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Jewish Agency, Epstein, Eliahu, 1948-1949.

STATE OF ISRAEL
PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT
MISSION TO THE UNITED STATES

OFFICE OF THE
SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE

WASHINGTON 8, D.C.

No. 1042

August 3, 1948

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

My Dear Dr. Silver:

I have been anxious to write to you for some time to bring to your attention several developments in Washington which I believe will be of interest to you.

During the past week, I have had an opportunity to discuss the problems of Israel both with Secretary of State Marshall and with President Truman. As you will understand, I took the occasion at these discussions to stress our need for full recognition from the United States Government, for financial assistance in immigration and development, and for early admission to the United Nations. While both Secretary Marshall and President Truman received me in a friendly manner, they did not give me specific assurances on these points.

Meanwhile I have heard, through a responsible source, of certain developments affecting a "deal" between the Administration and the Republican Party leadership affecting Israel which troubles me profoundly. According to my report, Messrs. Lovett, Dulles, and Vandenberg met recently and agreed on a common line with respect to foreign policy in general and Israel in particular. This agreement involved a determination to keep discussion of foreign policy out of the Presidential campaign. At the same time, the parties to the agreement have reportedly concurred that they should not express differing views on the problems of Palestine and that U.S. Government policy on Palestine should be developed in close consultation with the British Government. I wonder how far the leadership of the two parties is aware of this "deal" and what can be done to prevent a direct betrayal of both Party platforms.

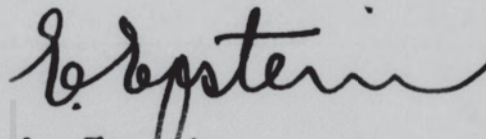
I am enclosing also a letter which I have addressed today to Under Secretary Lovett about a related matter which troubles me equally. Quite frankly, the Administration has done nothing to implement its promises of financial assistance for our resettlement and development requirements. Instead, we have been put off by empty words from week to week, and from

month to month. I can hardly imagine that the President has known what a run-around we are being given on this question. Here again information at the highest political level may be helpful.

I know that you will be leaving for Israel shortly in connection with the meeting of the Actions Committee and that you have most important functions to perform there. Perhaps, however, you and your friends can give some attention to these matters before your departure.

Best wishes for a pleasant and successful trip to Israel and best regards to all our friends there.

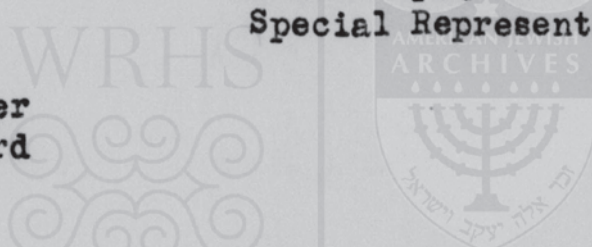
Sincerely yours,



Eliahu Epstein
Special Representative

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

Enclosures



מדינת ישראל

STATE OF ISRAEL
MISSION TO THE UNITED STATES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

No. 2 540

September 22, 1948

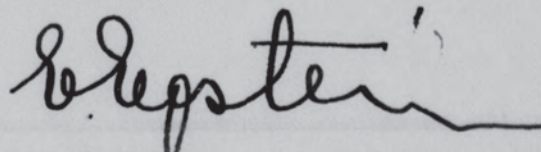
Dear Dr. Silver:

Following our conversation on the phone this afternoon, I am sending you the promised statement by Mr. James G. McDonald to Mr. Shertok on September 6, and also a copy of my cable to Mr. Shertok of today. Please consider these as most confidential.

I am looking forward to the opportunity of discussing with you the question of coordination of my work, both with the Agency and the Emergency Council.

With kind personal regards,

Sincerely yours,



Eliahu Epstein
Special Representative

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
19810 Shaker Boulevard
Cleveland, Ohio

Enclosures

CONFIDENTIAL

Statement made by Special Representative of the U.S.A.

Mr. James G. McDonald at Conference with the

Minister for Foreign Affairs, 6.9.48

The United States Government expresses the hope that Israel will become a great force for constructive rebuilding within Israel's own territory and will be able to exercise a beneficent influence upon this whole area.

The U. S. Government desires to aid in every proper way in this constructive development.

