

Sept. 11, 1948

MEMORANDUM TO SECRETARY MARSHALL:



1. As you well know, since becoming President I have consistently favored the establishment of an independent state for Jews in the Middle East. This country has taken a position of leadership in the establishment of such an independent state, and I think it should continue to take such leadership.

2. It is my belief that strong American support of the new state of Israel will hasten the ultimate settlement of the problem of the Middle East, and will contribute toward the attainment of world peace.

3. We are engaged now in extending economic aid and moral support to the nations of western Europe, in order to stem the spread of Communism. I consider it necessary, at this time, to lend our same support and extend economic aid to Israel for the same reason.

4. There is ample precedent in international law for the extension of de jure recognition to Israel. This is illustrated by the fact that fourteen nations have extended de jure recognition to Israel since it became an independent state on May 15, 1948. It is my opinion that de jure recognition by the United States will hasten the recognition of Israel by other nations, and this will have a stabilizing effect in the Middle East.

5. In view of the above, it is my wish that the following course of action be taken:

1. Extend de jure recognition to Israel at once.
2. Make loan to Israel just as soon as details can be completed.
3. Take active steps to assist Israel in gaining admission to the United Nations.

I am preparing now a release announcing the de jure recognition of Israel. I shall submit it to you for suggestions. Kindly keep me advised of progress made in granting the loan, and in the admission of Israel to the United Nations.





DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

July 30, 1973

Dear Dan:

I am enclosing the original of an anonymous paper dated September 11, 1948, which came from the Clark Clifford Papers. This is to be returned by safe hand to Ben Zobrist at the Harry S. Truman Library.

I discussed the origin of this odd piece of paper with George Elsey, who later made an appointment for us both to see Clark Clifford about it. Also enclosed is a copy of the memorandum which I prepared on this conversation. Unless you see some objection, I would recommend that this memcon be attached to the anonymous paper so that any scholars who see the paper will have the benefit of the information that we got from Mr. Clifford.

We will not include this unofficial paper in "Foreign Relations" for 1948, and as far as we are concerned we have no further official interest in it. I suspect, however, that the Truman Library will get repeated queries about this odd paper, and that further information about its origin may be found in the papers mentioned in the last paragraph of my memcon. I hope that the archivists will keep an eye cocked for information on this subject and will be good enough to let me know whatever turns up.

Sincerely,

Bill
William M. Franklin
Director, Historical Office
Bureau of Public Affairs

Enclosures:

1. Original of Memorandum of Sept. 11, 1948 from Clark Clifford Papers.
2. Memorandum of Conversation, July 25, 1973.

Dr. Daniel J. Reed,
Assistant Archivist for Presidential Libraries,
National Archives and Records Service,
Washington, D.C. 20408.

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

July 25, 1973

PARTICIPANTS: Mr. Clark Clifford (Special Counsel
to President Truman, 1946-1950)

Mr. George M. Elsey (Assistant to
Mr. Clifford, 1947-1949)

Mr. William M. Franklin (Director,
Historical Office, Department of State)

SUBJECT: Identification of anonymous paper of Sept. 11,
1948, found among the Clark Clifford Papers
in the Harry S. Truman Library.

Mr. Elsey and I called on Mr. Clifford in his office at 11:30 a.m. today. I showed him the anonymous paper of September 11, 1948 ("Memorandum to Secretary Marshall") and asked for his recollection of who had drafted it and why it showed no evidence of having been acted upon. I mentioned that there was no copy of this paper in the files of the Department of State or in the George Marshall Library. In order to refresh his memory I also showed him a copy of Marshall's memorandum to Truman (August 30, 1948) dealing with "De jure recognition of Governments of Israel and Trans-Jordan". (I had previously shown the anonymous memo to Elsey who had no recollection of it whatever.)

Mr. Clifford said that he could not recall the anonymous paper with perfect clarity, but he could say that he had not drafted it himself and neither had Mr. Truman. His recollection was that it had been given to him (Clifford) by Sam Rosenman. Warming to the subject, Mr. Clifford recalled that this was the beginning of the Presidential campaign of 1948, and that it would have been very advantageous timing from

Roseman's

Rosenman's point of view. Probably Rosenman had passed it to him as one who had been sympathetic to the Israeli cause; but he had no recollection of having discussed it with Mr. Truman or anyone else.

