

Public Record Office

F0.800/485

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Private Papers of Mr. Ernest Bevin

PALESTINE

1946 January - August

FO 800 / 485

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1946

President 1 PM
Palestine +
Pa 14611

[CYPHER]

PRISEC

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO WASHINGTON

No: 24
1st January, 1946.

D. 8.30 p.m. 1st January, 1946.

EDITORIAL

11111

DEDEB

Personal and Top Secret.

Following sent by President to Prime Minister
telegram No. 2 of 1st January.

(Begins) 14

Would appreciate your advising me how many certificates per month are now being issued for admission of Jews into Palestine. I understood that there were to be three thousand but news despatches are confusing. There is, as you know, great interest in this subject in the United States.

Q T P

(Ends)

OUTWARD TELEGRAM

N. Howe 3
Easter
Now

[CYPHER]

PRISSEC

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO WASHINGTON

No. 131

4th January 1946

D. 8.00 p.m. 4th January 1946

Pa/46/2

IMMEDIATE

DEDIP

Personal and Top Secret.

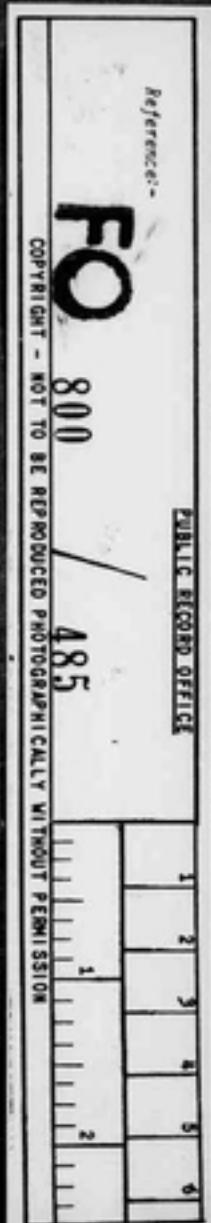
Following sent by Prime Minister to President telegram
No. 24 of 4th January.

[Begins]

Your personal and secret telegram No. 14 of 1st January.
Since October, 1944, the authorised rate of Jewish immigration
into Palestine has been 1,500 persons per month. In November,
1945, some 1,300 persons arrived. Final figures for December
are not yet available.

The quota of 75,000 authorised under the White Paper
of 1939 is now virtually exhausted, balance of only a few
hundred remaining, and Arabs have been approached urgently
in accordance with statement made by Bevin in Parliament on
13th November so as to secure maintenance of immigration at
present rate of 1,500 (repeat 1,500) persons per month pending
consideration of report of the Anglo-American Committee.

O.T.P.



Miss Evans.

~~Enc~~

4

*for
Miss Evans*

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MINUTE

Pa/46/3

SERIAL No. M. 34/46

FOREIGN SECRETARY.

I have seen Creech Jones' note on
Palestine immigration. I think we should
continue the present quota.

C.R.A.

25th January, 1946.

Reference: -

FO

800 485

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

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Pal
Pa/46/9 Mr. Home Pa/46/4⁵
PRIME MINISTER.

PLEASE RETURN TO
PRIVATE SECRETARY

With reference to your minute of January 25th about Palestine emigration, I have discussed with Creech Jones his note of the 23rd January and I agree that in view of the situation in Palestine, we have no alternative but to act on the Cabinet decision that Jewish emigration into Palestine should be continued at the present rate of 1500 per month.

2. Instructions are being sent to our representatives in the Arab countries to inform the Governments to which they are accredited accordingly.

(Sd.) ERNEST BEVIN

C.R.A.
✓

25th January 1946.

Reference: FO 800/485

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JGTS
FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

15th February, 1946.

Pa/46/5

Thank you for your letter of February 13th about a recent article in the New York "Nation" giving an account of Mr. Bevin's remarks to certain Press correspondents on November 13th, 1945.

The actual words which Mr. Bevin used about the head of the queue were as follows:-

"The keynote of the statement I made in the House of Commons to-day is that I want suppression of racial warfare, and therefore if the Jews with all their sufferings want to get too much at the head of the queue you have the danger of another anti-Semitic reaction through it all."

The Nation article was therefore, as you assumed, a gross distortion. I do not know what other remarks the article attributed to Mr. Bevin, but in order to get the real flavour and tone of what my Secretary of State had in mind it is necessary to consider the quoted passage about the queue in relation to certain preceding sentences. As you intend writing to the author of the article I think that you may wish to give him the full text of what Mr. Bevin said, leading up to the point about the head of the queue. I attach two copies of these remarks.

It/
G.R. Strauss, Esq., M.P.

Reference: -

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7
LONDON 10 MARCH
1938 (STANDELL 1938)
6/10/38
It is very kind of you to take this
trouble to correct this libelous account of
what Mr. Bevin said.

(Sgd.) J. N. Henderson

Private Secretary.

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Sir OS
Western
Eastern
Pa/46/6 8
C.O.
No 10
PRISEC

[CYPHER]

FROM ROME TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Sir N. Charles.
NO. 545. D. 11.35 a.m. 12th April, 1946.
11th April, 1946. R. 12.35 p.m. 12th April, 1946.

V V V

Following from Professor Laski to Foreign Secretary.

PERSONAL.

[Begins.]

Jewish refugees on hunger strike for the last three days at La Spezia agreed to suspend demonstration on my personal intervention of April 10th in view of my undertaking to present their case to you on my return to United Kingdom. Hope you can see me on April 18th so that I may send as promised, a message not later than April 19th.

OTP

Reference: FO 800 485

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Pa

OUTWARD TELEGRAM

No 10 9

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Border

Valvar

[CYpher]

PRISSEC

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO ROME

No. 575

18th April 1946

D. 11.50 p.m. 18th April 1946

IMMEDIATE

I have seen Professor Laski about the situation in Spezia. I am considering this carefully and will send you a decision next week. I would like you to inform the Prefect at Spezia. Please also tell the Prefect that Laski is insistent on the importance of the Jews there keeping to the arrangement made with him. He would like them to know of this wish personally from him.

Please show Braine this telegram.

O.T.P.

Reference: FO 800/485

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No 10
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Rader
Utah

[CYPHER]

P R I S E C.

FROM ROME TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Sir N. Charles
No. 590 D. 6.50 p.m. 20th April, 1946
20th April, 1946 R. 10.13 p.m. 20th April, 1946

Repeated to Caserta

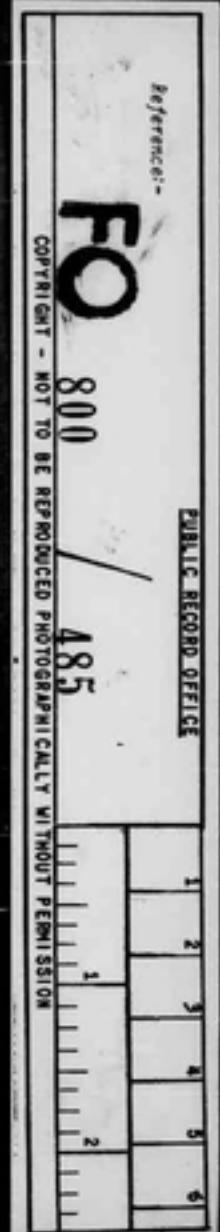
- dddd ddd

Your telegram No. 575.

