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MS-4787: Abba Hillel Silver Papers, 1902-1989.

Series I: General Correspondence, 1914-1969, undated.

Sub-series A: Alphabetical, 1914-1965, undated.

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American Zionist Emergency Council, Schulson, Hyman, 1948-
1949.

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HOTEL DE PARIS

September 30, 1948

Dear Harry:

I was delighted to speak to you transatlantic today. Your voice came through clearly. I am sorry that you could not hear me clearly. Eban told me that he cabled Lourie yesterday informing him that he and I are getting along O.K. Apparently there was a misunderstanding. Ross, Austin's assistant, had misrepresented in a written memo of his conversation with Eban what Eban had said. I told Eban that X suggested that he never leave it up to the man with whom he is talking to sum up his conversation without putting the substance in writing to him after the conversation so that there will be less likelihood of being misrepresented. He agreed and later submitted a memo of his conversation to Ross.

Similarly Eban's conversation with McNeal was misrepresented by McNeal to the U.S. purposely and X thought that the way it was written up it looked as if Eban had been too compromising. X thought that Eban should know this and not trust those fellows to report a conversation without a written memo. Eban was grateful for the information and advice and is now following it. Eban was just sore that I reported it to you in a way which might reflect on him. I had no such motive. It is all cleared up now so let us forget about it.

I am surprised that you have not yet received the text of the B report. I airmailed you 3 copies the date it was ready in mimeographed form at UN, and mailed you some copies regular mail too, and am mailing you one today airmail.

I understand that the UK was very disappointed with the defeat of getting Palestine No. 1 on the agenda. I have not heard any US reactions yet.

I have been informed that James G. MacDonald was told by one of the members of the Israeli cabinet that Shertok's secret instructions were on the decision of the cabinet re the Bernadotte plan and that this minister asked MacDonald to notify the US, which he did. Eban is going to check this with Shertok tomorrow. According to my information, MacDonald is reported to have communicated to US that Israel is willing to negotiate on the basis of the Bernadotte plan, but is opposed to swap the Western Galilee for the Negev, but that Israel is willing to enter into a mutual assistance pact with Abdullah in order to guarantee the borders of the respective Arab and Jewish States. Mac Donald urged the US to encourage such bilateral conversations between Israel and Abdullah.

X thought that it is very unwise for Israel to give away its position at this stage of the game and he construed such tactics as unwise and irresponsible.

Report is that Saudi Arabia is the strongest opponent of the B plan , and informed US that Saudi Arabia cannot agree with U.S. attitude.

Egypt is talking strongly against the B plan, but does not mean it.

US and UK are exerting pressure on Arabs to accept B plan at least in principle. The arguments being used with the Arabs are that if they do not accept this now, they may never get such an opportunity in the future, and that Israel is more powerful militarily and that in the event of a showdown, they might lose more.

Harry, I want you to understand that I am reporting as accurately as possible, and if sometimes I report X's criticisms of Israel's tactics and strategy, I do it not with any malice or with any intent to disparage anyone, but merely for your information and guidance. I need not dwell on the value of this, but many times I think that Israeli leadership talks too much, does not make itself clear, and still must master the art of poker diplomacy. It is important that Dr. Silver have all the information I get and am sending it to you as I get it.

I shall take your advice as to my cables. Please let me know what is going on at your end.

With best wishes to you and all my friends and Dr. and Mrs. Silver for a happy New Year.

Yours,

Hy (Schulson)



October 3, 1948

Dear Harry:

I was very happy to see the story Hamilton wrote on Dulles and also the one in the Herald Tribune. I also received the clips, ads and AZEC material. Keep it up. It is excellent. I am enclosing a copy of a statement the Israelis released heretoday.

On or about October 1, 1948, Bealey submitted a suggested resolution to Ross (U.S.) Austin's assistant proposing that the General Assembly adopt the Bernadotte Plan in principle; that the UN Conciliation Commission proposed in the B plan be appointed by the General Assembly to implement the B plan; that the UN Conciliation Commission consist of the present Truce Commission; that the Negev and Eastern part of Palestine be given to Transjordan and Egypt with the Conciliation Commission to determine the division of the territory between Egypt and Transjordan; that Jerusalem is to be under UN control giving as much local autonomy to the Arabs and Jews as possible within their areas of Jerusalem plus the right of free access to Jerusalem to both Arabs and Jews. The proposed resolution would have the General Assembly call upon the Security Council to take all measures necessary to maintain peace and security and to declare a violation of the frontiers set up by the Conciliation Commission a breach of the peace with consequent sanctions for violations. The Resolution also calls for repatriation of Arabs and return to their homes, if they wish.

The above UK proposal is still at the working level stage and has not yet been approved by US. It is envisaged that this Resolution would be a joint US-UK one.

You will notice that the B plan does not make any provision for details as to how to dispose of the Eastern part of Palestine. The UK proposal provides for the details and shows why it was left open in the B plan so that the UK could try to put through its scheme.

Dulles liked the publicity he received in the Times and Tribune. This has been very valuable and has put UK and other delegations on notice that US policy on Palestine is not bi-partisan and that they may have to look to the new Administration for future Palestine policy.

Dulles leaves tonight at 7 P.M. TWA arriving LaGuardia Monday at 8 A.M. It is important that newspapermen interview him in US and press some line I previously sent you and keep on smoking him out.

AZEC ad did not appear in Paris editions of NY Times and Tribune. Suggest that be done. Am urging French Zionists to do same in French papers but to angle it as French would.

Eban promised to telephone in the above to Lourie for transmission to you and Silver so you can act at once. Suggest the above information be leaked by our friends to the White House so that it will know what perfidy UK and State Dept. are up to. Would not hurt to leak some of this to reliable press. My best regards to everyone. Happy New Year.

Yours,

Ry (Schulson)

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HOTEL DE PARIS
FRANCE

October 4, 1948

Dear Harry:

I hope you spent a pleasant Rosh Hashana. I went to the Synagogue at Rue Victoire; the service was most impressive and I had dinner with some friends at one of the Jewish restaurants and enjoyed a good kosher meal.

The U.S. is trying to win over Egypt to the Bernadotte plan by offering to support Egypt to replace Syria in the Security Council next year. UK wants to support Turkey and prefers not to support Egypt because of her own difficulties with Egypt- Sudan, Suez, etc. USSR does not want Turkey. It might not hurt to leak the above on U.S. showing to what degree the State Dept. boys are going in order to win support to the B plan. Use the arguments that U.S. is supporting an aggressor nation against Israel in the Security Council which will have important functions to perform in re Palestine; the fact that Egypt is a party in interest and therefore prejudiced; the fact that Egypt has already served on the Security Council; etc.

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Bunche/arriving here Friday in order to try to put/the Bernadotte Plan and will be used by U.S. and U.K. to try to line up other countries and generally carry the ball etc. BVC is writing to the White House - Clark Clifford frequently keeping him informed as to what is transpiring, and is doing all he can with Mrs. FDR to help. Keep this very confidential.

Shertok is seeing Marshall Tuesday noon.

Ecuador and Chile almost recognized Israel, but the recognition orders were called off because of the Bernadotte assassination.

Trygve Lie is cooperating with Israel and has been most friendly. After the Bernadotte funeral he saw the Swedish foreign minister and asked him to recognize Israel.

Suggest to Lourie that he prepare a memo on the B plan and our problem generally and to ask Felix Frankfurter to write a letter to Evatt giving him his views. Evatt has great respect for Felix and I am sure Evatt will be helpful. We are quite hopeful that South Africa, Canada, and New Zealand will support Israel on the Negev.

Please send me three copies of the Granados book if you can spare them.

I have not heard from George F. Eliot.

Are you planning to place any ads in the Paris editions of the NY Times and Herald Tribune? It might be helpful. I understand that you have Hilldring and Ewing helping us. Good work. Write me who saw Dulles and what was accomplished.

Dingol sent me the Day.

I am glad you are making good use of the material I am sending. I am quite hopeful that a combination of the Russian bloc, the Arab bloc, and a number of the Latin American countries will add up to enough votes to block the passage of the Bernadotte plan and prevent US-UK from getting a two-thirds majority.

The USSR position on the Bernadotte plan will be to oppose it and insist on the November 29th Resolution, including the Negev for Israel. I do not believe that they will stand in the way of any improvements for Israel as far as the western Galilee and Jerusalem are concerned, but I do not think they will actively fight for these improvements, and might abstain from voting where improvements are involved - as a matter of principle in resting their position on the Nov. 29 Resolution; but they may even be brought around to fighting all the way for Israel in all its demands. Some work is now being done along that line with them now.

