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62/14/49

DR.FT OF

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4-C

JOINT DECLARATION ON PALESTINE

The Governments of the United States and of the United Lingdom have been in consultation in regard to Palestine. They have taken note of the public discussions of this problem and of the divergent views expressed by Arab and Jewish leaders in Palestine and elsewhere.

Responsibility for the administration and security of Palestine rests with Great Britain. However, in view of their common war effort both Governments must look with concern on group or partisan activities which may impede and delay the final victory.

In order that the energies of all may be concentrated on the primary objective of winning the war the two Governments are agreed

- (a) that no decision affecting the basic situation in Falestine will be taken without full and prior consultation with all concerned, including both Arabs and Jews;
- (b) that if, prior to the conclusion of the war, the interested Arabs and Jews can reach a friendly understanding through their own efforts such a development will be most welcome; and
- (c) that in the absence of such an understanding, there will be a review of the Palestine situation after the war has been won, with the objective of establishing a just and definitive solution equitable to all parties concerned.

In the meantime, the British Government wishes to make it clear that it has no intention of permitting or acquiescing in any changes brought about by force in the status of Palestine or in the administration of the country.

x48 x76-lo x3500



(2627)
Amo

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 6, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE PRESIDENT

×20

Secretary Hull just phoned me and wanted me to get word to you that the War Department, in response to a request from the Congressional Committees as to its attitude on the proposed Congressional resolution calling for an independent commonwealth in Palestine, wishes to request a postponement of consideration of the subject without prejudice. They are trying to get Secretary Stimson to sign such a letter but apparently cannot reach him until tomorrow.

x25 x419 Sh

s. I. R.

MEMORANDUM FOR

HON, E. R. STETTINIUS, JR. x20

I agree that Mr. Stimson's letter to Senator Tom Connally on the Palestine Resolution should be made public. Will you and Breck see that this is done as soon as possible? (Tom Connally approving, of course)

F.D.R.

President received from Hon. E. R. Stettinius, Jr., 3/4/44, in re-publication of Secretary Stimson's letter to Senator Connally on the Palestine Resolution,

x419

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### THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE WASHINGTON

March 4, 1944

### MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Secretary Stimson's letter to Senator Connally on the Palestine Resolution

Breckinridge Long and I both feel that the time has arrived when Mr. Stimson's letter to Tom Connelly on the Palestine Resolution should be made public.

×340

The story is out in the press, in the New York Tribune this morning, and unless the letter is made public promptly we feel damaging speculation will continue.

E.R.S. Jr. O.K. F.D.R. file

### DEPARTMENT OF STATE

March 4, 1944

### MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

700

SUBJECT: Protest of Ibn Saud regarding Palestine Resolutions.

You will recall some weeks ago you and I had quite a discussion relative to the Palestine situation with the possibility of the British and ourselves issuing a joint statement. At that time you did not think you wished to take any action until later on. Since then there have been quite a number of new developments, which are summarized below, and I would urge that you have a talk with Colonel Hosking relative to the whole question if it is possible for you to do so in the relatively near future.

I am attaching a paraphrase of telegram No. 57,
February 27, 11 a.m., from our Legation at Jidda, which
transmits a protest from King Ibn Saud against the
Palestine Resolutions in Congress. Protests have also
been received from the Egyptian, Iraqi and Syrian Governments.

I am more and more convinced that the time has come to clarify the situation through the issuance of a joint American-British statement affirming (after a suitable introduction);

- (a) that no decision affecting the basic situation in Palestine will be taken without full and prior consultation with all concerned, including both Arabs and Jews;
- (b) that if, prior to the conclusion of the war, the interested Arabs and Jews can reach a friendly understanding through their own efforts, such a development will be most welcome; and

-2-

(c) that in the absence of such an understanding, there will be a review of the Palestine situation after the war has been won, with the objective of establishing a just and definitive solution equitable to all parties concerned.

The British have indicated that they would welcome such a statement, and if you approve, I shall promptly take the matter up with them. I shall, of course, submit for your final approval the exact text which may be agreed upon with the British Foreign Office.

Enclosure:

Paraphrase of telegram No. 57, February 27, from Jidda.

### PARAPHRASE OF TELEGRAM RECEIVED

FROM: AMLEGATION, Jidda.

TO: Secretary of State, Washington.

DATED: February 27, 1944, 11 a.m.

NUMBER: 57

Yesterday I received a call from the Minister of Finance who read to me a telegram which had just been received by him from Ibn Saud regarding the Resolution on Palestine which is referred to in the Department's telegram no. 341 to Cairo of February 19, 5 p.m. This message cited news items published in London and in translation went on:

"See the American Minister at Jidda:
inform him regarding this news: tell him that
we have been disturbed by the news: that in
Arab circles an ill effect will result: that
in our opinion discussion of the Palestine
problem is premature at the present time: that
it will produce uncertainty and stir up emotions:
and that we request him to refer this matter to
the Government of the United States in view of
the attachment and friendship between us caused
by our knowledge of its good aims in so far as
the Arabs are concerned and of the assistance and
goodwill which the friendly Government of the
United States and the British Government to which
it is allied have demonstrated, the greatest
proof of which may be found in the recent Lebanese
incident."

I conveyed to the Minister of Finance in reply the substance of the Department's telegram no. 19, February 16, 6 p.m., to the American Legation at Baghdad.

This telegram is being sent to the Department and repeated to Jerusalem, Baghdad, Cairo and Beirut, with Damascus to be informed by the latter.

James & MOOSE Ju.

March 29, 1944



Respectfully referred to the Secretary of State.

EDWIN M. WATSON Major General, U.S. Army Secretary to the President

hms

Telegram from Dr. and Mrs. Joseph Frman, 2056 Calvert, Detroit, Michigan, 3/28/44, to the President, calling attention to Pierre VanPaasen's article, which appeared in "The Protestant", April 19th issue, page 11, in re Palestine Resolutions.

## THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

My dear Rabbi Wise:

I have received the letter which you and Dr. Silver sent me under date of March 13, 1944 in which you refer to the conversation which we recently had with regard to the Jewish people and Palestine.

After giving this matter the most careful consideration, I issued on March 24, 1944 a statement on Nazi and Japanese persecution which refers to the systematic murder of the Jewish people of Europe. I believe that this statement, of which a copy is attached, covers the possibilities of helpful action as completely as is feasible at this time. I know that you will regard this statement as a reaffirmation of my deep and abiding sympathy for the Jewish people.

Very incerely yours,

Enclosure:

Statement by the President, March 24, 1944.

Rabbi Stephen S. Wise,
American Zionist Emergency Council,
342 Madison Avenue,
New York 17, New York.

## THE WHITE HOUSE

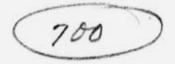
April 1, 1944

MEMO FOR FILES:

15433

Judge Rosenman says it is not necessary to reply to Dr. Wise's letter of March 13, as it is really fully answered in the Statement of March 24.

T.D.B. (mtl)



DEPARTMENT OF STATE WASHINGTON.

March 31, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject:

Letter from Rabbis Wise and Silver enclosing draft statement mentioning the persecuted Jews and Palestine.

x wer.

I am attaching a letter to you dated March 13, 1944 from Rabbi Silver and Rabbi Wise enclosing a draft statement which they desired you to issue respecting the persecuted Jews of Europe and the Palestine question.

I believe that the statement on persecution which you issued on March 24, 1944 is the only statement which you will wish to issue in this connection at this time, and I am attaching a suggested reply to Rabbi Wise with this thought in mind.

Enclosures:

1. Letter from Rabbis Silver and Wise, dated March 13, 1944, with enclosure.

2. Suggested reply to Rabbi Wise.

At fell pp. 7.



## American Zionist Emergency Council

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

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF
NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

The President
The White House
Washington, D.- C.

Dear Mr. President:

DECAMENT OF STATE

We need hardly say how grateful we were for the opportunity of full discussion with you of the problem of Falestine. We rejoiced again to note your understanding and abiding sympathy with the ideal and purpose of the Jewish people.

In accordance with your suggestion, we have set down in the enclosed draft what we believe to be your own thought in relation to the statement which you indicated it is your purpose to issue in the near future. We should be grateful for the opportunity, in accordance with your suggestion, to see your statement before it is issued.

We are happy to think that Under-Secretary
Stettinius is to have your advice that while in London he
consult with the President of the Jewish Agency for
Palestine. Dr. Ohaim Weizmann. This we consider of utmost
importance in view of your high regard for Dr. Weizmann,
who has lately had the opportunity for full discussion of
the problem with Mr. Churchill.

Faithfully yours,

abba Hille Xilver

Abba Hillel Silver

Stephen S. Wise

Co-Chairmen American Zionist Emergency Council

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The desperate plight of many millions of refugees of all nationalities and creeds has aroused the compassionate interest of the American people. The War Refugee Board was created by me in order to secure the immediate rescue of as many refugees as can still be saved.

The attention of the world has especially been directed to the terrible calamities which have overtaken the Jews of Europe. Hitler's program, designed to accomplish their complete extermination, has already resulted in the death, under conditions of incredible brutality, of millions of men, women and children.

Hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, of those who will survive will wish for the opportunity to rebuild their shattered lives among their own people in Palestine. Fortunately, that country has already demonstrated its capacity to absorb large numbers of Jews as the result of the remarkable pioneering effort of Jewish settlers during the last several decades, assisted by the generous material contributions of their fellow Jews throughout the world. This work of upbuilding, which has been a magnificent example of what can be achieved only by men dedicated to an ideal, has been of benefit not only to the Jewish but also to the Arab inhabitants of the country.

Our people and our Government have long had the deepest sympathy for the age-old aspiration of the Jewish people to reconstitute their National Home in Palestine. We can never forget that our Government was consulted and gave its full support and approval to the Balfour Declaration. This was later confirmed by the action of the Congress of the United States in a Joint Resolution unanimously adopted on June 20, 1922. The Mandate for Palestine, which was approved by the 51 member nations of the League of Nations, was also

confirmed by the British-American Convention of 1924. By this agreement our Government gave its assent to the designation of Great Britain as the Mandatory Power charged with the obligation to facilitate the immigration of Jews into Palestine and their close settlement on the land.

The new policy which was announced under the British
White Paper of 1939 would prohibit in the near future all further
Jewish immigration into Palestine and places drastic restrictions
on Jewish land purchase and settlement and perpetuates a minority
status for Jews in their own National Home. This policy has never
been accepted by our Government. It is my confident hope, shared,
I believe, by Prime Minister Churchill, whose deep and sympathetic
interest in the upbuilding of the Jewish National Home is a matter
of record, that the doors of Palestine will be opened for the free
entry of Jews into that country and that there shall be full
opportunity for colonization and economic development so that they
may continue the upbuilding of their National Home in accordance
with the intent and purpose of the Balfour Declaration and the
Mandate for Palestine.

The distinguished British and American statesmen who participated in the framing of these historic documents have made indubitably clear what their intent and purpose were. President Wilson stated: "I am persuaded that the Allied Nations, with the fullest concurrence of our own Government and people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth." This remains the fixed purpose of the American people.

#### DAMEDIATE RELEASE

### STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

The United Nations are fighting to make a world in which tyranny and aggression can not exist; a world based upon freedom, equality and justice; a world in which all persons regardless of race, color or creed may live in peace, honor and dignity.

In the meantime in most of Europe and in parts of Asia the systematic torture and murder of civilians — men, women and children — by the Nazis and the Japanese continue unabated. In areas subjugated by the aggressors innocent Foles, Czechs, Norwegians, Dutch, Danes, French, Greeks, Russians, Chinese, Filipinos — and many others — are being starved or frozen to death or murdered in cold blood in a campaign of savagery.