A.F.H.Q. have been informed by their local representative that the Jews held a meeting at noon today to consider Professor Laski's message. They afterwards issued a communiqué to the press which contained the following points:

- (a) they have full confidence in Professor Laski and will wait until the end of next week in the hope of a favourable solution,
 - (b) they will accept no compromise,
 - (c) they demand that their American helpers be released as was allegedly promised them by A.F.H.Q. representative.

O.T.P.



Copied to: PS. Colonial Office.
Sir O Sargent. //
Dr. Howe
Eastern Department.
[CYPHER] Pa/46/9 P R I S E C

FROM ROME TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Sir N. Charles.
No. 610. D: 7.00 p.m. 25th April, 1946.
25th April, 1946. R: 10.35 p.m. 25th April, 1946.

Repeated to: Caserts,
Jerusalem,
British Middle East Office, Cairo.

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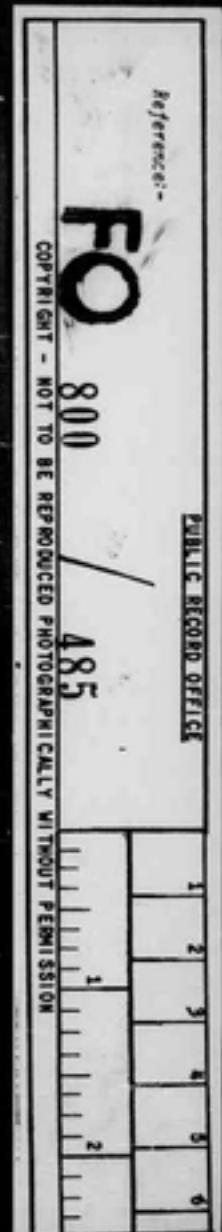
IMMEDIATE

My telegram No. 590.

By Jerusalem telegram No. 199 of February 23rd.
the visa officer was authorised to issue 679 (repeat
679) immigration visas for these Jews. He at once
informed Doctor Nahon (representative of the Jewish
Agency) who has now repeated from La Spezia the following
telegram which he has sent to Professor Laski.
[Begins]

The British Embassy at Rome informed me yesterday
they received from the Palestinian Government 679
certificates as advance on the next schedule (sic:
unless the words underlined are a telegraphic error
they are a mistake by Doctor Nahon since the visa
officer did not (repeat not) say this) for s.s. Fede
Jews. Please appeal to Bevin to obtain further 335
certificates as advance on the next schedule in order
that the whole group could leave on the two ships Fede
and Fenice. The refugees cannot be divided and insist

/they



12

- 2 -

they will leave without permits if certificates for everybody are not granted. Confident you will succeed in obtaining this goodwill gesture and avoid unpleasant perhaps tragic developments.

[Ends]

2. In telegram to the Embassy Doctor Nahon adds that he is trying his best - presumably to keep the refugees quiet.
3. The visa officer understands from Allied Force Headquarters that the Allied military authorities will not attempt to prevent the sailing of s.s. Fede unless directly instructed by the War Office.

G.T.P.

Reference: FO 800 / 485

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Pājācīja

P R I S E C

CYPHER]

FROM OFFICE OF THE BRITISH POLITICAL
ADVISER TO SUPREME ALLIED COMMANDER MEDITERRANEAN
TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Mr. Broad.
No. 387.

26th April, 1946.

D: 4.34 p.m. 26th April, 1946.

R. 7.20 p.m. 26th April, 1946.

Repeated to Rome, No. 148,
Cairo, No. 12,
Jerusalem, unnumbered,
Warsaw,)
Prague,) Saving.
Vienna,)

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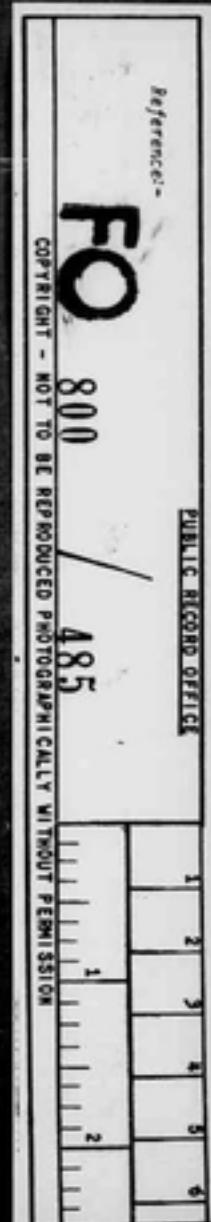
IMMEDIATE

Rome telegram No. 610 to you.

Information has reached Allied Force Headquarters through British Intelligence channels that refugees may at any moment attempt to sail their ship on their own. Although certain essential parts were removed from the ship and are now held by the Italian authorities it is believed that the refugees have succeeded in obtaining duplicates. They have also secured the use of a second vessel.

2. Pilots would be required to take the vessels out of the port and it is understood here that there are only two men who are capable of undertaking this task. Both are under warning not to take ships out but it is possible that they have been got at and bribed. It is not thought that the Italian authorities are in a position

/tə



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- 2 -

to prevent the ships from sailing in these circumstances.

3. Without instructions Allied Force Headquarters are themselves in no position to take action. If there is anything which you wish them to do I should be most grateful for instructions.

4. It is added in the Intelligence report that if ships sail the party will be accompanied by press representatives including representatives of the Associated Press, United Press and Tass.

Foreign Office please repeat to Jerusalem.

[Copies sent to Telegraph Section, Colonial Office, for repetition to Jerusalem.]

O.T.P.

Reference: -

FO 800 / 485

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P.M. (46) 69

Pa/46/11

PRIME MINISTER

Publication of Report of the
Anglo-U.S. Committee on Palestine

The Secretary of State has minuted in Paris
the attached telegram as follows: "I agree and hope
the Cabinet will accept the date immediately".

May we telegraph to Washington that we
accept this arrangement?

(Sd.) O.G. Sargent.

26th April, 1946.

P.M. agrees.
26.4

Reference: **FO** 800 485

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Pubⁿ of Report by
Anglo-American Ctee on
Palestine. ¹⁶

[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on]

(CYPHER)

CABINET DISTRIBUTION

FROM WASHINGTON TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Earl of Halifax, D. 5.55 p.m. April 24th, 1946.
No. 2623
April 24th, 1946. R. 11.59 p.m. April 24th, 1946.

Q Q Q

MOST IMMEDIATE

TOP SECRET

My telegram No. 2614.

President has agreed to withhold report from the press until Wednesday, May 1st. This will mean release at 4 p.m. Washington time on Tuesday April 30th, and State Department express earnest hope that you will be able to concur in this arrangement.