I am requested to emphasize in the closest possible terms the statements which I made to you and Mr. Ben-Gurion during our first talks: the U.S. is determined to use all its influence to prevent the violation of the truce and should, unhappily, such violations occur, will support in the Security Council an immediate action, if necessary under Article 7, against the aggressor. My Government feels strongly that such violations must not be tolerated because the maintenance of truce is an essential prerequisite of peace negotiations.

My Government would be grateful if the Provisional Government of Israel would let it be known, through me, if the Israel authorities have any reason for confidence that any one of the Arab States or any group of Arab States is prepared to initiate peace negotiations.

In order to determine whether there is a basis for facilitating peace negotiations, my Government, in strictest confidence, desires to learn the reaction of your Government to the following suggestions which, although tentative and in the nature of "trying on for size", are put forward by my Government in its earnest desire to aid Israel in becoming a permanent force for the maintenance of peace and economic development in the Middle Eastern area.

The suggestions are advanced that:

- (1) Perhaps a solution can be worked out as a feature of any final understanding with Transjordan which would exchange a large portion of desert land of the Negev for that portion of fertile Western Galilee which Israel now occupies militarily.
- (2) While my Government believes that Jerusalem should be an international enclave along the lines recommended by the General Assembly Resolution of November 29, 1947, and the Trusteeship Council Resolutions of April and May, the U. S. would consider acceptable any other arrangement satisfactory to Israel and the Arab States, provided the safety of and access to the Holy Places is guaranteed.
- (3) The U.S. Government would like the Israel Government to consider some constructive measures for the alleviation of Arab refugee distress which is a factor influencing world opinion.

It should be clear that my Government feels that demands which exceed suggestions (1) and (2) above would be prejudicial to the possibility of effecting permanent peace in Palestine.

If the Israel Government is prepared at this time to make known to my Government constructive views in response to the above suggestions, the U. S. is willing to commend the above programme to the Mediator and the British Government which it is contemplated can exert considerable influence on the neighboring Governments.

SEPTEMBER 22, 1948

SHERTOK (SECRET)

ARRIVED YESTERDAY STOP SEVERAL WELL INFORMED FRIENDS ADVISE BERNADOTTES
PLAN PREPARED FULL COOPERATION AMERICANS AND BRITISH STOP MCDONALDS
CONVERSATIONS WITH US SUPPORT THIS VIEW STOP FRIENDS ALSO BELIEVE EXISTENCE
INFORMAL MARSHALL DULLES AGREEMENT BIPARTISAN POLICY ON PALESTINE DURING
ELECTIONS STOP FRIENDS EMPHASIZE IMPORTANCE MARSHALLS REFERENCE REPORT AS
BASIS REPEAT BASIS SETTLEMENT WHICH OPENS POSSIBILITY IMPROVEMENT ~~FROM~~
FRONTIERS STOP PRESIDENT RECENTLY PROMISED SEVERAL PEOPLE MORE ACTIVE SUPPORT
OUR DEMANDS BUT HAS NOT YET COME OUT OPENLY WITH ANY REFERENCE ISRAEL
PARAGRAPH PLEASE ADVISE ^{RE} CONTINUATION CONVERSATIONS WITH JAMES G MCDONALD
^{ON OUR} AND OFFICIAL POSITION ^{RE} MARSHALLS STATEMENT STOP AM POSTPONING MEETING LOVETT
^r TILL RECEIVE THIS INFORMATION AND YOUR INSTRUCTIONS

EPSTEIN

PARIS, 10.10.48

Epstein, Memisrael Washington

Saw Dulles yesterday ONE stressed our case entire Negev making clear no question bargaining TWO warned against any powers being given Conciliation Commission beyond using good offices bring parties together THREE urged immediate admission UN as decisive step towards peace stability stop He replied ONE does not consider himself bound by Marshall's statement added confidentially he told him so beforehand stop There is no bi-partisan line on Palestine there was such suggestion in Cabinet but Administration was against it stop Having heard our case Negev will have to learn Arab case and arrive at own independent judgment but in view his complicated position on delegation will probably not inject himself into this business TWO believed UN cannot impose settlement can only assist leaving ultimate position to be determined by interrelation contending forces just as in past November resolution would have been of little avail if Israel didn't assert itself by direct action THREE thought we had very strong case stop. My impression he intends abstain on Negev within delegation even hinted may ~~xx~~ absent himself from delegation meetings. Most essential should be instructed by Dewey. Inform Silver.

Shertok

מדינת ישראל

STATE OF ISRAEL
MISSION TO THE UNITED STATES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

No. 3162

October 15, 1948

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

My dear Dr. Silver:

Please find enclosed copies of secret dispatches received by me this morning from Mr. Shertok.

