ELIAHU BEN-MORIN

time, I enclose
enclose copies
now. Best regards
Eliahu

with him, he said: "Make no mistake about it; this is a square fight for the Christian stake in Palestine." He argued that it is not the Old City alone that contains holy places, as Mt. Zion and the Mount of Olives, etc. are outside the Old City; then he turned to me and asked: "What about Ein Karem? Isn't that holy?" I said: "Why?" He replied: "Because of John the Baptist." I then asked him: "How about Elijah's Cave on Mt. Carmel? Wasn't that holy?" He said: "No."

As you can well imagine, I did not pull any punches. I told him that if they wanted to wipe out the Palestine war and all that it meant to us in suffering and in sacrifices, this cannot be done; that Israel will never entrust the life and security of 100,000 living souls to the uncertain hands of the United Nations; that unless the Catholic hierarchy will see reason and will want to reach an agreement, there will be no agreement at all. All this, I repeat, was said in the most friendly manner. At the end of our conversation, coming back to the subject, I said to McMahon: "You will probably admit that a few months ago, I tried to be helpful when you and Cardinal Spellman invited my cooperation on the matter of the Arab refugees (to which statement he readily agreed). I would like once again to be helpful in this situation, and I feel that the one sensible thing to do is to narrow down the scope of the conflict so that an agreement could be reached on both issues. Accordingly, I offer my services if you are interested." To this offer of mine, McMahon answered that this was exactly what he had in mind when, in his latest letter to me, he wrote that since his return to New York, there were many times when he wanted to consult me. He will, he said, take me up on this offer before long, but the exact moment has not arrived.

In addition to the Israeli problems, I discussed with McMahon, at some length, Lebanon. Later the same day, he was paid a visit by Father Awad and Moukarzel, both of whom spoke very stiffly to him on the question of the attitude of the Catholic Church to the Maronites and the problem of Lebanon. I gather that even a threat was voiced in that conversation to the effect that the Maronites may cut off their allegiance to Rome. Father Awad, for your information, is leaving in three days time for Rome, with a special mission to bring about a favorable decision on the question of Lebanon and the mutual relationship between the Vatican and the Maronite Patriarchate.

THE HOOVER PLAN

I do not know whether Eliahu Elath had a chance to report to you on the internal developments and discussions with regard to the promotion of the Hoover Plan on the American scene. Knowing how extremely busy

you were during the few weeks of your stay in the States, it might have happened that this matter was never presented to you by Elath in its full scope. The fact of the matter is that, after several consultations between the Embassy, ourselves and the Agency, it was decided to hold the matter of cooperation between the three bodies in abeyance until you came and laid down the line. In the meantime, however, life did not stop, and each of the three bodies continues its own work in this field - or does not do any work in this field, whatever the case may be - in its own way. This is, of course, regrettable, as the matter itself is of very great importance, both from the viewpoint of a final settlement of the Middle Eastern controversy and from the viewpoint of our public relations in the United States.

As mentioned above, we had to wait with the launching of our campaign for a revival of the Hoover Plan until my article appeared. We all felt that an article of this kind, if published under proper auspices, could best spearhead public interest in this Plan.

Although only a short time has passed since the publication of my article in the Christian Science Monitor, I have already had a number of favorable and promising reactions from important quarters. Thus, Herbert Hoover wrote to say that he would be very happy to discuss this matter with me, and I am having an interview with him later today. Herbert Feis, the former Economic Adviser of the State Department, and a very close friend of Secretary Acheson, may be another key figure in this project. He wrote that he would be very happy to do whatever he can to help in this situation. I am seeing him next week, when I will be able to find out whether he would be willing to enlist Secretary Acheson's interest. A number of other people, including Senator Lodge, Frank W. Buxton, George Fielding Eliot, etc. have communicated to me their approval and support for this idea. The New York Post, despite the fact of T. O. Thackrey's disappearance from the scene, may take it up in a big way and lend the Plan its editorial support.

We are, of course, only in the initial stages of the campaign, but I feel that if it is conducted in the proper manner and if the Emergency Council is given the necessary support from the other Israeli and Zionist bodies, we stand a good chance of creating public sentiment in favor of the Hoover Plan and possibly also of bringing about concrete steps for the implementation of the Plan. Could we count on your backing and cooperation in this respect?

Every channel of influence, especially on the State Department and on the White House, should be utilized. With this end in view, I wrote to my friend, James G. McDonald, as per enclosed copy. I am hopeful that he will endorse this Plan and convey his views to Washington.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

EBH:MB

Eliahu Ben-Horin

AIR MAIL

April 26, 1949

Honorable Moshe Sharett
Foreign Minister
Hakirya
Tel Aviv, Israel

Dear Mr. Sharett:

In my last report to you, I mentioned that I was going to see Herbert Hoover. I am glad to relate now that Mr. Hoover agreed to cooperate in our work in connection with the project for the resettlement of the Arab refugees.

At the beginning of our conversation, he was somewhat discouraged by the fact that his recent efforts to interest the administration in Washington in a resettlement project in Iraq found no response. However, after I outlined the plan we have in mind, he said: "...Go ahead, and if you need my help, you will have it."

This is all I can expect of him at this point. Mr. Hoover will have to be approached again with more definite proposals after some more preliminary work is done and we have more concrete plans. It is important, however, that we have the definite promise of his availability for this work.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

EBH:MB

Eliahu Ben-Horin

AIR MAIL

April 26, 1949

Honorable Moshe Sharett
Foreign Minister
Hakirya
Tel Aviv, Israel

Dear Mr. Sharett:

I received Monsignor McMahon's "Report on Palestine" this morning, published in the form of a brochure by the Catholic Near East Welfare Association, under the title "Only the Meek". We may consider this an official statement of views on the part of the Catholic hierarchy in America, and you will therefore be interested in the salient points of this statement.

While Monsignor McMahon's report is largely devoted to a description of the misery of the Arab refugees and an appeal for help, it contains several important political pronouncements and clarifies the position of the Catholic Church in America on the question of Jerusalem and of the refugees.

1. An unreserved reaffirmation of Monsignor McMahon's earlier statement with regard to desecrations, etc., and his full satisfaction with the treatment accorded to him during his visit to Israel, will be found in the following excerpts:

(a) "...We came into Haifa on the little boat, Hatikvah, carrying Jewish refugees who had spent two years in the concentration camps on the island of Cyprus. In the seventeen hours that we spent with these good people on the crowded boat, which proudly bore the Star of Israel, we could see hope rise in their hearts as the horizon of a new homeland, far from Dachau and Buchenwald, far from the grim memories of persecution and ostracism, came ever nearer. We were the only Christian on that ship, still we were the first to land, and this was only the beginning of the many courtesies extended to us during the weeks we were a sojourner in Israel, by civil and military officials, by every inhabitant we met."

(b) Under a sub-title "Israel Awakes", the Monsignor writes:

"On August 20th our Association had been forced to make a protest to the United Nations as to certain criminal acts perpetrated by Jewish forces against Christian persons and places in Palestine. The evidence that we

presented on that August day was absolutely true, however much denials may be made from certain quarters. But we were pleased to see during our journey the signs of the sincere desire of the government of Israel to punish the malefactors and to repair the damage done. Marching through Israel, we were justly proud of the true heroism we saw demonstrated by our priests and Sisters. They were remaining in their posts of duty, even though many of their people fled through panic and terrorism. We also found the men of the Israeli Government in its Ministry of Religious Affairs, chosen to treat with our religious institutions on reparations, men of deep religious formation, highest character and sincere understanding. There were many conversations with the highest officials in the Government of Tel Aviv, when we exchanged views on the relations of their administration with our Catholic and Christian people."

2. The Catholic position on Jerusalem finds expression in the following passage:

"...Even though the New City of Jerusalem is now not only occupied by Israeli military forces but also civilly administered by the same government, with some of the ministries already transferred from Tel Aviv, this does not mean that the United Nations must let go by default its program for all Jerusalem and its environs, which was accepted by the Jews in November, 1947. Let it not be said, as the present propaganda does proclaim, that the New City of Jerusalem has no holy places, that these are confined to the Old Walled City. There are over fifty religious places in the New City -- among them the Upper Room, Mount Zion and Mount Scopus or the Mount of Olives. And who will tell us that the Sacred Footsteps of Jesus Christ did not tread on those holy hills? Nor can we go along with the propaganda that a place where blood has been shed for defense must now be owned by the defenders. We shall not give up hope that the United Nations, which now stands before the bar of history or falls before the same on this very matter of Palestine, will through its Conciliation Commission, now meeting in the Middle East, reassert its solution for our Holy Land."

3. The demand for the return of the Arab refugees is combined with pressure on the United States Government to oppose any expansion of Israel beyond the original boundaries indicated in the U. N. Partition

decision:

"...We have already said that perhaps it is well that this Palestine situation has been complicated by homelessness and heartlessness, however much we all deplore the same. Now we are told by Israeli officials that these hundreds of thousands of homeless refugees, whose ancestors before them have lived for centuries in that land, may not return. When President Truman signed the joint Congressional resolution authorizing the contribution of sixteen million dollars for these poor people, he uttered some very hopeful words: 'I trust that before this relief program is ended means will be devised for the permanent solution of the refugee problem and that the efforts of the Palestine Conciliation Commission to establish a lasting peace will bring hope of a brighter future to those destitute victims of the recent hostilities in the Holy Land.' To which we add a heartfelt Amen! It is not within the compass of the authority of the Israeli government to say that the refugees may not return.

"The policy of our President has been to second the efforts of the Zionists to establish their State. Even such a policy must have limitations placed on it by essential justice and regard for the rights of others. Religious and humanitarian rights can never and must never be absent from the Holy Land of Jesus Christ. Opposition to the over-extension of Israel rises from a sense of our own rights in Palestine, and no one can justly charge us today with any other sentiments."

4. Monsignor McMahon returns again to this subject, saying:

"...No one knows what the immediate and ominous future holds. Before the United Nations is the discussion of the new State of Israel. At the same time the Conciliation Commission of the same United Nations will be considering the internationalization of Jerusalem and the repatriation of the refugees. Millions of Christians in this country are wondering, and they have the right to wonder, what will be the policy of our own Government in the face of our assertion of Christian rights."

A few days ago, I met with Aubrey Eban and Gideon Raphael. I gave them a full report about my last conversation with McMahon, described in my letter to you of April 22. Eban asked for my opinion

- 4 -

as to the desirability of his meeting with McMahon with a view toward giving him official assurances on behalf of the Israeli Government. While I had no definite advice to offer, I felt that it might be advisable to wait a little while and see what the reactions will be to (a) Dr. Weizmann's statement on Jerusalem at the Waldorf-Astoria dinner; (b) My letter to Cardinal Tisserant; (c) What developments there will be, if any, following my last conference with Monsignor McMahon.

I shall be greatly interested in hearing your evaluation of the situation.

With best wishes, I am

EBH:MB

Sincerely yours,

Eliahu Ben-Horin

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

AIR MAIL

April 28, 1949

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

During my talk with Mr. Eban last week, we agreed that as soon as he let me have the account of Mr. Mayhew's statement in the House of Commons in London, I would write to Msgr. McMahon on this subject. Accordingly, I enclose a copy of my letter to Msgr. McMahon and also of Mr. Mayhew's statement.

You will also be interested in something else that Mr. Eban writes in his letter to me: "For your own information, during the present Weizmann visit to Washington, President Truman showed a great understanding of our Jerusalem position but insisted that we should attempt to soothe Catholic feeling here. President Truman has asked Cardinal Spellman to seek an early talk with Dr. Weizmann at which I shall be present."

Last night, I visited with Herbert Feis in Princeton, N.J. We spent a few hours together, discussing the Hoover Plan at length, and what Feis could do to help us. As usual, he is a very slow-moving man and he is very much engrossed in his own work. However, he promised that on his next visit to Washington, he will make it his business to talk on the subject to both Secretary Acheson and Mr. Satterthwaite, the Chief of the Middle East Division in the State Department. He is a very close personal friend to both of them. He will try to find out their reaction.