The slaughters of Yarsaw, Lidice, Kharkov and Nanking — the brutal torture and murder by the Japanese, not only of civilians but of our own gallant American soldiers and fliers — these are startling examples of what goes on day by day, year in and year out, wherever the Nazis and the Japs are in military control — free to follow their barbaric purpose.

In one of the blackest crimes of all history — begun by the Nazis in the day of peace and multiplied by them a hundred times in time of war — the wholesale systematic murder of the Jews of Europe goes on unabated every hour. As a result of the events of the last few days hundreds of thousands of Jews, who while living under persecution have at least found a haven from death in Hungary and the Balkans, are now threatened with annihilation as Hitler's forces descend more heavily upon these lands. That these innocent people, who have already survived a decade of Hitler's fury, should perish on the very eve of triumph over the barbarism which their persecution symbolizes, would be a major tragedy.

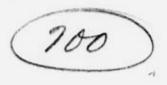
It is therefore fitting that we should again proclaim our determination that none who participate in these acts of savagery shall go unpunished. The United Nations have made it clear that they will pursue the guilty and deliver them up in order that Justice be done. That warning applies not only to the leaders but also to their functionaries and subordinates in Germany and in the satellite countries. All who knowingly take part in the deportation of Jews to their death in Poland or Norwegians and French to their death in Germany are equally guilty with the executioner. All who share the guilt shall share the punishment.

Hitler is committing these crimes against humanity in the name of the German people. I ask every German and every man everywhere under Nazi domination to show the world by his action that in his heart he does not share these insane criminal desires. Let him hide these pursued victims, help them to get over their borders, and do what he can to save them from the Nazi hangman. I ask him also to keep watch, and to record the evidence that will one day be used to convict the guilty.

In the meantime, and until the victory that is now assured is won, the United States will persevere in its efforts to rescue the victims of brutality of the N.zis and the Japs. In so far as the necessity of military operations permit this Government will use all means at its command to aid the escape of all intended victims of the Nazi and Jap executioner — regardless of race or religion or color. We call upon the free peoples of Europe and Asia temporarily to open their frontiers to all victims of oppression. We shall find havens of refuge for them, and we shall find the means for their maintenance and support until the tyrant is driven from their homelands and they may return.

In the name of justice and humanity let all freedom loving people rally to this righteous undertaking.

Ma in



### DEPARTMENT OF STATE WASHINGTON

August 30, 1944

### MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Congressional Resolutions on Establishment in Palestine of Emergency Shelters for Hungarian Jews.

×76-6

On August 25, 1944, Chairman Bloom of the House Foreign Affairs Committee Wrote to me with regard to resolutions which were introduced into Congress on August 24 calling upon the President and the Secretary of State to use their good offices with a view to the establishment in Palestine of emergency shelters for Hungarian Jews.

Since this appears to be a matter primarily affecting the operations of the War Refugee Board. I am x5477 suggesting to Mr. Bloom that he discuss the resolutions with Mr. Pehle, the Executive Director of the Board.

I desire to invite your attention in this connection to the effect that these resolutions will undoubtedly have upon the political situation in the Near Fost. The susceptibilities of the Arabs have already been aroused by the introduction of the proposed Congressional resolutions of \*2/6/-A last winter and by the adoption of the Democratic and Republican platform planks, all providing for the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine. These developments have led to considerable criticism of the United States, and it may safely be predicted that our attitude toward Palestine will be one of the main topics of discussion at the forthcoming meeting of the committee which is to organize an Arab Congress.

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× +19 × +193

X 3500

HE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

March 9, 1944.

### MEMORANDUM FOR

HON. SAM RAYBURN X24

That telegram from your friend, Jamil Al Madfai, President Iras Ridha Shabibi, President Iraq Chamber of Deputies, is merely one of a volume of protests which have come in from practically all the Arab and Moorish countries. It merely illustrates what happens if delicate international situations get into party politics.

> I am glad, indeed, that you have the situation on that Resolution well in hand.

> > My best to you,

F. D. R.

No papers accompanied the original of this memorandum to Mr. Rayburn.

×76-lo ×3500 X419

FROM JAMIL AL MADFAI PRESIDENT IRAQ CHAMBER OF SENATORS AND MUHAMMAD RIDHA SHABIBI PRESIDENT IRAQ CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES. THE WHITE HOUSE

MAR 7 4 10 PM '44

RECEIVED

My President. our concernation would like to have this resul It will really lead to dauger, I helieve if we are not careful-Think we how it in hand in the House-

RCA RADIOGRAM

MARCH 4, 1944

W134 GBR 973 BAGHDAD 608 25 NIL SUB COTN 606 WDS DLT THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF HEPRESENTATIVES WASHINGTON