With cordial personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "E. Epstein", written over a faint circular stamp that includes the text "AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES".

Eliahu Epstein
Special Representative

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

Enclosures

9921

OCTOBER 28, 1948

AHS
EN.

KAPLAN SHERTOK MEMORANDUM TELAVIV

422 FOLLOWING REVIEW RECENT DEVELOPMENTS LOAN SITUATION STOP INTIMATIONS POSSIBLE
SHIFT EXIMPORT ATTITUDE OCTOBER ELEVEN STOP OCTOBER THIRTEEN MARTIN TOLD GASS WAIT
WEEK FOR CONSULTATION BANK STOP OCTOBER FOURTEEN MARTIN TOLD NATHAN HE NOT INCLINED
GRANT LOAN UNDER PRESSURE IN FEW DAYS BUT STATE DEPARTMENT NO LONGER RULES OUT LOAN
DUE POLITICAL INSTABILITY STOP OCTOBER FIFTEEN GASS WROTE MARTIN REGARDING SPECIAL
URGENT ISRAEL REQUIREMENT AGRICULTURAL FINANCE AS RECOMMENDED SECRETARY AGRICULTURE
BRANNAN STOP OCTOBER SIXTEEN SECRETARY TREASURY SNYDER TOLD FRIENDS STATE DEPARTMENT
ATTITUDE ON LOAN UNCHANGED OPPOSITION STOP OCTOBER SIXTEEN AND SEVENTEEN
HIGHEST LEVEL REJECTED REQUESTS OUR FRIENDS DECLARE IMMEDIATELY FAVOR LOAN STOP
OCTOBER TWENTYSECOND EXIMPORT INVITED GASS TO STAFF MEETING OCTOBER TWENTYFIFTH
STOP SAME DAY STATE DEPARTMENT INFORMED PRESS THEY NO LONGER OBJECTING LOAN GROUND
POLITICAL INSTABILITY STOP MEANWHILE FRIENDS ACTIVE KEEP LOAN ISSUE IN CENTER
PUBLIC CONSIDERATION STOP OCTOBER TWENTYFOURTH PRESIDENT ANNOUNCED HE ASKED EXECUTIVE
AGENCIES SPEED CONSIDERATION LOAN AND EXPRESSED HOPE FINANCIAL AID ISRAEL SOON
GRANTED PARAGRAPH

OCTOBER TWENTYFIFTH EPSTEIN TOLD BY MEMBER PRESIDENT'S CABINET THAT HE
INSTRUCTED PUSH LOAN ALONG STOP MARTIN CONVERTED OCTOBER TWENTYFIFTH MEETING INTO
STAFF SESSION ATTENDED BY GASS AND GINSBURG ON OUR SIDE TOGETHER WITH EXECUTIVE
VICEPRESIDENT AERT AND OTHER MEMBERS EXIMPORT STAFF STOP BANK STAFF INDICATED THEY
INSTRUCTED PREPARE REPORT FOR BOARD DIRECTORS STOP MEETING MOST CORDIAL AND LASTED
THREE HOURS STOP REVIEWED MANY TECHNICAL ECONOMIC QUESTIONS STOP BANK DID NOT
INSIST ON PROJECT APPROACH THOUGH INDICATED NORMAL PREFERENCE STOP GASS INDICATED
ALL PROCEEDS LOAN FOR IDENTIFIABLE PRODUCTIVE INVESTMENT GOODS UNDER CLOSE
OBSERVATION BANK TO GUARANTEE ALL INVESTMENT USE STOP STAFF MOST INTERESTED ULTIMATE

- 2 -

SHAPE ISRAEL BALANCE PAYMENTS GUARANTEEING EQUILIBRIUM WITHOUT RELIANCE ON GIFTS
AND CAPITAL IMPORTS STOP STAFF REQUESTED NO FURTHER WRITTEN SUBMISSION AT THIS TIME
BUT INDICATED DESIRE FURTHER INFORMAL CONTACT PARAGRAPH

EPSTEIN TRYING SEE MARTIN EARLIEST FOR INFORMAL CONVERSATION STOP WILL MAINTAIN
CONTACT BANK AND INFORM YOU WHEN SOMETHING SUBSTANTIAL APPEARS STOP SHOULD SOMETHING
FINALLY EMERGE, KAPLAN MUST COME HERE TO CONCLUDE NEGOTIATIONS STOP ASSUMING RIGHT
COMMIT KAPLAN APPEARANCE.