With all good wishes and kindest regards to everyone,

Yours,

Hy (Schulson)



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HOTEL DE PARIS

October 10, 1948

Dear Harry:

I have just learned from X that Egypt plus the other Arab States are now doing their damnest to secure a delay of the consideration of the Palestine problem in Committee One until after the elections in the U.S.A. I also learned that the U.S. State Dept. boys, Rusk and his crowd, are urging that the U.S. support this Egypt move for delay. The argument being used by the State Dept. boys and Egypt is that there are too many political pressures being brought to bear on the White House and the State Dept. They figure that if Truman loses the election, he will be angry and damn sore at the Jews and will do nothing for them. If Dewey wins, he will do nothing on the ground that he does not yet hold office and will not take any responsibility for the Administration's acts and policy. I need not elaborate the implications, if this move succeeds. Therefore, I suggest that this be brought out into the open and the proper steps be taken. When Spaak, of Belgium, and Chairman of Comm. One heard about this, he strongly opposed it and said that Comm. One had already voted that Palestine be NO. 5 on the Agenda and that he will not tolerate this move of Egypt even if it is supported by the U.S.A. Frankly, I do not think the Egypt plus the U.S. move for delay will succeed. It will be voted down in Comm. One, if such a motion is introduced.

I suppose you know that the so-called Arab Government of Gaza was inspired by Egypt, Assam Pasha, and the Mufti. The U.K. has indicated to U.S.A. strong opposition to the Gaza Government on the ground that if the Gaza Government would be inimical to Anglo-American interests and that if the Gaza Govt. succeeds in setting itself up, the Bernadotte Plan will fall because the Bernadotte Plan envisages an annexation of the Eastern part of Palestine by Abdullah. U.S. share this view.

All reports indicate that the various Arab states are at each other's throats and are deeply suspicious of one another's designs on Palestine. I think these suspicions and Arab rivalries should be brought out more clearly in our propaganda to show that the Arab states do not have any interest in the Palestine Arabs or an Arab State in Palestine, but want to get whatever chunk of the Arab part of Palestine they can for themselves - all at the expense of Israel.

Trgvy Lie has been doing everything within his power in talking with delegations that Israel not be deprived of the Negev and his attitude has been most friendly, according to X's reports. Guatemala, Uruguay, El Salvador, Paraguay, Venezuela, and Panama have formed themselves into a strong bloc to help Israel in its fight for the Negev and in X's opinion will hold the line for Israel and will try to get other Latin-American countries to join them.

It is imperative that Dewey be smoked out as much as is humanly possible. I am sure you are making every effort to get him to speak up publicly in Israel's favor, on the Negev, and the B plan.

Shertok's conversation with Marshall was rather brief, with Shertok doing most of the talking, and Marshall remaining silent for the most part. I think

that he made Marshall understand why Israel cannot give up the Negev. Whether Marshall will act affirmatively in Israel's favor is still doubtful. But the U.S.A. boys and some members of the U.S. delegation like Mrs. FDR and some of the State Department employees are now talking in terms of using the B plan as a basis for further discussions rather than taking the B plan "in its entirety".

Shertok is seeing Dulles this afternoon; when I get a report of that conversation, I shall advise you.

I have contacted G.F. Eliot; he saw Dulles and Dulles told him what he wrote Silver. Eliot wrote a column on the situation here which you will probably have read by the time this reaches you.

Harry, I wish you would keep me informed as to what is happening at your end. I have not had a letter from you since I have come here. I know you are busier than ever but I am most anxious to learn what is going on on our front in the U.S.

Were you able to reach Mark Shulman in time to get me some dollars. I you missed him, I would greatly appreciate your sending it with someone else, who may be coming to Paris.

Please pass on to Dingol whatever you think he should print. Also keep Fahy informed and give my regards to Leo. I simply do not have time to write to everyone. I am sure you read about Egypt's getting a seat on the SC. US. voted for Egypt on the 3rd ballot. So did U.K. You will recall that I predicted this in my last two letters. I prepared the Israelis for it and they issued a press statement on it as soon as it happened and condemned the act of permitting an aggressor nation to serve on the SC which would deal with the Palestine matter. I have been giving them invaluable information and advice and consequently they can make their moves and counteract the enemies' moves intelligently. I understand that Morgenthau is stopping off in Paris to talk to Marshall and Mrs. FDR and others. Then he is going to Israel.

Is there any truth to the rumor that Lipsky is coming here? I think that Israel may be reached on the Agenda on Wed. or Thursday or Friday of this week.

Regards,

Hy (Schulson)

SECRET

October 15, 1948

THIRD DRAFT RESOLUTION

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

HAVING ADOPTED on 14 May 1948 resolution 186 (s-2) empowering a United Nations Mediator in Palestine to exercise certain functions including the use of his good offices to promote a peaceful adjustment of the future situation of Palestine;

HAVING RECEIVED AND EXAMINED THE Progress Report of the United Nations Mediator in Palestine (Document A/648) submitted by the late Count Folke Bernadotte;

HAVING TAKEN NOTE of the resolution of the Security Council of 15 July 1948 (Document S/902) which "orders the Governments and authorities concerned, pursuant to Article 40 of the Charter of the United Nations, to desist from further military action . . .", and which also provides "that, subject to further decision by the Security Council or the General Assembly, the truce shall remain in force, in accordance with the present resolution and with that of 29 May 1948, until a peaceful adjustment of the future situation of Palestine is reached";

AND TAKING ACCOUNT of the fact that the Governments and authorities concerned have accepted the order of the Security Council of 15 July;

1. EXPRESSES its deep appreciation of the progress achieved through the good offices of the late United Nations Mediator in promoting a peaceful adjustment of the future situation of Palestine, for which cause he sacrificed his life;

2. NOTES with satisfaction Part I of the Progress Report of the United Nations Mediator and endorses the specific conclusions contained in Part I of that Report, which are attached hereto, as a basis for a peaceful settlement of the Palestine question;

3. ESTABLISHES a Conciliation Commission consisting of three States Members of the United Nations to carry out the functions assigned to it by this resolution in accordance with the provisions of the specific conclusions attached hereto and such instructions as the General Assembly or the Security Council may issue. (The members

of the Conciliation Commission shall be selected by a Committee of the General Assembly composed of the representatives of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America.)

4. DECLARES that since the Security Council on July 15 has forbidden further employment of military action in Palestine, hostilities in Palestine should be considered as terminated; INSTRUCTS the Conciliation Commission to make arrangements for the transition from the existing truce to a formal peace or armistice in Palestine, and, pending the establishment of such a formal truce or armistice RECOMMENDS to the Security Council that existing truce obligations and arrangements be maintained subject to consideration of any modifications thereof which the Conciliation Commission may propose; and AUTHORIZES the Conciliation Commission to make such arrangements as may be necessary to utilize the personnel and equipment of the present truce supervision organisation;

5. INSTRUCTS the Conciliation Commission to appoint a Technical Boundaries Commission to assist in delimiting the frontiers in Palestine based on the specific conclusions of the United Nations Mediator (Paragraph 4 (b) of the attachment to this resolution), subject to such adjustments as may promote agreement between the Arabs and the Jews (without altering the general equilibrium of the Mediator's conclusions), and taking into account the nature of the terrain and the unity of village areas;)

6. ENDORSES the recommendation concerning the disposition of the territory of Palestine not included within the boundaries of the Jewish State contained in Paragraph 4 (c) of the Mediator's specific conclusions and INSTRUCTS the Conciliation Commission to use its good offices in consultation with the Governments of the Arab States and the Arab inhabitants of Palestine to effectuate this recommendation;

7. DECLARES that the holy places and religious buildings and sites in Palestine should be protected and that free access to them should be assured and that religious freedom should be guaranteed, and INSTRUCTS The Conciliation Commission to make arrangements for such protection, for such assurances and for such guarantees;

8. DETERMINES that in view of its association with three world religions, the territory of Jerusalem, as defined in the General Assembly Resolution of November 29, 1947, should be accorded special and separate treatment from the rest of Palestine

and should be placed under effective United Nations control with maximum feasible local autonomy for the Arab and Jewish communities; and INSTRUCTS the Conciliation Commission (a) to take all feasible steps to facilitate the effective administration of the territory, coordinating to the fullest extent possible organs of self-government and administration of the Arab and Jewish communities of the territory of Jerusalem, (b) to report to the Security Council for appropriate action any attempt to interfere with its functions with respect to Jerusalem, and (c) to present to the Fourth Regular Session of the General Assembly detailed proposals for a permanent international regime for the territory of Jerusalem;

9. DETERMINES that the right of unimpeded access to Jerusalem by road, rail, or air should be fully respected by all parties and INSTRUCTS the Conciliation Commission to report immediately to the Security Council for appropriate action by that organ any attempt by any party to impair such access;

10. DECLARES that, in the interest of peace in the Middle East, the United Nations has a continuing interest in and concern for the maintenance of the frontiers to be delimited by the Technical Boundaries Commission, and that these frontiers shall not be altered except by mutual agreement of the parties concerned;

11. RECOMMENDS to the Security Council that after the frontiers have been established in accordance with this resolution, the Security Council consider any attempt to alter these frontiers by force as a threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression;

12. RECOGNIZES the right of the Arab refugees to return to their homes in Jewish controlled territory at the earliest possible date, and the right of adequate compensation for the property of those choosing not to return and for property which has been lost as a result of pillage or confiscation or of destruction not resulting from military necessity; and INSTRUCTS the Conciliation Commission to facilitate the repatriation, resettlement, and economic and social rehabilitation of the Arab refugees and the payment of compensation;

13. DECIDES that the Conciliation Commission shall assume such functions as were assigned to the United Nations Mediator as may appropriately be continued and that the

position of the United Nations Mediator shall be discontinued when the Conciliation Commission enters upon its duties;

14. AUTHORIZES the Conciliation Commission to appoint such auxiliary bodies and to employ such technical experts, acting under its authority, as it may find necessary to the effective discharge of its functions and responsibilities under this resolution;

15. INSTRUCTS the Conciliation Commission to render progress reports periodically to the Secretary-General for transmission to the Security Council and to Members of the United Nations, and a consolidated report not less than thirty days before the opening of the next regular session of the General Assembly;

16. CALLS UPON all Governments and authorities concerned to cooperate with the Conciliation Commission and to take all possible steps to assist in the implementation of this resolution;

17. REQUESTS the Secretary-General to provide the necessary staff and facilities and to make appropriate arrangements to provide the necessary funds required in carrying out the terms of this resolution.