OTP

Reference: FO 800/485

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RJ

Easter 30/4

SECRET & PERSONAL

PLEASE RETURN TO
PRIVATE SECRETARY **KST**
BRITISH DELEGATION,
PARIS. **216**

28 April, 1946.
30th Pa/46/12

I have been thinking over our conversation yesterday about Palestine, and there is one point that I want to make to you very strongly. It is, I think, agreed between our two countries that the report of the Anglo-American Committee on Palestine should be published on May 1st, but I trust that we can be sure that the United States Government will not make any statement about the policy without consultation with His Majesty's Government.

(Sgt) E. Bevin

His Excellency
The Honourable James F. Byrnes.

Reference: **FO** 800 / 485

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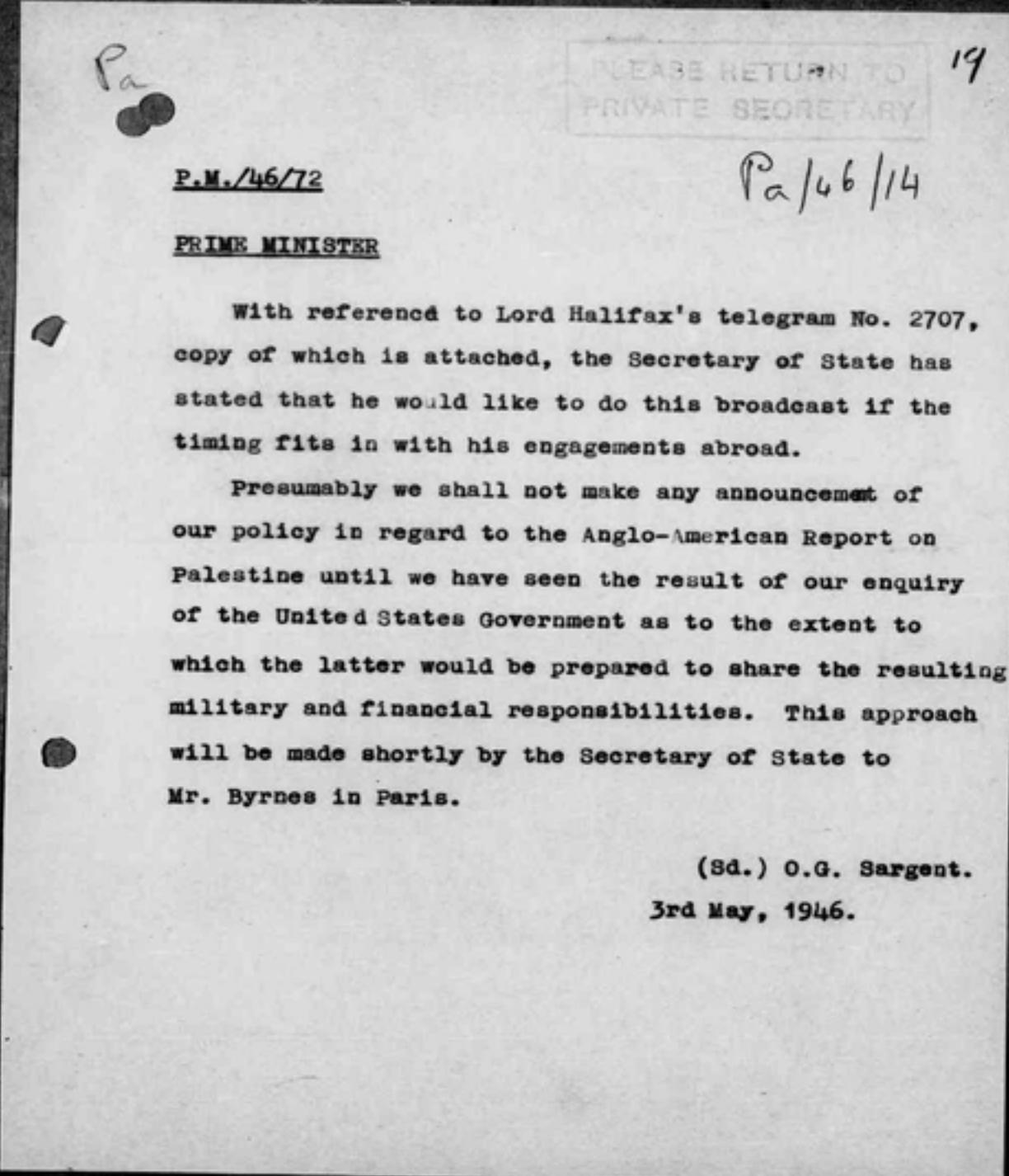
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Copied P.S No 10. 18
Sir O'Sullivan
Mr Parker
Mr House
Sir E. Bridges
Sir N. Brook.
Dominions Secretary,
Colonial Secretary,
[CYPHER] *Eastern Dept* PRISEC
FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO UNITED KINGDOM
DELEGATION TO THE CONFERENCE OF FOREIGN
MINISTERS AT PARIS Pa/46/13
No. 44 D. 8. 39 p.m. 1st May, 1946.
1st May, 1946. 11111
IMMEDIATE
Following personal from Prime Minister
for Secretary of State.
You will have seen my statement in the
House on the Palestine Report. Cabinet considered
that a more detailed Statement was required in view
of Truman's declaration. Dominion Prime Ministers
approved line taken which was also well received
in the House. We should now make a formal
approach to the United States of America. I
should like your views as to whether this should
be done through diplomatic channels or by a letter
to the President from myself.
O.T.P.

Reference: FO 800/485

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OUTWARD TELEGRAM

Pa/46/15

[CYPHER]

FOREIGN OFFICE TO PARIS

(To United Kingdom Delegation to Conference
of Foreign Ministers)

No. 137.

8th May 1946.

D. 1.47. a.m. 8th May 1946.

P R I S E C

Sir Olafast

M. Nekel

M/S

M. Howe

Easter

M. Bulter

N. A.

MOST IMMEDIATE

TOP SECRET AND PERSONAL

Following from Prime Minister for Foreign Secretary.

I should be glad to know whether you have taken up the Palestine question with Byrnes. There is a good deal of Jewish resentment at my statement on the dissolution of private armies, which Jews tend to regard as an attempt to avoid action. The sooner we get to grips with the Americans the better.

OTP

Reference: FO 800/485

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OUTWARD TELEGRAMPresident 1 PM
5/21

Pa 146 116

[CYPHER]

P R I S E CFOREIGN OFFICE TO PARIS(To United Kingdom Delegation to Conference
of Foreign Ministers)No. 153.

8th May 1946.

D. 12.35. a.m. 9th May 1946.

To W^h 4452

MOST IMMEDIATEPERSONAL AND TOP SECRET

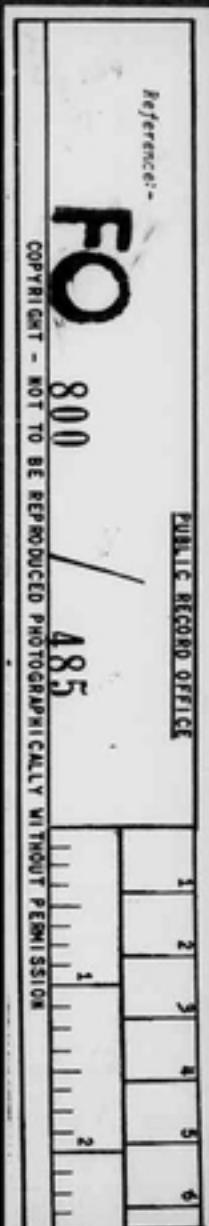
Following from Prime Minister for Foreign Secretary.