I also consulted Mr. Feis as to the best channels of influencing the State Department which we could find in Washington. He heartily approved of the letter I sent at the time to James McDonald in Tel Aviv asking for his pressure on Washington in this direction. He thinks, as I do, that McDonald will probably associate himself with this effort and that his influence should be effective. He suggested that I see Ben Cohen, and offered to write to Ben Cohen suggesting that he give me an interview. Feis thought that the best man would be Vice-President Barkley, if we

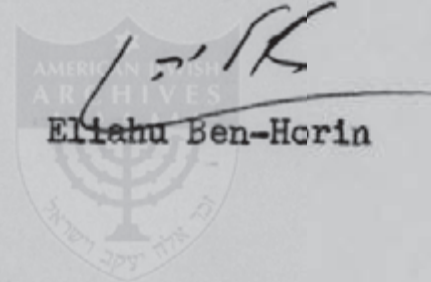
- 2 -

can interest him in the project. He also mentioned Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois who, although a new man in the Senate, commands considerable respect, and his influence is bound to grow. After the matter is presented by some Democratic Senators to the Secretary of State, Republican support for the project would be of help. Feis thought that Taft could be assistance at that stage. In other words, it seems to me that we have to embark on a full-fledged political campaign in Washington, and I would very much appreciate your suggestions and instructions in this respect.

With kindest regards, I am

Cordially yours,

EBH:MB
Enc



April 28, 1949

Magr. Thomas J. McMahon
National Secretary
Catholic Near East Welfare Association
480 Lexington Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Magr. McMahon:

I wonder whether you noticed a statement on the question of Jerusalem made on April 14 in the House of Commons by Mr. Christopher Mayhew, Britain's Under-Secretary of State. In case you missed it, I enclose a verbatim account taken from Hansard.

Although hard-pressed by members of the House of Commons, Mr. Mayhew refused to commit the British Government to support for the internationalization of Jerusalem, certainly not for the internationalization of the whole of Jerusalem. As you will see, he went to some pains to show what an international regime for Jerusalem would mean in the way of administrative responsibility for the United Nations. Obviously, the British Government has grave doubts as to the United Nations' ability to undertake and properly discharge such administrative responsibility.

I may add that I have good reason to believe that Mr. Mayhew's approach, on behalf of the British Government, is almost identical with that of the United States Government.

In line with my natural optimism, I continue to hope that a way may be found for the narrowing down of the scope of the present conflict between the Catholic and Israeli viewpoints, both on the question of Jerusalem and of the Arab refugees.

With my very best wishes, I am, as always,

Sincerely yours,

Elishu Ben-Horin
Adviser on Middle Eastern Affairs

EBH:MB
Enc

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

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date May 3, 1949

From Eliahu Ben-Horin

WRHS AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

I enclose, for your information, copies of (a) Msgr. McMahon's letter to me; (b) my letter to Mr. Eban, both of which are self-explanatory.

Best regards.

E. B-H

EBH:MB
Enc

C O P Y

CATHOLIC NEAR EAST WELFARE ASSOCIATION
480 Lexington Avenue
New York 17, N.Y.

May 2, 1949

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

Dear Mr. Ben-Horin:

Thank you for your kindness in sending me the copy of the remarks of Mr. Mayhew. I had already read them, but I am grateful to you for your vigilance in my behalf.

We shall see whether the United States Government concurs in this point of view. Unfortunately, the days ahead will be beset with difficulties.

Like yourself, I should like to see a narrowing down of the scope of the present conflict on fundamental questions, but I fear that this is not near.

I have been thinking often of you, and hoping that these days would permit me to avail myself of the most pleasant opportunity of an excursion to Jackson Heights. I am being hemmed in by engagements, but we shall ask the Lord to open up a breach in this frontal attack made upon me by the friends of this work.

At least, we are not on the island of Cyprus!

Most cordially yours,

/s/ Thomas J. McMahon

National Secretary

May 3, 1949

Honorable Aubrey Eban
Israeli Consulate
11 East 70 St.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Eban:

I phoned your office yesterday morning and spoke to Mrs. Madzini. I told her that I would greatly appreciate your letting me know what happened during the interview with Cardinal Spellman. I haven't heard from you thus far, but I assume that you are very busy with the UN. Still, I hope that you will find a free minute to give me a ring.

This morning, I received a reply from Monsignor McMahon, as per enclosed copy, to the letter I sent him containing the extract of Under-Secretary Mayhew's statement in the House of Commons.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

EBH:MB
Enc

Eliahu Ben-Horin

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מדינת ישראל
משרד הדתות

מחלקת העדות הנוצריות

כ"ה, הקריה, י"ד אייר תש"ט
13 מאי 1949

13/0

לכבוד
מר א. בן-חורין
המועצה הציונית לשעת חרום
ניו-יורק

מר בן-חורין היקר,

ראשית הרשני להודות לך על אדיבותך בשלחך אלי את ספרך על בעיות המזרח התיכון. הפכתי והפכתי בו וסצאתי בו ענין רב והדרכה יעילה. במיוחד יש לברך על הכשרון במציאת פשטות ההסבר וההבהרה לקורא הכללי-מומחה של ענינים שהקפתם והחדירה לשרשיהם מצריכים עיון כה רב ולימוד כה יסודי. ואמנם, כפי שלמדתי גם אני מנסיון דומה, המבחן הטוב ביותר לידיעת נושא מסובך מוחנה ביכולת להבהיר את עקרונותיו היסודיים, בפשטות הראויה. ידיעותי בשטח זה הגן מינמליות וספרך פתח לי שערים לאופקים רחבים יותר.

אני עדיין מחכה לקבל מספר טפסים של ספרי על המשנה, כדי שאוכל לגמול לך כמעטף הטוב.

את החזכיר ששלח מק-מהון לטריגוה לי קבלתי וחודת על כך. תזכור את האינצידנט שהיה בעת בקורו של מק-מהון וטענתו שהוא מתחלם לא התחייב בפני שר החוץ בפריז על שנוי עמדת הוויקן בבעית ירושלים. אמנם כפי שרשמת אחרי בקורך בוויקן, יחכן והוגים מסוימים שם בראשותו של טיסרון נוסים להסכמה על ירושלים יחודית. גם אנו דרך צנורותינו הדגשנו באפשרות כזאת, אולם כנראה שהמקטרגים נצחו, לפי הידיעות מרדני ופמלייתו עודם דבקים ברעיון של מדינה נוצרית בירושלים וסביבותיה. האפיפיור בכל אופן חולם על מנדטור קתולי, כגון איטליה, (האפשרות שצרפת תמלא תפקיד זה כנראה אינה רצויה ביותר להוד קדושתו והסכמת ידועות לך בודאי). עם ההתפתחויות הקרובות בדיון על ירושלים, יש ויש לחשוב שתיחכן יזמה מצדנו להתקרבות-מה לכנסיה הקתולית. כמובן שכל זה עדיין בגדר חשעה בלבד, ואם יתגשם באיזו צורה שהיא, נודיעך.

בינתיים היחסים פה תקינים עד כמה שהרבר ניהן, בהתחשב עם המתיחות הכלית נמנעת בקשר לבעית ירושלים והפליטים הערביים. מאז עזבך נכנס הנה גורם חדש והוא המונס' ג'ורג' חכים שהנהו בקשרים מדיניים רחבים במזרח התיכון כולו וכן בבירות הנוצריות באירופה. חכים הנו איש חכמים ואינטריגה פוליטית וניהול יחסים איתו אינו מן הדברים הקלים.

אנו מחכים בצפיה לשמוע מן הנשיא על פגישתו המפורטת עם הקרדינל ספלמן וכן לדעת ממך פרטים יתר על מה שהתהווה בשטח זה בשבועות האחרונים.

לרגלי הדחיפות אבקשך לא לנהוג כמוני בקצב החשובה.

בכבוד רב,

(-) יעקב הרצוג מנהל המחלקה

TRANSLATION OF LETTER:

CONFIDENTIAL

Government of Israel
Ministry of Religions
Dept. of Christian Communities
Hakirya

May 13, 1949

Mr. E. Ben-Horin
American Zionist Emergency Council
New York

Dear Mr. Ben-Horin:

First of all, allow me to thank you for your kindness in sending me your book on the Middle East. I read it again and again with great interest and found in it helpful instruction. You are to be congratulated particularly on your ability to explain things with simplicity and clarity, and in presenting to the non-expert reader complicated problems which involve much study and understanding. Indeed, as I have learned from similar experience, the best criterion for the knowledge of a complicated subject depends on the ability to explain its basic principles with simplicity. My own knowledge of the Middle East is minimal and your book opened the gates to wider horizons for me.

I am still waiting to receive a number of copies of my book on the "mishne" so that I can reciprocate.

Thanks for sending me McMahon's memorandum to Trygve Lie. You may recall the incident which took place during McMahon's stay here, and his assertion that he never stated to the Foreign Secretary in Paris that the Vatican changed its position on the question of Jerusalem. It is true, as you wrote after your visit to the Vatican, that certain circles there, headed by Cardinal Tisserant, are possibly inclined to agree to a Jewish Jerusalem. We, too, through our channels, had indications of such a possibility. However, it seems that the opposition won the day. According to certain information, Msgr. Tardini and his helpers are still sticking to the idea of a Christian state in Jerusalem and its environs. In any case, the Pope dreams of a Catholic mandatory - Italy for instance; (the idea of France taking on this job seems to be not to the liking of His Holiness and the reasons for it are probably known to you). With the forthcoming developments in the discussions on Jerusalem, it is very probable that we shall take the initiative of a rapprochement with the Catholic Church. Of course, all this is still in the realm of conjecture. If anything develops, we shall let you know.

In the meantime, the relations here are orderly, as much as possible, especially if we take into consideration the unavoidable

strain in connection with the problems of Jerusalem and of the Arab refugees. Since you left the country, there is a new factor here, and that is Msgr. George Hakim. The latter has very wide political connections in the entire Middle East and also in the Christian capitals in Europe. He is a man of tactics and of political intrigue and the maintenance of relations with him is not an easy matter.

We are waiting to hear from the President about his famous conference with Cardinal Spellman and also to hear more details from you with regard to developments in this respect in the last few weeks.

Because of my pre-occupations, please do not reciprocate with regard to the tempo of your answer.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Jacob Herzog
Head of the Department

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

AIR MAIL

May 9, 1949

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

In line with what I discussed with you over the telephone last Friday, you will be glad to know, I am sure, that we found a good "shaliakh" to the White House. A few days ago, I read a column by Eleanor Roosevelt on the question of the Arab refugees, at which time I sent her a reprint of my Monitor article with a suitable letter. I have now received the following letter from Mrs. Roosevelt:

"I think your plan is excellent
and I have sent it to the President.

"Many thanks.

Very sincerely yours,"

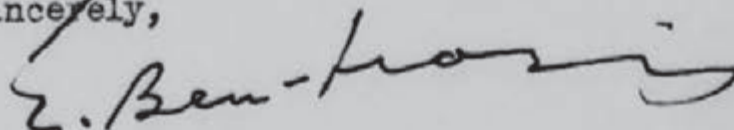
This may help.

Herbert Feis sent me a copy of a letter he wrote to Ben Cohen introducing me and the subject to him. It is a good letter and I am now writing to Mr. Cohen trying to get an interview with him.

I enclose a reprint of my article in Harper's, hoping that you and Mrs. Silver may find it of interest.

Best regards.

Sincerely,



Eliahu Ben-Horin

EBH:MB
Enc

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Constituent Organizations

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Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

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

May 16, 1949

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

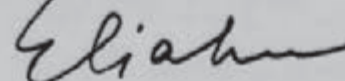
There were the following developments with regard to the Hoover Plan:

1. I received a warm note from Ben Cohen, and I am going to have breakfast with him tomorrow morning.
2. After reading a report published in a Philadelphia newspaper by Mr. Clarence E. Pickett of the American Friends Service Committee, who just returned from his mission to the Middle East in connection with the Arab refugees, I sent him a copy of my article in the Christian Science Monitor. In reply, I received a letter from him as per enclosed copy. I do not have to tell you that the American Friends Service Committee is a very important factor in this picture, and his letter makes rather pertinent observations.
3. Senator Brewster inserted my Monitor article in the Congressional Record.
4. On Wednesday morning I am going to Washington where I intend to discuss the Hoover Plan with a few people including Undersecretary of the Interior Oscar Chapman, Felix Frankfurter, Senator Douglas and Congressman Christian Herter.

I shall report to you about the outcome of these conferences.

My very best to you.

