

PSF: PATRICK J. HURLEY (Maj-Gen.)

Subject File

Gen.
PSF: Hurley
Box 
  153

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
THE SECRETARY

June 5, 1943

MEMORANDUM FOR MISS TULLY

In accord with our telephone conversation of yesterday, I return herewith the messages from General Hurley.

C.W.G.

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PSF: *Harlow*

HEADQUARTERS
UNITED STATES ARMY FORCES
IN THE MIDDLE EAST

CAIRO, EGYPT,
May 5, 1943.

~~SECRET AND CONFIDENTIAL~~

Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President of the United States,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

**REGRADED
UNCLASSIFIED**

Dear Mr. President:

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PART I

In French Morocco, Egypt, Palestine, the Lebanon, Syria, Iraq and Iran, I have conferred with political, military, and religious leaders and with many individual citizens. I have visited all the Arab Nations except Saudi Arabia and Transjordan which I intend to visit soon.

The situation in the non-Arab State of Iran will be reported to you after I have had an opportunity to discuss it further with the Right Honorable Richard D. Casey, British Minister of State in Cairo.

In all of the areas visited, the local leaders have assumed that the war will be won by the United Nations. Consequently their discussions point toward the conditions of peace rather than the actions necessary to assure victory.

In the Middle East, American prestige is higher than that of any other nation. This is due primarily to the fact that America is believed to have no imperialistic designs.

American missionaries, especially the Presbyterians, have added materially to American prestige by establishing schools and

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hospitals. These institutions have had over a long period of years the services of men and women who exemplified the ideals of Americanism.

The benevolence of the American Lend-Lease Act is a significant factor in procuring good will for America.

Moslems, Jews, Christians--British, French and Arabs--have all discussed with me in detail: (1) the approaches to the actual creation of a structure of world-wide unity; (2) the form of the organization to be adopted initially by the United Nations; (3) the necessity for assistance and a form of trusteeship by the United Nations for dependent or backward peoples in undeveloped areas; and (4) regulations for production, transportation, trade, distribution and utilization of natural resources.

In Iraq and Iran there were prolonged discussions concerning a fair international petroleum policy. I am giving this problem further attention. Invariably the leaders in oil producing nations complain that their own people derive too little benefit from these resources while foreign exploiters take excessive profits.

In varying degrees our own allies are still devoted to the principles of imperialism, colonial exploitation or conquest. Manifestations of this attitude are found with the French in Syria and the Lebanon, the Russians in northern Iran, the British in southern Iran and other areas, and the Jews in Palestine and Transjordan. While it is true that conditions of war require continuance at this time of certain policies of conquest and imperialism, these must eventually be in complete conflict with the principles of the Atlantic Charter and the four freedoms. Native officials and individuals in many of the places visited have defined this fundamental conflict. The high principles of the Atlantic Charter and the practices of exploitation and imperialism

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cannot be reconciled.

Intelligent native leaders with whom I have conversed are aware of the fact that the United States Government is based on the principle that governments must derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. They are familiar with our expressed conviction that no man is good enough to rule another man without the other's consent.

They conclude this line of argument by saying that if the United States is not to change its own fundamental principles and if it is to participate in a world-wide union for trusteeship for dependent peoples in undeveloped areas, a new system must be evolved so that all people everywhere may participate to the extent of their capacity in their own government.

PART II

Running through all the discussions in the Middle East, most definite emphasis is placed not on war and not on peace but on the issue of establishing or not establishing a Jewish Political State in Palestine.

It is unnecessary for me to discuss for you in this report the arguments based on Scripture, on history, on the Balfour Declaration, on the Palestine Mandate, on the Joint Resolution of the United States Congress, on the British White Paper, or on the speeches of leading nationals pertaining to the Jewish National Home and a Jewish Political State in Palestine.

The debate on the issue of a Jewish Political State in Palestine in many quarters has become acrimonious. Among the Jews themselves there is a clear division of opinion on this question.

For its part, the Zionist organization in Palestine has indicated its commitment to an enlarged program for (1) a sovereign Jewish State

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which would embrace Palestine and probably Transjordan, (2) an eventual transfer of the Arab population from Palestine to Iraq, and (3) Jewish leadership for the whole Middle East in the fields of economic development and control.

In Palestine itself there are considerable numbers of Jews who consider themselves primarily Europeans, and who would prefer to return to Europe if security of life can be assured there. There are others who would accept life in Palestine under advantageous conditions but who shrink from possible violence or the hard life of pioneers. Since the Zionist organization in Palestine exercises major control over the means of livelihood of the refugee Jews of that country, it is difficult to assess precisely the strength of actual or potential opposition to the organization program. Nevertheless it is clear that such opposition exists among the Palestine Jews themselves and that it will become more manifest when democratic regimes are reestablished in Europe.

Jewish communities in the Middle East, outside of Palestine, are long established and important, socially and economically. Leaders, and I believe a majority of members of these communities, view the Zionist program with a degree of distrust and alarm based on (1) fear that it may imply forced migration to Palestine, (2) fear that any attempt to implement the program would lead to persecution, and (3) religious differences among the Jews themselves.

Among the Arabs, there is little or no anti-Jewish sentiment as we ordinarily use the term; nor is there serious opposition to the concept of a Jewish National Home. There are racial relationships between the Arab and the Jew. Notwithstanding these factors, there is deepseated Arab hostility to any immigration program intended to create a Jewish majority in Palestine and to the establishment of a Jewish sovereign state.

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There is hostility also toward the Jewish claim that they are the "chosen people" and hence entitled, even though they are a minority, to special privileges. One leading Arab spokesman described this "chosen people" concept as kindred to Nazi doctrine.

The basic fear of the Arab leaders seems to be that a Jewish Political State in the Middle East, due to the influence of world Jewry on the great powers, would become the means by which imperialism would continue to dominate the Middle East. Such a condition would, of course, obstruct the establishment of really independent Arab political states in an Arab union.

Nuri Pasha es-Said, Prime Minister of Iraq and one of the longtime proponents of Arab Federation, has suggested a compromise solution. This solution is sufficiently close to that set forth in the British White Paper of 1939 as to entitle it to the sympathetic consideration of the British Government. The Nuri proposals differ from the White Paper principally in that they would expedite the assumption of independence by Palestine; they would not recognize a continued British special interest in Palestine based on strategic considerations; and they would establish an Arab Federation embracing Palestine, Transjordan, the Lebanon, Syria, Iraq and such other Arab states as might desire adherence. The Jewish population in Palestine, with immigration limited by law so as to prevent such immigration from creating a Jewish majority, thus assuring an Arab majority, would have autonomous rights within the districts in which they constituted majorities. The Lebanese Christian community would have the same rights. These rights are to be protected by international guarantees.

Some such solution very probably would meet with acceptance by a majority of Moslem Arab leaders, of the leaders of Jewish communities in

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the Middle East outside of Palestine, and of significant numbers of the Jews within Palestine.

Throughout the Arab nations I found a well defined opinion prevailing that the United States, and not Great Britain, is insisting on establishing a sovereign Jewish State in Palestine.

Mr. Ben-Gurion, the Zionist leader in Palestine, discussed at length and with unusual eloquence the Jewish claim to political control of Palestine. Throughout his argument, Mr. Ben-Gurion assumed and asserted that the Government of the United States is committed and obligated, repeat obligated, to establish a Jewish Political State in Palestine.

This alleged obligation was said to derive from: (1) Scriptural promises and historical logic, (2) the investment in Palestine of Jewish American capital in reliance on the protection of the U.S. Government, (3) support accorded by the U.S. Government to the establishment of the Palestinian Mandate, and (4) support of the Zionist program implied in the Joint Resolution of Congress of 1922.

These Zionist arguments, intended to prove that the United States is obligated to establish a Jewish Political State in Palestine, do have an appeal and do encourage acceptance but they are in fact incorrect. It seemed wise, therefore, to point out to Mr. Ben-Gurion that none of the evidence offered revealed any obligation of the U.S. Government or the American people to support the present Zionist demand for creation of a Jewish majority and establishment of a Jewish Political State in Palestine. The documents involved in (3) and (4) were produced and it was shown clearly that the U.S. Government merely consented to the British Mandate for Palestine and, in the joint Resolution, favored only the establishment of a National Home for the Jews insofar as such a home would not trespass

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on the rights of Christian and other non-Jewish communities in Palestine.