I have received the following message from the President and I shall be glad to have your comments at the earliest possible moment.

Message begins -

"I have been considering the next steps which should be taken with regard to Palestine and believe that the first thing to be done is to initiate the consultations with Jews and Arabs to which both our Governments are committed. I believe the report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry offers a basis for such consultations and I contemplate the adoption of the following procedure, on which I should welcome your comments:

The report will be brought by this Government in the immediate future to the attention of the Jewish and Arab organisations specified below as well as the Governments of Arab states with which this Government maintains relations with the request that they transmit their views on it within



OUTWARD TELEGRAM

22

-2-

a certain period, say two weeks. On receipt of their views this Government will consult the British Government and then proceed to determine its attitude toward the report as a whole and to issue a public statement as to the extent to which it is prepared to accept the report as the basis for its Palestine policy.

I imagine that the British Government will wish to take concurrent action and should be glad to know if this assumption is correct. In view of the urgency surrounding the question of the admission to Palestine of the 100,000 Jews whose entry is recommended by the Committee, I sincerely hope that it will be possible to initiate and complete the consultations with Arabs and Jews at the earliest possible moment.

The organisations and groups in question would be:

American Zionist Emergency Council

American Jewish Committee

American Jewish Conference

American Council for Judaism

American Jewish Congress

Institute for Arab-American Affairs

Agudas Israel of America

New Zionist Organisation of America

Jewish Agency

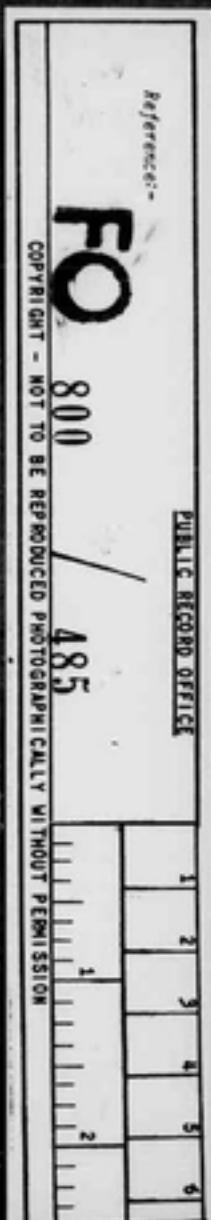
League of Arab States

Arab Higher Committee

Governments of Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, Trans-Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Yemen."

OTP

Message ends.



23

OUTWARD TELEGRAM

P.M./President-

Pa/46/17 7

P R I S E C

[CYPHER]

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO WASHINGTONNo. 4507.

10th May, 1946.

D. 1.55 p.m. 10th May, 1946.

Repeated to Paris (United Kingdom Delegation to
Conference of Foreign Ministers) No.179.

JJJ

MOST IMMEDIATEDEDIP

TOP SECRET AND PERSONAL

Following sent by Prime Minister to President
unnumbered of 9th May.

Begins:-

Thank you very much indeed for your message of yesterday about Palestine and for your kindness in consulting me. Your message arrived while I was in Cabinet - I brought it at once before my colleagues. We are all agreed that closest co-operation between our two Governments on this matter can only be to the benefit of all concerned. We are most grateful for your communication and for the suggestions which you make which we are now studying. I am sorry I cannot send you a final reply immediately but as I have explained to your Ambassador I want particularly to discuss it with the Foreign Secretary who, as you probably know, has had a preliminary talk with Mr. Byrnes. I hope he will be able to come from Paris during the week-end for consultation.

2. I realise the need for speed; but, in order to ensure that we make the best possible approach to the problem, I should be grateful if you could wait a few days until I am in a position to give you the considered views of my Cabinet colleagues. Meanwhile I hope you will give consideration to the suggestions put to Mr. Byrnes by the Foreign Secretary, especially that there should be some provision for the study by experts of our two Governments of the financial and military liabilities involved and that if possible this study should take place at the outset and before the proposed consultations with Jews and Arabs.

3. The Lord President leaves by air on Saturday. It is good of you to agree to discuss with him these vital food questions. Much depends on their successful solution.

4. May I, on this first anniversary of the defeat of Germany, renew to you and to the Armed Forces and people

of/....

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24
OUTWARD TELEGRAM

- 2 -

of the United States the heartfelt gratitude of the people and Government of this country for the outstanding part you played in the common victory. Your matchless contribution by land, on the sea and in the air, in factory and in field, will always command the honour and respect of us all. I trust that our comradeship in war will continue in the days of peace.

OTP.

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 CO. 14th May
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 S. E. Bridges Rester
 [CYPHER] PRISER
 Mr. Bullock N. A.

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO WASHINGTONNo. 4629Moto

15th May, 1946.

D. 12.55 a.m. 14th May, 1946.

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MOST IMMEDIATEDE DIPPERSONAL AND TOP SECRET

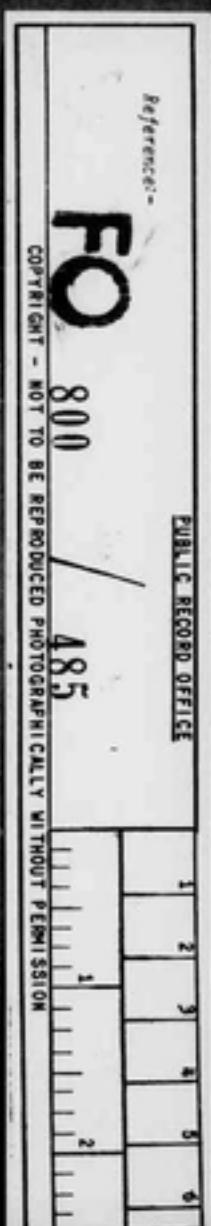
Following for President from Prime Minister.

I have now been able to consult the Foreign Secretary and the Cabinet on your message of 8th May concerning Palestine. We agree that the consultations with the Jews and Arabs, to which both our Government are committed, should be initiated as quickly as possible. I hope, however, that, in view of the delicate negotiations which we are at present conducting in Egypt, you will feel able to postpone any approach to the parties concerned until 20th May at the earliest.

2. We also think that the suggested period of two weeks is too short for the Arab Government and Jewish Organisations to prepare and submit their views on the Anglo-American Committee's recommendations, and that it would be preferable to allow them one month.