HOTEL DE PARIS

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October 18, 1948

Dear Harry:

I suppose you have read the New York Times story by Hamilton on McClintock in the Oct. 18 edition. Hamilton has been working on that story for a few weeks now and when he pressed the State Dept. crowd here for a statement, they fabricated one and told him that McClintock went to Rhodes solely to discuss Arab refugees, which of course is a lie. Victor Bernstein's story in the New York Star was much better. I understand that Lillie Shultz also did one for the Nation. I sent it to Pearson. Did he use it? I gave it to Rogers of the Herald Tribune, but he could not confirm it and let it go. I had Celler expose it at a press conference today and I understand the New York Post used it.

I was reliably informed today that the Anglo-American draft Resolution which I wrote you about on October 3 and 13 has been returned from the State Dept. to the U.S. delegation here and was approved and was strengthened and tightened in language which strongly approves the B Plan in its entirety. I cannot get a copy of the actual draft. The US and UK realize that the Resolution will fail passage, but they are primarily interested in getting the Conciliation Comm. appointed which in turn will appoint a Boundary Commission to encourage negotiations between Israel and Transjordan so that US and UK can control the negotiations and boundaries; so that even if the GA turns down the B Plan in its entirety, they will have another Commission at work either to displace the Mediator or act in concert with the Mediator, if the Mediator is retained.

The US, UK and the Arab bloc will continue their efforts to delay discussion of Israel in Comm. One so that no decision on the substantive issues will be decided until after US elections. This will be done either thru a number of long winded speeches by the Arab bloc plus the Arab Higher Comm. and Transjordan, and the big powers will not be in a great hurry to speak up and the Comm. One deliberations will be interrupted every other day with subcommittee reports on Atomic Energy or Disarmament or consideration of other ancillary matters. The US press has improved greatly since I last wrote you. But I think that it is most important that some big mass meetings be held in key cities giving both parties hell for their stand on this issue and to expose the game they are playing. Some visible evidence must be dramatically given to the politicians to make them move before elections. I hope you will give this serious consideration. Dewey must be smoked out. I know it is tough, but everything must be done to accomplish this. I have been reliably informed that the reason Egypt pressed so strongly today for another cease fire resolution in the SC was the fact that their military position was very desperate and they feared the Israeli Army would take complete control of the Negev. The Premier of Egypt, it is reported, is facing a cabinet fight in Egypt. The cabinet wants him to pull out the Egyptian Army from Palestine, but the Premier of Egypt refuses, and he figures that he can still get the lion's share of the Negev.

Yours,

Hy (Schulson)

HOTEL DE PARIS

OCTOBER 23, 1948

Dear Harry:

Thanks for your letter of Oct. 20 and for taking care of my check. I am receiving all the material you have sent me including the last ad which was good, but none of the ads appear in the European edition of the New York Times and Herald Tribune. Can you also arrange for that?

Fahy arrived yesterday and he brought me up to date. He is staying at the Claridge Hotel, Champs-Elysees, Room 434. We also met with Shertok and Eban today and he got a complete briefing as to what is going on and our line and he will begin to work on the American delegation immediately.

By this time you will have learned that the U.S. got the Iranian delegate to propose an adjournment of the Palestine problem for another week. One of the State Dept. boys was seen calling the Iranian representative out of the room and it is believed that he suggested to the Iranian that he move for a week's adjournment, which he did. At first, only a very few hands went up for the adjournment and it was not until Jessup raised his hand that the Latin American countries and a few others followed suit. Some of them like Panama and Paraguay did not realize what they were voting for and they thought they were voting against seating the Arab Higher Committee. The UK abstained. France voted against postponement. The Arab bloc voted solidly for delay. The U.S. is losing lots of prestige here as a result of the maneuver. We were able to get the second draft, the last known draft, of the US, UK joint resolution which they plan to present to Comm. One on Palestine. It completely approves the B Report and follows the language of the Conclusions very carefully but leaves out the existence of Israel as a State, and follows pretty much the line of my summary to you. Eban is mailing this to Lourie for purposes of transmitting it to you and Silver. It is our thinking here that this draft Resolution should be given to Truman's friends who are trying to help and that he be advised of what the State Dept. boys and the UK are up to with the hope that he might be persuaded to kill it by direct orders and to issue a statement in our favor before elections. The Wagner dinner in NYC might be a good time or even sooner, if possible. It was also suggested that he be told that if he does not do so, that the draft will be leaked to the press. A similar approach might be made to Dewey. Eban and Shertok do not think it is wise to leak it from here; they fear it might harm; before final leakage is decided upon, I suggest that Silver consult with Eban and other wise strategists.

The reason I am not sending you a copy of the resolution is that Eban has all the copies and he promised me that he would send it on. If Lourie does not receive it and turn it over to you, have Silver cable Eban for it immediately.

In the October 18th issue of the NY Times Paris edition under Hamilton's story on refugees, he broke the McClintock story. It was not carried in the form we would have liked it, but that was the best Kenen could do because Hamilton wanted to do some independent checking before he sent it. The alibi of the State Dept. boys here that McClintock was sent to appeal for Arab refugees is just baloney. They did not have to send him for that alone. Rogers of the Herald Tribune would not touch the story because he could not confirm it independently and he would not take our word for ~~what they think~~ it. They are funny guys as no doubt you know and are always suspicious of what they think is mere propaganda.

Kenen is very jealous of his prerogative to handle the press and he has asked me not to talk with them and I have complied with his wishes. Kenen had the story a long time ago and any inefficiency should not be ascribed to me but where it belongs. I do not want to cross him because I have to deal with him daily. I pass my stuff on to them and it is up to them to do what they deem wisest. They resent like hell any attempt to encroach upon what they regard is their province. Fahy did not bring over any cash for me as I expected and I thought you would have sent some with him. I would greatly appreciate it, if possible, for you to send some cash over for me with the next person who comes to Paris. With checks paid off in NYC, I do not get what I can get for cash here in the way of francs.

Please pass on to Dingol whatever part of the story on the vote which you want him to use.

My best regards to you and the staff and to Dr. Silver

Yours,

Hy (Schulson)



HOTEL DE PARIS

November 6, 1948

Dear Harry:

Thanks for your letter of Nov. 3. I am enclosing the draft of the UK resolution which I last cabled and wrote you about. I applies to the Galilee and the fighting in the northern part of Palestine. The SC is awaiting Bunche's report on that and then will consider the resolution and act. I trust that you are doing all you can to get Truman to issue instructions to oppose this one. Jessup refused to be rushed into supporting this one, but I think we should act on the assumption that US will support it.

I am sorry that I caused you difficulty in handling the last one due to my changing advices, but unfortunately, the US policy does change so fast that I did my best to keep you informed just as rapidly as I got the dope. I may see my friend Sunday and will keep you advised.

Ben Cohen was on the verge of resigning on Thursday because of the U.S. position on the last resolution of the Security Council, but he finally decided that in the long run he would be of more help if he stayed on, trying to do the best he could, keeping us advised, feeding Mrs. FDR ideas and getting her to act in opposition to anything foul. Please keep this confidential.

Rosen's representative has not contacted me. Can you let me know his name and address and I will contact him?

Kindest regards.

HY

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1201

(57)
1948 DEC 6 PM

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LC = Deferred Cable

NLT = Cable Night Letter

6 Ship Radiogram

The f

pt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

.CL332 INTL=CD PARIS VIA COMMERCIAL 38 6=

NLT ABBA H SILVER=

:19810 SHAKER BLVD SHAKER HEIGHTS CLEVE=

WRHS



SCHULSONS WORK MOST FAITHFUL EFFECTIVE RECOMMEND AUTHORIZE
HIS REQUEST SUPERIORS TWO WEEKS SOJOURN ISRAEL THIS BUT
MODEST REWARD FOR SUPERB WORK WILL BE MOST HELPFUL FUTURE
WORK DAVID=

:119810=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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HOTEL DE PARIS

December 7, 1948

Dear Abe:

Thanks for your cable and the message to X which I delivered.