Sincerely yours,



Eliahu Ben-Horin

EBH:SR
Enc

(COPY)

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

May 11, 1949

Mr. Eliahu Ben-Horin
80-09 35th Avenue
Jackson Heights, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Ben-Horin:

Our mutual friend, Judge Levinthal, sent me a copy of your article which appeared in the Christian Science Monitor some time ago and I read it with very great interest.

I have understood from Mr. Kirk of the FAO that there is a considerable possibility of development in Iraq through irrigation. I hope this will be done.

There are, however, some considerations in addition to this suggestion which seem to me important. The first concerns Israel herself. No one can visit her neighboring Arab states without realizing the very deep bitterness that exists toward Israel. While I realize that she cannot take back all who have fled, I think it would be almost fatal for her, in terms of relations with her neighbors, not to go as far as she possibly can in receiving back dispossessed Arabs.

A second problem, of course, arises from the fact that it would take at least six years to bring desert land to the point of production. No one has yet proposed an adequate answer to the problem of subsistence during these six years. There are vague suggestions of a WPA program, but nothing very specific is yet developed.

The third problem, and a very important one, would be an additional program for those who return to Israel as well as those who go elsewhere, for the Arab will have to pursue modern farming methods wherever he may be and this will involve real training. In fact, I am sure that for many of the older Arabs there is nothing but a very gloomy outlook for they will find it very difficult to adapt themselves wherever they go.

I hope that your program will be followed up. It was very good of you to send me the article.

Very sincerely yours,

(signed)

Clarence E. Pickett
Executive Secretary

CEP:rr

May 17, 1949

Mr. Clarence E. Pickett
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12 Street
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Dear Mr. Pickett:

I was very glad to receive your letter of May 11. I certainly think that the observations you make in that letter are quite pertinent. I am particularly gratified, therefore, to note that the difficulties of the interim period, which you clearly envisage, did not prevent you from seeing the merits of a final settlement along the general lines of the Hoover Plan.

To answer the questions you raise in your letter:

- 1 - To the best of my knowledge and understanding, based both on my own observations in Israel and on talks with top people in the Israeli Government, the latter does not intend to bar the return of any and all Arab refugees. One may therefore say that, with the final peace settlement, a certain percentage of the refugees would be able to return.
- 2 - The problem of subsistence during the years which must elapse before the settlers in a new land reach productivity must be covered by the general program of resettlement. It forms an integral part of it. Inasmuch as the Exchange of Populations program will have to be internationally financed and internationally administered, the means must be provided for the gradual settlement of the refugees and their maintenance until they become self-supporting.
- 3 - The above would equally apply to the help required by the refugees returning to Israel. They, too, must be included in the comprehensive resettlement program.

You will be interested to know that I have received favorable reactions from many quarters, including Herbert Hoover, Sumner Welles, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Senators, Congressmen and writers. I was especially delighted with Mrs. Roosevelt's letter in which she wrote that she found this plan excellent and that she was forwarding it to the President.

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It seems to me that what has to be done in order to bring about an eventual implementation of the Hoover Plan is to form a representative public committee in support of the Plan. What is your opinion? Could such a committee count on your personal and your organization's cooperation?

With kindest regards, I am

Very sincerely yours,

EBH:MB

Eliahu Ben-Horin



And this is so, not merely because America is the greatest nation in the world, but because it is the freest nation in the world, and the happiest nation on account of its freedom.

We cannot understand how much freedom means in this country until we come back from countries where freedom means nothing.

Here we have freedom of thought, freedom of the press, freedom of speech.

Here we can think and say and do what we please as long as we do not interfere with the rights and liberties of our fellow citizens.

But the great honor and advantage of being an American citizen carries with it an obligation just as great, and that obligation is to preserve inviolate the rights and liberties and privileges which our forefathers won for us in blood and toll and travail, that we may hand this precious heritage of freedom and independence, of liberty and dignity, down to our children and our children's children, undiminished and unimpaired.

Mr. Speaker, it is my opinion that this expression is most appropriate at this time, and is a message well worth reprinting as we celebrate "I am an American Day."

Iraq Urged as Refuge for Arab Refugees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OWEN BREWSTER

OF MAINE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 12 (legislative day of
Monday, April 11), 1949

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the Christian Science Monitor of Tuesday, April 12, 1949, entitled "Iraq Urged as Refuge for Arab Refugees," written by Eliahu Ben-Horin, who lived for many years in Palestine and was head of the Palestine News Service. I may say it is a subject with which I am thoroughly familiar and with which I am in entire sympathy, the solution, I believe, not only of the problem of Israel but of the problem of the Middle East, which can be financed easily by a small portion of the very generous oil royalties which American and British firms are now paying in the Middle East.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IRAQ URGED AS REFUGE FOR ARAB REFUGEES (By Eliahu Ben-Horin)

What has the future in store for the Arab refugees from Israel? Can Israel reabsorb them? Or can they be permanently resettled in a new land?

Perhaps 600,000 Arabs have fled from Palestine to non-Israeli territory. They are not wanted in the lands to which they have fled. Nor are they able to find a place in the economy of their present home.

Whether the Arabs fled from fear of Jewish fighters or whether they were badly advised by Arab leaders who wished to clear the field, the fact remains that they have gone. Except for the 100,000 who stayed behind, the Arabs are no longer in Israel. By the time peace is fully restored, they will have been gone at least a year.

HOUSES TAKEN OVER

During my recent trip through Israel, I was interested particularly in seeing what had happened to prewar Arab homes and positions. Thus examined, the practical prospects for a mass Arab return emerge as poor.

Let us start with the question of Arab homes, whether in the mixed and strictly Arab cities or in the Arab villages. In Jerusalem, Jaffa, Haifa, Safed, Tiberias, Acre, Ramleh, Arabs owned many modern houses. As a result of the great onrush of Jewish immigrants during the past 9 months, all the houses fit for habitation have been taken over.

Today Katamon, the Arab quarter of new Jerusalem; Ein Karem, a township outside of Jerusalem; the new city of Acre; the modern sections of Jaffa and Haifa are inhabited by Jews to full capacity.

The slum sections in most of these cities either have been destroyed by warfare or dynamited in order to clear the way for city planning. About 30 blocks of houses in Jaffa, adjoining Tel Aviv, now present a mass of ruins and masonry, while a similar picture is to be seen in the Arab parts of Haifa. In other words, if the Arab refugees should return to Israel, not one could reoccupy his former home. The same is largely true of the bigger and more prosperous Arab villages.

Not only Arab homes but also Arab economic positions either have become nonexistent or nonavailable to the Arabs. Arabs used to form the majority in the lower officialdom of the Palestine Government. Thousands of them were in the employ of the railways, the police, or the road repair service. Without suggesting in the least that the Israeli Government will be "Arabless"—in fact, there are already some Arabs in its employ—one must conclude that only a limited number of Arabs can look forward to government posts.

The large decrease in the size of the Arab rural community must cause a decrease in the Arab urban population. The Arab intelligentsia is bound to find a much narrower scope of activity. Arab lawyers, doctors, architects, teachers, or musicians never had a Jewish clientele, though Jewish professional men had many Arab clients. As things now have developed, the prospects of Arab professional workers have shrunk by 90 percent. The same applies to the Arab cafe and restaurant, cinema, newspaper, grocery store, and the entire spectrum of city life.

The Arabs of Palestine are entitled, of course, to financial compensation for property they have left behind them. This means that Arab refugees from Palestine will have money coming to them from Israel. Whether it will be much or little, it will not be homes, jobs, and farms.

It appears from the foregoing that it would be better for them, for the Jews, and for Middle East tranquillity if they used these sums elsewhere.

REFUGEE PLAN CHARTED

And such a possibility exists. A plan has been devised for a constructive solution of the Arab refugee problem. I mean the Hoover plan, set forth by Herbert Hoover long before the Palestine war, and before the Arabs of Palestine became refugees. The fact that the remedy Mr. Hoover prescribed predated the problem in no way detracts from the practicability and urgency of his plan. As Mr. Hoover explained in 1945:

"In ancient times the irrigation of the Tigris and Euphrates Valleys supported probably 10,000,000 people in the kingdoms of Babylon and Nineveh. The deterioration and destruction of their irrigation works by the Mongol invasion centuries ago, and their neglect for ages, are responsible for the shrinkage of the population to about 3,500,000 people in modern Iraq. * * *

"My own suggestion is that Iraq might be financed to complete this great land development on the consideration that it be made the scene of resettlement of the Arabs from Palestine * * *."

MUTUAL BENEFIT

"There is room for many more Arabs in such a development in Iraq than the total of Arabs in Palestine. The soil is more fertile. They would be among their own race, which is Arab-speaking and Mohammedan. The Arab population of Palestine would be the gainer from better lands in exchange for their present holdings. Iraq would be the gainer, for it badly needs agricultural population. * * * It would be a solution by engineering instead of by conflict."

Many millions of dollars have been spent and many more will be spent for the upkeep of the Palestine refugees. The United States has granted \$16,000,000 as its share of the \$29,000,000 allocated by the United Nations. All these millions will not solve the problem of the Arab refugees or produce any permanent adjustment. To avoid misunderstanding, let it be stated that I heartily endorse the most generous relief for Arab refugees, but I see no reason to ignore the fact that charity unaccompanied by constructive planning is no remedy for a social ill.

President Truman has proposed large-scale aid to undeveloped and underprivileged areas of the world. One hears of plans for a \$1,000,000,000 appropriation for the Middle East alone. The permanent resettlement of 500,000 men, women, and children, who lost their homes, fields, and shops, should be an integral part of these plans.

What Mr. Hoover visualized as a one-sided transfer can be developed into a plan for an exchange of populations. About 250,000 Jews live in Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, and Yemen. An exchange of population is indicated, and it is seen as a benefit for all concerned.

The formula of Mr. Hoover seeks a solution by engineering instead of by conflict. Unless it is accepted a bad socio-political irritant is preserved, which would prove to be a serious obstacle on the road to peace and stability in the Middle East.

The Case for National Health Insurance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES E. MURRAY

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 12 (legislative day of
Monday, April 11), 1949

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "The Case for National Health Insurance," written by the distinguished Senator from Minnesota [Mr. HUMPHREY] and published in the New York Times magazine of May 8, 1949. This article supports the President's national health program.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CASE FOR NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE (By Hon. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, of Minnesota)

As a member of the new Senate subcommittee on health, I have just finished my homework—boning up on 10 volumes of testimony gathered by two earlier subcommit-

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

AIR MAIL

May 17, 1949

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

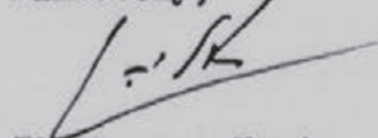
With reference to my last letter, I enclose for your information a copy of my letter to Clarence Pickett, of the American Friends Service Committee.

I also wrote to Judge Levinthal in Philadelphia, who is friendly with Mr. Pickett, asking for his cooperation in winning the support of the Friends' organization for the Hoover Plan.

Early this morning, I had breakfast with Ben Cohen. He was friendly and sympathetic but he did not advance any helpful suggestions. I understand that this is his usual way. I am hopeful that my conferences in Washington tomorrow will be more productive.

Best regards.

Sincerely,



Eliahu Ben-Horin

EBH:MB
encl.

P. S. I am also enclosing an extract from the Congressional Record containing Senator Brewster's insertion of my article in the Christian Science Monitor and his remarks on the subject.

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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

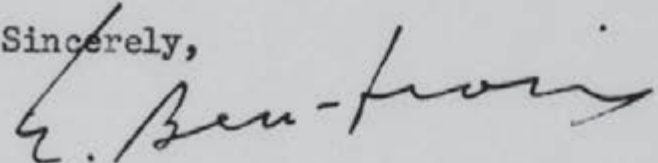
Dear Dr. Silver:

I hope that before the day is over, I may be able to reach you at the Sulgrave and give you an oral report of my conferences in Washington yesterday.

In the meantime, I enclose, for your information, a copy of a letter which I received from Miss Herlitz, of the Israeli Foreign Office.

I am also attaching an extract from a letter which Frank Buxton wrote to Sidney Herold. I am sure you will enjoy reading these wonderful lines.

Sincerely,



Eliahu Ben-Horin

EBH:MB
encl.

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מדינת ישראל
משרד החוץ

הקריה, יב' אייר תש"ט
(11.5.49)

לכבוד
מר אליהו בן-חורין
ניו-יורק.