3. As I said in my previous telegram we think it important that there should also be some provision for the study by expert officials of our two Governments of the implications of the Committee's Report, with particular reference to the military and financial liabilities which would be involved in its adoption. We would prefer these official discussions between experts to precede

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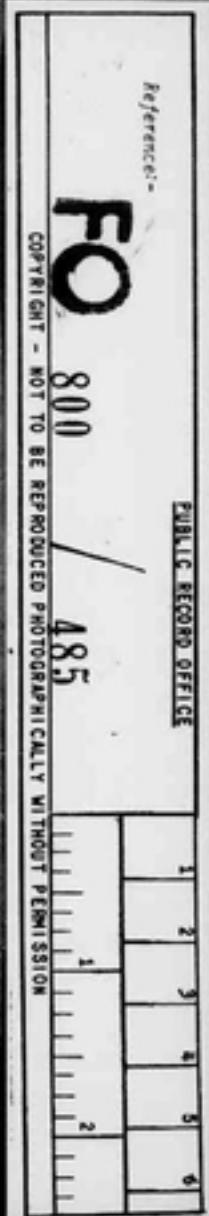
- 2 -

the consultations with Jews and Arabs, but if this suggestion does not meet with your approval they can be conducted either simultaneously with or after those consultations.

4. It also seems to us most desirable that as a final stage in the consultations which we are contemplating, every effort should be made to convene a conference at which Arab and Jewish representatives would meet with representatives of our two Governments to consider the whole question on the basis of the Committee's Report and of the results of the preliminary consultations both between Arabs and Jews and between our own experts.

5. Our two Governments would then be in a position to make known their decisions on the issues dealt with by the Committee of Enquiry, having had the fullest opportunity of bringing their own views into harmony and of promoting the largest possible measure of agreement between the other interested parties.

OTP



P.S. No 10
Sir O'Hagan

Mr. House

[CYPHER]

Easton Dept
Mr. Baker

FROM WASHINGTON TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Mr. Balfour
No. 3185
16th May, 1946

P.S. Co. (Copies) one marked
Hans Co. (Copy) for Harry 27

P R I S E C

Pa/46/19.

D. 10.20 p.m. 15th May, 1946
R. 2.40 a.m. 16th May, 1946

ddddd

IMMEDIATE

TOP SECRET

Your telegram No. 4557.

Prime Minister's message to the President, contained in your telegram No. 4629 of 13th May, is now under consideration at the White House, whose reply may be expected shortly.

2. Although State Department's views upon this subject are not authoritative, informal conversations with Near Eastern Division appear to establish that there is a reasonable possibility of Presidential acquiescence, especially on postponement of consultation until 20th May and extension of consultation period to one month.

3. At the same time officials consulted take the view that there is a good deal to be said in favour of consulting Arabs and Jews before the experts meet since such earlier consultations would give the experts something firm on which to work and conceivably narrow the field of their discussions. Thus I understand that Mr. Bevin has given Mr. Byrnes a memorandum setting out various practical problems arising from the Committee's recommendations, one of which is that immediate settling of the 100,000 in Palestine may cost something in the region of eighty million pounds. Officials thought this figure too high, given Zionist resources and willingness to help, the extent of which can be ascertained in prior conferences with Jews.

4. From the psychological aspect, officials fear that a prior conference of experts would be misrepresented as an attempt by the two Governments to find reasons for doing as little as possible. In this, they are probably right in so far as this country is concerned. On the other hand, if it is going to be impracticable to carry out specific recommendations because of unshakeable Arab or Jewish intransigence, this had better be taken into account as early in the proceedings as possible.

5. State Department appear somewhat hazy as to the American experts who might be called into consultation. It looks therefore as though we may have to exert pressure to secure a satisfactory panel, at least on the economic side. The job will not be a popular one.

O.T.P.

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OUTWARD TELEGRAM

President 7 PM

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[CYPHER]

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO WASHINGTONNo. 4799
17th May, 1946.

D. 10.10 p.m. 17th May, 1946.

//////

IMMEDIATEDEDIPTOP SECRET AND PERSONAL

Following sent by President to Prime Minister unnumbered of 17th May.

Begins. I have given careful consideration to your two messages concerning Palestine and am pleased to note that you and your colleagues share our feeling regarding close collaboration between our two Governments. We are proceeding with arrangements for consultations with Arabs and Jews so that the communication to them may be made on May 20th. I hope that this will be agreeable to you and that your Government will take concurrent action. I am still most anxious to have these consultations completed as early as possible but in view of your feeling that two weeks would be too short I am agreeable to extending the period to one month. We are drawing up a covering memorandum to be handed to Arab and Jewish representatives at the time their views on Committee's Report are requested and we will furnish your Government with an advance copy of this memorandum. We assume British Government similarly will let us have an advance copy of any covering memorandum it may decide to use.

As regards question of studies to be made by experts of the two Governments, with respect to certain matters arising out of Report, we are proceeding to organise an appropriate group from among officials of this Government. However, as British Embassy has already been informed by Department of State, we do not believe it would be advisable to have these discussions between experts of the two Governments precede the requests for the views of Arabs and Jews. It is our belief that latter (i.e. the consultations) might serve to clarify issues involved and narrow field in which expert discussions would take place. At same time, however, we believe at least preliminary expert discussions can be initiated as soon as the views have been requested. In this connexion it would be of the greatest usefulness if we might have as soon as possible some indication of subjects which your Government thinks should form basis of these discussions, as well as any further detailed suggestions.

We

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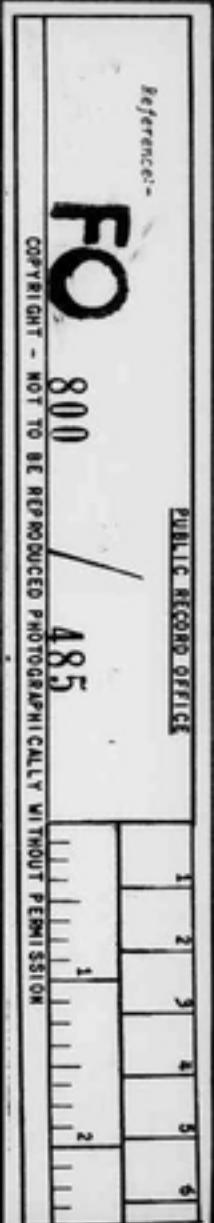
OUTWARD TELEGRAM

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-2-

We have noted your proposal for an eventual conference which would include Jewish and Arab representatives. We believe that this is something which our two Governments should have in mind during the consultations with interested parties and that it is at least possible such a conference might be convened at a suitable time if results of consultations with Arabs and Jews indicate that a conference would be helpful. For the moment I do not feel able to give you a more definite reply on this point.

O.T.P.



L. O. S. y/s.

30

Copy Mr Howe
Eastern Dist.
Mr Beesley
Supt. for Colonies
Sir D. Harris

Pa/46/21

[CYPHER]

P R I S E CFROM WASHINGTON TO FOREIGN OFFICE

No. 10

Mr. Balfour.
No. 3269.

18th May 1946.

D. 12.25 p.m. 18th May 1946.
R. 6.50 p.m. 18th May 1946.

19/5

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MOST IMMEDIATE

Your telegram No. 4799.