The earliest passage I could book was on the Queen Mary which leaves Cherbourg on the 17th of December - weather permitting. I shall arrive in New York City on the 22nd or 23rd, depending on the weather. The America, Neu Amsterdam, Mauretania, Queen Elizabeth were all booked with passengers who were stranded because of the strike and two weeks fog.

The Palestine resolution will be voted on in the General Assembly sometime between Dec. 9-12.

Mr. Fahy was due to return to NYC today. I think it would be very fitting for Dr. Silver to invite him to render a report to the Jewish Agency Executive and to tender him an informal dinner and pay tribute to him publicly for his superb services to our people. I will tell you more about his work when I return. He came here at a great sacrifice to his law practice and worked very faithfully and effectively. I think that the Jewish world ought to know him. He is a sterling character. Our ACPC friends also should become acquainted with him.

Might I suggest that you remind Dr. Silver to send him a Christmas gift. Perhaps the Jewish Agency might also present him with a Christmas gift. He is a very devout Catholic and quite high up in Catholic lay circles.

I read that he just won a very important case in the Supreme Court of the US 5 to 4 in the Bermuda case. Wherein the Court held that Bermuda is a US possession. He represented 11 workers suing for overtime pay. The workers were employed by American firms during the war on the construction in Bermuda of Fort Bell and Kindley Field. He is also one of the greatest friends of labor. I had the privilege of working with him as an attorney for the NLRB when he was General Counsel. He organized the constitutionality of the Wagner Act. As solicitor General of the US for 5 years, he had a brilliant record. His service during the war - as Counsel to Gen. Eisenhower in Berlin was outstanding. Let us show him that Jews appreciate their friends.

Abe, I am sorry I bothered you so much for the trip to Israel, but such is the grip Israel has on me that I wanted to exhaust all possibilities of going there. But if, in your judgment and Dr. Silver's, my immediate return will help Israel in her hour of need, I yield. I do hope, however, that you will upon my return, permit me to take 3 or 4 days off around the first of Jan. to visit my folks in Milwaukee, whom I have not seen since last Passover.

With all good wishes, regards to Dr. Silver and all my friends, I am

Cordially, Hy

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Constituent Organizations

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

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

December 28, 1948

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

Dear Dr. Silver:

The President has just announced the appointment of Joseph Berry Keenan to represent the United States on the United Nations Conciliation Commission. I am enclosing a biographical sketch of Mr. Keenan.

I have discussed Mr. Keenan's appointment with some of our friends in Washington and they regard him as a fairly good choice. As far as I can ascertain, he has never publicly declared himself on Palestine.

His law partner in Washington is Mr. Morris Kanfer, who is a good Zionist and a member of the local Zionist organizations executive. Mr. Charles Fahy worked with him rather closely in the Department of Justice and knows him intimately. I asked Mr. Fahy to establish contact with him at the earliest opportunity. It might be helpful if you personally asked Mr. Fahy to establish such contact. I notice that Mr. Keenan lived in Cleveland from 1913 to 1930 and that he was associated with the law firm of Keenan & Butler, and before that with Day, Day & Wilkin. Perhaps you can establish contact, too, with some of his Cleveland friends.

I understand that Mr. Keenan has important Catholic contacts and is himself a devout Catholic. He was quite active in the early days of the New Deal. I shall establish whatever contacts I can with Mr. Kanfer, his Jewish law partner in Washington.

While, naturally, we would have preferred to see General Hilldring appointed, I am hopeful that Mr. Keenan's appointment will prove satisfactory.

I had a long talk today with David Ginsburg, who informed me that the Israeli loan negotiations with the Export-Import Bank are progressing smoothly and he is very hopeful that the loan will be forthcoming within the next few weeks.

With all good wishes, I am

Most cordially yours,

Hyman A. Schulson

Hyman A. Schulson

HAS:ME

KEENAN, Joseph Berry, Lawyer; b. Pawtucket, R.I. Jan. 11, 1888, s. Bernard A. and Sarah (Berry) K.; A.B., Brown, 1910, M.A. 1910, LL.B. Harvard Law Sch., 1913; m. Charlotte Quigley, July 7, 1920; children - Wm. Quigley, Joseph Berry, Betty Jean, John David. Admitted to Ohio bar, 1913 and since in practice at Cleveland; mem. firm Day, Day & Wilkin, 1919; apptd. spl. asst. to atty. gen. of Ohio to investigate crime 1919; formed firm Keenan & Butler, 1930; apptd. spl. asst. to atty. gen. of U.S. to investigate crime, July 1933, asst. atty. gen. lf U.S. in charge of criminal division of Dept. of Justice, Oct. 1933, asst. to the Atty. Gen. 1936-39; private practice, Washington, D.C. since Feb. 1939. United States chief of counsel for prosecution in trials of Japanese war criminals, Tokyo, Japan, 1946. Served with cav. Mexican border 1916; with 137th field arty. A.E.F. 1917; commd. 1st Lt. judge adv. gens's dept. Cited by Gen. Pershing "for meritorious service"; cited by French govt. "for distinguished service". Mem. Am. Ohio State, Cuyahoga County and Cleveland bar assns., Democrat, Catholic, Home, 10 Heskth St., Chevy Chase, Md. Office: 520 Woodward Bldg., Washington, D.C.



C
O
P
Y

MEMORANDUM

TO: Abe Tuvim

January 5, 1949

FROM: Hyman A. Schulson

In reply to your memorandum of Jan. 4th regarding Dr. Israel Goldstein's complaint of the Greek practices at the Athens airport, I wish to advise you that I spoke to Fraser Wilkins of the Near East Division of the State Department and gave him the facts reported by Dr. Goldstein. He said that he would look into the situation and advise me later.

May I suggest that Mr. Charles Fahy be asked to lodge a formal complaint in behalf of the American Section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine and take the matter up with whatever personal contacts he might have in the Department of State. You will recall that he has handled similar matters of this type when the incidents arose in Lebanon and in Egypt during the Spring and Summer.

Since Dr. Goldstein is the Treasurer of the Jewish Agency and an American citizen, it might be helpful for Fahy to make this representation. You might discuss this with Dr. Silver and if he concurs with this advice, you can write to Mr. Fahy about it.

I shall advise you as soon as I hear anything from Mr. Wilkins.

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WASHINGTON 6, D. C.
EXECUTIVE 1060

January 7, 1949

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

Dear Dr. Silver:

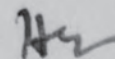
I thought that you would be interested in knowing that Congressman Sol Bloom was deeply moved and elated with the invitation he received from your Temple to address the Men's Club or whatever group it was that invited him.

For your information, Murray Frank, who is the Washington correspondent for the Jewish Morning Journal and writes a column for the New Palestine, will accompany Sol Bloom. Murray Frank has been very helpful to me, in our contacts with Bloom and in strengthening Bloom's position on Palestine, and in making him take a more militant position in interventions with the White House and the State Department at different times.

Bloom's visit to the Temple in Cleveland will be a good opportunity to promote cordial relations between you and the present administration, and I know that Sol Bloom will be very glad to serve in that capacity. If you wish, you might explore that matter with him privately.

With warmest personal regards, I am

Most cordially yours,



Hyman A. Schulson

HAS:ME

C
O
P
Y

MEMORANDUM

January 11, 1949

TO: Mr. Abe Tuvim

FROM: Hyman Schulson

Mr. Celler has asked me whether or not the AZEC would be willing to sponsor a dinner at which the members of Congress would be invited to hear a report on the latest developments in Israel. At this meeting, both Mr. Celler and Mr. Multer, who visited Israel before election, could make brief reports of what they saw. Mr. Celler also has taken some beautiful pictures of Israel which could be shown. The meeting might also be used to have Dr. Silver and Aubrey Eban or, possibly, Mr. Fahy, report on the last sessions of the UN in Paris and events in Israel, etc.

I told Mr. Celler that I had no authority to make any commitments, but that I would refer the matter to you for decision.

I am personally of the opinion that such a dinner would be worth-while, and would enable us to educate the new members of Congress. Please let me know your decision.

Mr. Hy Schulson

January 14, 1949

Abe Tuvim

I am sending a copy of your letter of January 11th to Dr. Silver and will await word from him before deciding on the merits of your plan to arrange a dinner for members of Congress to be addressed by Congressmen Celler and Multer.

While I think the idea is a good one, I have always been afraid of congressional dinners on a large scale because so many of them promise to come and fail to show up. If this was done with a picked list of 75 to 100 members of Congress, I would be much more inclined to go along.

I should hear from Dr. Silver within a day or two and then I will communicate with you.

Kindest regards.

AT:RB

P.S. Some thought should be given to a Republican Congressman or Senator to be included in the speaking program. We cannot afford to make the affair appear to be one-sided.

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EXECUTIVE 1060

January 31, 1949

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

Dear Dr. Silver:

I forgot to mention this to you when
I was in New York and saw you at Major Eban's Dinner.

Mr. Fahy submitted a bill for services
rendered, including his trip to Paris, for the past
six months, ending December 31st, to Mr. Hammer.
To this date, he has not heard from him. Mr. Levy
mentioned this matter to me on the train to New York
and asked me if I would not do something about it.

