

SSW had just been at the home of Justice Cardozo and F.D.R. was really happy when SSW told him that for the first time the doctors were a little hopeful about B.N.O., F.D.R. adding - "I went there a week ago but I could not see him."

SSW told F.D.R. that he had seen L.D.B. in the morning in order, as always, to draw from the fountain head of experience. (He used the almost stock phrase about L.D.B. - "Isaiah is a gray-and old man")

He told SSW at some length about his recent interviews both with the little group of men yesterday, and the larger group of fifty whom he had seen in about five minutes of the forty spent in reciting his two speeches to these men; and, incidentally, he did not seem to know that Henry Ittelson was a Jew.

He surprised and shocked SSW by saying the following things - "Now I have got something that I have got to talk to you about. I haven't talked to a soul as yet, but I want to unburden myself; and it isn't a thing that we can talk about, but I am just thinking aloud". Then he added - "You know there is not room in Palestine for many more people - perhaps another hundred or hundred and fifty thousand". SSW quickly corrected him, saying the most moderate estimates of room for increase give ^{a million and} is an allotment of a half to two million over a period of 25 years; and that isn't all. In the larger territory of Trans-Jordania, to which we should and may have access, we could in time get homes for two to three millions, making four to five million in all".

SSW added - "I wonder who has been giving you those figures!" SSW suspected at once that the British Ambassador had been filling up F.D.R.'s mind, so he thought it expedient to say - "You know, Chief, you have got a pretty small man to deal with in Ronald Lindsay". SSW added - "It is really no compliment to you or to ^{the} country that they put a career man - who has come up from the ranks - in a place of supreme importance like Washington instead of having another James Brice or John Buchan (Tweedsmuir), with whom you, Chief, could talk understandingly."

"Well" he said "This is what I have been thinking of. Even if it were true that you could get a considerable number of Jews into Palestine" -- and evidently he was reverberating something that had been deliberately told to him (and Bob Szold and I think it is likely to have been Lindsay, though it may have been some non-Zionist or anti-Zionist such as Sam Rosenmann) -- "don't you think the time has come for your people, in the light of these difficulties, to think about this?-- If we can stave off war for another two years or three at most, we will have a world Conference on re-allocation of territories, especially unoccupied territories, and re-apportionment of raw materials. In that case we might find some large areas as a second choice for the Jews". SSW's immediate response was -- "I don't know how large Hyde Park is. I suppose it is a few hundred acres in extent. I wonder, Chief, whether you would be willing to 'swap' it for the million and one hundred thousand acres of ^{the} King Ranch, Texas!" He said -- "No, I would not, but I might be glad to have both. Hyde Park is alright for me but I would like King Ranch for my five children". SSW added -- "It isn't quite the same thing. You haven't lived in Hyde Park for nearly four thousand years, and my people have lived in Palestine more than three thousand years ~~ago~~. Do you realize, Chief, that, apart from life and sweat and blood, we have put one hundred million pounds into the development of Palestine for forty years? Outside of those Jews who live in free democracies such as our own and England and France, it is the only place on earth that Jews care for." He repeated -- "I am not offering a substitute for Palestine; but Palestine possibilities are going to be exhausted". And then used this curious phrase -- "You ought to have another card up your sleeve".

SSW then added -- "Well, Chief, it is alright for you to think about that provided in the meantime you help us to get all we can and all we are entitled to in Palestine". SSW added -- "You know that they are putting things off again. They talked about a Jewish State half a year ago in the White Paper; and now they have issued still another "White Paper", January 5th, putting the thing off, and proposing to name another commission."

SSW added - "There is one thing you can do at once for us. There are two people who ought to see our new Ambassador to London", (and he laughed gleefully, saying - "Think of my sending that Irishman to London) "and I wish you would make a memorandum if it", which he at once did. He ought to see H, and, if possible, I ought to have an opportunity to have a good talk with him before he leaves for London, particularly seeing that I may be in London within a month or two. F.D.R. mentioned the date, as SSW recalls it, February 6th as the date of sailing. H

SSW doesn't find it necessary to report fully on further conversation with F.D.R. excepting to say that when SSW reminded F.D.R. that, in a letter of two or three weeks ago, he had said "I cannot promise now to come to the Conference, but you can come and talk to me about it and I will see", F.D.R. added - "But I am giving you a message through Harold (Ickes)"; and when SSW asked him for a direct message for the Conference, his reply was - "I think I have cheapened that sort of thing. Let me take the message you want me to send and I will address it to Harold and ask him to present it to the Conference".