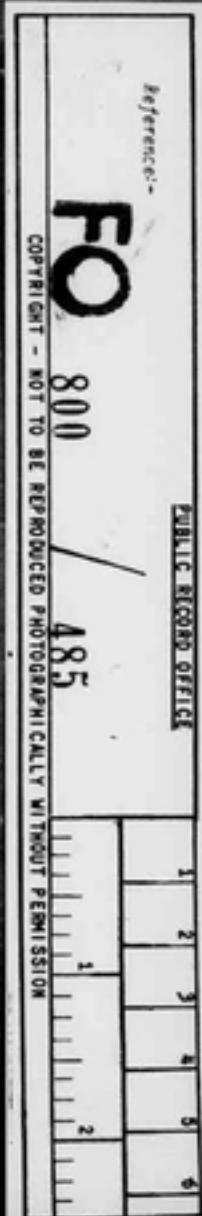
Following is proposed text of covering memorandum referred to in first paragraph which will be transmitted to parties listed in your telegram No. 4452. It has been approved by Acheson but awaits concurrence of the President. State Department have agreed to its transmission for your provisional information.

[Begins]

In inviting comments and suggestions on the report of the Anglo American Committee of Inquiry the Government of the United States desires to make the following observations:

1. The report is advisory in character, consequently its recommendations are not binding. However the United States Government is giving careful consideration to the report in view of the standing of the members of the committee, of the fact that the report was unanimously approved by them and of the fact that they were entirely free to arrive at any conclusions which to them seemed fair and reasonable. The United States Government will also give careful consideration to the views of the Government and organisations which it is now consulting. Judging from preliminary reactions to the report in various quarters, criticism is to be expected. In view of the importance of this problem and the sincere desire of the United States to arrive at a policy with regard to Palestine which will

/be



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- 2 -

be both humane and just, this Government greatly hopes that the general character and trend of the observation and suggestions may so far as possible be of a constructive nature.

2. By means of the participation of American citizens in the work of the Committee and through the present consultation, the Government of the United States is seeking information and assistance looking to the formulation of its policy on several difficult and complex problems. It readily recognises that other Governments and organisations will have their own respective attitudes in regard to these questions which may or may not be similar to the attitude which shall be adopted by the United States. The United States Government is grateful for the co-operation and help which have already been accorded to the Committee of Inquiry and hopes that assistance and collaboration will continue to be forthcoming as these matters develop. The United States Government for its part will be prepared at all times to reciprocate to the best of its ability the many courtesies which have been afforded to its citizens and representatives by the interested Governments and groups.

5. The interest of the United States in the questions considered in the report is believed to be legitimate and is based upon the following:

(a) Compassion for and a desire to assist victims of Nazi and Fascist persecution, both Jews and non Jews.

(b) The fact that for a number of years American citizens have been contributing substantial assistance to the upbuilding of the Jewish national home in Palestine, and that there is every reason to expect that their interest will continue.

(c) The deep interest which the American Government and its citizens have in maintaining and promoting mutually beneficial

/ənd

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- 5 -

and harmonious relations between the United States and the countries of the Near East in the political field, in education and other cultural activities, in trade, and in economic development.

(d) The value placed by the United States upon the contributions which the Near Eastern countries have made and will doubtless continue to make to the cause of world peace and prosperity and to the upbuilding and effectiveness of the international organisation created for these purposes.

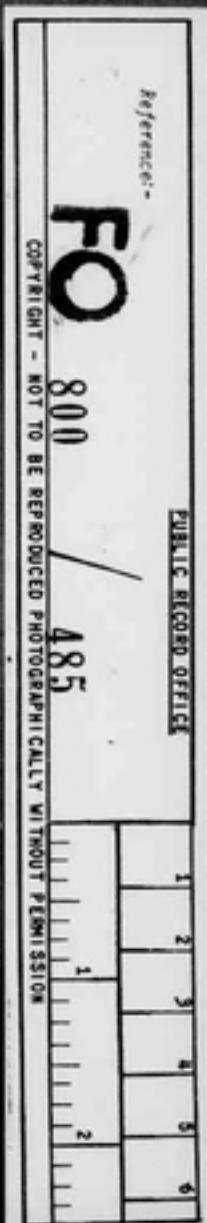
4. This Government will be glad to receive comments and suggestions regarding the report as a whole or any part of it, and would be grateful if these could be received, at the latest, thirty days from today.

[Ends]

2. State Department have asked which organisations His Majesty's Government proposed to consult and whether your approach also will be made on May 20th.

[Copies sent to Prime Minister and Colonial Office]

O.T.P.



E.
[CYPHER

170

S.Y.S.
Copies as for W¹stan 3269

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Pa/46/22

P R I S E C

C. O. S
N. Howe
Eastern
S. I. Co.

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO WASHINGTON

No. 4825.

18th May 1946. D. 2.10 p.m. 18th May 1946.

УУУУУУ

S. D. Harris
Nolo

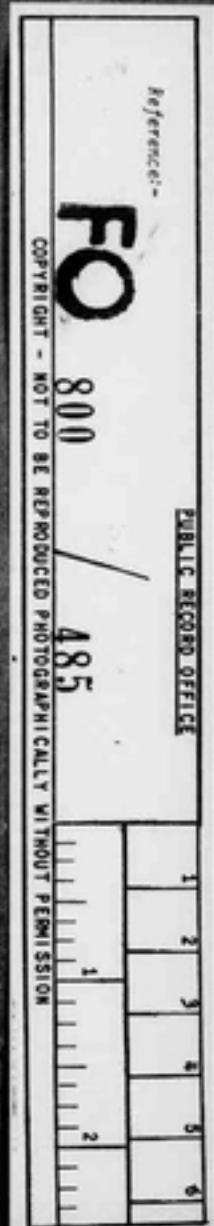
IMMEDIATE.

TOP SECRET.

Your telegram No. 3185 (Palestine).

It is most desirable that the official discussions proposed in the Prime Minister's message (my telegram No. 4629), should be held in London. The situation in Palestine and the Middle East generally is at present highly explosive and needs continuous watching, so that it would be extremely inconvenient to have to denude the responsible Departments of their senior officials, as would be inevitable if the discussions were held in Washington. London is also to be preferred on the ground that all the necessary material is available here. I trust you will be able to persuade the State Department accordingly.

O.T.P.



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Bal

P.M./46/92.

Pa/LG/23

PRIME MINISTER

*
I attach, for your approval, the draft of
a reply to President Truman's telegram of
17th May about Palestine.
2. The Colonial Secretary has approved the
draft.

(Sd) ERNEST BEVAN

18th May, 1946.

* Sent as F.O. 61
to W' ton, no 4840.

of 18/5
Pm to President
unnumbered of 18/5

Reference:-

FO 800 / 485

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Washington will be anxious whether action will date
 His Finance or Treasury May, 1946. It will be
 no coincidence if certain events mentioned earlier
 leading to this will begin to appear. The
 anticipated outcome is difficult to forecast and it will be
 considered by your government to consider the
MOST IMMEDIATE

Washington.

No.....

Dated.....

Cypher.

Approved by
Colonial Secretary**DEDEP**
PERSONAL & TOP SECRET

Following for President from Prime Minister.

I am most grateful to you for your telegram of May 17th and much appreciate your readiness to meet our views in regard to timing of the approach to the Arabs and Jews and also in regard to the time limit to be allowed for these consultations. We also have been considering the form which our consultations with Arabs and Jews should take.