Would you please take this matter up
with Mr. Hammer to whom the bill was submitted?

With warmest personal regards and all
good wishes, I am

Very cordially yours,



Hyman A. Schulson

HAS/p

Mr. Abe Tuvin

February 3, 1949

Mr. Hyman A. Schulson

Personal and Confidential

Please transmit the following information:

(1) Mr. John Reedman, of Bunche's staff in Rhodes, arrived in Washington yesterday, February 2nd, from Rhodes for a conference with Dean Rusk and Joseph Satterthwaite. He told them that the refusal by the representatives of the State of Israel to comply with the Security Council's Resolution of November 4, 1948, ordering Israeli forces to withdraw to the positions held in October, was the chief obstacle toward reaching an armistice with Egypt. Reedman came to Washington at Bunche's request in order to urge the State Department and the President to apply pressure on Israel to yield on this point so that an armistice can be agreed to. It is very clear that Bunche's maneuver was designed to put Israel "on the spot." I do not have any information regarding the reaction of Rusk and Satterthwaite, but it may safely be assumed that they will strongly urge the President and Acheson to "put the heat" on Israel.

Word should be communicated through our channels to the White House that Bunche and the State Department boys are again up to their old tricks to embarrass Israel. It should be pointed out that the real factor behind Egypt's adamant position is the British and that the U. S. ought to "put the heat" on the British to get the Egyptians in line if an armistice is desired.

(2) Israel should be advised that the whole maneuver of Bunche to bring in all the Arab governments as a unit to negotiate at Rhodes is a British plan designed to have the Arab governments gang up on Israel. Israel should be cautioned that it would be much smarter strategy to negotiate separately with each of the Arab countries with whom they have problems to settle rather than to be confronted by them as a unit where the disease of Arab League-itis would be bound to show itself, thus making it more difficult to reach an agreement.

(3) Bardett, the American Consul at Jerusalem, has asked the Department of State for instructions whether to accept the invitation by the government of Israel to attend the opening of the Constituent Assembly in Jerusalem. They are afraid that, if they attend, the attendance in Jerusalem would be construed by the world as acquiescence in Israel's plan of incorporating the new city of Jerusalem as part of the State of Israel. I do not know as yet what advice the Department of State will give to the American Consul at Jerusalem, but the problem is plaguing the State Department.

Mr. Abe Tuwin

February 3, 1949

(4) Britain does not intend to send a top-flight personality as its representative to Israel. Its relations with the State of Israel, while maintaining an outright appearance of correctness, will not be too warm or cordial until the questions of boundaries, Jerusalem, and other matters are fully settled. It is common knowledge in the Department that their representatives in Israel will function primarily as intelligence officers. The British Foreign Office feels that they can accomplish more by having their men "on the spot" in Israel with some semblance of formal authority, rather than have them on the outside looking in.

(5) The real reason behind the postponement of the Weizmann dinner is not Dr. Weizmann's health, but the State Department's ability to convince the President that it would be unwise for him to make any public speeches about Israel while the negotiations at Rhodes and the negotiations of the UN Conciliation Commission are going on.



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EXECUTIVE 1060

February 10, 1949

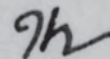
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver,
19810 Shaker Boulevard,
Shaker Heights,
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I am enclosing a copy of an analysis, prepared by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress, on "Editorial Attitude of the Louisville(Kentucky) Courier-Journal on the Palestine Problem", the paper edited by Mark Etheridge. This analysis was prepared by Charles R. Gellner, of the General Research Section, at the request of Congressman Klein, of New York, who had the study made at my suggestion. I hope you will find the material of interest.

With warmest personal regards, I am

Very cordially yours,



Hyman A. Schulson

HAS/mp
Encl.

(Copy)

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Washington 25, D.C.

Legislative Reference Service

EDITORIAL ATTITUDE OF THE LOUISVILLE (KENTUCKY) COURIER-JOURNAL
ON THE PALESTINE PROBLEM

(Note: This analysis covers editorials published during
the period May, 1946 - January, 1949)

A. Basic Claims

In regard to the basic claims of both Arabs and Zionists to Palestine an impartial and neutral attitude has been assumed by the Courier-Journal. On one occasion it said, "Now both Jews and Arabs have a reasonable case in Palestine" (July 8, 1947). On another occasion the paper declared that it was up to the United Nations to weigh the merits of the claims and counter-claims of both Arabs and Jews, implying that it would not itself make a decision on this subject (November 9, 1948).

B. The Zionists and the State of Israel

On a great many occasions the Courier-Journal speaks very sympathetically of the lot of the persecuted European Jews and says that Western civilization must take the necessary steps to rescue them. Although the paper speaks praisingly of the Jewish people and the Zionist cause, nevertheless it also reproves them from time to time. For example, regret is expressed that some Jewish people, embittered by Great Britain's Palestine policy, attacked the American loan to Britain (July 14, 1946). Both Jews and Arabs as well as the British, the paper contends, must make concessions in regard to Palestine (September 27, 1946).

The paper labels one statement of Dr. Emanuel Neumann, American member of the Jewish Agency Executive, "utterly intransigent and unconstructive" (January 23, 1947). In the same month it warned that "Jewish emotion begins to border on hysteria, and hysteria may drive away world sympathy for an appealing cause" (January 31, 1947). Later it rebuked Jewish terrorism on several occasions and said that it might hurt the Zionist cause; it blamed Jewish leadership for not bringing about order (August 5, 1947).

The Jews were accused of attempting to harass British authorities and to compel a change in British policy by forcing new immigrants into Palestine (October 4, 1947). However, at the time of the birth of the Jewish State, the Courier-Journal declared: "Whatever the right or wrong of the Jewish claim to Palestine, the cause of world peace would be infinitely served by the establishment of a stable Jewish nation there, on terms of truce with its Arab neighbors" (May 15, 1948). President Truman was "on good ground" in recognizing the new state of Israel (May 16, 1948). Later, however, it warned Israel to restrain its ambitions, swollen by triumph over the Arabs (September 8, 1948).

"This newspaper was for the creation of the State of Israel and is for the State of Israel today" the editorial page stated on November 9, 1948, but then it charged the Jews to give the United Nations more respect and reminded the "hotheads in Palestine" that Israel owes a debt to the world. The paper supported Israel's claim to United Nations membership (November 30, 1948).

Recently the Courier-Journal has admired Israel's agricultural skill and fighting ability, but declared this admiration was weakened by Israel's disregard of United Nations cease-fire orders. Israel was warned not to risk a clash with Great Britain and that the Arab countries might react more strongly if their own territories were invaded (January 7, 1949). The American loan to Israel was called "timely and wise" (January 21, 1949). The paper spoke approvingly of extension of de jure recognition by the great powers and was glad that moderate elements won out in Israel's elections (January 24, 26, 28, 1949).

C. The Arabs

The Courier-Journal often has criticized both Arabs and Jews simultaneously. For example: "It is sometimes difficult to decide whether the Arabs or the Zionists excel in harming their own cause in Palestine" (July 8, 1947). Nevertheless, criticisms of the Arabs are generally somewhat harsher than those of the Zionists. As early as May, 1946, there was mention of the "arrogance" of the Arabs. Disapproval of the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem was voiced on August 28, 1946. In criticism of the Arabs the paper quoted from Lawrence of Arabia as follows: "Arabs could be swung on an idea as on a cord, for the unpledged allegiance of their minds made them obedient servants." The attitude of the Arab masses toward the Palestine problem, the Courier-Journal declared, had been "utterly negative, utterly destructive"; they had been content to follow their inflammatory leaders (April 4, 1947).

At the time the United States recognized Israel, the Courier-Journal asserted: "It seems the least America can do to give official recognition to both sides in such a struggle (May 16, 1948). The paper was very

unfavorable to the Arab decision to take up arms against Israel and asserted: "What seems to be needed is the Security Council's definition of the Arab invasion of Palestine - and, for that matter, of Jewish raids outside of Israel's vague borders - as illegal; in short, as aggression" (May 25, 1948). The paper subsequently continues to denounce the Arabs as aggressors and considers them to be in defiance of the United Nations because they made war against Israel.

D. The Solution to the Problem

Although the Courier-Journal seemed to approve the Report of the Anglo-American Committee in 1946 and urged action on its recommendations, nevertheless the paper believed that a settlement of the problem would be better based on the United Nations than on a two-power agreement between the United States and Great Britain. Later in the year it supported the Morrison-Grady plan of partition, although it admitted it was not a perfect one or without handicaps. The paper thought that world opinion should force a solution despite the opposition of both Arabs and Jews.