Speakers opposing the Zionist position emphasized to me that the handing over of the Government of Palestine to the Jewish minority would violate the fundamental principles of Americanism, the Atlantic Charter and the four freedoms. They pointed out further that if it is admitted that a minority has a perpetual right to restitution of territory taken from it by conquest, the enforcement of that principle would destroy the British Empire and would require the United States to make restitution to Mexico of much of our West and Southwest.

Auni Bey Abdul Hadi, leader of the Arab Moslem majority in Palestine, presented to me the argument in opposition to the establishment of a Jewish State there. He asserted that Washington appears to be lending its strength to this plan of minority rule for the people of Palestine, and to be supporting a program of Jewish migration to Palestine sufficient in extent to give the Jews an eventual majority over the Arabs. He considers such policy unjust and certain to provoke hostilities against the Jews not only in Palestine but in all other Arab nations.

I asked Auni Bey the basis for his assertion. He replied first that he was informed that the Jewish minority in the United States and in fact in many other nations controls the most powerful means of propaganda; that the Zionist organization has forced Washington to oppose the Balfour concept of a Jewish National Home and that Washington in turn has forced the British Government to acquiesce in the establishment of a Jewish Political State in Palestine.

I suggested to Auni Bey that he was still speaking in generalities and asked him if he could state specifically the source of his information. He replied that Sir Ronald Storrs, former High Commissioner

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to Palestine, who recently revisited Palestine and other Arab States, had told him personally that His Britannic Majesty's Government is opposed to the establishment of a Jewish Political State in Palestine and still adheres to the Balfour Declaration and British White Paper policy for establishing a Jewish National Home in Palestine but that Washington is forcing British acquiescence in the establishment of a Jewish Political State. He said that many other British spokesmen had expressed the same opinion.

The widespread circulation of this opinion was revealed to me, but not at other times attributed to Sir Ronald Storrs, during conversations in Damascus, in Beirut, in Baghdad and in Tehran--with Moslems, Christians, Arab leaders, American missionaries, and others.

This line of propoganda is distinctly helpful to British prestige with the Arabs. I am convinced, however, that the British officials and leaders with whom I have conferred in the Middle East are definitely opposed to the establishment of a Jewish Political State in Palestine and are in favor of a settlement of the issue on the basis of the British White Paper.

There is another predominating rumor, which is so widely circulated and believed that it has assumed some of the definite attributes of a fact. It purports to be a quotation from a private conversation with Winston Churchill in Cairo, in which the Prime Minister allegedly said, "I am committed to the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine and the President will accept nothing less." If this statement was made, the Prime Minister unquestionable shares full responsibility with you for whatever decision is reached.

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Without attempting to assess responsibility for the Arab-Jewish problem, even while recognizing that the Middle East has been and is a zone of British influence, I believe the British are no longer able by themselves to settle this and kindred problems in the Middle East. Specifically it is my opinion that the British and the Americans must come together and share equally in the final decision for or against the establishment of a Jewish Political State and must share also the responsibility for the consequences of such a decision.

I am, sir, yours respectfully.

/s/ Patrick Hurley

PATRICK HURLEY,
Brigadier General, U.S.A.

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From: Cairo
To: AGWAR

Unnumbered May 13, 1943.

This for eyes alone President Roosevelt urgent and ~~most~~
~~secret~~ from General Hurley signed Brezeton. Before going to
Iran and since my return I have conferred at length with the
Rt Hon Richard D Casey British Minister of State for the Middle
East on conditions in Iran. In Iran I conferred with our
Minister, Mr Dreyfus, and members of his staff, with the
Commander of the United States Military Forces, Major General
Ronald G Connolly and members of his staff, with the British
Minister Sir R Bullard and members of his staff. I then con-
ferred with the American advisers Dr A C Millspaugh (economics)
Mr Joseph P Sheridan (food) Colonel Norman Schwartzkopf
(national police) Mr Timmerman (Municipal police) Major General
Clarence S Ridley (Iranian Army) with Mr. D Stansby and other
officials of the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation and
with Mr. Erik Eriksen of the United States Commercial Corporation.
After these meetings I conferred with the Shah Mohammad Reza,
the Prime Minister, Ali Sokhili, the Minister for Foreign Affairs,

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Saed Mareghel, and other Iranians. The situation in Iran is serious. The conditions and the methods employed by the British and the Russians in the military occupation of Iran have rendered the Iranian Government impotent. The aspirations of the British and the Russians in Iran are in conflict. The Iranians distrust the motives of both the British and the Russians and believe that the future existence of Iran as an independent nation is threatened. American prestige in Iran is being injured by the fact that Americans are in positions of responsibility without adequate authority. In conversations which I had with the Shah, the Prime Minister, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, matters both far reaching and specific were discussed. Chief among the subjects were (1) food, (2) transportation, (3) inflation, (4) possibility of an Iranian declaration of war against the Axis as a member of the United Nations and (5) future relationships between Iran, Britain, Russia and the United States. The Russians have occupied the northern portion of Iran constituting roughly 1/3 of the country's area and a majority of its population. This portion of Iran is richest in production of food and in all natural resources except developed oil resources. The British occupy the less populous but larger geographical area of the south. The portion occupied by the British extends to the Persian Gulf and contains all of the developed oil areas of the country. For the most

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part the attitude of the Iranian officials and indeed of all the Iranian people who are in a position to appraise conditions, is one of intense bitterness toward Great Britain. This bitterness toward Britain is so emotional that it has almost completely wiped out the memory of 400 years of uninterrupted Britain-Persian friendship. Toward Russia there is less bitterness but in my opinion there is a deep fear of the eventual objectives of Russia. However Russian administration of their zone of occupation is more acceptable to the Iranians than that of the British. The Iranians translate their bitterness toward the British and to a lesser extent toward the Russians in a series of specific charges against the policies of these two powers in Iran. Even under the most considerate planning by the occupation forces Iranian capacity to feed her own people would be severely strained by the presence of British, Russian and America Troops and their minimum requirements of local foods. Iranian spokesman complain however that neither the British nor the Russians have displayed any considerate planning. The Iranians charge that in the south the British bought up great quantities of foodstuffs not only for their own consumption but for export. They charge that in the more abundant north the Russians have followed to some extent a like policy. The Iranians charge that the British forced inflation upon the country by

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insisting upon repeated government issuances of currency to be used to pay British forces of occupation and American supervised labor on the railroad track lines and road building projects. High wages paid by the British and Americans have contributed to the inflationary trend. Contributing to the inflation also it must be added is the weakness of the Iranian Government itself and the consequent lack of confidence in the national currency. By reason of its disorganized condition the Government was unable to stabilize prices or to prevent speculation and hoarding. The combination of inflated food prices and actual food scarcity has led to deaths by starvation. The Iranians charge that even when starvation became widespread in the south the British delayed taking steps to import grain. The Iranians and the British charge also that the Russians refused to permit shipments of foodstuffs to that portion of the country where there was a shortage. This food crisis was intensified the Iranians allege by the fact that the British deprived the country of effective use of its own transport system through commandeering or hiring at high prices great numbers of Iranian motor trucks and by taking over full control of the Iranian State Railroad. Additional Iranian trucks were pressed into Russian Service in the north. Most of this transportation was of course used for the purpose of transporting American Lend Lease materials to Russia. But the fact remains that lack of use of its own transportation facilities did prevent Iran from transporting food