WE UNDERSTAND THAT A RESOLUTION HAS BEEN INTRODUCED IN YOUR HOUSE CALLING UPON THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT TO INTERVENE AND TO TAKE THE ACTION NECESSARY TO SECURE THE OPENING OF THE DOORS OF PALESTINE TO UNRESTRICTED JEVISH IMPLIFACTION AND TO GIVE THEM FULL OPPORTUNITY TO COLONIZE IT SO THAT PALESTINE MAY ULTIMATELY BECOME AN INDEPENDENT DEMOCRATIC JEVISH STATE WE DO NOT INOW IF YOU REALIZE THAT THIS IS TANTAMOUNT TO A REQUEST THAT THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA DECLARS WAR ON THE ARABS OF PALESTINE WHO HAVE NEVER CO MITTED ANY ACT OF AGGRESSION AGAINST THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA MOR AGAINST ANY OF ITS CITIZENS IN 1918 THERE WERE IN OF AMERICA MOR AGAINST ANY OF ITS CITIZENS IN 1918 THERE WERE IN PALESTINE 800000 ARABS (MUSLIM AND CHRISTIAN) AND 80000 JEWS IN 1939 THE NEWS TROUGH ASSISTED AND SUBSIDIARD IMMIGRATION TOTALLED OVER 350000 AND THE ARABS 1000000 FOR THELE YEARS TAOM 1936 to 1939 THE ARABS OF PALESTINE TOTALLY UNAIDED FOUGHT WITH OUT OF DATE WEAPONS A BITTEN AND BLOODY WAR AGAINST THE USURPING JEWS AND THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WHICH HAD BROUGHT THEM TO PALESTINE AGAINST THE WILL OF THE ARAB INHABITANTS THE ARABS OF PALESTINE ARE NOW MUZZLED THEY CAN MAKE NO PROTEST AGAINST THIS MONSTROUS DEMAND THE ARABS OF IRAO CANNOT HOLDY A ROBATN SATURNE WE MUST ARE NOW MUZZLED THEY CAN MAKE NO PROTEST AGAINST THIS MONSTROUS DEMAND THE ARABS OF IRAQ CANNOT HOMEVER REMAIN SAILENT HE MUST LET YOU KNOW IN THE CLEAREST POSSIBLE WORDS THE FULL INFLIGATIONS OF THIS DEMAND THEY A E (1) THE ELIMINATION FROM PALESTILE OF ONE MILLION ARABS (2) THE CONSEQUENT HOSTILITY TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA OF EVERY ARAB THROUGHOUT THE WORLD (3) THE HISSENTIANT - TO SAY THE LEAST - OF ALL MUSLIMS THROUGH - OUT ASIA AFRICA (4) THE HANDING OVER OF ALL THE OLY PLACES OF THE MUSLIME AND CHISTIAN TO BE JEWS IT IS GENERALLY RECOGNISED THAT FEW JEWS WOULD MIGRATE TO PALESTINE IF THEY COULD FIND AN ASYLUM IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TAKING ADVANTAGE OF THE REFUSAL OF THE WRITED STATES TO ADMIT FORE THAN A SMALL PROPORTION OF THESE REFUGEES THE ZIONISTS HAVE RAISED THE CRY PALESTINE FOR THE JEWS AND PRETENDED THAT EMERY REFUGEE JEW WANTED TO SETTLE IN PALESTINE AND PRETENDED THAT EMERY REFUGEE JEW WANTED TO SETTLE IN PALESTINE AND PETENDED THAT EMERY REFUGEE JEW WANTED TO SETTLE IN PALESTINE AND PRETENDED THAT EMERY REFUGEE JEW WANTED TO SETTLE IN PALESTINE AND PRETENDED THAT EMERY REFUGEE JEW WANTED TO SETTLE IN PALESTINE AND ESTABLISH A JEWISH STATE THERE WE CANNOT BE-LIEVE THAT THE RESPONSIBLE BODY OVER WHOM YOU PRESIDE SERIOUSLY CONTLAPLATES THE UNDERTAKING BY THE UNITED STATES OF SUCH A DANGEROUS POLICY THE PROPOSERS OF THIS LESOLUTION MAY OF COURSE HAVE HAD QUITE DIFFERENT OBJECTS IN MIND OF WHICH WE HAVE NO KNOWLEDGE BUT WHATEVER BE THEIR MOTIVES WE FEEL THAT YOU SHOULD REALIZE HOW SERIOUSLY EVEN THE INTRODUCTION OF SUCH A ESOLUTION IS TAKEN IN THE WHOLE ARAB WORLD IF THE UNITED STAT'S DOES INTERVENE IN THE MAINER SUGGESTED BY THIS RESOLUTION IT WILL READ LIKE A SENT NCE OF DEATH TO THE ARABS IN PALESTANE AND CAUSE DESPAIR AND DISTRUST THROUGHOUT HE ARAB AND MUSLIM WORLDS WE BEG YOU TO USE YOUR INFLUENCE TO HAVE THE PROPOSED RESOLUTION WITHDLAWN ALREADY IT IS BEING UTILIZED BY MAZI PROPAGANDISTS TO INFLAME ARAB OPINION NOT ONLY AGAINST THE JEWS BUT AGAINST THE DEMOCRATIC POWERS IT IS WITHDRAWN AT ONCE IT WILL RESTABLISH CONSTITUTED. CONFIDENCE IN THE UNITED NATIONS AND PROVE TO THE ARABS IN
PARTICULAR AND TO THE ORLD IN GENERAL THAT THE U.S.A. DOES
INTEND TO STAND BY THE MOBILE PRINCIPLES AND IDEALS OF POLICY
LAID DOWN IN THE ATLANTIC CHARTER AND THE DECLARATION OF THE
UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVE WASHINGTON TO THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN HIS CAPACITY AS CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE AND TO IRAQ LEGATION WASHINGTON.

REPRODUCED FROM HOLDONGS AT THE FRANKLIN & ROOSEVELT LIBRARY The White Fouse Mashington 30mijington Ост 9,1944. 91 Central park we RABBI STEPHEN WISE, (GET ADDRESS) IT GOES WITHOUT SAYING THAT MY POSITION IS SAME AS BEFORE. HOPE TO SEE YOU IN WASHINGTON WEDNESDAY. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT. RECD RV BN 7 P.M. × 76-6 The Mhite House 12 MARCH 10, 1926 position is same as Shifore. Hope to see you in Washington Wednesda Franklin DRoverell

## WASHINGTON

October 9, 1944

### MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERTA BARROWS.

Senator Wagner has phoned me to ask whether his letter addressed to the President could be placed before the President. I understand you have it.