2. On the Jewish side we propose to consult only the Jewish Agency, in view of the special position conferred on it by Article 4 of the Mandate as the accredited representative of Jewry in matters relating to the Jewish national home. On the Arab side we shall consult the Arab Higher Committee and the States of Egypt, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Lebanon, Transjordan and the Yemen.

3. We are proposing that the following communication shall be handed by His Majesty's Representatives to the Governments of the States above mentioned and by the High Commissioner to the Arab Higher Committee and the Jewish Agency on May 20th.

4. Begin. In a statement made in Parliament on the 13th November, 1945, the Secretary of

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State for Foreign Affairs announced the intention of His Majesty's Government to consult all parties concerned before reaching a decision on any recommendations which might be made to them by the Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry regarding the problems of European Jewry and Palestine.

4. In pursuance of this undertaking, His Majesty's Government will be glad to be furnished with the views of on each of the ten recommendations put forward by the Committee. They will further be grateful if these views may be communicated to them not later than the 20th June, 1946. Ends.

5. I am in entire agreement with your suggestion regarding the discussions between our officials and will let you have shortly our ideas as to the subjects which should form the basis of these discussions.

6. I am glad you think that the idea of a conference is one which is worth consideration and hope that procedures above described may eventually make it desirable.

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OUTWARD TELEGRAM

PM/President⁵⁷

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[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on.]

[CYPHER]

CABINET DISTRIBUTION

Pa/46/24

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO WASHINGTONNo. 5.151.

26th May, 1946.

D: 10.40 p.m. 26th May, 1946.

*** *** ***

IMMEDIATEDEDIPTOP SECRET

Following for President from Prime Minister.

In your message of the 17th May, you asked me to give you some indication of the subjects which, in the opinion of this Government, should form the basis of discussion between our expert officials. The following list enumerates the various matters on which decisions would be required before the report could be implemented and I think that a full and frank exchange of views between our officials on all these matters would be of great value to both our Governments.

Recommendation No. 1.

- (a) The further efforts to be made by the two Governments in association with other Governments to find new homes for displaced persons generally.
- (b) The finding of new homes for Jewish displaced persons outside Palestine.
- (c) The steps that might be taken to secure that practical effect is given in Europe to the provision of the United

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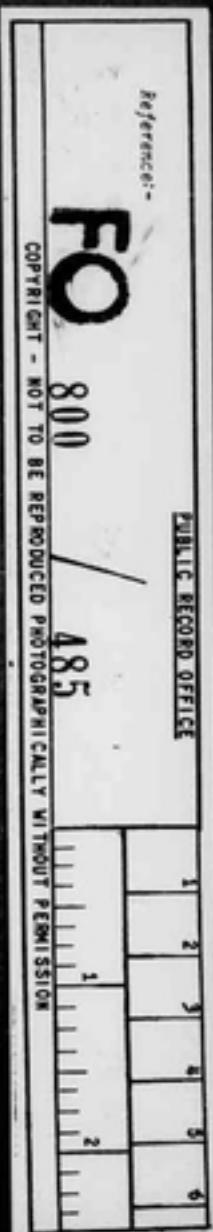
Nations Charter calling for the "universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language and religion".

Recommendation No. 2.

- (a) The cost of:
 - (i) transporting;
 - (ii) temporarily accommodating and maintaining and
 - (iii) permanently housing the 100,000 Jewish immigrants proposed for admission to Palestine.
- (b) The provision of transport.
- (c) The supply of materials for housing.
- (d) The capital assets necessary to enable productive work to be found for the immigrants.
- (e) The financing of this immigration.
- (f) The rate at which 100,000 immigrants could be absorbed into the economy of Palestine without creating widespread unemployment.
- (g) The method of selection of immigrants.

Recommendation No. 3.

- (a) The measure of self-government, in the near future, consistent with the three principles laid down by the Committee in this recommendation.
- (b) The possibility of devising a workable constitution in which, in accordance with the Committee's suggestion, a numerical majority would not be decisive.

/Recommendation No. 4.

OUTWARD TELEGRAM

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- 3 -

Recommendation No. 4.

- (a) The nature of the administering authority to be defined in the Trusteeship Agreement for Palestine - a single State, two or more States, or direct administration by the United Nations.
- (b) The States to be regarded as "directly concerned" for the purposes of Article 79 of the Charter.
- (c) The prospect of negotiating a Trusteeship Agreement for Palestine on the basis of the report with whatever group of States may be recognised to be "directly concerned".

Recommendation No. 5.

- (a) The measures necessary to bridge the gap now existing between Jewish and Arab standards of living.
- (b) The cost of these measures.
- (c) The advisability of encouraging the formation by the Arabs of a communal organisation similar to that already established by the Jews.

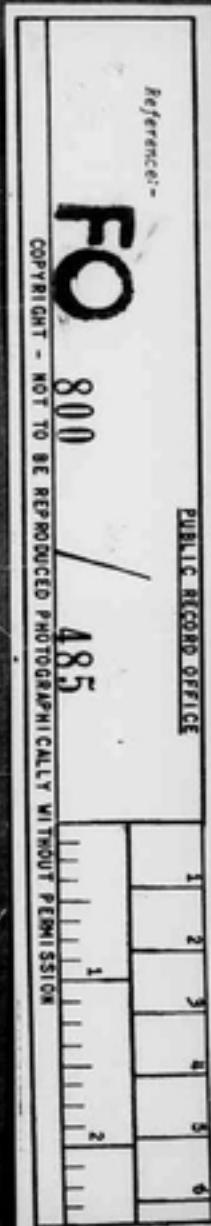
Recommendation No. 6.

- (a) The possibility of defining more precisely than is done by the Committee in the comment upon this recommendation the principles which should be observed in regulating future immigration into Palestine.
- (b) The prevention of illegal immigration.
- (c) The form in which the Jewish Agency should be required to co-operate in such prevention.

Recommendation No. 7.

- (a) If the Land Transfers Regulations of 1940 were rescinded,

/the



OUTWARD TELEGRAM

- 4 -

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the nature of the legislation required to provide adequate protection for small owners and tenant cultivators.

(b) The measures necessary to ensure that too large a proportion of the land does not become unsaleable through acquisition by one or other community.

(c) The prevention of illegal land seizures.

Recommendation No. 8.

(a) The methods to be adopted in the examination, discussion and execution of plans for large scale development in Palestine.

(b) The chances of obtaining the willing co-operation of adjacent Arab States in the execution of such projects.

(c) The possibility of combining Jewish finance with government responsibility and control.

(d) The difficulties inherent in the legislation required to secure for the Government power to regulate the use of underground water and determine rights to surface water.

(e) The consequences of omitting from the Trusteeship Agreement any provision of the kind contained in Article 18 of the Mandate.