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and thereby was an additional cause of food shortage. Iranian spokesmen accuse the British of deliberately bringing about food shortages and consequent bread riots in Tehran to provide an excuse for the British Military occupation of the city. The British occupation of Tehran the Russians and Iranians allege was in violation of the tripartite agreement between Iran, Russia, and Great Britain. The Iranians make further grave accusation that the British attempted at the time of the food crisis to force concessions from the Iranian Government in return for wheat. They allege that the British Minister submitted various conditions to the Iranian Government which he specifically stated must be accepted before the British Government would make any concession in regard to food, bearing on this accusation a message from the American Minister at Tehran to the Secretary of State Washington D. C. dated February 24, 1943 and copy of the dispatch addressed to the Foreign Office in London repeated to Kuibyshev and Washington dated November 6, 1942 and signed Bullard. The end of the food crisis seems to be in sight. Russia has agreed to furnish the Iranians 25,000 tons of wheat. The Americans and British have agreed to furnish a total of 32,500 tons of wheat and barley part of which has been delivered. There are prospects for a good crop if the American advisers Dr Millspaugh (economics) and Mr Sheridan (food) are able to procure the funds

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for the purchase of the wheat crop and the transportation to get it to the centers of population, the most immediate cause of Iranian unrest would be removed. At another time of crisis the Iranians charge that typhus serum was ordered from the United States and that it was shipped but was impounded by the British at Cairo. The Iranians assert that if this serum had been delivered it would have prevented many deaths from typhus. Wherever the fault lies the fact is that the serum was not delivered and many Iranians died during the subsequent epidemic. The Iranians charge that the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation, a British Government institution, which entered Iran for the purpose of preclusive purchasing of war materials has forced itself into a position of a complete monopoly of all Iranian foreign trade. The Iranian officials complain bitterly that after having stripped the Iranian Government of nearly all of its actual powers and having rendered that Government helpless in this period of crisis. The British now openly blame the Iranian Government for not taking strong action to procure proper transportation facilities to prevent inflation, to fix prices, and to prevent starvation of the population. There are other counts in the indictment but I think I have given you enough to create the impression that the British are not popular in Iran. The

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Iranians openly charge and believe that Britain has been guilty in Iran of conduct akin to that of the Nazis in Europe. If the Iranians had to decide today between the British and the Russians they would in my opinion unquestionably choose the Russians. American troops in Iran are in a peculiar position. In conversation with Russian Army officers and Iranian officials they have at times referred to the United States as an instrumentality of Great Britain. I have learned that this assertion is based on the allegation that American troops entered Iran on the invitation and under the direction of the British alone. It is alleged that neither the Iranians nor the Russians were consulted in advance of the arrival of American troops. The Russians still assert that they have not been officially apprised throughout the intervening months of the presence or the purposes of American Troops in Iran. This argument on the part of the Russians seems weak in face of the fact that American Troops entered Iran for the sole purpose of operating the state railway and military supply lines to transport American Lend Lease materials to Russia. The American Troops in Iran are not combat troops. They are service troops. It does appear to be true however that the Iranian Government was not notified of the coming of American troops or the purpose that the troops were to serve. American

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advisers to the Iranian Government are charged with the responsibility of guaranteeing civilian food supplies, providing transportation, fixing prices, supervising national and municipal police forces, supervising the reorganization of the Iranian Army, preventing inflation, stabilizing the currency, providing funds for the ordinary needs of government, and in general restoring security and order to Iran. Up to the time I left Iran no adequate authority had been given to any of the American advisers to enable them to accomplish the tasks assigned. This left the American advisers among whom there are men of the highest character and ability in positions of responsibility without authority. More and more the American advisers are being criticized for not having brought order out of chaos when in fact they have been supplied with neither the means nor the authority that would enable them to achieve the purposes of their mission. The buck is usually passed from the British and Russians to the Iranians and by all three to the American advisers. The State Department is endeavoring to correct these situations by (1) procuring an agreement with the Iranian Government recognizing the presence of American Troops (2) procuring from Russian officials recognition of the presence of the units of the United States Army in their true status and (3) procuring from the Iranian Government adequate and proper authority for the American advisers. The ambitions

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of Russia and Great Britain are in conflict in Iran. In my opinion Britain and Russia aspire to control Iran after the war, not jointly but separately. Britains control would be for the purpose of keeping the monopoly of the oil resources which her nationals now own and of establishing a trade monopoly. Russia's control would serve to secure her long desired access to a warm water port. At the peace table I believe Russia will insist on either a corridor to the Persian Gulf or to the Indian Ocean or as an alternative freedom of the straits from the Black Sea to the Aegean Sea. In the light of these conflicting ambitions it appears rather certain that if Germany were totally defeated today and Japan were still in the field there would be open conflict in the Middle East between the forces of the United Nations. As if to aggravate the relations between Russia and Britain in Iran there is a rumor being encouraged in Iran to the effect that the British in Washington are endeavoring to prevent further Lend Lease assistance from the United States to Russia. It is alleged that the British contend that American supplies are giving Russia such strength as to make Russia a menace to the peace of the world after the capitulation of Germany. Owing to the gravity of the situation and to the complexity of international relationships I think it essential that you understand that in Iran both diplomatic officials and military officers

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of the United States appear to be giving the weight of their influences to Russia as opposed to Britain. As evidence that this is true I refer to (1) the diplomatic correspondence between the United State Legation in Tehran and the State Department and (2) the fact that the United States Military Commander in Tehran has recently dispensed with G-2 services on the ground that the United States Army intelligence operations in that area while favored by the British were objectionable to Russia. The foregoing statement should not be considered as a charge or as an implication against the character, the ability or the patriotism of the American officials in Iran but as an indication that the situation there demands an immediate clarification of the policies of the United States. Russia and the United States are traditionally friends and at the peace table they must have and must be entitled to the confidence of each other. The achievement of the purposes of the Atlantic Charter and the peace and prosperity of the world depend in great measure on the unity of the English speaking people. If our present policy is continued in Iran it must ultimately alienate from the United States either the British or the Russians. What is taking place at the present time in Iran promotes and, unless corrected, ensures disunity among the three greatest forces of the United Nations. During the past 1/4 of a century the Middle East has been

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recognized as a British Sphere of Influence. Britain was the dominant power in that area notwithstanding the operations of the French in the Lebanon and Syria and certain definite penetrations in the entire area by the Germans. Great Britain no longer possesses within herself the essentials of power needed to maintain her traditional role as the dominant influence in the Middle East Area. The position of Britain in the Middle East was waning even before the outbreak of the present War. The antipathy for Great Britain in the Middle East has caused a growth first of pro Nazi and now of pro Soviet sentiment. Unless it is the carefully considered intention of the United States to play a strong independent role in the Middle East a policy which has not thus far been indicated our course should be toward a reconciliation and integration of the British American influences in Iran. Such joint action by Britain and the United States should be directed toward developing strong enlightened native governments not only in Iran but in other nations of the Middle East with Russia sharing in a United Nations trusteeship for these local governments at present American Army and civilian personnel in Iran are being frustrated by lack of positive directions from our government as to whether they should support conquest and imperialism or

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the Atlantic Charter and the four Freedoms or as to what should be their attitude in the conflict between Russia and Britain. American prestige is decreasing without any parallel benefit to British prestige. There is a growing feeling among the British officials in the field that the United States has ambitions to become a colonial power. There is extensive Axis propoganda to the effect that the Americans intend to take over the British Empire. In my opinion the United States Government is so constituted that it could not become a colonial administrator without denying the fundamental principle of its own existence. In addition to that I am certain that the United States has no desire to become an imperialistic or colonial power. If you should move into the situation in the Middle East, however, with the precision and the force that conditions demand and you may be accused at home of committing the United States to Imperialism, exploitation, violation of the fundamental principles of ^{our own government, and opposition to the principles of} the Atlantic Charter. In the face of all these negatives I am convinced that strong action by you in this situation would be justified as a war emergency and a step toward unity between Russia, Britain and the United States and toward the ultimate establishment of the principles of the Atlantic Charter. The proper results in Iran cannot be achieved by your support of British leadership alone. All of this leads to the

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conclusion that integration of the British American policies in Iran and maintenance of proper relations with the Russians there must have your leadership rather than British leadership. I believe you must assume at least that degree of leadership that will justify the confidence of the officials and the people of Iran in America's capacity to uphold the principles of the Atlantic Charter and to assure the continued existence of Iran as a free nation under your leadership there must be found also a solution of the Russian British conflict. I recommend initially (1) that Iran be assured that America insists that the principles of the Atlantic Charter do apply to Iran (2) that Iran be permitted to join the United Nations in a declaration of war against the Axis (3) that the American and British Legations be raised immediately to the status of Embassies and (4) that American and British Ambassadors compatible to each other and able to understand and promote British American Russian cooperation be appointed to Iran. I have discussed in a general way my conclusions with the Rt Hon Richard D Casey.