מר בן-חורין הנכבד מאד:

נחבקשתי על ידי שר החוץ לאשר בחודה את קבלת מכחבך
מיום 26 באפריל. העניין בו נגעה קרוב מאד ללב כלנו וכל
עזרה בשטח זה ברכה רבה בה.

אנא המשיך להודיענו על התפתחות קשריך עם מר הובר,
אגב, האם מר אילח יודע על קשריך אלה?

בברכה,

(אסתר הרליץ)

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Mizrachi Organization of America
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Zionist Organization of America

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

AIR MAIL

May 24, 1949

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I do not know whether you have come across a series of articles on the new immigration to Israel, published in the Tel Aviv Haaretz, and written by a fellow named Aryeh Gelblum.

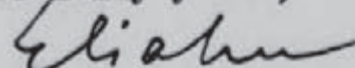
Gelblum disguised himself as a new immigrant and spent one month in the absorption camps, studying conditions and the human material now entering the country. Thus far, he has written eight articles describing what he saw. It is, in many respects, a horrid picture that he draws, but I have not the slightest doubt that it is a truthful picture. In some cases, it reminds one of the book "The Naked and the Dead" by Mailer which you may have read.

It is my feeling, shared by Sulamith Schwartz, who also read these articles, that Zionists in the United States, and certainly people in leading positions all over the country, should have a sober conception of all the problems involved in the absorption of new and unlimited immigration into Israel. Being an "apikores", I doubt whether the sugar-coated propaganda is productive of the greatest results. It seems to me that Zionists in America are mature enough to know the truth as it is, and that difficulties are apt to spur them on to greater effort.

It is my suggestion that these articles which, by the way, are very ably written, be translated into English and circularized among a selected list of chairmen and officers of Zionist groups all over the country. I feel that by so doing, we would render a service to the Zionist cause and to Zionist education in this country. However, it is for you to decide whether this should be done or not. Please let me know.

With kindest regards, I am

Cordially yours,



Eliahu Ben-Horin

EBH:M B

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

MEMORANDUM

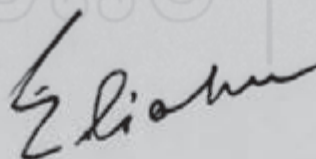
To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date June 1, 1949

From Eliahu Ben-Horin

Enclosed for your information is a copy of
my letter to Mr. Jacob Herzog, which I discussed with
you over the telephone this morning.

Best regards.



Eliahu

EBH:MB
encl.

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

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date May 27, 1949

From Eliahu Ben-Horin

WRHS

I enclose a copy of a confidential letter I received this morning from Mr. Jacob Herzog, head of the Christian Communities Department in the Ministry of Religions. Some of the information contained in this letter may be of interest to you.

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

Best regards.

EBH:ME
encl.

E. B-H

EBH letterhead

CONFIDENTIAL

June 1, 1949

Mr. Jacob Herzog
Ministry of Religion
Hakirya
Tel Aviv, Israel

Dear Mr. Herzog:

Thanks for your letter of May 13 and the kind words you had to say about my book on the Middle East. I am glad that you found it informative and instructive.

I am sure that Miss Herlitz keeps you informed of all my communications insofar as they relate to the Catholic aspect. I shall therefore not repeat myself. It seems to me that within the last few weeks, our relations with the Catholic Church have deteriorated considerably. The "famous encounter", as you put it, between President Weizmann and Cardinal Spellman certainly did not contribute to a better understanding between us and the Catholic hierarchy in America. Excuse my frankness, but in my judgment, this interview was famous for only one thing: a gross indiscretion committed by President Weizmann in the interview which he gave to the press aboard ship before sailing from New York. I do not know who advised Dr. Weizmann to give such an interview or whether he did it on his own but I cannot recall a similar short statement by any statesman which contained so many faux pas. At a time when the Catholic Church, notably Cardinal Spellman and Msgr. McMahon, was the main engineer of the obstacles placed in the way of Israel's admission to the United Nations, President Weizmann found it necessary to boost Cardinal Spellman by stating, in this interview, that he had had two very important conferences in the United States — one with President Truman and the other one with Cardinal Spellman. This was both building up the Cardinal and putting him on the same level with President Truman, and running down the President of the United States. Furthermore, Dr. Weizmann declared to the whole world that in order that he, the President of the State of Israel, meet Cardinal Spellman, the arrangements had to be made by no less a person than the President of the United States. Then, Dr. Weizmann went on to speak of an understanding almost reached at his conference with the Cardinal, only to be refuted an hour later by the Cardinal's secretary. I do not know how the government of Israel and the people concerned

June 1, 1949

with Catholic matters in Israel reacted to this interview, but I know that I felt very bad indeed when I read the details of this interview in the papers. It certainly didn't heighten the respect of the Catholic hierarchy in the United States and elsewhere for Israel and its statesmanship.

It seems that in the last few weeks, the Catholics have embarked on a very determined campaign on the question of Jerusalem: this despite their defeat in the U.N., where the South American Catholic countries disobeyed them by voting for Israel's admission to the U. N. It further seems to me that the New York Catholic viewpoint on the question of Jerusalem must have gained ascendancy over the more moderate approach of Cardinal Tisserant and others in Rome. I frankly don't know how this is to be explained. I do expect, however, to have more exact information and possibly gain insight into the true state of affairs in Rome in this respect within the next few weeks, upon the return of a certain gentleman from Rome.

At the moment, I am devoting my efforts mainly to the furtherance of the Hoover Plan for the solution of the question of the Arab refugees. This does not lie within your province or the province of your Ministry, but if you are interested in the matter, I feel sure that Miss Harlitz would be glad to share with you the information she receives from me.

I enclose a clipping from a Catholic newspaper containing the Catholic accusation with regard to the convent in Ein Karem. I understand that some denial was published by the Israeli authorities, but this is insufficient. This story is being circulated very widely all over the United States and does a great deal of damage. May I advise that you cable a very strong and well-substantiated refutation of this story to the United States.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

EBH:MB
encl.

Eliahu Ben-Horin

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

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Zionist Organization of America
Zionists-Revisionists of America

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

AIR MAIL

June 2, 1949

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I visited with Herbert Hoover this morning. I am glad to report that he was very well satisfied with the progress of our work on behalf of the Hoover Plan. He is in favor of continuing, at least for one month more, the pressure on the White House by people close to the President, and waiting until then with the formation of a public committee. If we see that the personal influences fail, then we shall have to form a committee.

He showed me a letter which he wrote to the President some time ago, very much along the lines of the memorandum for the President which I sent today to Mr. Niles, a copy of which I gave to Mr. Hoover and a copy of which is herewith enclosed.

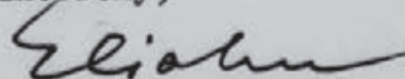
Mr. Hoover also told me that Mr. Tuck, the American who heads the I.R.O., sent a long cable to the President a short while ago discussing the problem of the Arab refugees and pointing out that there is no solution for it outside of the Hoover Plan.

In Hoover's judgment, Under-Secretary Webb of the State Department is a key person in this respect, and he was very glad to hear that Niles promised to arrange for me to see Webb. He said that he and Webb are very friendly but it would be better for me to see him through Niles, and after that, Hoover would take it up with him. All in all, I haven't seen him as pleased with anything in a long time. When I left, he said that I was doing extremely good work and that he would be happy to help whenever he is needed.

I also attach a copy of the letter I sent to Mr. Niles, together with the memorandum. By the way, although the memorandum bears my name, it was drafted by Akzin.

Best regards.

Sincerely,



Eliahu Ben-Horin

EBH:MB

THE PROBLEM OF THE PALESTINE ARAB REFUGEES

(Memorandum submitted by Eliahu Ben-Horin,
Author of THE MIDDLE EAST: CROSSROADS OF HISTORY)

1. The question of the future of the Arab refugees from Israel continues to be a source of uneasiness in international relations. Until settled, it may be expected to intensify the friction between Israel and the Arab States, to provoke tension between the Great Powers and the countries of the Middle East, and to confront the world with the existence of a group of frustrated and unhappy human beings who might easily become prey to demoralizing influences. For these reasons, a rapid and satisfactory settlement of that problem appears eminently desirable.

2. Further urgency is lent to the question by the fact that the maintenance of a large mass of Arab refugees in their present position of uncertainty, is very costly, while it does not bring a solution any nearer. A sum of \$16,000,000 has already been appropriated for the relief of these refugees by the U.S. Government. A similar sum has been or is being appropriated by several foreign governments. This money is due to be expended by next August, at which time the question of further relief expenditures will undoubtedly arise. Considerable amounts have also been provided for Arab refugee relief by private relief agencies and voluntary contributors. These funds, too, are well-nigh exhausted and more will be required. The demands on the U.S. Government and on private funds, largely from the United States, will continue and may have to be met again and again.

3. Growing recognition is given in all quarters to the need to proceed speedily with the resettlement of the large mass of the Arab refugees. It is generally understood that only a small part of these refugees will be able to return to Israel, and that even such a limited return will hardly be possible except as part of a general resettlement scheme for these refugees and in connection with an over-all improvement in Arab-Israeli relations. There is growing agreement that most of the Arab refugees in question should be enabled to settle

on the land or to find a place in urban occupations in the various Arab countries whose recent war against Israel has had so much to do with the emergence of this particular refugee problem. It is understood that officials of the American and the British Governments, as well as United Nations circles, tend towards this viewpoint in growing measure, and that informal discussions are afoot with various Arab governments to explore the willingness of the latter to cooperate in such a resettlement scheme.

4. A serious danger that has to be faced in this connection is the danger of a diffusion of effort. There seems to be some feeling that the mass of the Arab refugees might be distributed among the different territories of the Middle East, notably Transjordan, the Arab part of Palestine, Iraq, Syria and Lebanon. (Egypt has officially declared that it is in no position to absorb any of the Palestine Arab refugees.) It is understood more particularly that the Government of Transjordan is willing to accept for resettlement within the territories under its control most of those refugees, presumably in consideration of the large monetary expenditures which would be made by outside sources, especially by the Government of the United States, to facilitate such a settlement. It is open to serious question whether such a large-scale operation could be successfully accomplished in the relatively arid territories under Transjordan control. It is quite conceivable that, once the money has been expended, it would appear that the future of the refugees has not been assured after all. Similarly, opportunities for the resettlement of the refugees in Lebanon and Syria are open to serious doubt.

The governments of those countries, disinclined as they are at present to accept any considerable number of the refugees for permanent residence, may be coaxed into doing so by the promise of American largesse. But once foreign funds have flowed directly or indirectly into the treasuries of those countries, it may

well be that the Arab refugees would once more find themselves facing an unsettled future and therefore remain a burden on the world. Because of this, every effort should be made to decide beforehand on the most feasible large-scale scheme for Arab refugee resettlement and, once the answer is found, to concentrate on its execution. Thus there would be avoided a great deal of waste motion, waste of funds, human misery and international friction.

5. From an over-all viewpoint, it seems that Iraq is the country which can most easily provide for large-scale resettlement of all of the Arab refugees from Palestine with greatest benefit to the country itself. For several decades attention has been focused on Iraq's need for additional population and on the tremendous opportunities existing in that country for agricultural development. The British Government, at the time when Britain still held the Mandate over Iraq, was interested in large-scale agricultural development there. Iraqi statesmen themselves raised the question from time to time. International authorities in the field of economics, nutrition, and soil development have repeatedly drawn attention to this situation in Iraq. In the United States, Mr. Herbert Hoover, among others, suggested in 1945, long before there were any Arab refugees from Palestine, that everybody's interest might be served by encouraging the large-scale resettlement of Palestinian Arabs in Iraq. The former President put it as follows:

"...In ancient times the irrigation of the Tigris and Euphrates Valleys supported probably 10,000,000 people in the kingdoms of Babylon and Nineveh. The deterioration and destruction of their irrigation works by the Mongol invasion centuries ago, and their neglect for ages, are responsible for the shrinkage of the population to about 3,500,000 people in modern Iraq....

"My own suggestion is that Iraq might be financed to complete this great land development on the consideration that it be made the scene of resettlement of the Arabs from Palestine....

"There is room for many more Arabs in such a development in Iraq than the total of Arabs in Palestine. The soil is more fertile. They would be among their own race, which is Arab-speaking and Mohammedan. The Arab

population of Palestine would be the gainer from better lands in exchange for their present holdings. Iraq would be the gainer, for it badly needs agricultural population....It would be a solution by engineering instead of by conflict...."