EPSTEIN GASS



November 4, 1948

Mr. Eliahu Epstein
State of Israel
Mission to the United States
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Epstein:

You may be interested in reading a copy of a letter
which I received from Mr. Charles Fahy.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er
Enc.

מדינת ישראל
STATE OF ISRAEL
MISSION TO THE UNITED STATES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

No. 4063

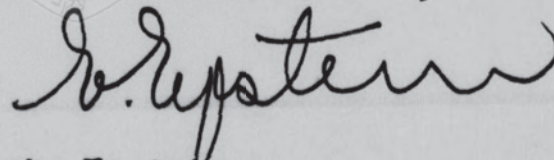
November 10, 1948

Dear Dr. Silver:

Please find enclosed a copy of a cablegram which I received from Mr. Shertok, containing instructions regarding my conversation with Mr. Lovett that is scheduled for this afternoon. I will let you know the results.

With kindest personal regards,

Very sincerely yours,



Eliahu Epstein
Special Representative

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
19810 Shaker Heights
Cleveland, Ohio

Enclosure

C O P Y .

NOVEMBER 10, 1948

IMMEDIATE EPSTEIN MEMISRAEL WASHINGTON

SUN 643 TODAYS CONVERSATION STRESS WE FAVOUR ARMISTICE IDEA AS BASIS FOR PEACE NEGOTIATIONS BUT UNCOMPRISINGLY OPPOSED CREATION DEMILITARISED ZONES WHICH INVOLVE DANGEROUS VACUUM BREEDING GROUND FOR IRREGULARS CONTINUOUS INCURSION BOTH SIDES AND TERRITORIAL CHANGES PREJUDICING FINAL SETTLEMENT STOP SUCH ZONES UNNECESSARY FOR ARMISTICE WHICH CAN BE SECURED BY FIXING CLEAR DEMARCATION LINES THIS TO BE SUBJECT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN PARTIES WITH OR WITHOUT UN MEDIATION STOP WOULD THEREFORE WELCOME AMENDMENT DRAFT PROPOSED BY ACTING MEDIATOR DECREERING ARMISTICE FROM FIXED DATE AND SUBSTITUTING DEMARCATION LINES FOR DEMILITARISED ZONES STOP RESOLUTION ALONG THESE LINES SHOULD ^{SUPERSEDE} ~~REPEAL~~ NOVEMBER 4 RESOLUTION ON NEGEV AS BEING OF WIDER SCOPE AND ENABLING WITHIN ITS FRAMEWORK ADJUSTMENT OF OUTSTANDING PROBLEMS THAT AREA STOP MAKE CLEAR ACTION ALONG NOVEMBER 4 LINES AS ORIGINALLY INTENDED BOUND RESULT ^{HEADLONG} ~~HEADING~~ CLASH AS WE WOULD NEVER AGREE RELINQUISH TERRITORY RECOVERED AT COST BLOOD OR SUFFER CREATION PERILOUS VOID ON OUR BORDERS WITH NOTHING TO PROTECT THEM EXCEPT NAME UN WHICH PROVED SO LAMEN- TABLY INEFFECTUAL IN PAST STOP PROVISION THAT WITHDRAWAL IS WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO EVENTUAL TERRITORIAL SETTLEMENT CANNOT BE ACCEPTED AS ADEQUATE GUARANTEE IN LIGHT BERNADOTTE REPORT WHICH BASED ITS MAIN RECOMMENDATION REGARDING EXCISION NEGEV FROM ISRAEL ON FACTS MILITARY OCCUPATION BY EGYPTIANS ACHIEVED LARGELY THROUGH VIOLATIONS TRUCE STOP INSISTENCE ON IMPLEMENTATION NOVEMBER 4 RESOLUTION WOULD HAVE RUINOUS EFFECTS ON ITS SPONSORS POSITION IN ISRAEL JUST AS SUBMISSION TO THIS VERDICT WOULD DOOM PRESENT GOVERNMENT STOP COMMITTEE SEVEN DEALING NEGEV SITUATION DUE MEET THIS AFTERNOON STOP VITALLY IMPORTANT EFFORT BE MADE FIND WAY OUT FROM IMPASSE CREATED NOVEMBER FOURTH BY ADOPTING BUNCHES PROPOSAL AS MEETING ISSUE MORE COMPREHENSIVELY PROVIDED IT IS AMENDED AS ABOVE .