No Sig.

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PSF: Hurley ~~to Jones 11~~

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

file
Personal

June 19, 1943

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Admiral Richard Byrd telephoned the following news about General Pat Hurley:

Dr. Hugh Young said they had operated on him yesterday, and took out from his prostate an enlargement as big as a tangerine, but it is not malignant, and they will not have to take the prostate out.

Pat Hurley is going to be all right soon. The operation is considered very successful, and everything was handled beautifully. Mr. Hurley seemed to be full of pep and ginger.

E.M.W.

PSF: Hurley, Jordan 3-43

~~Col. Comd. H~~

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under Arabia

+ P. Hurley

Baltimore, Maryland
July 7, 1943.

The President of The United States
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:

I am transmitting to you herewith a report which I prepared in Saudi Arabia. I held the report with the hope that I might discuss the situation fully with you at the time I submitted it. My illness has caused such great delay that I feel that you are entitled to a report of my observations without further postponement because of the many matters pertaining to Saudi Arabia now under consideration. I hope to have the opportunity to discuss with you the matters covered by the report, as well as other essentials, when I return to Washington.

I am, Sir,

Respectfully yours,



PATRICK HURLEY,
Brigadier General, U. S. A.

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June 9, 1943.

The President of The United States
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

I have just completed several days of conferences with Ibn Saud, King of Saudi Arabia.

Ibn Saud is the wisest and strongest of all the leaders I have met in the Arab states. He is a man of vision and executive ability ready to lead his people in keeping pace with the progress of the world. He is, however, sensitive to the primitive outlook of his countrymen and their reluctance to accept foreign influences too readily.

Ibn Saud acknowledges frankly that his country for its own safety and welfare needs the friendship and the assistance of a strong foreign power, but he distrusts and fears foreign imperialism. He is determined that his country will not become a pawn or a mere instrument for profit of some foreign government.

The King has, however, great faith and confidence in the United States. He looks to America and to you for the benevolent friendship which his nation needs and for the integrity of leadership which must be demonstrated by the United States if the Atlantic Charter and the four freedoms are to become realities. He expressed complete confidence in your leadership and sincerely

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pleaded for your friendship.

I found many manifestations in Saudi Arabia of Ibn Saud's confidence in America and of his eagerness that American interests rather than those of any other foreign power, so often instrumentalities for political penetration, should assist the Saudi Arabian government in the development of the natural resources of the country. The King pointedly referred to British and French economic penetration in other sectors of the Middle East. He made it clear that he will deny entry to Saudi Arabia to any business interest which is dominated by an imperialistic government and whose policies would be subject to such a government rather than fully subject to Saudi Arabian authority.

For Saudi Arabia Ibn Saud has favored American interests by granting all oil concessions, his most valuable natural asset, to an American company, the California Arabian Standard Oil Company.

The King acknowledges that Britain has befriended his country in recent months. He emphasized that he wishes to continue friendly relations with the British government but he was positive in asserting that insofar as it is within his power he will not permit British or any other imperialism to rule or to influence the internal life of Saudi Arabia.

At one time during the conferences the King dismissed all of his advisers who were present and asked me if I would permit my interpreter to leave as he wanted to have a secret conference with me. Then the only persons present were the King, myself, and the

King's confidential interpreter. The King said that he was making this conference secret for the reason that he wished to discuss with me frankly his relations with Britain. He advised me that what he was saying was for your information alone.

As soon as I had left the King I dictated the outlines of his confidential communication to you. I will transmit it to you as soon as I see you. I have thought best, however, not to commit to writing in this report the King's secret communication.

While the King did not display bitter hostility toward Britain, he expressed the opinion that the British government still intends to force imperialistic rule on the Arab states. I pointed out to him that Britain had renounced imperialism as a policy in the Atlantic Charter and that in addition to the Atlantic Charter you had declared your unqualified commitment to the principles embodied in the four freedoms. He expressed confidence in your commitment but he believes that the Atlantic Charter has been repudiated on at least two occasions by Britain. Consequently, he said, nations that are opposed to imperialism must place their trust in you. He trusts you implicitly and his acceptance of the principles promulgated by you is complete.

I was in conference with Ibn Saud when we received the announcement from Moscow of the dissolution of the Third International. The King stated that he knew that Stalin, unlike Trotsky, did not favor a world communist revolution but relied on the creation within Russia of a successful example of applied communism.

Relying on this estimate of Mr. Stalin's motives the King expressed his own conviction, which he believed Moslems generally would come to share, that Russia has sincerely renounced the policy of forcing the world to accept communism. He concluded by stating his conviction that Mr. Stalin's action at this time was the result of your intervention.

In addition to the issue of imperialism, the King discussed with me three specific matters bearing upon his country and the Arab peoples of the world. They were (1) the creation of a union of Arab states, (2) the Palestine question, and (3) the needs of Saudi Arabia.

Ibn Saud favors the eventual establishment of an Arab union on principles similar to those embodied in the Constitution of the United States. If such a union is established, he continued, it should participate in a world federation which he thinks should also be patterned generally after the union of American states.

Such a federation, he said, must depend heavily upon American leadership and on application of the American principles of equality and democracy to the structure of the postwar world.

I will omit in this report the King's discussion and objections to the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine. I am aware of the fact that he has sent you a letter on this subject and that he also has given an interview to the magazine "Life" on the same subject. I, therefore, assume that his attitude is

well known to you.

As to the immediate needs of Saudi Arabia the King and his advisers discussed with me four specific categories, namely: food, transportation, communications and money.

I am aware that the Middle East Supply Center has received schedules of the immediate needs of Saudi Arabia and has approved at least parts of these schedules. It is the delay in meeting the approved schedules that prompted the King to mention their urgency to me. The King was also perplexed by the fact that it had been indicated to him that American Lend-Lease to his nation would be controlled by British authority. I was informed that subsequent to my seeing the King he had been advised that Lend-Lease will be handled directly between the United States and Saudi Arabian Governments. This decision will eliminate the bases of many misunderstandings.

The King and his Finance Minister, Abdullah Suleiman, discussed with me at length the fiscal difficulties of Saudi Arabia. I understand that the Saudi Arabian monetary problem is also at present being studied in Washington in the State Department. The Saudi Arabian monetary problem is complicated by lack of realistic application of religious principles and a primitive attitude toward the requirements of modern commerce. The unit of Government currency is the silver rial. Because the Saudi Arabian rial has greater silver content than comparable units of currency in neighboring nations the rial has disappeared through extensive hoarding

within Saudi Arabia and in nearby countries.

The suggestion was made that the silver content of the Saudi Arabian rial be reduced and that silver coin or bullion be deposited in the Saudi Arabian treasury or in a bank of issue and paper money be issued against such deposit. This proposal was met by the objection that such a course would be considered dishonest and prohibited under Moslem law and religious principles. I have studied the Saudi Arabian fiscal situation and, if it is deemed desirable by you, I will transmit my information on this subject to the State Department. I recommend that immediate attention be given to extending a loan to Saudi Arabia and to the establishment for that country of a proper fiscal system.

There are two American-owned companies now operating in Saudi Arabia. The first is the Saudi Arabian Mining Syndicate, Ltd., a Canadian corporation American-owned. The operations of this Company are not yet extensive. But the fact that the concessions are made to an American-owned company is important. In this report I wish to deal principally with petroleum.

Saudi Arabia stands today as the only state in the Middle East not subjected to foreign imperialism. Once considered worthless desert land, the country has assumed its present importance by reason of its strategic location and the discovery by an American oil company of its great petroleum resources. The King has stated definitely that he wishes the petroleum resources of Saudi Arabia to be developed by American interests only.