The fact that several hundred thousand Arabs who formerly lived in Palestine now find themselves uprooted only lends further strength to Mr. Hoover's suggestion. We must remember, too, that even those Arabs who may be able to return to Israel will have to undergo a process of rehabilitation and adapt themselves to totally new conditions. As Dr. Clarence E. Pickett, Executive Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee, who recently returned from supervision of the Friends' Arab refugee relief program in Southern Palestine, puts it in a letter to me: "...The third problem, and a very important one, would be an additional program for those who return to Israel as well as those who go elsewhere, for the Arab will have to pursue modern farming methods wherever he may be and this will involve real training."

6. A further consideration militating in favor of the choice of Iraq as the place where most of the Arab refugees should be encouraged to resettle, is connected with the international situation. As the most northeastern of the Arab lands, lying close to the borders of the Soviet Union, Iraq, from the long-range viewpoint, occupies a particularly important strategic position. But Iraq is very weak internally and will remain so until and unless the Arabic element of its population is considerably strengthened. At present, the many national minorities and particularly the very sizeable Kurdish minority form too large a section of Iraq's population. The claims of the Kurds to an independent Kurdistan (which would be carved out of the territories of Iraq, Iran and Turkey) are on record. All this makes Iraq particularly vulnerable to attempts from whatever quarter to foment trouble and threaten the political stability of the area. The addition of a considerable number of new residents, Arab in race, Moslem in religion and agricultural by occupation, would greatly

strengthen Iraq internally and thus also heighten its chances of resisting the forces of disorder.

7. Assuming that the above considerations represent a correct analysis of the situation, nothing can be gained by further delay. It would seem best to have action undertaken at once to prepare the ground for large-scale development projects in Iraq. It is understood, of course, that the consent of the Government of Iraq to admit the refugees in question must be obtained. There is no reason to doubt Iraq's concurrence with the scheme if necessary measures are taken on the diplomatic, financial and technical levels. As for the execution of the project, consideration might be given to entrusting it to a suitable agency of the United Nations, working in cooperation with the Government of Iraq and with such other governments or official institutions as would assume certain responsibilities in this connection. In order to lift the question at once to the necessary level of a major humanitarian and statesmanlike project which would command the respect of world opinion at large and of public opinion in the United States more particularly, it might be advisable to request the only living former President of the United States, the Honorable Herbert Hoover, to undertake a study of this project, together with a suitable committee.

* * *

June 1949

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
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

AIR MAIL

June 6, 1949

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Since I spoke to you last night on the telephone, I tried to reach Hoover this morning but learned that he is out of town. If I don't succeed in contacting him tomorrow, it will have to be left until I return from Toronto at the end of the week.

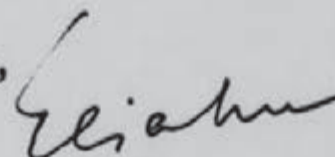
I spoke to Eban over the telephone, and I am meeting him tomorrow morning for a thorough discussion, in which Dr. Akzin will also take part. At the suggestion of Abe Tuvim, I am going to ask Eban how far they want us to go in alerting Jewish and Zionist opinion in the United States with regard to the unfavorable change of policy on the part of the State Department.

I phoned Judge Levinthal in Philadelphia, and he promised to try and arrange interviews for me with Clarence Pickett and Earl Harrison. I hope these interviews take place by the end of this week, after my return.

I enclose for your information a copy of my letter to Miss Herlitz.

My very best to you.

Sincerely,



EBH:MB
encl.

P. S. My forthcoming lecture in Toronto reminds me that Dr. Falkman never answered my letter to him of April 27, a copy of which I herewith enclose. This is rather surprising.

AIR MAIL
CONFIDENTIAL

June 6, 1949

Miss Esther Herlitz, Chief
American Desk
Foreign Office
Hakirya
Tel Aviv, Israel

Dear Miss Herlitz:

Since I wrote to you on May 19, a few further developments have taken place with regard to the Hoover Plan. Here are the most important ones:

1 - I had a long and very satisfactory interview with Mr. David Niles. He promised his full cooperation and offered to arrange interviews for me with the top people in the Department of State, as well as with Mr. Mark Ethridge, upon the latter's return to the United States. He further agreed that I prepare a special memorandum on the question of the Arab refugees for the President. He assured me that the moment I send him this memorandum, the President will see it, as he is very much concerned with this problem. The memorandum for the President, as per enclosed copy, was sent to Mr. Niles three days ago.

2 - Last week, I visited with Herbert Hoover again. I am glad to report that he was very well satisfied with the progress of our work on behalf of the Hoover Plan. He is in favor of continuing, at least for one month more, the pressure on the White House by people close to the President, and waiting until then with the formation of a public committee. If we see that the personal influences fail, then we shall have to form a committee.

He showed me a letter which he wrote to the President some time ago, very much along the lines of the memorandum for the President which I sent ~~to~~ to Mr. Niles, a copy of which I gave to Mr. Hoover and a copy of which is herewith enclosed, as mentioned above.

Mr. Hoover also told me that Mr. Tuck, the American who heads the I.R.O., sent a long cable to the President a short while ago discussing the problem of the Arab refugees and pointing out that there is no solution for it outside of the Hoover Plan.

In Hoover's judgment, Under-Secretary Webb, of the State Department, is a key person in this respect, and he was very glad to hear that Niles promised to arrange for me to see Webb. He said that he and Webb are very friendly, but it would be better for me to see him through Niles, and after that, Hoover would take it up with him. All in all, I haven't seen him as pleased with anything in a long time. When I left, he said that I was doing extremely

good work and that he would be happy to help whenever he is needed.

In the meantime, however, I received a letter from Clarence E. Pickett, the Executive Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee, which introduces a new note of urgency into the matter of the public committee. Mr. Pickett writes to me as follows:

"Thank you for your letter of May 17. I have delayed answering until I could learn more about the committee which Kermit Roosevelt and Garland Hopkins are hoping to form. Enclosed is a copy of a letter just received from Kermit Roosevelt. I think before any action is taken on the formation of still another committee, we ought to see what the constituency of this committee is and what its program is to be."

Upon receipt of Pickett's letter, I immediately communicated this information about Kermit Roosevelt's plans to Dr. Silver and discussed it with him. For your information, this is what Roosevelt wrote to Pickett:

"Dr. Hopkins' secretary has referred your letter to me in Dr. Hopkins' absence. I am glad to be able to tell you that we are just at long last able to get under way on the formation of a committee of public citizens in connection with the refugee problem in the Middle East. I am sure that you will be hearing further from Dr. Bayard Dodge or Dr. William Ernest Hocking on this matter and that you will be kept fully informed."

In view of this new information, Dr. Silver felt that it might be advisable for us not to postpone the formation of our committee, so that if and when Kermit Roosevelt and the pro-Arab clique organize their committee, they would be the seconds in the field. Tomorrow morning, I am meeting Aubrey Eban and we shall confer on this. I also intend to phone Mr. Hoover and see what his reaction will be.

I shall, of course, keep you posted.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

EBH:MB
encl.

Eliahu Ben-Horin

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

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date June 13, 1949

From Eliahu Ben-Horin

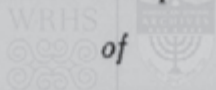
I received two interesting and extremely helpful letters, one from Summer Welles and the other one from Frank Buxton. Buxton's letter, especially, is "made to order". I enclose, for your information, a copy of my letter to Mr. Hoover which contains the pertinent excerpts from the two above-mentioned letters.

Best regards.

EBH:MB
ENCL.

27 תל אביב 2/3 ספר יהודים העולם.
הוא סיום קצת נאה זמין, אבל אני
162 שנים. קצת נאה לא קצת
נאה קצת נאה. יחד כן!
אשר יתן

With the Compliments



of

ELIAHU BEN-HORIN

EBH letterhead

June 13, 1949

The Honorable Herbert Hoover
Hotel Waldorf-Astoria
Park Avenue & 50 St.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I feel sure that you will want to read two letters which I just received. One of them is from Sumner Welles, and the other from Frank W. Buxton, the life-long editor of the Boston Herald, who served as one of the American members of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine. Both letters are reactions to the memorandum to the President, copies of which I sent to these gentlemen.

Here are the pertinent excerpts from the two letters:

Sumner Welles: "...It is hardly necessary for me to tell you that I have read the memorandum with extreme interest and that I wholeheartedly agree with the point of view that it expresses as well as with its major recommendations. It is a moment for statesmanship and for decisive action. Unless the United States supports the point of view that you express, there are innumerable reasons why the efforts of Israel to settle its outstanding international controversies and thereafter to dedicate itself to the task of reconstruction, of resettlement, and to political and material progress will be desperately handicapped."

Frank W. Buxton: "...I have read carefully your confidential memorandum and find nothing in it to which I cannot assent -- and I want to thank you for the memorandum and for your note."

"What a magnificent climax it would be to the career of Mr. Hoover if he could actually initiate the grand transfer which you have outlined! That accomplishment would over-shadow his great feat in Belgium. He would have credit for solving a problem which has thwarted the best minds of the world. He would strike a powerful blow for peace. He would erect a barrier against Russia and perhaps regenerate the entire Middle East. And the project would be all the more appropriate for Mr. Hoover in that the Quakers, with whom his associations are so close, have been doing their best to relieve the plight of the homeless Arabs."

With kindest regards, I am

Very sincerely yours,

EBH:MB

Eliahu Ben-Horin

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Akzin

Date June 15, 1949

From Elisha Ben-Horin

I followed up your suggestion and phoned Frank Buxton this morning, asking him whether he, himself, could act on the idea outlined in his letter to me with regard to the Herald Tribune, or the Washington Post, or both. I pointed out to him that if he has someone on either of these two papers, and if he would approach the person, suggesting an editorial along the lines of his argumentation in the letter to me, it would be much more effective than if we do it. Frank willingly agreed with this, adding that Ellistone, the editor-in-chief of the Washington Post, is a very close friend of his, and that he would be glad to do it.

He went on to ask me whether I could prepare a draft of an editorial and send it on to him. He, in turn, would send this draft to Ellistone, suggesting that he either use this editorial or something along the same lines. I promised that such a draft will be mailed to him today, but I told him that I was leaving immediately for Philadelphia and that the editorial will be prepared by you and sent by you to him. Accordingly, please act on it immediately.

I then conspired with Buxton on something else. As I told you, and also Abe Tuvim yesterday, I thought of making Buxton the "shaliakh" to Frankfurter, as my interview with him doesn't seem to materialize. As Frankfurter is coming to Boston tomorrow, I asked Buxton whether he could speak to Frankfurter about the general situation and enlist his cooperation, especially vis a vis Acheson. I told him about the note which McDonald handed over to the Foreign Ministry in Tel Aviv on behalf of the U. S. Government, and how bad it was. Buxton asked for a copy of that note, which I promised to let him have, enabling him to know the score. He then promised me to take up this matter with Frankfurter, without indicating that he is doing so at my request. Please send him a copy of McDonald's note Special Delivery, so that he gets it before his meeting with Frankfurter.

EBH:MB

AIR MAIL

June 21, 1949

Miss Esther Herlitz, Chief
American Desk
Israeli Foreign Office
Hakirya
Tel Aviv, Israel

Dear Miss Herlitz:

Mr. Uriel Heyd sent me a copy of the cable which he just received from you regarding the alleged arrest by the Israeli Government of Msgr. Hakim and Father Naveau, as well as the Ein Karem incident. It would be very helpful if you could Air Mail to us a photostatic copy of Father Terence Kuhn's letter to the Ministry of Religious Affairs denying the Ein Karem incident.

I want to report to you in some detail about the developments of the last few days with regard to the Hoover Plan:

1 -- The memorandum to the President, a copy of which I sent you at the time, has provoked a considerable number of very favorable reactions from many quarters. This includes Senators and Congressmen, important people in public life, as well as writers and journalists. In addition, Mr. McGhee and Mr. Thorp, both Assistant Secretaries of State, responded favorably to the memorandum. The strongest comment is probably contained in the following excerpt from a letter which I received from Sumner Welles:

"...It is hardly necessary for me to tell you that I have read the memorandum with extreme interest and that I wholeheartedly agree with the point of view that it expresses as well as with its major recommendations. It is a moment for statesmanship and for decisive action. Unless the United States supports the point of view that you express, there are innumerable reasons why the efforts of Israel to settle its outstanding international controversies and thereafter to dedicate itself to the task of reconstruction, of resettlement, and to political and material progress will be desperately handicapped."