Mr. Elsey pointed out, however, that the memorandum had been typed on paper bearing the U.S. Government watermark and that the blue ribbon used in typing the memorandum looked like the "White House blue" that had been in vogue at that time. In order to verify the matter of the type, Mr. Clifford called in his long-time secretary, Miss Mary Weiler. Miss Weiler consulted her files and brought back some examples from 1948 which showed that Clifford's office had regularly used a blue ribbon but elite type, whereas the anonymous memorandum was typed in pica-size type.

Mr. Elsey suggested that the memorandum might have been typed or retyped in the White House office of David Niles, who was close to Rosenman and equally interested in helping the Israelis. In that case the memo in question might have been given to the President, who in turn might have sent it in to Clifford for his information. This would explain why Clifford had no recollection of having discussed it with the President; no discussion would have been necessary, since the proposal for immediate de jure recognition of Israel was contrary to the position approved by Truman on August 30, as shown by the President's endorsement on the Marshall memo of that date. The anonymous writer had obviously not been aware of this fact, although he must have known that de jure recognition was under consideration.

Mr. Clifford agreed that this was a logical hypothesis, but he repeated that the paper was associated in his memory only with Mr. Rosenman, and that was really all that he could recall about it.

I raised the question as to how we should handle this paper, pointing out that we could not properly include it in "Foreign Relations" nor could we ignore it, since it was now available to unofficial scholars. Mr. Elsey offered the suggestion, approved by Mr. Clifford,

that

that I should attach a memorandum of this conversation to the anonymous paper in the Truman Library, so that the scholars would have the benefit of Mr. Clifford's recollections on the subject. I said that I would do so, and would also seek to stimulate further research on the subject in the Rosenman Papers, the Truman Papers when they become available, and in the papers of David Niles, if they can be located and opened.

WMT
PA/HO:WMFranklin:eln

7-25-73

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

June 20, 1974

PARTICIPANTS: Mr. Clark Clifford (Special Counsel
to President Truman, 1946-1950)

Mr. William M. Franklin (Director,
Historical Office, Department of
State)

SUBJECT: Clark Clifford and the Palestine Problem
in 1948

I saw Mr. Clifford in his office at 11 a.m. on June 20, 1974, in order to discuss further with him the unsigned draft memorandum of September 11 from President Truman to Secretary Marshall, which I had discussed with him on July 25, 1973. In the meantime I had sent him a copy of the handwritten notes that had been discovered in the Truman Library and which appeared to indicate that Mr. Clifford was the author of the unsigned draft memorandum of September 11.

Mr. Clifford said that the handwritten notes had been of great help in reviving his recollection of the whole incident. He remembered that he had jotted down these notes aboard the yacht Williamsburg on the weekend trip (September 11 and 12, 1948), and had dictated the memorandum to the President's traveling secretary, Jack Romagna. This would explain why the type was different from that used in Mr. Clifford's office.

In answer to my question Mr. Clifford said that as far as he knew the memorandum could have been signed and sent by the President. I pointed out that there was no copy in State Department files or in the Marshall Papers. Furthermore, the sequence of events would clearly indicate that Marshall had received no such instruction from the President. Mr. Clifford did not know why the memorandum had not been sent; he


could not remember that the President had ever spoken with him about it. "Apparently", said Mr. Clifford, "somebody talked him out of it"; and he added that Mr. Truman had more respect than he for the views of Secretary Marshall.

I showed Mr. Clifford the following unsigned papers from the Clark Clifford Papers, which he acknowledged to be his own drafts:

1. March 6, 1948 - "Proposed Program on the Palestine Problem".
2. March 8, 1948 - [No title; addressed to the President]
3. May 8, 1948 - [No title; memo of conversation with Rusk]
4. May [14?], 1948 - "Dear Mr. Rusk"; [unsigned but for President's signature]
5. June 17, 1948 - "Palestine" [Recognition and Loy Henderson]
6. Sept. 29, 1948 - "To Secretary Marshall, Paris, from the President" [draft telegram in Truman's handwriting.
7. [October 23?] [Draft statement to the press on de jure recognition of Israel]

With regard to the following paper Mr. Clifford said he had "no recollection":

1. [May ? 1948] [Draft announcement of message from President Truman to the Arab states]



William M. Franklin
Director, Historical Office
Bureau of Public Affairs