Foremost of the factors which have stimulated the good feeling expressed by the King and his people toward America has been the work of the California Arabian Standard Oil Company and its relations with the local government. Through agreements dating from 1933 through 1939, this American oil company now holds a definite lease on 290,000 square miles of Saudi Arabia and a preferential right to lease an additional 177,000 square miles. An additional 212,000 square miles covered by the concessions are involved in boundary disputes between Saudi Arabia and neighboring governments.

The California Arabian Company is a wholly-owned subsidiary of the Standard Oil Company of California and the Texas Oil Company. These two American concerns likewise are sole owners of the Bahrein Petroleum Company, operators of a concession on Bahrein Island, an independent sheikhdom in the Persian Gulf. Through these two subsidiaries, the American interests have opened four producing structures, three in Saudi Arabia and one in Bahrein. In my opinion three hundred thousand barrels of oil per day could be produced from these four structures alone. I believe a much greater yield would follow from additional structures.

Saudi Arabia is potentially one of the greatest oil areas in the world.

The concessions held by the California Arabian Company in Saudi Arabia have a term of sixty years and provide for a royalty to the government of twenty-three cents per barrel. The

terms of the concessions appear to be equitable and fair. The government of Saudi Arabia is well pleased with its contract and the King is high in his praise of the cooperation and assistance he has received from the company.

Notable in the latter category has been the drilling of water wells and construction of irrigation works. Lack of soil fertility and lack of water by reason of an average rain-fall of only three inches limit the development of agricultural irrigation projects.

Notwithstanding these limitations, the King and his advisers said that with the revenue derived from the development of their oil resources and with the help of the American petroleum engineers he believed that sufficient agricultural irrigation projects could be developed to enable Saudi Arabia to produce sufficient food for its population.

The King mentioned that the United States through Lend-Lease and through sales and priorities has furnished British-controlled oil companies operating in the Persian Gulf area with steel, iron, tin, rubber, machinery for drilling purposes, pipelines, refining machinery, and other commodities to enable those companies to conduct great expansion and development programs. But up to this time, he said, no priorities had been given to the American company developing Saudi Arabian oil resources. Inasmuch as he has favored American interests by giving them the sole petroleum concession in Saudi Arabia, he feels that the oil resources

of his country should be developed as rapidly as those of nearby British-controlled areas. In this connection he indicated that possibly his feeling on this subject is accentuated by the dire need for the revenue that the development of the oil resources would bring.

The one factor in all of the foregoing that I think will strike you as it does me is the statement of the King that he desires the development of Saudi Arabian oil resources to be conducted by an American company or companies that would be completely subjected to the authority of Saudi Arabia rather than any other Government. I can understand the King's desire in this matter. Operating companies should always be primarily subject to the government of the country in which they are operating. I am, however, rather inclined to the opinion that eventually American oil companies developing foreign resources must be subjected to a degree of supervision by the American government. Such companies also must have a degree of protection in foreign countries by their own government. Finally, the American government will have to acquire a degree of ownership of American companies operating in foreign territory sufficient to assure governmental supervision without destroying private ownership or private initiative. In the meantime, I recommend the Saudi Arabian situation be handled through the instrumentalities now existing and in your hands.

American control of the Saudi Arabian oil resources places you in a trading position that will enable you to obtain

for all concerned an equitable allotment of the oil resources of Africa, the Middle East, and continuing through Afghanistan to the Far East.

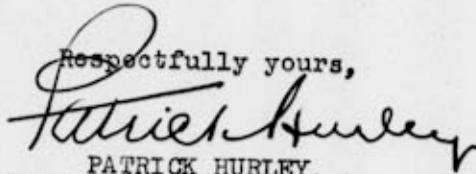
The development of the situation in Saudi Arabia gives you, Mr. President, the possibility for a complete answer to the critics who tell us we are exhausting our oil resources at home without any hope of replacement. The development of the great oil resources of Saudi Arabia will give you a supply of this essential commodity in a strategic location. The development of this great resource will enable you to see that an equitable share of this wealth is used for the benefit of the people of Saudi Arabia who own it. And finally, after having served all these purposes, this resource will be of great importance to our own country in the reconstruction period after the war.

Your leadership and American prestige stand high. Great confidence in American ability and honesty of purpose has been established in Saudi Arabia. With American assistance, King Ibn Saud hopes to give his people the opportunity to help themselves in creating (1) irrigation projects to enable the country to provide food without having to rely on imports, (2) a system of roads, (3) acquisition of transportation facilities, (4) a communications system, (5) an educational system, (6) a public health system, and other essentials for the welfare of the people and the support of

an independent nation.

I am, Sir,

Respectfully yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Patrick Hurley". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the typed name and title.

PATRICK HURLEY,
Brigadier General, U. S.A.

(1661)

Gen. Hurley "H"
FSF: Hurley

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 30, 1943.

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

I wish you would read this letter from Pat Hurley and my reply to him.

I think that in some way the State Department should issue a public warning to the general effect that Mr. Pearson is not to be believed in anything that he writes. He is rendering a great disservice to his country.

Please let me have the enclosures back for my files.

F. D. R.

Signed copy of letter from Brig. Genl. Patrick J. Hurley, 8/20/43, to the President, marked "Secret", together with copy of the President's reply of 8/30/43 to Gen. Hurley, in re printed story in Drew Pearson's column.

PERSONAL AND
CONFIDENTIAL

August 30, 1943.

Dear Pats:-

Thank you for yours of August nineteenth referring to a printed story in Drew Pearson's column. You are quite right in answering none of the letters from Jews or others who believe Drew Pearson's columns.

His ill-considered, falsehoods have come to the point where he is doing much harm to his own Government and to other nations. It is a pity that anyone anywhere believes anything that he writes.

So much for Mr. Drew Pearson.

Always sincerely,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Brigadier General Patrick J. Hurley,
301 Hillside Avenue,
Santa Fe,
New Mexico.

PSF: Hurley

file →

~~SECRET~~

301 Hillside Avenue,
Santa Fe, New Mexico.

August 20, 1943

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President of the United States,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:-

This letter is for the purpose of keeping the record straight.

I rendered a written report to you on my conversations with His Majesty Ibn Saud, King of Saudia Arabia. I amplified that report verbally in a conference with you.

In his column published on various dates in various newspapers and in the Santa Fe New Mexican on August 17, 1943, Mr. Drew Pearson has made the following statement:-

"Ibn Saud, now recognized as the most powerful of all Arabs, gave Hurley some strong words against the Jews in Palestine, saying he was determined to drive them from all Arab lands. Hurley reported that he had told Ibn Saud diplomatically that he was in agreement."

King Ibn Saud never made any such statement to me and I never made any such reply to the King. I did not report to you or to anyone else any such conversation.

The balance of Mr. Pearson's column above referred to on the Arab-Jewish policy is also false so far as I am concerned.

**REGRADED
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JUN 2 1972

~~SECRET~~

Page #2

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt

Aug. 19, 1943

From Mr. Pearson's column and from the Washington Daily News of August 19th, I notice that certain congressmen and senators, especially Congressman Emanuel Celler of New York, have made various false charges against me, all, I presume, based on the Pearson falsehood. In addition to all that, they threaten me with a congressional investigation. Besides that which is appearing in the press, I am receiving letters from Zionist Jews. Everyone of these contains an attack or at least language that is intimidating.

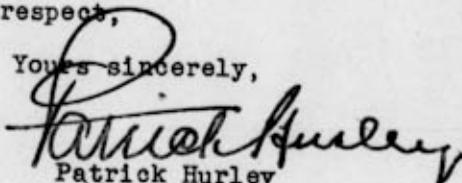
I am being baited by the Jews.

I am not at all worried or even annoyed by these false accusations. I feel, however, that the purpose of this falsehood is to injure my relations and, more important, the relations of the United States with the King of Saudia Arabia. The latter at this time might, as you know, cause some delays and embarrassment. In justice to King Ibn Saud I think it should be repeated here that the falsehoods published by Mr. Pearson and his backers do unjustly misrepresent the King. King Ibn Saud expressed to me the most kindly solicitude for the welfare of the Jewish communities in the Arab nations. The Arabs always speak of the Jews as their kinspeople. The King is opposed to giving a Jewish minority control over an Arab majority in any Arab nations.