2 -- Last week, I had lunch in Philadelphia with Clarence E. Pickett, Executive Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee. He gave me a piece of news which is rather important. He told me that the day before, he had participated in a meeting which took place in the State Department on the question of the Arab refugees. In addition to Mr. McGhee, Assistant Secretary of State in Charge of the Middle East, and other State Department officials, representatives of the various

relief groups, of the oil companies, etc. participated in this conference. According to Mr. Pickett, it was decided that a special American committee or a working group be appointed which would prepare plans for the resettlement of the Arab refugees. When I asked him who was to head this committee, he said that three names were suggested in the following order: Herbert Hoover, William Clayton and William Batt. He added that Hoover was not only the first choice but it was the general opinion that should Herbert Hoover be willing to accept the chairmanship of this committee, it would have real standing and prestige, and they would be able to count on the support of Congress and public opinion. However, Mr. Pickett continued, there was some doubt whether Mr. Hoover would be willing to accept such an appointment.

I told Mr. Pickett about Mr. Hoover's very keen interest in this problem and his willingness to help solve it, and that I was confident that if President Truman extends an invitation to Mr. Hoover to head such a committee, he would, in all probability, accept it. Mr. Pickett was very glad to hear that, and said he would communicate with Mr. McGhee in the State Department to give him the good news. In the light of the foregoing, it seems to me that we may expect some definite developments within the next few days.

3 — In the meantime, the letter from McGhee, which I mentioned before, has reached us. Following that, an appointment was arranged for me with McGhee for tomorrow morning. I discussed this matter yesterday with Mr. Eban, consulting with him as to the course which I should pursue in my conference with McGhee tomorrow. Mr. Eban suggested that in addition to everything else, I try to ascertain what is McGhee's personal viewpoint with regard to the Gaza strip proposition. I will most certainly keep this in mind.

I will report to you about my talk with McGhee as soon as I return to New York.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

EBH:MB

Eliahu Ben-Horin

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS & JEWS, INC.

FOUNDED 1928

"—to promote justice, amity, understanding and co-operation among Protestants, Catholics and Jews, and to analyze, moderate and finally eliminate intergroup prejudices which disfigure and distort religious, business, social and political relations, with a view to the establishment of a social order in which the religious ideals of brotherhood and justice shall become the standards of human relationships" (NCCJ By-laws)

381 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

NATIONAL CO-CHAIRMEN
CHARLES E. WILSON
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ROGER WILLIAMS STRAUS

PRESIDENT
EVERETT R. CLINCHY

GENERAL DIRECTOR
STERLING W. BROWN

TREASURER
HERBERT J. OSBORNE

*Please return
to AHS*

June 22, 1949

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
East 105th St. & Ansel Rd.
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Several months ago, I suggested to Dr. Everett R. Clinchy, President of the NCCJ, that on his next visit to Europe, it might be the courteous, statesmanly thing for him to pay a brief visit to the new country of Israel. Some plans for this visitation have been made, but with the rise of question of Catholic and Protestant interests in Jerusalem and some resulting tensions, some members of the staff have questioned the advisability of a visit by Dr. Clinchy at this time. Would you be kind enough to give us your counsel on this matter?

Very cordially yours,

Sterling W. Brown
Sterling W. Brown
General Director

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date June 23, 1949

From Eliahu Ben-Horin

I enclose for your information a copy of my letter to Miss Esther Herlitz, head of the American Desk in the Israeli Foreign Office, containing a comprehensive report about my conversations in Washington with regard to the Hoover Plan. I also attach a copy of a letter I received from a friend of mine which I mentioned in my report to Miss Herlitz.

Best regards.

EBH:MB
encl.

P. S. The friend whom I mention in my letter to Miss Herlitz is Herbert Feis. For obvious reasons, I didn't want to betray his confidence by disclosing his name.

AIR MAIL

June 23, 1949

Miss Esther Herlitz, Chief
American Desk
Israeli Foreign Office
Hakirya
Tel Aviv, Israel

Dear Miss Herlitz:

In continuation of my report of June 21, I was in Washington yesterday and had a long talk with Mr. George McGhee in the State Department and another talk with Mr. David Niles. Upon my return from Washington, I found a letter from a friend of mine who maintains a close relationship with Secretary Acheson and other leading figures in the Department of State. This friend, with whom I consulted some time ago on the question of the Arab refugees and asked him to discuss this matter with people in the State Department, has just had a talk with the same Mr. McGhee on this question and reported to me at some length the contents of this conversation. I enclose a copy for your information. On the whole, Mr. McGhee expressed about the same views in the conversation with my friend as in my talk with him yesterday.

However, I went into a lengthy discussion of the desirability of appointing a committee, headed by Mr. Hoover, as soon as possible without waiting for the outcome of the Lausanne negotiations. I also tried, at the request of Mr. Eban, to find out where Mr. McGhee stood personally on the question of the Gaza strip. On the latter point, while Mr. McGhee tried at the beginning to defend the State Department's position, saying that he didn't see why Israel ties up the question of admitting the 230,000 refugees with getting the Gaza strip — at the end of our conversation, he as much as admitted that he personally would be perfectly willing to let Israel have the Gaza strip if they take all these refugees, adding that this would be a very important contribution to the solution of the whole problem of the Arab refugees.

Knowing that Mr. Clarence Pickett had already informed Mr. McGhee of our conversation and that, accordingly, he knew about the meeting in the State Department last week, I had no hesitation in asking Mr. McGhee how they are proceeding on this committee of experts. To this he answered that they will have to wait for the outcome of the Lausanne talks and that unfortunately no progress is being made in Lausanne. I took up this point very energetically, saying to Mr. McGhee that I didn't see in what way the two things were connected. He admitted to me, earlier in the conversation, that there was no "McGhee Plan". I told him then that I can admit that there is no "Hoover Plan". Furthermore, at present, nobody is in a position to answer the simplest questions, i. e.

June 23, 1949

"How much money would be required to finance the resettlement?" "Where would this money come from?" "What part of it will have to be given in the form of grants and what part could be gotten in the form of long-term loans?" "How much time would be required to resettle the refugees?", etc., etc. I went on to say that he, McGhee, was demanding that Israel take at least 230-250,000 refugees. Why not let a committee of experts judge what number of refugees Israel would have to take back in order to contribute its share to a definite solution of the whole problem, and what number of refugees can Israel take back on the basis of objective conditions in Israel. I added, moreover, that should President Truman show a personal interest in this matter to the extent of inviting Mr. Hoover to head this committee of experts, this would undoubtedly have a salutary effect on the negotiations in Lausanne and on both the Arab States and Israel. So, all in all, I didn't see one reason why the formation of such a committee should be conditioned on the outcome of the Lausanne negotiations and I did see many reasons why the establishment of this committee should not wait. It seemed to me, and to Mr. Hyman Schulson, the head of our Washington office, who accompanied me, that Mr. McGhee was impressed with this line of argument. He then said to me that it was their policy to avoid by-passing the United Nations and that they were thinking rather in terms of an international body of experts which would be headed by Mr. Hoover as the representative of the United States than of a purely American committee. I answered that I saw no objection to this, but also in this case, there was no justification for delay. Mr. McGhee then said that this was a matter of great importance which would require the Secretary of State's decision, and that Mr. Acheson had returned only the day before from Paris.

It was our impression that we gave a push in the right direction and that Mr. McGhee will submit the matter to the Secretary of State. Another point worth mentioning is that while Mr. McGhee spoke of the non-cooperative and even hostile attitude of the Iraqi Government on the question of absorbing the Arab refugees, he did state that he agrees with me with regard to Iraq being the best place for the resettlement of the refugees if we speak and think in terms of a permanent solution.

Mr. Niles wanted to know whether I was sure that Mr. Hoover would accept the appointment if the President extended an invitation. I told him that I was reasonably sure and that he would agree with me that whatever faults Mr. Hoover may have, changing his mind from one day to another was not one of them. He then said that he was going to speak to the President and let me know. Mr. Niles further emphasized what Mr. McGhee had said earlier — that the President was very careful not to by-pass the United Nations and that we should think in terms of a United Nations body headed by Herbert Hoover as the chief American representative. I said that there was no objection on my part to this.

In the light of the foregoing, it seems rather important to make the administrative heads of the United Nations urge the appointment of such a body and to make them ask the United States for Herbert Hoover to head such a body.

Miss Esther Herlitz

- 3 -

June 23, 1949

I had a talk this morning with Mr. Clark M. Eichelberger, head of the American Association for the United Nations, Inc., and he said that he would be willing to bring me together with Andrew Cordier, Trygve Lie and others in the United Nations Secretariat handling the Palestine question. I expressed my gratitude to him for his willingness to help but I asked him not to proceed in this matter until I had spoken to Mr. Eban and made sure of his approval.

I am seeing Mr. Eban this afternoon and if it is alright with him, I will start working on the United Nations officials in this direction. It seems to me that should we be able to bring about pressure from Lake Success on the American Government to appoint Hoover to head a United Nations committee on the question of the refugees, this will about clinch the matter and bring about a move from President Truman. I am seeing Mr. Hoover tomorrow afternoon.

While in Washington, I saw Mr. Uriel Heyd and gave him an account of my conversation with Messrs. McGhee and Niles. I also gave him a copy of the letter from Father Terence to Jacob Herzog, refuting the accusations with regard to the Ein Karem incident. I urged Mr. Heyd to give wide publicity to this letter, to communicate it to the Central Catholic News Agency, and to ask that they publish it, and also to communicate it to the State Department. Mr. Heyd was in full agreement with me, but he was not sure whether this letter could be released and he intended to cable to you yesterday to ask for permission. It seems to me that if it were a confidential letter, Mr. Herzog wouldn't have given it to Karl Baehr. However, I would like to urge you to release Terence's letter without delay.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

EBH:MB
encl.

Eliahu Ben-Horin

June 24, 1949

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

My dear Ben-Horin:

I should like to have your judgment on the enclosed letter so that I could advise Mr. Brown of the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er
Enc.

MEMORANDUM

To Mr. Browdy, Mrs. Epstein, Rabbi
Lookstein and Mr. Zuckerman

Date June 24, 1949

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

From Eliahu Ben-Horin

I would like to draw your attention to a few items in our public relations activities which may produce some good results:

Thomas Sugrue's forthcoming book on Israel -- You probably recall with pleasure the interview in the Herald Tribune a couple of weeks ago given by Thomas Sugrue upon his return from Israel. Now, the Council had no direct part in either initiating or financing Sugrue's trip to Israel. The initiative was mainly that of Ambassador James G. McDonald, the financing came from an individual Jewish source in New York and his book will be published by Harper & Bros. However, it so happened that during my last visit to Israel, I was brought together with Sugrue by McDonald and at a critical stage, I succeeded in preventing the complete fiasco of Sugrue's mission. He was about to leave Israel in despair. The following quotation from a letter which I received the other day from Mr. Sugrue in Washington will tell you part of the story:

" . . . When I return from Virginia Beach, I will sit down and write you about all that happened -- for it all happened as a result of your interest in my plight and your intervention in my behalf -- which I shall never forget nor cease to be thankful for."

Judging not only by his most inspiring interview in the Herald Tribune but by the knowledge I gained of the man himself and of his spirit, there is very little doubt that his book will be one of the most important literary contributions on Israel, and consequently will be of great help in our work on the American scene.

Simon Menache -- A week or so ago, a young man by the name of Simon Menache, from Cairo, was introduced to me. He is an Egyptian-born newspaperman of the well-known Menache family, who came from Egypt two months ago as an immigrant to the United States. He brought with him the most excellent recommendations imaginable as to his capabilities and knowledge of the Middle East, including first-rate recommendations from the United States Information Office in Cairo, where he worked for a number of years. Mr. Menache is looking for a job, and it shouldn't be too difficult to find something to do in one of the Jewish organizations for a man of his linguistic and journalistic qualifications. However, it seemed to us that here was a chance to introduce a man of ours into the Middle East Institute and the Middle East Journal in Washington which, as you surely know, is an organization unfriendly to us. At least, it is worth trying. Menache comes not as a Zionist, but as a journalist and a Middle East expert highly praised by U. S. authorities in Cairo, and this is the type of man who should be able to gain entree into the circles of the Middle East

Journal, if he is properly launched and sponsored locally.