S. I. R. x5450

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HORE HT T W

### United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C.

THE MILITE HOUSE

September 29, 1944

The President The White House Washington, D. C. SEP 30 II 34 AM 44

My Dear Mr. President:

Knowing how occupied you are these days I would not bring the following matter to your attention at this time if I did not feel that immediate action was necessary. It is my considered judgment, however, that the speed with which events have moved in Europe in recent weeks and months make imperative an early decision on what is to be done with regard to the Jews liberated from Nazi rule.

The Zionist leaders in this country are convinced that most of these Jews would want to reconstitute their shattered lives among their own people in Palestine. I share that conviction. The American people have furthermore made it clear that it is their desire that such opportunity be afforded to them. Yet unless an early decision concerning Palestine is made, most of these displaced and homeless people will be sent back to their places of origin or last permanent residence. Already the Army, I am informed, is dealing with this problem without regard to what future decision may be made with respect to Palestine and without taking into account their special position. UNRRA and the Inter-governmental

Committee for Refugees are also now working out plans directed towards their repatriation.

The Zionist leaders are gravely concerned that
the action now being taken or about to be taken by the Army
and by these inter-governmental agencies will preclude or
make vastly more difficult what seems to them and to me the
only satisfactory solution for great numbers of Europe's
Jews, namely, their settlement in Palestine. It would seem
to me to be both unsound from a human and moral point of
view, as well as economically wasteful, to have these
refugees moved back to their places of origin or last permanent
residence and thereafter to afford them an opportunity to go to
Palestine.

For these and other reasons I believe it is a matter of great and immediate importance that the Zionist leaders be given an opportunity to discuss the present situation with you and to place before you their views. I understand that Dr. Stephen S. Wise is writing to you about this matter. I earnestly hope that you will find it possible to see Dr. Wise and Dr. Silver in order to take up these matters with them at the very earliest opportunity. I should also like to discuss this problem with you in order that I might be able to go into the matter atgreater length.

Respectfully,

Robert J. Wagne

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE

NEW YORK 17. N. Y.

ORGANISMAN

DR. STEPMEN S. WINE

Office of Dr. Wise
40 West 68th Street

New York 23, N.Y.

September

September 16, 1944

Dear Chief:

In a day or two you will have on your desk a formal request from Dr. Silver and myself, as heads of the American Zionist Emergency Council, for Gay opportunity to resume our discussion of March with respect to Falestine. I would not press this if I did not know how important it was from certain points of view to see you now. There are things afoot which I do not like, designed to hurt you. These must not be permitted. Nearly everything can be done to avert them if we can talk to you and have from you a word which shall be your personal affirmation of the Palestine plank in the Chicago platform of the Party.

Easy enough for the Republican candidate to make the broadest and most reckless of promises, as indeed he is doing in many directions. Your own word stands for this administration and for the next. With ever devoted greetings,

The President The White House Washington, D.C.

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AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

242 MADISON AVENUEL HUISE

NEW YORK 17. N. Y.

SEP 29 9 42 AM '44

RECEIVED

DR. STEPREN S. WISE

September 26, 1944.

The President The White House Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

Six months have passed since we were privileged to meet with you to discuss the future of Palestine and the settlement there of hundreds of thousands of homeless Jewish refugees. At that time you authorized us to say on your behalf that "when future decisions are reached, full justice will be done to those who seek a Jewish National Home."

In the meantime events have moved fast and today the liberating forces of the United Nations have already freed considerable areas of Europe from Nazi. domination. The problem of what is to be done with the surviving Jews in these and in other areas about to be freed is a matter of immediate moment. The intergovernmental bodies concerned are formulating plans and are taking measures designed apparently to return the refugees to their places of origin or of first refuge. But many of the refugees desire above all to rebuild their shattered lives in Palestine. This opportunity is being denied them and action is being taken which later will be irreparable.

The problem is becoming more acute with every day that passes and it would appear to be of immediate urgency that steps be taken to deal with a situation that is causing widespread disquiet. As heads of the combined Zionist organizations in this country it is our earnest request that you accord us the earliest opportunity of meeting with you in order to submit to you our views on this and on related matters.

×3186

Yours faithfully,

alla Hillel Silver

Stephen S. Wise

Co-Chairmen

THE SECRETARY OF STATE



### DEPARTMENT OF STATE WASHINGTON

September 23, 1944

### MEMORANDUM FOR MR. EARLY

Letter from Rabbi Stephen S. Wise Subject: dated September 14, 1944, with enclosures, regarding Palestine.

In accordance with your request there is transmitted herewith for your signature a letter which has been prepared in the Department in reply to the attached letter dated September 14, 1944 from Rabbi Wise to you, with enclosures, regarding Palestine.

### Enclosures:

1. Letter to Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Synagogue House,
40 West Sixty-eighth Street,
New York, New York.
2. Letter to Hon. Stephen Early,
September 14, 1944, from
Rabbi Wise, with enclosures.



THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

Dear Rabbi Wise:

I am sorry that the press of business in
the last few days has not made it possible for
me to reply sooner to your letter of September 14,
1944, with its enclosures, regarding Palestine.
I wanted you to know, however, that your letter
was received and that it has received careful
consideration.

With best wishes, Very sincerely yours,

> Stephen Early Secretary to the President

Rabbi Stephen S. Wise,

Synagogue House,

40 West Sixty-eighth Street, New York, New York. Jewise Tacked Robbibises

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Robbib Timeling-hadritseen

The President's wire - world

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Grace :

Judge Rosenman said to give

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### MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES:

Letter from Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Synagogue House, 40 West 68th St., NYC, 9/14/44, to Mr. Farly, enclosing a letter of the same date for the President, urging that a decision on the future of Palestine be no longer delayed, and enclosing a mimeographed "Memorandum on Palestine and Partition Submitted to State Department, July 7, 1944", sent to the Secretary of State as per penciled notation "Secy. of State To prep. reply".