In my written report to you I did not detail my conversations with King Ibn Saud on the Palestine problem. I merely said that the King's attitude on that subject had been published in an interview in Life magazine and had been expressed in a letter to you personally. All of this occurred before I conferred with the King. All this makes more absurd the Jewish attack on me. Notwithstanding this I have not answered any of the letters, nor have I replied to any of the attacks that have been published. As your personal representative I have determined to discuss the subject only with you.

I am, sir, with great respect,

Yours sincerely,


Patrick Hurley

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JUN 2 1972

*file
Personal*

~~Case "H"~~
PSF: Hurley 3-43

American Legation
Cairo, Egypt.
November 16, 1943.

PARAPHRASE

~~SECRET~~

For : Brigadier General Patrick J. Hurley.

On November 6, 1943 this Legation received a telegram from the Department of State, dated November 5, 9 p.m. for delivery to General Hurley. The message was repeated to the American Mission at New Delhi where it was understood that General Hurley could be reached at the time. That Mission advised that the message had not been delivered, and with the return of General Hurley to Cairo it is communicated here-with in paraphrase:

"The President has indicated his desire that "Ord Mission" be undertaken by you for him in Iran. Is this proposal agreeable to you? It is anticipated that the assignment would last only a few weeks. It is proposed that you be given the temporary rank of Major-General in the Army of the United States and that you have the title of Special Representative of the President with the rank of Ambassador."

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By R. H. Parks Date JUN 2 1972

Cairo, Egypt,
20 November 1943.

Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President of the United States,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

I have inspected the Chinese Theatre of Operations. I spent considerable time with the American Generals, Lieutenant General Stilwell, Major General Chennault, and other Chinese and American Army Officers. I was accompanied into the Chinese Theatre by Major General Stratemeyer who is Commander of the American Air Operations in the India and China Theatres. I had two conferences with the President of China, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. The Generalissimo expressed his complete confidence in you, in your motives, and in the principles that you have promulgated.

The Generalissimo talked very frankly about the coming conference in Cairo. He questioned whether or not he could meet Marshal Stalin at Teheran on the terms of amity becoming such a meeting. He related to me frankly the causes that impelled him to hesitate to have a personal meeting with Marshal Stalin. He related to me his suspicions concerning Russia's desires to communize China and perhaps for a complete conquest and annexation to Russia of a portion of China.

I recalled to him Marshal Stalin's renunciation of world conquest as a fundamental policy of communism. I told him that in my opinion Marshal

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Stalin is now committed to the proposition that communism can succeed in Russia alone without an attempt being made to force it on the rest of the world. I said also that in my opinion Russia is no longer subsidizing or directing communist activities in other nations. I suggested to the Generalissimo that Russia's own experience with communism in Russia is to some extent neutralizing what we considered to be the harsher elements of the communistic ideology. I said that I realized that there are communist political parties in other nations but in my opinion such parties are neither directed nor subsidized from Russia.

In corroboration of these arguments I drew the Generalissimo's attention to the recent Moscow declaration. Notwithstanding this, the Generalissimo still appeared to entertain grave doubts of the friendly intentions of the Soviet Government toward China.

The Generalissimo stated that he wished to see you first in Cairo and much depended on his conference with you as to whether or not he would subsequently confer with Marshal Stalin.

I hope I may have the opportunity of discussing with you the Chinese-Russian problem before you have a conference with the Generalissimo.

The Generalissimo stated that so far as you and Prime Minister Churchill are concerned he has no doubt of being able to find a basis of complete co-operation.

As President of China and as Generalissimo, Chiang Kai-shek will recommend that the coming conference reiterate the Atlantic Charter. If possible he would like to have your Four Freedoms specifically included in the declaration of the Cairo or Teheran conference.

After conferences with the Generalissimo which covered approximately six hours, I have drawn the following conclusions:



(1) The Generalissimo and the Chinese people favor the principles of democracy and liberty.

(2) The Generalissimo and the Chinese people are opposed to the principles of imperialism and communism.

(3) He believes that you, of course, favor democracy and liberty. He understands, however, that you may temporarily have to temporize with imperialism and communism in the interests of the joint war effort.

(4) He is aware that the future co-operation and unity of the United Nations must depend upon your ability to assimilate rather than eliminate divergent ideologies. He is convinced that you must find principles on which the Big Four nations can agree. In seeking these principles he feels that you must have extensive freedom of action.

(5) He wanted me to say to you that he has implicit confidence in your motives and that he is committed to the fundamental principles which you have promulgated.

(6) He will, therefore, follow your leadership on the diplomatic and political questions that will be considered in the impending conference.

On strategy he finds himself unable to accept a subordinate position in the Asiatic area to Lord Mountbatten. He stated that so far as the Chinese Theatre of Operations is concerned he must be supreme. He stated that if he should accept a secondary position in that theatre it would divide his following and eventually so weaken his position that he could no longer maintain himself as the leader of all China. Notwithstanding this attitude he is ready to cooperate fully with Lord Mountbatten and he thinks that in Northern Burma and eventually in Thailand and possibly in Indo-China, there would be circumstances in which he would favor the control of British, American and Chinese troops being placed under one commander. He said that he personally liked



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Lord Mountbatten and that he could visualize future operations outside of China where he would want his Lordship to be the Supreme Commander of United Nations forces, including Chinese Armies. However, he was steadfast in maintenance of the principle that in the Chinese Theatre it is better for himself and China and the United Nations that he should remain the ultimate authority.

He expressed the opinion that the subjugation of Japan should be sought through an attack on Japan in Japan. Attacks should be made from various sectors of the Pacific Theatre, the India-Burmese and the Chinese Theatres simultaneously. These attacks should be co-ordinated and directed toward the ultimate occupation and conquest of Japan in Japan. Tokio and all Japan is the objective rather than any state, island or citadel outside of Japan. He also spoke with clarity of the strategy of attacking Tokio and all Japan through China.

In all of the foregoing it will be apparent to you that I have confined myself to a discussion of the attitude of President-Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek toward a meeting with Marshal Stalin. I have purposely refrained from injecting into this letter any of the reasons why Marshal Stalin might not want a public meeting with Chiang Kai-shek at this moment. For instance, Marshal Stalin might be opposed to taking any action that might cause the closing of the Port of Vladivostok. Moreover, you may find that Marshal Stalin might be convinced that it would be unwise to take any action that might bring an enemy down on his rear in the present posture of the conflict.

In evaluating the Generalissimo's conversations it is advisable to consider with some skepticism the Chinese capacity, or readiness, to contribute materially to offensive warfare. It is advisable likewise to give consideration to the relative importance placed by the Chinese Central Government upon conserving its strength for maintenance of its postwar internal supremacy as

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against the more immediate objective of defeating Japan. These are questions I should like to discuss with you further.

Respectfully yours,

Patrick J. Hurley
PATRICK J. HURLEY,
Brigadier General, U. S. A.

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Tully - China folder - ~~_____~~

PSF: *Hurley*

~~SECRET~~

Jerusalem, Palestine.
January 28, 1944.

Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President of the United States,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

I have had extended conversations in Palestine and Trans-Jordan with the British High Commissioner, American Consul-General, Dr. Magness of the Hebrew University, the Emir of Trans-Jordan and his staff, Mr. Kirkbride, British Resident in Trans-Jordan, and others.

Conditions in that area are unsatisfactory. The unrest seems to involve not only Palestine but Trans-Jordan, The Lebanon and Syria. There is a movement on foot to create a republic including the four nations mentioned. The Emir of Trans-Jordan is in favor of creating a Kingdom, comprised of the four nations, with himself as King. Indications are that if any change is made, and it is doubtful if there will be any, a republic, rather than a kingdom, will be established. The British force here is necessary on account of disturbed conditions. Because of the fact that the British are maintaining law and order they are more popular here than in any place in the Middle East.