By the beginning of 1947 the paper was of the opinion that there was only one resort for a solution of the problem - the United Nations. In the spring of 1947 the Courier-Journal warned that the United Nations Commission which would study the Palestine dilemma "will possess no divine omniscience, and their eventual findings will almost certainly provoke the rage of Jews or Arabs or both" (May 2, 1947). As the Palestine issue developed before the forum of the United Nations, the paper upheld the proposal for partition and repeatedly emphasized the need of an international force to compel observance by the parties concerned. After the General Assembly voted on partition, the editor commented that it was a "supreme gamble" but one that had to be faced (December 2, 1947). The paper admitted that there might be difficulties if Soviet troops were to enter Palestine as part of an enforcement

action, and therefore it supported the Guatemalan plan of a United Nations army from the small nations (January 28, 1948). As the United Nations attempted to restore peace in the Holy Land, the Courier-Journal continued to insist that the only real answer was an international force.

E. The United States

The Courier-Journal early took the stand that the United States on moral grounds could not escape responsibility for active participation in the Palestine settlement (May 3, 1946). Again, it asserted that the United States might use moral pressures to force a compromise between the Arabs, the Jews and the British (September 27, 1946). It was frequently stressed that the United States could contribute to a solution of the Palestine question by opening its own doors to immigration.

Later, the Courier-Journal declared that the only feasible course for America was to accept the principle of partition and use its own resources to put it into effect. "America's decision must rest on the straight issue of what will be best, in the long run, for both the Jews and Arabs of Palestine . . . Let's drop the talk about the Jewish vote in New York and the Arab threat to our oil interests in the Middle East. America owes moral leadership to the world. Here is a ringing challenge to exert that quality" (October 10, 1947).

As the General Assembly vote on a Palestine solution approached in November, 1947, the paper approved the agreement of the United States and the U.S.S.R. on partition and praised the United States for no longer holding aloof from responsibility (November 12, 1947). Then as the United States backed away from the partition proposal, the paper criticized the United

States, saying, "Nor is there any denial that this country has lacked from the beginning a firm, clear and dependable Palestine policy or that this fact is at the heart of the trouble" (February 26, 1948). The paper said further: "The basic fault in our Palestine policy was not our support of partition, which with all its difficulties is the only way to straighten out this mess in the long run. The trouble was that we plumped for partition without being prepared to give what it takes to carry it out."

President Truman was compared to Mr. Micawber who always hoped that something would "turn up" (March 21, 1948). In regard to United States recognition of Israel the paper declared: "President Truman has almost a genius for doing the right thing in an awkward and unfortunate way" (May 16, 1948).

Finally, as has already been mentioned, the Courier-Journal approved the United States loan to Israel.

F. Great Britain

On several occasions the Courier-Journal declared that Britain should not be obliged to assume the full military burden of a solution for Palestine, but that it should be shared by the United States through the United Nations. Sympathy for Britain's position in Palestine was expressed a number of times. For example, on February 17, 1947, the British mandate was called a "thankless task". And again the paper said, referring to the British, "Their role is not easy. . . ." (October 7, 1946).

The British were also chided on some occasions. The paper reproved Bevin for his well known remark about the New York Jews (June 16, 1946). On the failure of the British to carry out promptly the recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee, the paper warned that they were losing

prestige because of their Palestine policy (June 19, 1946). Bevin was again rebuked when he accused President Truman of making statements that spoiled delicate negotiations for a settlement of the problem (February 27, 1947). "The British have been slow and inept" in handling Palestine affairs (April 4, 1947).

During the period preceding termination of the mandate there was sympathy expressed for Britain's refusal to let additional Jewish immigrants enter the Holy Land because this would have only added to Britain's difficulties (January 23, 1948). However, in spite of the paper's sympathetic attitude toward the difficulties of Britain's position as mandatary, after the Arabs opened warfare against Israel, it roundly condemned Britain's association with the Arab Legion of Transjordan as "indefensible morally" (May 25, 1948). In mid-1948 the paper stressed the necessity for agreement between the United States and Britain regarding Palestine because of the dangers to plans for world recovery (June 5, 1948). Recently, the Israelis were warned of a possible clash with Great Britain (January 7, 1949).

The general attitude of the Courier-Journal toward Great Britain has been friendly. It is difficult to determine the paper's attitude toward socialism in Britain. However, it pointed out that the Labor Government which seems so red to some Congressmen is regarded by the Soviet Union as a citadel of fascism and it comments favorably on the cool way in which the British discuss nationalization (July 19 and November 23, 1946). Generally, the paper speaks about socialist projects in Britain in a non-committal tone. However, commenting on a setback of the Labor Government in municipal elections the Courier-Journal stated, "It would be a mistake to say that Britain's

course of planned economy is done - or that it should be" (November 4, 1947).

The paper supported the British loan and later Britain's request for relaxation of the terms of the loan agreement. At the time of Britain's economic crisis in early 1947 the Courier-Journal was convinced that the resolution and courage of the British would pull them through. Attlee's decision to postpone nationalization of the steel industry until after the crisis was deemed to be sensible because of the economic conditions in Britain. On November 13, 1947, the paper declared that it was an "unfair," inaccurate estimate" that the ills of England were due to mismanagement by the Labor Government; they were due to war exhaustion. Almost a year later, the Courier-Journal asserted that the British deserved a pat on the back for their magnificent economic comeback (September 22, 1948). Imperial policy in India, Burma and Egypt has been considered enlightened. Finally, the Courier-Journal thought that it was vital for the United States that the British remain a strong people in the future (May 22, 1948).

G. The Future

"The fact is that if peace is to endure and everybody concerned is to prosper, Arabs and Israeli must come to a community of interests, a mutual economic relationship of exchange and trade. Time is long, and as neighbors willy-nilly they need one another" (September 8, 1948).

Charles R. Gellner
General Research Section
February 9, 1949

Washington Office: 701 Ring Building

Mr. Abe Tuwin

February 11, 1949

Mr. Hyman A. Schulson

Confidential

1. Ethridge reported to the State Department this week regarding the U N Conciliation Commission's first meeting with Shertok. Shertok took the position that the new city of Jerusalem must be part of the State of Israel, and pointed out the arguments and reasons, well known to us, particularly emphasizing the indifference of the great powers to the fate of Israel when it was attacked by Abdallah, etc., etc. The French representative took a very firm position that Jerusalem must be internationalized.

Regarding the return of Arab refugees and compensation for property losses, etc., Shertok pointed out the condition of over a million Jews residing in the Arab world who are being held as hostages, the cruel and inhumane treatment of the governments of the Arab states toward those Jews, etc. Shertok indicated that Israel had no money for compensation for the Arab refugees. Ethridge characterized Shertok's position as "intransigent" and "tough", but expressed his personal feeling to the Department that Shertok's position may be only the "opening gambit" and giving the impression that Israel will refuse to yield at the present time, or even compromise.

2. Great Britain, France, and the Benelux countries have advised the Department that they will not attend the opening session of the Constituent Assembly on Monday unless the U. S. attends. They are concerned less they may prejudice the question of Jerusalem's internationalization, if they attend the Assembly session. MacDonald has been urging the U. S. that he be allowed to attend and that he, MacDonald, would announce that his attendance is without prejudice to the internationalization of Jerusalem. MacDonald has also pointed out that the Soviet minister will attend and, if the representative of the U. S. does not attend, his absence will be misconstrued by the people of Israel and the Arab world. As of yesterday, MacDonald had not yet received instructions from Acheson or the President.

3. Several reports have arrived at the State Department pointing to a very critical attitude on the part of Soviet Russia toward the members of the government of the State of Israel. Several pamphlets and newspaper articles have been published recently, critical of the leadership of the government of Israel, utilizing the well known arguments that they were agents of Anglo-American imperialism, etc., etc. Reports have also reached the Department that agents of Soviet Russia are carrying on a great deal of activity with the Arabs of Palestine. Arms have also ceased to arrive from Czechoslovakia. These reports have had a good effect as far as Israel is concerned, with those members of the Department who, in the past, argued that Israel is just another communist breeding cell.

To Mr. Abe Tuvim

February 11, 1949

4. Until recently, Egyptian authorities have not divulged to the British authorities what is transpiring in Rhodes. This week, however, the Egyptians have gone out of their way to inform the British regarding every maneuver at Rhodes.

5. Ibn Saud this week called in the American Minister in Saudi Arabia and told him that he has information that Abdullah, of Transjordan, and the Foreign Minister of Iraq, and other high government officials of Iraq and Syria, have entered into an agreement to set up a greater Syria in which Abdullah would play a prominent role, and it was their intention later to include Saudi Arabia into their greater scheme. Ibn Saud asked the American Minister to notify the U. S. government about this cabal and requested the U. S. Minister to ask the U. S. government for advice regarding Ibn Saud's behavior with respect to this maneuver. No answer has yet been given to Ibn Saud.

6. Great Britain has advised Abdullah that he should not give an inch in yielding any part of Jerusalem in any negotiations with the Israeli government or the Conciliation Commission. The British have pointed out to Abdullah that Jerusalem is the strongest ace card in the deck in bargaining and that he should not yield any part of the old city.

It has been suggested to me that Shertok's position that a separate state be set up in the Arab part of Palestine is a very good tactical maneuver, but Shertok should follow up this statement in urging that, if the Arabs of Palestine want to be incorporated in the Kingdom of Transjordan, they should do so by open and free elections. Since the cardinal point in American policy is free elections, Shertok should be urged to utilize former Secretary Byrnes' several announcements calling for free elections in Poland and other satellite countries in Europe.