9/20/44 hms Free Synagogue

Hon. Stephen Early Hotel Frontenac Quebec, Canada NEA

Sunagugue House

September 14, 1944

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

SEP 2 1944

DICTION OF MEAR FASTERN AFFAIRS

Dear Stephen Early:

I would not ask you to place the enclosure before the Chief if I did not know that it should come to his notice.

I beg you will present it to him without delay.

With deepfelt thanks and cordial greetings,

( AAA

Stephen S. Wise

sswieh enclesure STEPHEN S. WISE
FORTY WEST SIXTY-EIGHTH STREET
NEW YORK 23, N. Y.

September 14, 1944

The President Quebeo Canada

Dear Chief:

The hopes and faith of the entire world are with you. Still, you will forgive me if I make an appeal to you at this moment on behalf of the Jewish people and Palestine.

In the decisions that must be taken by you and the Prime Minister now, I would most earnestly suggest that a decision on the future of Palestine be no longer delayed. For millions of my people Europe has, alas, become a cemetery. But there are many who survive, and whose eyes are turned to Palestine as the one place which they feel they can ever again call home.

Immediately following the liberation of Nazi-socupied Europe the possibility of carrying out far-reaching and largely conceived plans will be much greater than later, when things have congealed. It is vital, therefore, that the intention to spen Palestine freely to Jewish immigration, with the object of establishing there a Jewish Commonwealth, should now be clearly and specifically declared.

The Jewish National Home must be a home in fact, a home to which every Jew who wishes to go there shall be entitled to go as of right. It must be a home in

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# STEPHEN S. WISE FORTY WEST SIXTY-EIGHTH STREET NEW YORK 23, N. Y.

The President Quebec, Canada September 14, 1944

-2-

which a Jewish majority shall be entitled to set up a selfgoverning Jewish Commonwealth in which all the inhabitants shall have equality before the law, while retaining the right to the maintenance of their own culture, language, and religion.

Proposals have been meeted for a partition of Palestine and for the setting up of a Jewish State in a part of Palestine. We believe that such a partition would be in every sense disastrous. I append a memorandum submitted to the Secretary of State on this subject, and would only add that there is unanimous opposition on the part of Jews everywhere to any proposal for the partition of Palestine.

With deep regard I pray that your deliberations may be fruitful, and your decisions be greatly blessed.

With affection,

Ever faithfully yours,

ssw:eh enclosure

### Memorandum on

### Palestine and Partition

Submitted to State Department, July 7, 1944

- 1. The 1922 Partition. Partition is no new proposal as far as Palestine is concerned. The Balfour Declaration with its promise of a National Home for the Jewish people was originally intended to apply to the whole of historic Falestine, 1. including Palestine east of the Jordan, or Trans-Jordan as it is known today. In September, 1922, however, the League of Nations, at the instance of the British Government, excluded Trans-Jordan from this area. More than two-thirds of the territory originally designated as the Jewish National Home was thus closed to Jewish settlement.
- 2. The 1937 Proposal. A further partition of Palestine proposed in 1937 by the Palestine Royal Commission recommended the establishment of a Jewish State on an area of about one-fifth of Palestine west of the Jordan. The remainder, apart from a small British enclave, together with Trans-Jordan was to become an Arab State. In Parliament this proposal was severly criticized, among others, by Winston Churchill, and was made the subject of a devastating analysis by a former British High Commissioner of Palestine, Viscount Samuel. The objections indicated by Viscount Samuel were more than confirmed by the Palestine Partition Commission (1938), headed by Sir John Woodhead, which was appointed by the British Government to investigate the technical aspects of the partition proposal.
- 3. Economic Objections. No proposal for the future of Palestine can be acceptable to the Jewish people which precludes the possibility of large scale Jewish settlement and colonization. But partition, to quote the Woodhead Commission, "would be a severe blow to the economic welfare of the Jewish State." It would be detrimental to industrial expansion and would greatly limit the possibilities of absorbing a large Jewish population.
- So far as agricultural colonization is concerned, partition would be fatal to any important project for close settlement and intensive development. For any conceivable partition of Palestine would necessarily separate the important water resources in the north, from the irrigable land in the south which offers the greatest prospect of development. Such a political separation of water and land would of course entirely preclude the development of Palestine in regional terms along the lines of the TVA, as suggested by Dr. W. C. Lowdermilk in "Palestine, Land of Promise".
- 4. Jewish Attitude Today. Thereas in 1927 some sections of the Zionist movement were ready to consider a proposal to establish a Jewish State in a partitioned Palestine, today Zionists are unanimous in their opposition to any partition. The reason lies in the fundamental change which the Jewish situation in Europe has undergone as a result of the war and Europe's occupation by the Nazis. While some of those Jews who will survive the war will no doubt desire to return to their countries of origin, for very many emigration and in particular emigration to Palestine where alone they can claim to go as of right and will be welcomed by their own people, offers the best, if not the only prospect of a new

<sup>1.</sup> Palestine Royal Commission Report, 1937, p. 38.

and more hopeful future. In order to meet the needs of such a large scale immigration it will be necessary to make use of the possibilities as a whole, and any reduction in the area of settlement would be regarded as introducing a corresponding limitation on the numbers who may thus be rehabilitated.