SHERTOK

December 24, 1948

Mr. Eliahu Epstein
State of Israel
Mission to the United States
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Epstein:

Naturally, the question of the American representative on the Committee of Conciliation to be appointed by the United Nations has undoubtedly been considered by you. Have you any ideas on the matter, and is there anything that we can do from our end? Is it true that the American Jewish Committee has submitted names? If so, are they not injecting themselves into a situation where they have no business to be?

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er
Via Air Mail

December 24, 1948

Mr. Eliahu Epstein
State of Israel
Mission to the United States
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Epstein:

You may recall that the Americans for Haganah was requested some months ago by the Jewish Agency to wind up its activities and to dissolve, its work having been accomplished. The organization was to wind up its activities by October 1, 1948. On that date the organization formally announced its dissolution but simultaneously announced a continuation of its magazine, Haganah Speaks. The Executive of the Jewish Agency regards this as a clear contravention of its decision and the earlier agreement of Americans for Haganah. Furthermore, the magazine, Haganah Speaks, has been used in recent months for purposes of partisan political propaganda and the Haganah of old and the Z'va Haganah of today is in no way connected, as you well know.

This matter was again considered by the Executive of the Jewish Agency yesterday. It intends to issue a statement to the public stating that Haganah Speaks is in no way connected with the Z'va Haganah, the national Jewish army of Israel, and that the title of Haganah in this publication is entirely unauthorized as well as misleading. Before issuing the statement, the Executive would like to make sure that such a statement would be entirely in keeping with the facts, as they are known to you and to the government of Israel. Please let me have the information at your earliest convenience because the Executive would like to act on this matter promptly.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er

מדינת ישראל
STATE OF ISRAEL
MISSION TO THE UNITED STATES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

No. 5535

December 28, 1948

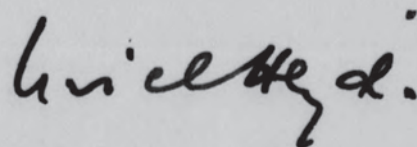
Dear Dr. Silver:

In the absence of Mr. E. Epstein, who is on a two-week vacation in Florida, I wish to acknowledge the receipt of your letters dated December 24, which reached this office yesterday.

With regard to "Haganah Speaks", I have immediately cabled Tel Aviv for information which I shall not fail to pass on to you on receipt.

Your second question has been replied to by the appointment of Joseph B. Keenan, as United States Representative on the Conciliation Commission. We have not received any information about action by the American Jewish Committee, but we shall make inquiries.

Sincerely yours,



Uriel Heyd

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

מדינת ישראל
STATE OF ISRAEL
MISSION TO THE UNITED STATES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

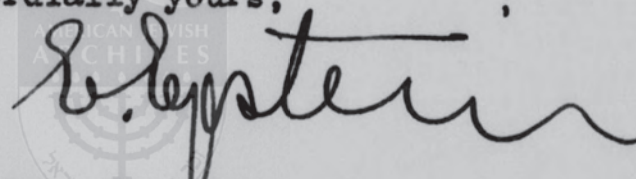
No. 5973

January 11, 1949

My dear Dr. Silver:

I wish to acknowledge with thanks receipt of your letter dated January 7, 1949, with regard to HAGANAH SPEAKS. I have transmitted your suggestions to Mr. Ben Gurion, and I shall be glad to inform you of his reply upon its receipt.

Cordially yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'E. Epstein', written over a faint circular stamp that contains the words 'AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES'.

Eliahu Epstein
Special Representative

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

April 21, 1949

The Honorable Eliahu Klath
Ambassador of Israel
2210 Massachusetts Avenue
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Ambassador:

Mrs. Silver and I wish to thank you for your kind invitation to attend a reception at the Shoreham Hotel on Wednesday evening, May fourth. Unfortunately, we shall be attending the celebration in New York that day in commemoration of the first anniversary of the establishment of the State of Israel. Will you please extend our sincere regrets to Mrs. Klath.

Most cordially yours,

AHS:er

ABBA HILLEL SILVER



*In celebration of
The First Anniversary of Israel's Independence
The Ambassador of Israel and Mrs. Elath
request the honor of your company
at a reception
on the fifth of Tyyar 5709
Wednesday evening, the fourth of May
from nine to twelve o'clock
at the Shoreham Hotel*

*R. S. V. P.
2210 Massachusetts Avenue*

Black Tie