Accordingly, I telephoned my friend, Frank Buxton, in Boston, explained the whole thing to him and asked him to write to his friend, Christian Herter, Republican Congressman from Massachusetts, and one of the leaders of the Middle East Institute. Mr. Buxton willingly agreed to do this, and we are now awaiting further developments. I wish only to add that if this succeeds, it may be of considerable importance to us because thus far we do not have one sympathetic soul in this outfit.

Ruth Gruber on her way to Israel -- Ruth Gruber left this morning on her way to Israel to write for the Herald Tribune. She tried to arrange to stop off in Lausanne in order to be able to send us a few dispatches about the Lausanne negotiations which would be helpful to us. However, the Tribune did not agree to this. Still, we may look forward hopefully to her dispatches from Israel which will, undoubtedly, be helpful to our cause.

I enclose, for your information, a copy of my letter to Ambassador James G. McDonald in Tel Aviv.

Best regards.

EBH:MB
encl.

W.R.H.S.
L.B.H.



EBH letterhead

AIR MAIL

June 24, 1949

The Honorable James G. McDonald
American Embassy
Tel Aviv, Israel

Dear JGM:

I could have said that I delayed answering your letter of May 27 to avenge your not answering my letters to you, but this wouldn't be true. The delay in my replying was caused by my pre-occupation at the moment, mainly concerning the thing on which you didn't touch in your letter, although I wrote to you about it at some length. I refer to the Arab refugee problem and the Hoover Plan.

In the meantime, you received, I am sure, my letter of June 7 enclosing a copy of the memorandum on the same problem which Mr. David Niles promised to submit to the President. Since then, I have received numerous letters of approval from many quarters, and the memorandum was also quoted by several columnists and also in newspaper editorials. Furthermore, there are enough indications to show that official thinking on the problem is leaning more and more towards a solution by resettlement. Indeed, thus far, not one negative expression was registered. On the other hand, as mentioned above, I received many expressions of endorsement or positive interest. These include men like Vice-President Barkley, Under-Secretary of the Interior Oscar Chapman, Clarence E. Pickett, of the American Friends Service Committee, Earl Harrison, Walter Lippman, Sumner Welles, Frank Buxton and many leaders in both houses of Congress.

A week or so ago, when I was having lunch with Clarence E. Pickett, in Philadelphia, he told me of a meeting in the State Department the day before in which he participated along with representatives of other relief groups, devoted to the question of the Arab refugees. At this meeting, the consensus was that a committee or a working group should be established to investigate the question of the refugees and prepare blueprints for a solution. Their first and unanimous choice for the leadership of this committee was Herbert Hoover.

Following that, I had a long talk two days ago with Assistant Secretary of State George C. McGhee. On the whole, he agreed with me on many points, i. e. Iraq provides the best place for permanent resettlement of the refugees; that it would be desirable to establish

June 24, 1949

a committee to study the problem and prepare plans for a solution, although it seems that the makers of official policy would give preference to an international committee headed by Hoover as the chief American delegate, rather than to a purely American body. However, it seems that the whole question now has to be submitted to the Secretary of State who has just returned from abroad before any decisive steps can be expected in this direction.

As to the Jerusalem issue which, as you know, is another pet problem of mine, our mutual Catholic friends are engaged, at the moment, in a very bitter anti-Israeli campaign. If I am not mistaken, they are in for a second defeat on this question; their first defeat having been the admission of Israel into the United Nations despite their hostile propaganda at the time. From what I hear from reliable sources, the one agreement which the Conciliation Commission in Lausanne is likely to reach will probably be a kind of partition of Jerusalem with an international supervision of the Holy Places. As Msgr. McMahon is away, I haven't had personal contact with the Catholics for some time.

You probably read the wonderful interview which Thomas Sugrue gave upon his return, and it must have gladdened your heart to read it. I haven't seen him yet but I received a very warm letter from him. I intend to look him up when I am next in Washington.

In reply to your query, at the moment I am in no position to say when I am likely to come there and see you again. I don't have to tell you that I would very much like to, and any suggestions from you in this respect would be welcome.

My very best to you, the family, Miss Clark and your colleagues.

Cordially yours,

EBH:MB

Eliahu Ben-Horin

MEMORANDUM

To The members of the Praesidium: Benjamin
Browdy, Mrs. Judith Epstein, Rabbi Joseph
Lookstein and Baruch Zuckerman

Date June 28, 1949

From Eliahu Ben-Horin

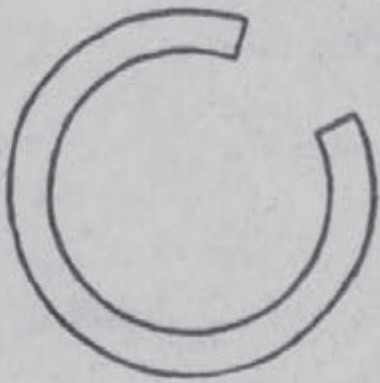
Enclosed herewith please find a copy of a letter from Assistant Secretary of State Mr. George C. McGhee to Mr. Schulson; also copies of an exchange of correspondence between Mr. Aubrey S. Eban and myself.

By way of explanation, let me add the following: as mentioned in my letter of June 23 to Miss Herlitz, a copy of which was sent to you at the time, I intended to discuss the question of contacting U. N. circles with regard to the Hoover Plan with Mr. Eban. Subsequently, I did have a talk with Mr. Eban and Mr. Gideon Raphael of the Israeli U. N. delegation. On that occasion, Mr. Eban expressed the opinion that I should not approach the U. N. people for the time being. In the attached copy of Mr. Eban's letter, he elaborates further on this viewpoint.

Best regards.

E. B. H.

EBH:MB
encl.



COPY

STATE OF ISRAEL

Office of the
Representative
to the United Nations

11 East 70th Street
New York 21, New York

June 24, 1949

Dear Mr. Ben-Horin:

I have now given further study to your letter to Miss Herlitz of June 23rd and the enclosure. May I make the following comments:

1. I am not certain how far our Government would go in submitting to the arbitration of a committee of experts with regard to what its proper share would be to a definite solution of the whole problem. The Government of Israel is bound to have a more exacting view of its own security and economic resilience than an external body starting with a definite bias in favor of maximum repatriation. Moreover, the proposal is already out of date since a U.N. sub-committee appointed by the Conciliation Commission has now arrived in Israel to carry out precisely this form of investigation. In the light of these facts you may consider whether that particular suggestion should form part of your exposition of this question.
2. With regard to the question of a U.N. committee on the refugee question other than the sub-committee already appointed by the Palestine Conciliation Commission, it would obviously be recklessly premature for us to decide at this stage that we would want the U.N. General Assembly to take this action three or four months from now. To suggest to Mr. Trygve Lie and Mr. Cordier that they should now be engaged in recommending the candidature of Mr. Herbert Hoover for a hypothetical and non-existent committee that may or may not emerge out of the General Assembly in November or December, would surely appear to them a rather frivolous undertaking. It would certainly be reckless for me to commit the Government of Israel to holding such a view several months from now in conditions that cannot yet be envisaged. For your personal information, the Secretary General's line of thought at this moment is to have the Conciliation Commission and all its constituent organs superseded at the next session by an individual conciliator responsible, like Dr. Bunche, to the United Nations alone. We tend to support this proposal and it would be necessary to examine carefully how far the proposed U.N. refugee commission would fit into that pattern. I realize, of course, that in presenting that view you would not be committing the Government of Israel. However, it is the practice of the Secretary General and Mr. Cordier, whenever they hear the expression of a Jewish viewpoint, to seek the views of this Delegation. I think we should remain uncommitted at this stage. On the other hand, your negotiations with and concerning Mr.

Hoover have now made such remarkable progress that it is necessary to ascertain from the Government of Israel the precise degree to which it should lend its influence to that body. I can no longer rest on my own judgment, which as I have told you, supports your own view in this matter.

When we approach within measuring distance of the mere possibility of a U.N. commission on refugees it will be fruitful to review the situation again to decide in what direction we should seek to direct the Secretary General's influence.

Yours sincerely,

Aubrey S. Eban
Permanent Representative
of Israel to the United Nations

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

ase:sh



June 28, 1949

The Honorable Aubrey S. Eban
Israeli Consulate
11 East 70 St.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Eban:

Thanks for your letter of June 24, analysing the situation with regard to the Hoover Plan. As I mentioned to you over the phone, there are some points in your letter with which I tend to disagree:

- 1 -- You speak of "an external body starting with a definite bias in favor of maximum repatriation". It seems to me that we have every reason to expect a committee headed by Herbert Hoover to advocate maximum resettlement and minimum repatriation. This contention of mine is borne out by the very definite views on the subject publicly expressed by Mr. Hoover in the past and also by what I have heard from him in private conversations.
- 2 -- While I agree with you that the Government of Israel knows its needs and possibilities best, the problem before us is obviously to convince the world of the rights and wrongs of the situation. You will surely grant that an estimate of the extent to which repatriation is necessary and possible, when it is made by a committee of experts, will carry immeasurably more weight than that of the Government of Israel which is a party to the conflict, and in the eyes of many is the accused.

Like you and me, Mr. Hoover -- whom I saw last Friday -- is very sceptical with regard to an international committee. He favors a purely American committee and would be willing to head such a body.

It is needless to say that I shall be very much interested to hear from you when you receive the answer of the Foreign Office.

Cordially yours,

EBH:MB

Eliahu Ben-Horin

P. S. I enclose for your information
a copy of Mr. George McGhee's
letter to Mr. Schulson.

COPY

SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

June 22, 1949

My dear Mr. Schulson:

I want to thank you for your letter of June 20, 1949, and for your kindness in sending me a copy of Mr. Ben-Horin's book and the other interesting material. I particularly want to thank you for arranging the meeting of today with Mr. Ben-Horin, which I enjoyed greatly.

Those of us here in the Department of State concerned with the Arab refugee and other related problems will keep in mind the views you and Mr. Ben-Horin presented. I assure you that the Department attaches the utmost importance to solution of this problem and is anxious to explore all possible points of view with respect to it.

Sincerely yours,

(signed) George C. McGhee

Mr. Hyman A. Schulson
American Zionist Emergency Council
Washington Bureau
1200 Eighteenth St., N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

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
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

AIR MAIL

June 27, 1949

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

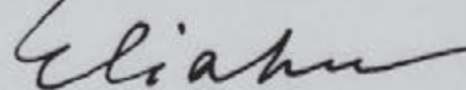
I read the letter to you from Mr. Sterling W. Brown of the National Conference of Christians & Jews, Inc. and I gave the matter some thought.

I would suggest that Dr. Clinchy be encouraged not to postpone his visit to Israel. Our experiences in the past have shown that Israel has a "beneficial" effect on all visitors.

It goes without saying that if Dr. Clinchy decides to go, we should prepare the ground with our friends in Israel so that he should be properly received and attended to.

Best regards.

Very sincerely yours,



Eliahu Ben-Horin

EBH:MB

June 29, 1949

Mr. Sterling W. Brown
National Conference of Christians & Jews
381 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

My dear Mr. Brown:

I think it would be a very fine thing for Dr. Clinchy to visit Israel. The problems which have arisen with reference to the status of Jerusalem, the Arab refugees, etc. are the sort of problems which the State of Israel will face from time to time in the future. I do not believe that a visit should be postponed on that account.

Should Dr. Clinchy decide to go, it would be advisable for the National Conference to contact the Israeli office in New York and in Washington so that all arrangements might properly be made for his reception and for facilitating his tour of the country and its institutions.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er

AIR MAIL

June 29, 1949

Miss Esther Herlitz, Chief
American Desk
Israeli Foreign Office
Hakirya
Tel Aviv, Israel

Dear Miss Herlitz:

Here is another report on the Hoover Plan developments:

1. As mentioned in my letter of June 23, I was going to see Mr. Eban that afternoon. Mr. Gideon Raphael also participated in this talk. After I gave them a full report about my Washington conversations, both of them felt that it would be undesirable, or at least premature, for me to start working in U.N. circles on the promotion of the Hoover Plan. Accordingly, I asked Mr. Eichelberger not to arrange any appointments for me.

This morning, I received a letter from Mr. Eban elaborating on his viewpoint. As you probably have a copy of Mr. Eban's letter, I enclose a copy of my reply.