SSW then spoke of the troubled Jewish position in Rumania, with Jugoslavia threatening to go the same way, and, of course, Germany and Poland. F.D.R. expressed a great deal of concern, but SSW felt that in the back of his head there was one big - as he imagines - constructive idea, namely that ^{of} occupied territory. SSW explained to him that even at best it would take years for unoccupied territories to be prepared; and in the meanwhile Poland dares to demand that Jews, who lived there six to nine hundred years, leave at once; and Rumania is taking the same position. His reply was - "Well, the Rumanian thing is terrible"; and he repeated that when I told him how President Wilson with his associates had transferred six hundred thousand Jews from Austrian-Hungarian and Russian empires to Rumania, not, however, without safeguarding their status as he imagined - through the Minorities Rights clause in the Peace Treaty.

F.D.R. said - "Yes, I want you to talk about that to Hull, and I have arranged an interview for you."

Then F.D.R. said something that was very painful to SSW, ^{-how much} showing ~~that~~ he is, alas, under the impact of the Ambassadors who have access to him. It was, of course, Potocki, the Polish Ambassador, who isn't the same kind of a liberal that Davila is - a nice fellow who is going back to Europe with the Liberal party. And then F.D.R. gave ~~him~~ a long explanation straight out of the mouth of Potocki, namely that, while forty and fifty years ago, his father and grandfather got all their products from the Jewish grain dealer and the Jewish shoe dealer and the Jewish shopkeeper and the little ^{landed} villagers surrounding their estate. In recent years the Poles have been turning to him and to the people in the estate and saying - "Why don't you buy things from us and not from the Jews"; and Potocki added - "We gave them a chance but we found they could not deliver the same goods at the same price, so they lost out in the competition with the Jewish shopkeepers. Then the next step was that the Christian shopkeepers complained - why must the Jews do all the business with the estate; and after that - the Jew should go." That is how it stands.

It was like a blow in the face to have F.D.R. swallow and regurgitate this stuff of Potocki, himself of the landed gentry. SSW added - "But, Chief, this is pure Fascist talk. They must find scapegoats to whom to point in order to satisfy the landless and unfed peasantry, and the Jew is the convenient and traditional and historical scapegoat". F.D.R. did not set out to argue about that at all; but he had quoted Potocki as though he assented to every word he said.

Before going over to the State Department to see Hull, SSW gave a statement to the press, to which he hopes F.D.R. will take no exception. He submitted it to Stephen Early, who took no exception to it. SSW added, for the information of the reporters, that a petition of the World Jewish Congress, of which Judge Julian W. Mack is Honorary Executive, would be presented within the next few

days through the Commission on Minorities to the League of Nations, meeting at Geneva; and SSW explained what the part of America and the allied countries had been in placing six hundred thousand Jews within the domain of Rumania.

SSW found Secretary Hull in a mood which permitted him to do no more than listen politely to a speech he had just made to five ladies, representative of the Conference on the Causes and Cure of War. He seemed honestly to try to get away from it, but that speech was in his system and he could not be diverted from it. SSW asked him to say something more than he had been saying about Rumania in view of the fact, as was explained to Hull, we placed these Jews in Rumania. His reply was - "I will have to consider that with my associates".

SSW put Rumania aside and began to speak about Palestine, but SSW found S.C.H. impenetrable, as if he were introducing a new subject. Apparently he hasn't thought about it, and it hasn't been brought within his attention for many months. When SSW said to the Secretary - "England is again putting off the Jewish State, which it promised six months ago", his only reply was - "Yes, the Facist countries must be made to see that the democracies will stand together and resist the aggression of Facism". His mind seems fixed upon one thing - and he is right - that the democracies must stand formally together against the Facist nations. He spoke with earnestness and strength and bitterness against Japan, just as F.D.R. did. When SSW pressed F.D.R. to repeat his challenge to the American people to endorse a moral quarantine against the lawless nations, F.D.R. told him an interesting story about some Chinese people whom he had known, living seven hundred miles from the sea, who said - "Yes, there have been many wars and many invasions but we do not need an army. China is a peaceable nation". A few days ago the planes came and one bomb wiped out the family, the house and the estate. He said - "That is like Iowa and Oklahoma, of which you spoke. They think they are safe. They are not".

F.D.R. was prepared to speak of many things and to tell SSW of his problems. Hull would speak of nothing but the necessity for the democratic countries to resist Facist aggression. Here endeth the lesson.