WASHINGTON OFFICE: 701 RING BUILDING

Mr. Abe Tuwin

February 14, 1949

CONFIDENTIAL

Mr. Hyman A. Schulson

I had lunch today with Congressman Abraham Multer, of Brooklyn, and our discussion was regarding a plan for economic aid to the Middle East which he worked out in consultation with Eliahu Epstein, Robert Nathan, and some of his colleagues in the House. I am enclosing a copy of the first draft of a Joint Resolution which he plans to have introduced in both the Senate and the House by important Christian members of Congress on a bi-partisan basis.

You will notice that the Resolution calls for the establishment of a Middle Eastern Commission to inquire into action to be taken by the U. S. with regard to the economic development of states and countries in the Middle East. The Commission is to be composed of five members of the Senate to be appointed by the Vice President; five members of the House of Representatives to be appointed by the Speaker, and three members to be appointed by the President of the U. S.

The Commission will be empowered to conduct full and comprehensive investigations and studies relating to (1) the immigration and resettlement of displaced persons and refugees. (2) the improvement of standards of living, social services and educational opportunities, (3) the establishment and development of agricultural and industrial projects which are capable of increasing productivity and improving health and living standards, (4) the improvement of opportunities for primary and secondary education and for technical and university education. The Commission will then submit its report and recommendations for legislation to the Congress.

You will notice that the Resolution purposely does not mention E.C.A. aid or any specific amount. I think this is psychologically and politically very important. The purpose of the Resolution is to establish a Commission which will visit the Middle East, make its studies on the spot, and make specific recommendations to the Congress. I think that this approach is the correct one. This approach is not only correct, but will, in the long run, be best for Israel. The recommendations will be those of members of Congress themselves and will acquaint them directly with the problems of the Middle East.

Congressman Multer told me that he saw the President this morning for fifteen minutes and discussed the Joint Resolution with him. The President expressed his agreement with this type of approach to bring U. S. economic aid to the Middle East. The President also told him that, in this way, point four of his inaugural address could be

implemented. The President also told Congressman Multer that he was in sympathy with the establishment of a TVA on the Jordan and that this Commission could well recommend that project as one of the first methods to realize the objective of the Joint Resolution. Congressman Multer's whole approach with the President was based on point four of the President's inaugural address. The President suggested to Congressman Multer that he discuss his Joint Resolution with the State Department, particularly with Mr. Joseph C. Satterthwaite, the head of the Near East Division. Mr. Multer will also talk to Dean Acheson, Willard L. Thorp, assistant Secretary of State in charge of economic affairs and other members of the Department working on plans to implement point four of the President inaugural address, in order to get the benefit of their views and to try to sell them on the idea.

Congressman Multer has asked that no publicity be given to this Resolution or plan until the proper time. The Resolution will definitely not be introduced by any Jewish Congressman.

Congressman Multer would appreciate the views of the AZEC on the Joint Resolution. He will be very glad to consult with any representative of the AZEC on this matter. He is in New York City week-ends and, if any of you want to talk to him about it, you may do so by telephoning him for an appointment.

Kindest regards.

HAS/p
Encl.

CC: Dr. Silver
Mr. Fahy

J O I N T

To establish the Middle Eastern Commission

That the purpose of this joint resolution is to provide for a comprehensive inquiry with respect to the action which it is necessary or desirable for the United States to take with regard to the economic development of the states and countries in the Middle East.

Sec. 2. (a) There is hereby established a commission to be known as the Middle Eastern Commission (in this joint resolution referred to as the "Commission").

(b) The Commission shall be composed of thirteen members as follows: Three persons to be appointed by the President of the United States; five Members of the Senate to be appointed by the Vice President; and five Members of the House of Representatives to be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives. Any vacancy in the Commission shall not affect its powers, but shall be filled in the same manner in which the original appointment was made.

(c) The Commission shall elect a chairman from among its members. Seven members of the Commission shall constitute a quorum.

Sec. 3. (a) Members of the Commission who are also Members of Congress shall serve without compensation in addition to that received for their services as Members of Congress; but they shall be reimbursed for travel, subsistence and other necessary expenses incurred by them in the performance of the

duties vested in the Commission.

(b) Any member of the Commission who also holds an office or position in the executive branch of the Government shall serve without compensation in addition to that received for such services in the executive branch of the Government; but they shall be reimbursed for travel, subsistence, and other necessary expenses incurred by them in the performance of the duties vested in the Commission.

(c) Members of the Commission appointed from private life shall each receive \$50 per diem when engaged in the performance of duties vested in the Commission, plus reimbursement for travel, subsistence, and other necessary expenses incurred by them in the performance of such duties.

Sec. 4. The Commission shall have power to appoint and fix the compensation of such personnel as it deems advisable, in accordance with the civil-service laws and the Classification Act of 1923, as amended. The Commission shall have the same privilege of free transportation of official mail matter as is granted by law to officers of the United States Government.

Sec. 5. Ninety days after the submission to the Congress of the final report provided for in Section 6 (b), the Commission shall cease to exist.

Sec. 6. (a) It shall be the duty of the Commission to carry out the purposes declared in the first section of this joint resolution and to that end the Commission shall conduct full and comprehensive investigations and studies, and shall make studies, reports and plans relating to (1) the immigration and resettlement of displaced persons and refugees. (2) the improvement of standards of living, social services and educational opportunities, (3) the establishment and development of agricultural and industrial projects which are capable of increasing productivity and improving health and living standards, (4) the improvement of opportunities for primary and secondary education and for technical and university education.

(b) The Commission shall make interim reports to the Congress from time to time, and shall make a final report which shall include recommendations for such legislation as it shall conclude to be necessary or desirable.

(c) In the performance of its duties the Commission shall cooperate with the governments of the states and countries in the Middle East, and with the United Nations and its affiliated agencies; provided, however, that the governments of the states and countries in the Middle East shall be responsible for all authority necessary to carry out the Commission's duties in their respective countries.

Sec. 7. (a) The principal office of the Commission shall be in the District of Columbia, but it may sit and act at such other places, whether within or without the United States, as it deems advisable. The Commission may conduct such hearings as it deems advisable, and any member of the Commission may administer oaths or affirmations to witnesses appearing before the Commission or before such member.

(b) The Commission is authorized to secure directly from any executive department, independent establishment, or instrumentality of the United States information, suggestions, estimates, and statistics for the purposes of this joint resolution; and each such department, independent establishment, or instrumentality is authorized and directed to furnish such information, suggestions, estimates, and statistics directly to the Commission, upon request made by the chairman if possession of such information, suggestions, estimates, and statistics by the Commission will not endanger the common defense and security.

Washington Office: 701 Ring Building

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mr. Abe Tuvim

April 1, 1949

CONFIDENTIAL

FROM: Mr. H. A. Schulson

On or about March 30th, 1949, Mark Ethridge, on behalf of the UN Palestine Conciliation Commission, informed the State Department that Israel's attitude toward taking back the Arab refugees was not cooperative, and strongly hampered the work of the Conciliation Commission. He also complained that Israel's moving of a number of government offices to Jerusalem also interferes with the work of the Commission in establishing an international regime. Ethridge also strongly criticized the intransigent attitude of Moshe Sharett with respect to the above-mentioned problems. Ethridge asked the State Department to intervene and apply pressure to admit a substantial number of Arab refugees. If Israel does admit some Arab refugees, Ethridge stated that he would be enabled to break down the resistance of the Arab countries. While Ethridge also mentioned that he has in mind a "plan of comprehensive re-settlement" of most of the Arab refugees, Israel must make a token offer to take back some Arab refugees immediately.

I understand that the British are advising the Arab States strongly to protest Israel's admission to the UN at this session. Great Britain plans to introduce a resolution at UN, requesting the views of the UN Conciliation Commission as to whether or not Israel has cooperated with the Commission in its work, both as to admission of Arab refugees and the internationalization of Jerusalem. The argument of the British will be that much has transpired since the Security Council last voted Israel's admission; they will question whether Israel has complied with UN resolutions; whether they have cooperated with the Conciliation Commission -- raising the question of whether Israel is a peace-loving nation, willing to cooperate with the UN and its bodies, etc. Britain may persuade either Belgium or some other countries to go along with them on this resolution. The whole purpose of this move will be to delay Israel's admission to the UN, either in the General Committee or Committee One.

The attitude of the U. S. toward this maneuver is not yet clear, but I have been informed by very reliable sources that the U.S. might be inclined to support the delay maneuver contemplated by the British.

"X" suggested that the best way to stop this move on the part of the British would be for the State of Israel to announce on or before Tuesday, April 5th, that they are willing to take back a token number of Arab refugees who fall under particular classifications and pass certain requirements set up by the government of Israel. While Israel may not be able from an internal political point of view to make such an announcement at the present time, nevertheless, some serious thinking should be given to ways of counteracting the proposed British maneuver. I am sure that the signing of the Israel-Transjordan armistice at Rhodes on or before next Tuesday will be helpful. I do not, however, think that that will be enough.