I have obtained from Dr. Magness and others of the less

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partisan type on both sides some good suggestions on the Palestine problem which I will be happy to discuss with you.

Tomorrow I will go to Cairo for a brief visit after which I will spend some days in the Lebanon and Syria at the close of which I will be able to render you a more definite outline and perhaps recommendations on the situation in this area.

Respectfully yours,

Patrick J. Hurley
PATRICK J. HURLEY,
Brigadier General, U.S.A.

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Jerusalem, Palestine.
January 26, 1944.

Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President of the United States,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

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PATRICK J. HURLEY,
Brigadier General, U.S.A.

PSF: Hurley

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Jerusalem, Palestine.
January 28, 1944.

JUN 2 1972

Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President of the United States,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

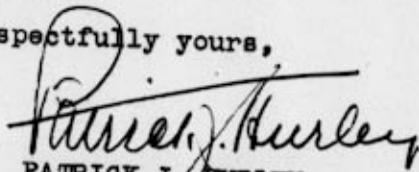
Since leaving Afghanistan I have confirmed the impression I received there which is that neither Russia nor Britain has the confidence of the Afghanistan Government. All the members of the Government, including the King, expressed their complete confidence in you. The fact that the United States Government has no imperialistic designs may be regarded as the chief reason why it is trusted by Afghanistan and by all the nations of the Middle East. The King of Afghanistan is also familiar with the principles advocated by you. He expressed himself as being in complete accord and anxious to follow your leadership. The King of Afghanistan was delighted by the Iran Declaration. He said it gave all nations of the Middle East and Central Asia confidence in their own future. Throughout the Middle East you are accredited with having obtained the Iran Declaration from Britain and Russia.

I think that it would be appropriate for you to send the King of Afghanistan a message somewhat on the order of the one you sent to Marshal Stalin after my first visit with him,

SECRET

thanking the King for his candor and his kindness to me as your representative and expressing a friendliness for him and his country and a desire for closer cooperation. This may serve to draw the Government of Afghanistan closer to you. A closer relationship between America and the Government of Afghanistan may be of great service not only to America but to our Allies in the conflicts that may arise in that area.

Respectfully yours,



PATRICK J. HURLEY,
Brigadier General, U. S. A.

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January 26, 1944.

Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President of the United States,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

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Respectfully yours,

PATRICK J. HURLEY,
Brigadier General, U. S. A.

See Encl. #42302
PSF; Hurley

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 11, 1944

*file
as per attached*

MEMORANDUM FOR MISS GRACE TULLY

Dear Miss Tully:

Mr. Hopkins has seen the
attached letter to the President
from Brig. Gen. Patrick J. Hurley
and it can now be filed.

~~H.L.H.~~ *D. DeLoach*

encl.

~~SECRET~~

PSF: Hurley
Pouch

New Delhi, India.
7 November 1943.

Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President of the United States,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

I have reached this point on my way eastward and am expecting to proceed in another day or so. I feel, however, that you are entitled at this time to a written expression of some of my present views on the Middle East.

I have spoken to you previously in personal conferences concerning the administration of lend lease in the Middle East. I have also discussed with you the controversies that the administration of lend lease has caused between the Americans and the British. I have been reluctant to make a written report to you on this subject. We should hesitate to put criticism of ourselves or the British in writing as long as there is a possibility that, by proper action, the defects in our relations may be corrected.

The administration of lend lease in the Middle East has been characterized as inefficient and injurious to American

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prestige. The damage done to American prestige is not compensated by any corresponding improvement in British prestige. The controversy results in total loss for both of us. A fundamental change in the administration of lend lease in the Middle East is necessary.

In justice to the British and to ourselves, I deem it proper to state bluntly the causes that have led to the present undercover debate between the British and the Americans on the subject of lend lease.

(1) The British claim and receive credit for almost all the American lend lease supplies heretofore given to Middle East nations.

(2) The British are selling American lend lease supplies and are not accounting to America for the proceeds.

(3) The British intercept lend lease supplies intended for other nations and reserve them for British use.

(4) The British fail and sometimes refuse to make any intelligible record of the amount and/or the value of lend lease supplies distributed and thus cause confusion and controversy.

(5) The British are using American lend lease and American troops not for the purpose of creating a brave new world based on the Atlantic Charter and the four freedoms but for British conquest, British imperialist rule, and British trade monopoly. It is quite generally maintained in the Middle East that American foreign policy is now directed toward these latter purposes.

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(6) The British are conducting a world wide propaganda program to minimize the amount of lend lease supplies delivered and to belittle the effect of America's productive capacity and fighting manpower on the war effort.

(7) There are many Britishers who openly claim that they have the support of prominent American officials in this program of disparagement of the American war effort generally for the purpose of improving British world position.

(8) The Americans who claim due credit for America's contribution both in production and in manpower toward the victory and who still maintain that we are fighting for the principles of the Atlantic Charter and the four freedoms are called the die-hard isolationists.

(9) The British now claim nearly all the airfields built by Americans, or by local labor, paid with American money, under American direction. They claim also all of the valuable installations that Americans have placed on these fields. One British publication which I have read referred to "airdromes which British engineering skill and American muscle have created in the heart of what, not long ago, was darkest Africa". The Americans believe that these fields were created by American engineering skill and American muscle backed by American equipment and American money.

(10) A final point of controversy is that the British Overseas Airways Corporation is using many lend lease planes, converted to freight and passenger carrying, in commercial

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enterprise.

The British have a well organized force of administrators in all of the Middle East nations except Saudi Arabia. These forces are nearly all in military uniform but a large number of them are not soldiers. They are civil servants, clerks, diplomats, and experts in imperialist propaganda and colonial exploitation.

The British have moved into the French mandated areas, the Lebanon and Syria, a large force of uniformed experts designated as the "Spears Commission". This commission has succeeded in taking the civil control in the French area out of the hands of the French. The British propaganda publicity would indicate that the powers of government have been returned to the inhabitants. It is well understood by the inhabitants, however, that the ultimate control in the French mandated areas is now in the hands of the British.

The British now control civil governments in all of the nations of the Middle East except Saudi Arabia and except Iran where control is shared, but not harmoniously, between the British and the Russians.

The British have military forces in all of the Middle East nations except Saudi Arabia. The United States does not have civil or military control over any of the governments of the Middle East.

Any effort on the part of the United States to govern other nations without their consent except as a military

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necessity and by military organization would be a denial of the fundamental principle of our own existence as a nation. In our participation in the government of other nations, except as a military necessity, our operations must be limited by the fact that we are committed to the principle that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

Leading spokesmen in all of the nations of the Middle East have expressed to me their condemnation of the British methods and the motives of British control of civil administration in the area. They charge openly that every place where the British Empire rules another people there is poverty, ignorance and oppression. They charge that Britain always takes but never gives. They charge that Britain's objective in the Middle East is complete subjugation of that entire area to British imperialism and British economic monopoly.

Notwithstanding all of these criticisms, the British did have a well organized administration in each of the nations of the Middle East. It seemed expedient, therefore, that our lend lease administration should rely on the British to furnish guidance on the kind and quantity of lease lend supplies needed and also for distribution of those supplies.

The military forces of the British in the Middle East could not have been maintained without American lend lease supplies and equipment. At no time could the British give supplies to the Middle East nations except as provided directly

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or indirectly through American lend lease. This is true whether the supplies are shipped directly from America or from Britain. If and when any supplies are shipped on lend lease from Britain to the Middle East such shipments are possible only after British reserves have been built up in Britain by American lend lease. Before lend lease Britain did not have sufficient supplies or equipment for the British at home. This fact is understood fully by all Americans who participated in the "Bundles for Britain" campaign before the advent of lend lease. Even in the case of diversion of supplies from the British Commonwealths and Dominions to the Middle East there are balancing shipments from the United States to meet needs of the British Isles, Commonwealths and Dominions. It is evident, therefore, that however lend lease to the Middle East may be designated the ultimate charge for it is against the American taxpayer.