- 5. Exclusion of Vital Areas. To the Jews not merely would a second partition of Palestine be regarded as a grievous and continuing injustice, but in addition to the other objections already suggested there is the fact that no partition of Palestine is possible which would not exclude areas which are intimately woven economically, religiously sentimentally and historically into the warp and woof of the National Home. Thus the exclusion of northern Palestine from the Jewish State would not only remove from the Jewish area a network of colonies in Galilee associated with some of the most heroic aspects of the story of Jewish resettlement in Palestine, but would presumably mean in addition the excision of Haifa and of the Valley of Jezreel. Around Haifa are located most of the larger industrial enterprises of Palestine Jewry. To take away this port, which is the principal door to and from Palestine, and to exclude the surrounding industrial zone from the Jewish State would be a calamitous blow. The valley of Jezreel again, which has been entirely reclaimed from its previous pestiferous and marshy condition by the lives and sweat of Jewish colonists, is today the showpiece of Jewish colonization in Palestine. Its flourishing settlements constitute the backbone of Palestine's Jewish agricultural community. It would be inconceivable that this area should be cut out of the Jewish State to be. On the other hand, as already indicated, if the partition proposed is one which would exclude the southern area of Palestine from the Jewish State, we are faced at once with the fact that it is in the south that the greatest possibilities for agricultural development and settlement exist. To exclude this area is to hamstring these possibilities.
- 6. Effect on the Arabs. For the Arab State partition would be economically catastrophic. "It would be impossible", said the Woodhead Commission, "whatever boundaries we might recommend, to set up an Arab State which should be self-supporting." This view is confirmed by the results of the separation of Trans-Jordan from western Palestine. The latter, developed by Jewish energy and capital, has made rapid economic progress, with accompanying benefits for the Arab section of the population in the standard of living, educational and social services, and with unprecedented growth of population. Trans-Jordan, however, has remained poverty-stricken, dependent on subsidies from without, and numerically almost stationary.
- 7. Political Disadvantages. Great as are its economic disadvantges, partition is no less inexpedient from the political point of view. It is urged in justification of partition that by separating Arabs from Jews, the possibilities of friction are eliminated or at least reduced. But, as was indicated by the Woodhead Commission, any partition proposal would leave large numbers of Arabs within the Jewish area. At the same time the interest of the surrounding Arab States in the Arabs within the Jewish State would continue undiminished. Under these circumstances the establishment of a tiny, economically and politically impotent, Jewish State would hardly be conducive to a permanent settlement. Thus partition would fail to achieve its primary purpose. The alternative of a large scale transfer of Jews into an undivided and economically viable Palestine within a minimum period after the war, would create facts such as would make possible the establishment of a well-founded Jewish Commonwealth capable of maintaining itself and in a position ultimately to reach final and mutually advantageous agreements with its Arab neighbors. In addition, the natural boundary of the

Jordan Valley offers a strategically defensible frontier. "The military authorities", stated the Woodhead Commission, "have impressed us that no boundary can be found west of the Jordan which affords a satisfactory strategic line". Indeed, as one member of the Mandates Commission said, "Partition creates more problems than it solves."

### Summary of Objections to a Partition of Palestine.

- 1. The effect on both the Arab and the Jewish States would be disastrous from the economic point of view. The Arab State could not be self-supporting and its standard of living would deteriorate. The Jewish State would be unable to support any considerable new immigration.
- 2. Administration would be complicated, communications and transportation greatly affected and liberty of movement curtailed.
- 3. No strategically defensible boundary can be drawn within Palestine west of the Jordan.
- 4. From the political point of view partition will be unacceptable to the Jews and would invite bitter and violent opposition from the Arabs.
- 5. In fine, partition would do no more than to create the caricature of a Jewish State -- a state lacking in the substance of economic and political power, unable to offer shelter to those hundreds of thousands of Jews who will desire to return to their National Home, and incapable of making that vitalizing contribution to the life of the whole Near and Middle East which might be expected from a broadly based, well established Jewish Commonwealth.

The White House

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STEPHEN EARLY

SECRETARY TO THE PRESIDENT WHITE HOUSE

REFERRING TO MINE AND DOCTOR WISES LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT

SEPTEMBER 1 WOULD DEEPLY APPRECIATE EARLY REPLY AND

APPOINTMENT KINDEST REGARDS

ABBA HILLEL SILVER TEMPLE CLEVELAND OHIO

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## THE WHITE HOUSE

10-12-44

GEN. MATSON:

particularly that you let the President see this letter from Sen. Waster, re Zionist people, their problems, etc. Now that Dr. Wise has seen the President is it necessary he see this letter?

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THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

Cotober 13, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR GEMERAL WATSON: Eill Hassett fald he had a 'phone call from Leo Seobe, an old newspaper ten, who is attending Zionist Convention at Atlantic City. It aspears that Rabel Silver is in a fix, more or less, with the Convention, because he did not get to see the President the other day, although Rabbi Miss did. Silver claims he wrote the President on September 25th he wrote the President on September 28th asking for the appointment and never heard from the White House. As ratter of fact he and Wise both signed the letter, but as you will recall, the appointment for Wise was made from Hyde Park, and Silver was not included. Sachs was referred by Mr. Hassett to this office. He is now calling you.

general water Tacked to Dec Suchs 10/14/44 Trest Pri som silver right now. homes

100 WASHINGTON

November 16, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR

MRS. ROOSEVELT:

I don't think this had better

be answered.

F.D.R.

x Prz 5107

Letter from Freda Kirchwey, The Shoreham,
2500 Calvert St., N.W., Washington 8, D. C.,
10/19/44, to Mrs. Roosevelt, in reference to xpp>601
President's statement to the Zionist Convention
at Atlantic City. Also makes reference to a
joint statement by the President and Prime Minister
Churchill on the Palestine situation.

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x PP72 x76-6 REPRODUCED FROM HOLDINGS AT THE FILMHELM IL ROCSEVELY LIBRARY

## THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

March 8, 1945

100

MERCHARDE

TU:

MAR. MASSETT

FROM:

AR. LUBIK

I have been intorsed that there are some five or six hundred Jewish refugees in the Mediterranean area who have the necessary visas and clearance from the British government to so to Pelestine & They have been held up for souths due to the fact that no shipping was available to transport them. The War Enipping Administration will shortly have several ships in that area with UNERA goods on bours. The WSA people tell me that they could use one of those Liberty ships to transport these refugees to Pelestine if they got the "go ancad" sign from the President. They say that they can so it without interioring with the needs of the aread forces.

Captain Conway, who is Jerry Lend's deputy, says that the whole job can be handled without much difficulty if he gots an okay to so this.