CC: Hon. Eliahu Elath
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver ✓
Hon. Aubrey Eban
Dr. Benjamin Akzin



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(07)

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LC = Deferred Cable

NLT = Cable Night Letter

Ship Radiogram

day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

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DR ABBA HILLEL SILVER, THE TEMPLE=

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SCHUL SON=

WRHS



701 Ring Building - Washington 6, D. C.

MEMORANDUM

Dr. Benjamin Akzin

May 24, 1949

Mr. Hyman A. Schulson

On May 18th, I mailed you a copy of the House Joint Resolution to establish a Near East Survey Commission. I would greatly appreciate your getting a decision from the American Zionist Council, advising me whether the Council will strongly support this Resolution, and whether any plans are being formulated to get the local American Zionist Councils to influence their Congressmen and Senators to support it.

Congressman Multer has asked me to help him out in lining up support for the Resolution in both the House and the Senate. I told him that I would let him know as soon as I received official word from the Council.

If I am asked actively to line up support for this Resolution on the Hill, I shall probably have to register under the Lobbying Act.

May I suggest that you advise Dr. Neumann to consider whether the ZOA, at its Convention, should pass any resolution supporting the House Joint Resolution. If so, the ZOA resolution ought to be phrased in all inclusive terms in line with the press release on the resolution which I sent you, making sure to emphasize, not only the benefits to Israel, but to the ~~other~~ Arab countries also.

I understand that the State Department will support the Resolution.

I shall be coming to New York City this week-end to attend the ZOA Convention and will discuss this matter further with you.

With warmest personal regards and all good wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

Hyman A. Schulson

HAS/mp

CC: Dr. Silver ✓
Dr. Neumann

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Constituent Organizations

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

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

June 15, 1949

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

Dear Dr. Silver:

In May, a Housing Survey Commission from the U.S. went to Israel and returned early in June. The Commission went at the invitation of the Government of Israel, and each member financed his own trip. The Palestine Economic Corporation made all the arrangements. I succeeded in getting Dr. Frank E. Manuel, who has had some housing experience in government, and speaks Hebrew fluently, appointed as Secretary of the Commission. The Commission consisted of architects, building engineers, promoters and finance experts.

On the return of the Commission, each member drafted his own preliminary report. These reports were merged into a first draft of a report of the Housing Survey for Israel. The Commission is meeting today in New York to formulate its final report which will be presented to the Government of Israel. The Commission has done a splendid job and I am sure that you will be interested in studying the individual reports and the draft report. Please regard these reports as confidential and do not reveal your source.

I have sent Abe Tuvim and Dr. Neumann each a complete set of these reports so that the Israel Corporation of America will have the advantage of their excellent study in planning its own work.

It was through my close friendship with Dr. Manuel that I was able to secure these reports.

I would like to give you some background information about Dr. Manuel. He is about forty years old, a graduate of Hebrew Teachers College of Boston, and received his degrees at Harvard. He has just been appointed Professor of History at Brandeis University. He has written extensively on foreign policy, including a book on Spain. During the war, he served under General Patton and, unfortunately, lost a leg. After his discharge from the U.S. Army, he decided that he wanted to do a work on American foreign policy toward Palestine. Since 1830, the date America sent its first Consul to Jerusalem, Dr. Manuel worked, at his own expense, for two years, both in the Archives of the U.S. government and the Library of Congress, and had access to confidential files of the State Department in the Archives through 1940. I supplemented a lot of his material

Dr. Silver

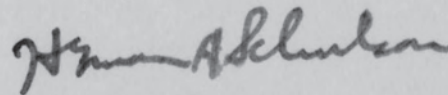
June 15, 1949

and brought him up to date through de jure recognition of the State of Israel by the U. S.

His book will be published in a few weeks and I will send you a copy. Dr. Manuel fairly supports the point of view which you have been advocating all these years and I am sure that you will like the book.

With warmest personal regards, I am

Most cordially yours,



Hyman A. Schulson

HAS/mp
Encl.



AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Constituent Organizations

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

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

June 24, 1949

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

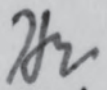
Dear Dr. Silver:

I have learned from a friend of mine who just returned on the Queen Elizabeth from England that, Mr. Spencer Irwin, one of the editors and columnists of the Cleveland Plain Dealer, has just returned from Israel and brought back a most favorable impression on all counts. May I suggest that you arrange to meet with Mr. Spencer Irwin at your earliest opportunity and encourage him to write some good articles on Israel and some of the outstanding problems confronting Israel.

With warmest personal regards,

I am

Very cordially yours,


Hyman A. Schulson

HAS/mp

701 Ring Building, Washington 6, D.C.

Dr. Benjamin Akzin

June 30, 1949

Hymen A. Schulson

CONFIDENTIAL

I have just learned that there has been a much more conciliatory attitude towards Israel on the part of the State Department during the last few days. "Our work with Senators and other contacts with the White House have greatly helped" X said. As evidence of this, I learned that the State Department last week sent a note to the Egyptian Government urging them to accept the Israeli's Gaza proposal as a means of solving part of the Arab refugees problem, and as Egypt's contribution to break the deadlock of the Lausanne negotiations and thus contributing to promoting of a peacefful settlement to outstanding problems. The State Department also sent a note to the British Government advising them of the note to Egypt and requesting the British to put pressure on the Egyptians to accept the Gaza proposal. No replies have been received to these notes yet.

The State Department has also made strong representation to the Government of Syria to accept the recent Bunche proposal for an armistice.

HAS:PP

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES
6656

July 6, 1949

Mr. Hyman Schulson
American Zionist Council
1200 18th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

My dear Schulson:

I have received Dr. Manuel's book and I have been reading it. I find it very well written and authoritative. His general approach to the subject is that of an impartial historian who is able to see facts as they are and present them without bias and without pilpul.

Please tell Dr. Manuel that I have enjoyed his book very much.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

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Zionist Organization of America

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

July 8, 1949

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver,
The Temple,
East 105th Street at Ansel Road,
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

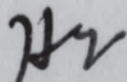
I thank you for your letter of July 6th regarding Dr. Manuel's book. I have told Dr. Manuel how much you enjoyed his book.

May I suggest that you write Mr. Morris Schnapper, American Council on Public Affairs, 2153 Florida Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C., a few quotable paragraphs of your views on the book, so that the publisher may use them in helping to promote and sell the book. I understand that Dr. Neumann has written Mr. Schnapper a very fine appraisal.

Please keep me informed regarding your addresses during the summer, in the event I should want to contact you.

With all good wishes for a pleasant summer to you, Mrs. Silver, and family, I am

Most cordially yours,


Hyman A. Schulson

HAS/mp

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Zionist Organization of America

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

July 11, 1949

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

CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Dr. Silver:

I have just learned that, in reply to the U. S. note to Egypt about the Gaza strip and the refugees, the Egyptian government replied that it would be willing to start negotiations with Israel on the Gaza strip and the refugees, and indicated that it would prefer that the negotiations be carried on through its representative in New York City.

I understand that Eban was in Washington on Thursday or Friday of last week, prior to returning home. I do not know whether he was apprised of this development.

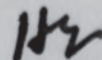
I have also learned that the British reply to the U. S. note on the Gaza strip was, that they would use their good offices to bring about negotiations between Egypt and Israel on the Gaza strip, but would use no pressure on the Egyptians.

May I suggest that you send to Senator John Foster Dulles a congratulatory note upon his appointment as Senator?

Have you had an opportunity to talk to Spencer Irwin, of the Cleveland Plain Dealer, since his return from Israel? Is he planning to do a series of articles on Israel for the Plain Dealer?

Kindest personal regards.

Very cordially yours,



Hyman A. Schulson

HAS/mp

July 11, 1949

Mr. Hyman A. Schulson
American Zionist Council
1200 Eighteenth St., N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

My dear Schulson:

I have written this morning a letter to Mr. Schnapper about Dr. Manuel's book.

I am sailing on Friday, July 15th, on the Queen Elizabeth. We shall spend only a few days in Paris at the Hotel Meurice and then we shall go to the Hotel Splendide in Aix-les-Bains, France. I am hoping to return by the end of August.

With all good wishes for a pleasant summer, I remain

Very cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er

July 11, 1949

Mr. Morris Schnapper
American Council on Public Affairs
2153 Florida Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Schnapper:

I have read Frank E. Manuel's THE REALITIES OF AMERICAN-PALESTINE RELATIONS which the Public Affairs Press has published. It has been a deeply satisfying experience to share with the author his calm, penetrating analysis of American interest in Palestine for more than a hundred years, and more especially, his account of the more recent involved and at times contradictory policy of our government. It is the work of a scholar, free of bias or partisanship, who has gathered and collated his material carefully, and who has applied to it the canons of sound judgment. Since America's relation to the new State of Israel and to the countries of the Near East will remain critical and decisive in the future, Dr. Manuel's book is indispensable to all who are interested in the great things which are developing in that part of the world.

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er