2. Three days ago, I had another talk with Herbert Hoover. He is definitely prepared to head a committee for the study and eventual implementation of the Hoover Plan. If President Truman extends an invitation to him to this effect, he will accept it. However, he not only prefers such a Committee to be purely American in composition and responsibility, but he is extremely doubtful as to the feasibility of a U.N. committee.

3. When I communicated the above to Clarence E. Pickett, he was very glad to have this confirmation of Mr. Hoover's availability for the chairmanship of a committee, and urged me to communicate this to Assistant Secretary of State, George C. McGhee.

4. In the meantime, Mr. Hyman Shulson, the head of our Washington office, received a letter from Mr. McGhee, as per enclosed copy.

5. A summary of comments on the Hoover Plan, as expressed in letters from leading personalities on the American political scene, is herewith enclosed for your information.

Miss Esther Herlitz

- 2 -

June 29, 1949

My last few reports, which I have tried to make as comprehensive as possible, will bring you up to date on our efforts here in behalf of the Hoover Plan. I don't have to tell you that I am greatly interested in the Foreign Minister's personal appraisal of the situation. I therefore should appreciate it very much if Mr. Sharett would let me have his guiding comments.

With my best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

EBH:MB
encl.

Eliahu Ben-Horin

P. S. In agreement with Messrs. Heyd and Zinder, the American Christian Palestine Committee has issued the enclosed release on the Ain Karem incident.

WRHS
6666
AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

COPY

AIR MAIL

June 30, 1949

Miss Esther Herlitz, Chief
American Desk
Israeli Foreign Office
Hakirya
Tel Aviv, Israel

Dear Miss Herlitz:

Yesterday I received a letter from Cardinal Tisserant in Rome, a copy of which I enclose. Although the Cardinal makes no definite statements of any kind in this letter, I thought that you might wish to see it because of its general friendly tenor and the concern he expresses over the question of the Arab refugees. In this connection, it's worthwhile keeping in mind what Father Awad reported upon his return from Rome, namely that Cardinal Tisserant told him that he was in favor of the Hoover Plan.

I also enclose a copy of a letter I wrote to George C. McGhee, the new Assistant Secretary of State in charge of Near Eastern and African Affairs.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

EBH:MB
encl.

Eliahu Ben-Horin

COPY

June 24, 1949

Mr. Eliahu Ben-Horin
80-09 35th Avenue
Jackson Heights, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

I thank you very much for the articles you sent me, reprinted from New York Herald Tribune and from Harper's Magazine. Both interested me. From what I hear from Palestine and adjacent countries, it seems that the problem of refugees does not make any progress, and it is too bad, because they become more nervous and it is to be feared that they will succeed in making more nervous too the governments and peoples of those countries.

You have heard perhaps that Msgr. Thomas J. McMahon is again on the spot for more help to refugees.

Please accept my best regards and believe me

Sincerely yours,

(signed) Eugenio Cardinal Tisserant
Bishop of Porto and Santa Rufina

COPY

EBH LETTERHEAD

June 29, 1949

The Honorable George C. McGhee
State Department
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. McGhee:

I was glad to read the news that you were confirmed in your appointment, and I wish to express my congratulations and best wishes for the fulfillment of the difficult and responsible task which you have now officially assumed. It is hardly necessary for me to add that it has fallen to your lot to be in charge of one of the most difficult and troublesome areas in the world. On the other hand, it is, to be sure, an area which holds out a great deal of promise for mankind.

Mr. Pickett, to whom I spoke yesterday, urged me to communicate to you what Mr. Herbert Hoover told me the other day. In my conversation with you, as well as in my talks with other representatives of the government, I have been asked repeatedly whether I was sure that Mr. Hoover would agree to head a committee on Arab refugee resettlement. My answer, as you will probably recall, was that I was reasonably sure of Mr. Hoover's acceptance of such an invitation, should it come from President Truman. In the light of my last conversation with Mr. Hoover, I am glad to be able to confirm that Mr. Hoover is greatly interested in the problem and would be willing to help in every way possible. I would like to add, however, that Mr. Hoover is rather skeptical about the feasibility of a U. N. committee and would prefer to head a purely American body of experts which would make a thorough study of the problem and offer recommendations for its solution.

With my kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

EBH:MB

Eliahu Ben-Horin

80-09 35TH AVENUE
JACKSON HEIGHTS
NEW YORK, N. Y.
—
ILLINOIS 7-4695

July 8, 1949

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

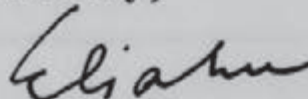
Dear Dr. Silver:

Abe Tuvim tells me that you are leaving for Europe next week. I wish I could see you off and wish you and Mrs. Silver "bon voyage", but I shall be at Lake George on my vacation.

It will be the first time in many years, I imagine, that you will spend a few carefree weeks. Although this temporary retirement was not one of your choosing, it should not prevent you from enjoying this vacation to the utmost. I don't think that the Jewish people can afford to leave you long in this carefree state.

My very best to you and Mrs. Silver.

Sincerely,



Eliahu Ben-Horin

EBH:MB

THE PROBLEM OF THE PALESTINE ARAB REFUGEES

(Memorandum submitted by Eliahu Ben-Horin,
Author of THE MIDDLE EAST: CROSSROADS OF HISTORY)

1. The question of the future of the Arab refugees from Israel continues to be a source of uneasiness in international relations. Until settled, it may be expected to intensify the friction between Israel and the Arab States, to provoke tension between the Great Powers and the countries of the Middle East, and to confront the world with the existence of a group of frustrated and unhappy human beings who might easily become prey to demoralizing influences. For these reasons, a rapid and satisfactory settlement of that problem appears eminently desirable.

2. Further urgency is lent to the question by the fact that the maintenance of a large mass of Arab refugees in their present position of uncertainty, is very costly, while it does not bring a solution any nearer. A sum of \$16,000,000 has already been appropriated for the relief of these refugees by the U.S. Government. A similar sum has been or is being appropriated by several foreign governments. This money is due to be expended by next August, at which time the question of further relief expenditures will undoubtedly arise. Considerable amounts have also been provided for Arab refugee relief by private relief agencies and voluntary contributors. These funds, too, are well-nigh exhausted and more will be required. The demands on the U.S. Government and on private funds, largely from the United States, will continue and may have to be met again and again.

3. Growing recognition is given in all quarters to the need to proceed speedily with the resettlement of the large mass of the Arab refugees. It is generally understood that only a small part of these refugees will be able to return to Israel, and that even such a limited return will hardly be possible except as part of a general resettlement scheme for these refugees and in connection with an over-all improvement in Arab-Israeli relations. There is growing agreement that most of the Arab refugees in question should be enabled to settle

on the land or to find a place in urban occupations in the various Arab countries whose recent war against Israel has had so much to do with the emergence of this particular refugee problem. It is understood that officials of the American and the British Governments, as well as United Nations circles, tend towards this viewpoint in growing measure, and that informal discussions are afoot with various Arab governments to explore the willingness of the latter to cooperate in such a resettlement scheme.

4. A serious danger that has to be faced in this connection is the danger of a diffusion of effort. There seems to be some feeling that the mass of the Arab refugees might be distributed among the different territories of the Middle East, notably Transjordan, the Arab part of Palestine, Iraq, Syria and Lebanon. (Egypt has officially declared that it is in no position to absorb any of the Palestine Arab refugees.) It is understood more particularly that the Government of Transjordan is willing to accept for resettlement within the territories under its control most of those refugees, presumably in consideration of the large monetary expenditures which would be made by outside sources, especially by the Government of the United States, to facilitate such a settlement. It is open to serious question whether such a large-scale operation could be successfully accomplished in the relatively arid territories under Transjordan control. It is quite conceivable that, once the money has been expended, it would appear that the future of the refugees has not been assured after all. Similarly, opportunities for the resettlement of the refugees in Lebanon and Syria are open to serious doubt.

The governments of those countries, disinclined as they are at present to accept any considerable number of the refugees for permanent residence, may be coaxed into doing so by the promise of American largesse. But once foreign funds have flowed directly or indirectly into the treasuries of those countries, it may

well be that the Arab refugees would once more find themselves facing an unsettled future and therefore remain a burden on the world. Because of this, every effort should be made to decide beforehand on the most feasible large-scale scheme for Arab refugee resettlement and, once the answer is found, to concentrate on its execution. Thus there would be avoided a great deal of waste motion, waste of funds, human misery and international friction.

5. From an over-all viewpoint, it seems that Iraq is the country which can most easily provide for large-scale resettlement of all of the Arab refugees from Palestine with greatest benefit to the country itself. For several decades attention has been focused on Iraq's need for additional population and on the tremendous opportunities existing in that country for agricultural development. The British Government, at the time when Britain still held the Mandate over Iraq, was interested in large-scale agricultural development there. Iraqi statesmen themselves raised the question from time to time. International authorities in the field of economics, nutrition, and soil development have repeatedly drawn attention to this situation in Iraq. In the United States, Mr. Herbert Hoover, among others, suggested in 1945, long before there were any Arab refugees from Palestine, that everybody's interest might be served by encouraging the large-scale resettlement of Palestinian Arabs in Iraq. The former President put it as follows:

"...In ancient times the irrigation of the Tigris and Euphrates Valleys supported probably 10,000,000 people in the kingdoms of Babylon and Nineveh. The deterioration and destruction of their irrigation works by the Mongol invasion centuries ago, and their neglect for ages, are responsible for the shrinkage of the population to about 3,500,000 people in modern Iraq....

"My own suggestion is that Iraq might be financed to complete this great land development on the consideration that it be made the scene of resettlement of the Arabs from Palestine....

"There is room for many more Arabs in such a development in Iraq than the total of Arabs in Palestine. The soil is more fertile. They would be among their own race, which is Arab-speaking and Mohammedan. The Arab

population of Palestine would be the gainer from better lands in exchange for their present holdings. Iraq would be the gainer, for it badly needs agricultural population....It would be a solution by engineering instead of by conflict...."

The fact that several hundred thousand Arabs who formerly lived in Palestine now find themselves uprooted only lends further strength to Mr. Hoover's suggestion. We must remember, too, that even those Arabs who may be able to return to Israel will have to undergo a process of rehabilitation and adapt themselves to totally new conditions. As Dr. Clarence E. Pickett, Executive Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee, who recently returned from supervision of the Friends' Arab refugee relief program in Southern Palestine, puts it in a letter to me: "...The third problem, and a very important one, would be an additional program for those who return to Israel as well as those who go elsewhere, for the Arab will have to pursue modern farming methods wherever he may be and this will involve real training."

6. A further consideration militating in favor of the choice of Iraq as the place where most of the Arab refugees should be encouraged to resettle, is connected with the international situation. As the most northeastern of the Arab lands, lying close to the borders of the Soviet Union, Iraq, from the long-range viewpoint, occupies a particularly important strategic position. But Iraq is very weak internally and will remain so until and unless the Arabic element of its population is considerably strengthened. At present, the many national minorities and particularly the very sizeable Kurdish minority form too large a section of Iraq's population. The claims of the Kurds to an independent Kurdistan (which would be carved out of the territories of Iraq, Iran and Turkey) are on record. All this makes Iraq particularly vulnerable to attempts from whatever quarter to foment trouble and threaten the political stability of the area. The addition of a considerable number of new residents, Arab in race, Moslem in religion and agricultural by occupation, would greatly

strengthen Iraq internally and thus also heighten its chances of resisting the forces of disorder.

7. Assuming that the above considerations represent a correct analysis of the situation, nothing can be gained by further delay. It would seem best to have action undertaken at once to prepare the ground for large-scale development projects in Iraq. It is understood, of course, that the consent of the Government of Iraq to admit the refugees in question must be obtained. There is no reason to doubt Iraq's concurrence with the scheme if necessary measures are taken on the diplomatic, financial and technical levels. As for the execution of the project, consideration might be given to entrusting it to a suitable agency of the United Nations, working in cooperation with the Government of Iraq and with such other governments or official institutions as would assume certain responsibilities in this connection. In order to lift the question at once to the necessary level of a major humanitarian and statesmanlike project which would command the respect of world opinion at large and of public opinion in the United States more particularly, it might be advisable to request the only living former President of the United States, the Honorable Herbert Hoover, to undertake a study of this project, together with a suitable committee.

* * *

June 1949