The attached letter will, I have been told by Captain Convay, do the job.

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## THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

Vice Admirel Emory S. Land Ver Shipping Administration Tesnington, D. C.

Bear Jerry:

I understand that you will shortly have several ships in the Mediterranean area which are being used for the delivery of UNERA goods. I have been told that it might be possible to use one of these ships to carry refugees who have the necessary visas and papers to a Paleatinian port.

If this can be done tithout interfering with our military requirements, I should appreciate your making the necessary arrangements.

Sincerely,

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE WASHINGTON, D. C.





# DEPARTMENT OF STATE WASHINGTON

April 4, 1945

#### MEMORANDUM FOR MR. WILLIAM D. HASSETT

Enclosed is correspondence which accompanied your memorandum to the Secretary of State dated March 13, 1945, and which was inadvertently omitted from the Department's reply to the White House on March 27, 1945.

Enclosures:

From Dr. Isador Lubin March 8 and 12, 1945. Two suggested letters to Vice Admiral Emory S. Land.



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### THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

March 12, 1945

BERRYFFER

TO:

BR. BASSETT

PROM:

MR. LUBIN K

SUBJECT:

REFUGERS IN RUNAMIA

In reply to the question you maked over the phone, I also recorded that the thousand refugees in Rusanic are located around the port of Constants, where the ship delivering supplies for UNERA will unload. These people are being maintained in casps and by private fasilies, mostly at the expense of private Assrican organizations. There is no UNERA colp in that area.

The Var Shipping Board people tell so teat, if necessary, they could arrange to have the job of transporting these people to Phiestine done under regular contract. If the President does not taink that we ought to move these people attacut charge, they could make a regular passenger rate charge for each person that they move to Palestine. The funds to pay for this are available in New York at the present secent.

If the President Loubs rather that the job be done under a commercial arrangement of this sort, the attached letter to Jerry Land, rather than the one I sent you, eight be used.

As I stated in my previous assortances, the ship will be at Constantia and, ofter unlocaing UNREA supplies, could easily be used for transporting times refugees without interfering life the requirements of the military forces.

I wint to communice that all of the refugeor concerned have the account, writish viscs and have been elected for movement to Palestine by the Eussian government.

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## THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

Warch 12, 1945

Vice Admiral Emory S. Land for Shipping Administration Vasatington, D. C.

Dear Jerry:

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If this can be done on a commercial basis, energy the lar Shipping Administration usual carge passenger rates for transportation, without interfering with our military requirements, I should appreciate your making the necessary arrangements.

Sincerely, .

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE July .



# DEPARTMENT OF STATE WASHINGTON

March 27, 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. WILLIAM D. HASSETT

I cannot recommend that either of the letters attached to your memorandum of March 13, 1945 authorizing the use of WSA shipping for the transport of refugees from Rumania to Palestine be signed by the President. Information received by cable from Bucharest confirms a tentative report made to you earlier by telephone by Mr. Warren that Jewish refugees in Rumania now have the status of immigrants for Palestine and thus are subject to the issuance of Palestine certificates by the British Passport Control Office in Rumania. This Office is not yet functioning in Rumania and the cable suggests that Palestine immigrants will not be able to leave Rumania until all necessary procedures are established. There has been no movement of Palestine immigrants from Rumania since late December.

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It appears further that WSA shipping will not be needed for this purpose in the immediate future because the SS SMYRNA. refitted to carry fifteen hundred passengers, has been held available at Constanza for some weeks by the Jewish Agency for Palestine and the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee to carry such passengers to Palestine as may be in possession of valid certificates and exit permits.



×99



#### MUMORANDUM FOR MR. WILLIAM D. RASSETT

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MR. HASSETT: TELEPHONE CALL March 17, 1945

GEORGE L. WARREN Office of Wartime Economic Affairs, State Department

(Mr. Hassett talked to him re correspondence from  $\partial r.$  Lubin re refugees in Rumania.

AVI

Andrew

#### March 13, 1945

#### MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE:

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The accompanying correspondence from Dr. Isador Lubin re refugees in Rumania, with suggested drafts of letters for the President's signature, is respectfully referred to the Secretary of State for recommendation. Brigadier General William O'Dwyer, Executive Director, War Refugee Board, informs me that this request does not come within the scope of the Board.

×4529

× 5477

WILLIAM D. HASSETT Secretary to the President

WDH/mdp

Memo of 3-12-45 to Mr. Hassett from Dr. Lubin re transporting the thousand refugees in Rumania to Palestine; draft of proposed letter x 4772 to Vice Admiral Emory S. Land, War Shipping Admin., for President's signature; memo of 3-8-45 to Mr. Hassett from Dr. Lubin re above subject, and draft of proposed letter from the Pres. to Emory Land.

March 13, 1945

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#### WILLIAM D. HASSETT Secretary to the President

WDH/mdp

Memo of 3-12-45 to Mr. Hassett from Dr. Lubin re transporting the thousand refugees in Rumania to Palestine; draft of proposed letter to Vice Admiral Emory S. Land, War Shipping Admin., for President's signature; memo of 3-8-45 to Mr. Hassett from Dr. Lubin re above subject, and draft of proposed letter from the Pres. to Emory Land.

#### April 4, 1945

#### MEMORANDUM FOR DR. ISADOR LUBIN:

The Acting Secretary of State has advised me that he cannot recommend that either of the letters which you prepared for the President's signature, authorizing the use of WSA shipping for the transport of Jewish refugees from Rumania to Palestine, be signed.

The Asting Secretary reports that Jewish refugees in Rumania now have the status of immigrants for Palestine and thus are subject to the issuance of Palestine certificates by the British Passport Centrol Office in Rumania. This Office is not yet functioning in Rumania -- hence Palestine immigrants will not be able to leave Rumania until all necessary procedures are established.

W. D. H.