In fairness to the lend lease administration it should be pointed out that at the time they decided to conduct the lend lease program in the Middle East through British channels there was no reason to believe that the British would claim credit for the American lend lease supplies distributed in the Middle East or that they would claim that the various nations receiving lend lease supplies were obligated for such supplies to Britain and not to the United States.

It should be understood that the claims that Britain has made for credit for American lend lease do not originate with

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subordinate British officials. Certain speeches made by Lord Halifax in the United States have been propagandized here for the purpose of minimizing the amount and the effect of American lend lease. Recently there appeared in the "Egyptian Mail" a propaganda article, dated at Detroit, Michigan, purporting to be an address by Mr. John J. Llewellyn, British Minister of Supply in Washington. The article was headed "Britain outstrips the world in aircraft production". The whole article that followed was intended to minimize the effect of American production and lend lease supplies. Even the Right Honorable Richard Casey, British Minister of State for the Middle East, has claimed publicly that Britain was furnishing 50% of all lend lease to this area. I am saying this only that you may know that the propaganda on this subject, which has for its purpose giving to Britain rather than to the United States the credit for lend lease, does originate with high officials of the British Empire. This situation has led to what appears to be an interminable and acrimonious debate between British and American officials. I am convinced that the Americans did not start this debate.

At the same time, there is widespread expression that "the British instead of being grateful for American lend lease look upon the American taxpayer, who is carrying the full load, as the prize sucker of the world".

In turning originally to a British instrumentality for the administration of lend lease in this area it was natural that the choice should be the Middle East Supply Center, set up in 1941, as an overall agency for coordination of supply operations.

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While the Middle East Supply Center has become theoretically a joint Anglo-American agency, the operating personnel is approximately 90% British and 10% American. Among the Americans connected with the Middle East Supply Center there have been some very conscientious and able men. I regret to say, however, there are also among them "pole sitters" for whose opinions and abilities the British have held natural disdain.

A "pole sitter" is an exhibitionist who attracts public attention by the length of time that he is able to sit still in what appears to be a hazardous position but which is in fact a secure position. The "pole sitters" are not by any means all connected with lend lease alone. They are in Washington and in London, in the Army and in the Navy, and throughout the far flung theatres of operation.

The fact that the British completely dominate the Middle East Supply Center and consequently the distribution of lend lease supplies in the Middle East is due to the fact that we have had no organization able to say what supplies are required or to distribute them when they have been furnished. The average British colonial servant does not look upon Americans with the same generous attitude that Americans demonstrate toward Britishers. Primarily this attitude is due to the fact that the British are imperialists and the Americans are democrats. If we can bring ourselves to an understanding of this fact we will not be so quick to blame the British for having taken

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advantage of our weakness and having claimed for themselves credit for our lend lease. The weakness was on our side for having permitted the situation to develop.

Your Minister, Dr. Landis, has taken hold of the supply situation in the Middle East with a firm hand. I have had several conferences with him. I think he is capable and that he is committed to a policy beneficial to American interests and in the long run to Anglo-American relations.

I have presented this story to you not for the purpose of continuing any controversy between ourselves and the British but for the purpose of stopping it.

I can support a policy that has for its immediate purpose the preservation of the British Empire as a first class world power but in doing so we should not permit ourselves to be placed in the position of rendering lip service only to the principles of the Atlantic Charter and the four freedoms. These principles must be accorded proper respect and due weight in the postwar world.

In the foregoing pages I have deliberately stated the issues in sharp outlines because I believe that if you are familiar with the worst phases of the controversy you will be in a better position to mark your future course.

RECOMMENDATIONS

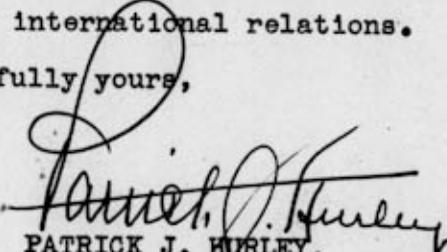
(1) As I have suggested to you verbally, I recommend that the policy making and direction of lend lease be placed exclusively and in actuality under proper civilian authority in the State Department. Lend lease is a potent instrument in

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international relations. With the occupation of territory now held by the Axis, lend lease will increase in international importance.

(2) I further recommend that all operations pertaining to distribution of lend lease goods in foreign territory be transferred to the United States Army. This change would, in my opinion, give to lend lease operations military efficiency. It would place both lend lease policies and operations completely in American hands and would, in my opinion, eliminate the basis of the present lend lease controversy with Britain. At the same time, this method of handling should bring fair credit for lend lease to the United States and very materially strengthen our position in all of our international relations.

Respectfully yours,


PATRICK J. HURLEY,
Brigadier General, U.S.A.

~~Gen. Hurley~~ 3-44
PSF: Hurley

August 16, 1944.

Dear General Hurley:-

You are hereby designated as my personal representative with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, reporting directly to me. Your principal mission is to promote efficient and harmonious relations between the Generalissimo and General Stilwell to facilitate General Stilwell's exercise of command over the Chinese Armies placed under his direction. You will be charged with additional and specific missions.

In carrying out your missions it is desired that you maintain intimate touch with the U. S. Ambassador to China, keeping him advised of your actions.

Very sincerely yours,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Major General Patrick J. Hurley,
War Department,
Washington, D. C.

(Copies of these two FDR ltrs filed - China folder,
Dr. 1-44.)

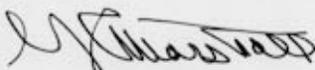
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WAR DEPARTMENT
THE CHIEF OF STAFF
WASHINGTON

18 August 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

There is attached a proposed draft of a directive from the President to General Hurley. Lack of knowledge of the President's desires in the matter make it impracticable to present a draft directive for Mr. Nelson.



Chief of Staff

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Date- 7-20-66

Signature- Carl L. Spicer



SECRET

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WAR DEPARTMENT
THE CHIEF OF STAFF
WASHINGTON

AUG 13 1944

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EO 12958 DIR. 5200.9 (9/27/58)

Date- 9-20-66

Signature-

Carl L. Spicer

(844) G. C. MARSHALL
Chief of Staff



Copy to be returned to originating office in the War Department showing action taken

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In carrying out your missions it is desired that you maintain intimate touch with the U. S. Ambassador to China, keeping him advised of your actions.

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"Personal"

August 19, 1944.

My dear Generalissimo:

This will introduce to you my two very good personal friends, General Hurley, former Secretary of War, and now a Major General; and Mr. Donald M. Nelson the head of the War Production Board.

General Hurley is to be my personal representative on military matters and you can talk to him with the utmost freedom. His principal mission is to coordinate the whole military picture under you as Military Commander-in-Chief -- your being, of course, the Commander-in-Chief of the whole area -- to help to iron out any problems between you and General Stilwell who, of course, has problems of his own regarding the Burma campaign and is necessarily in close touch with Admiral Mountbatten.

Mr. Nelson was, as I have written you, the head of Sears Roebuck Company, the largest distributing company for all manner of goods -- farm goods, industrial goods and household goods -- the greatest business of that kind in the United States. As soon as we got into the war he came to the Government in charge of the War Production Board and has made a splendid record in multiplying American production many fold, so that it has arrived at the point where we are talking not only of keeping the present production up, but of making plans for the restoration of this production to terms of peace. I think that you will find him extremely understanding and sympathetic.

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He does not, of course, supersede the Secretary of the Treasury in matters of finance, but he has many original ideas and will quickly understand your economic policy.

In the case of both of them, I want you to feel free to talk to them frankly, as they are both literally my personal representatives.

Good luck -- and keep up the good work.

Always sincerely,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek,
President of the Republic of China,
Chungking, China.

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*file
personal*

"Gen. Corcoran" H"

8/17/44

3-44

Dear General Hurley:

You are hereby designated as my personal representative with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, reporting directly to me. Mr. Donald Nelson will assist you. Your principal mission is to promote efficient and harmonious relations between the Generalissimo and General Stilwell to facilitate General Stilwell's exercise of command over the Chinese Armies placed under his direction. You will be charged with additional and specific missions.

In carrying out your missions it is desired that you maintain intimate touch with the U.S. Ambassador to China, keeping him advised of your actions.