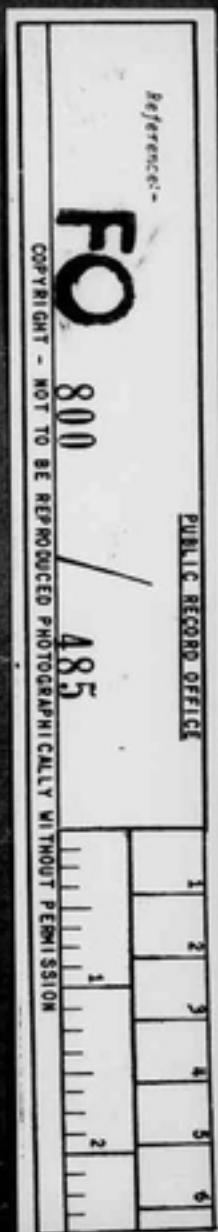
Recommendation No. 9.

(a) The cost of introducing compulsory primary education in Palestine.

(b) The period within which primary education could be made universal.

(c) The cost of increasing facilities for secondary, technical and university education for the Arab population.

(d)



OUTWARD TELEGRAM

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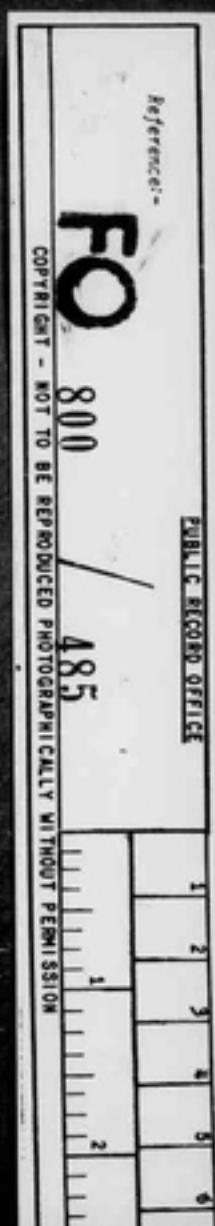
- (d) The measures necessary to increase the control exercised by the Government over the Jewish educational system.

Recommendation No. 10.

- (a) The preparations necessary for suppressing Arab or Jewish attempts to prevent by force the execution of the report.
(b) The suppression of terrorism and the liquidation of private armies.
(c) The form in which the Jewish Agency should be required to co-operate in such suppression and liquidation.

General questions arising from the report.

- (a) The probable reaction of the two communities in Palestine to the adoption of the report.
(b) The repercussions in the Middle East generally of the adoption in Palestine of a policy based upon the report.
(c) The additional military commitments which would follow from a decision to adopt such a policy and the sources from which these commitments would be met.
(d) The incidence of the finance for the additional expenditure, capital and recurrent, required by the adoption of such a policy.
(e) The effect of such a policy on British and American interests in the Middle East.
(f) In view of the difficulties which may be foreseen in negotiating a Trusteeship Agreement for Palestine and of the fact that the Trusteeship system is not yet operating, the possibility of referring the problem of Palestine to /the



OUTWARD TELEGRAM

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- 6 -

the United Nations Organisation in advance of the preparation of a Trusteeship Agreement.

(g) If the problem is referred to the United Nations by a third party, the attitude of the United Kingdom and United States Governments.

2. I suggest that the discussions might conveniently be initiated about a week before the date on which we expect to receive the replies of the Arabs and Jews to the reference made to them on May 20th. This would enable the ground to be surveyed in advance. I hope with you that the consultations now in progress may serve to clarify the questions under discussion.

O.T.P.

Reference:

FO 800 / 485

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OUTWARD TELEGRAM

[CYPHER]

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO WASHINGTONNo. 5578
6th June, 1946.

D. 1.25 p.m. 6th June, 1946.

////

N. Harvey ⁴³
Eade.
Mr. Caccia
Mr. H. S. Hol.

Pa/46/25

IMMEDIATEDEDIPPERSONAL AND TOP SECRET

Following sent by President to Prime Minister telegram
No. T.323/46 of 5th June, 1946.

[Begins]. Thank you for sending the list of the subjects which your Government would like to have discussed by the experts of the two Governments in connexion with the Palestine Report. Our feeling is that the matter is one which will require a rather extensive exchange of views and we have certain plans for the setting up of a special group to handle this and related questions arising out of the Report. We are proceeding to organise this group as quickly as we can and in the meantime we have turned your list over to the various experts in the State and War Departments with the request that they give it their immediate attention.

We are hopeful that members of the group of experts will be able to proceed to London as soon as possible as suggested by Mr. Bevin. As we doubt however that our plans will be sufficiently advanced for our side to begin the discussions on the Report as a whole at the time you suggest, namely one week prior to June 20th, we are planning to send to London by that time one or more experts to discuss the urgent physical problems arising out of the transfer to Palestine of the one hundred thousand Jews mentioned in the Report.

While it will take considerable time to find satisfactory answers to all the problems which you have listed, we feel it would be highly desirable that we begin immediately consideration of the question of the one hundred thousand Jews whose situation continues to cause great concern. I can assure you now that we shall take responsibility for transporting these persons as far as Palestine and shall lend necessary assistance in the matter of their temporary housing. We shall be glad to consider also providing certain longer term assistance for them. This last matter, however, should be reserved for the more general conversations.

We

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OUTWARD TELEGRAM

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We understand, of course that until after June 20th it will not be possible for our two Governments to make any definite decisions with regard to any of the points contained in the Report. We are anxious however in view of the urgency of the problem of the one hundred thousand Jews to initiate the discussions between the two Governments on the physical problems directly connected with their transfer as soon as possible.

[Ends].

O.T.P.

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SECRETARY OF STATE'S FILE

45

Pal
P.P./46/94
Prime Minister

N. Howe

Pa/46/26

I attach the draft of a reply to President Truman's telegram of the 5th June regarding his suggestion to send to London experts to discuss the problems arising out of the transfer of 100,000 Jewish immigrants to Palestine. The telegram has been approved by the Colonial Secretary.

(Sd.) ERNEST BEVIN

7th June, 1946.

Approved
CRA 9.6.

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OUTWARD TELEGRAM

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T 328/46.

PM/President
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[CYPHER]

P R I S E C

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO WASHINGTON

Pa/46/27.

No. 5704.

D. 7.50 p.m. 10th June 1946.

10th June 1946.

YYYYYY

IMMEDIATEDEDIPTOP SECRET AND PERSONAL

Following sent by Prime Minister to President un-numbered of 10th June.

Begins:

Your telegram of June 5th.

Thank you for your telegram. I am very glad to hear that you will be able to send a group of officials to discuss the problem with our officials here.

2. You will, of course, understand that His Majesty's Government will not feel able to determine their policy on any one of the Committee's recommendations until they have examined the results of the official consultations on the Report as a whole. As regards the admission of 100,000 immigrants, for example, it is necessary to consider not only the physical problems involved but also the political reactions and possible military consequences. These in turn may be found to depend to some extent on the conclusions reached in respect of the Committee's other recommendations.

3. In the circumstances we consider that it is preferable that the discussions should begin with the full groups on both sides, and doubt whether any useful purpose would be served by the sending of an advance party.

Ends.

O.T.P.

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[CYPHER]

Ch Harvey
 Mr. Hale
 Section Dep't
 P.S. (Co) 2 copies

FROM WASHINGTON TO FOREIGN OFFICE

P.S. No 10.

47

Pa/46/27²⁸**P R I S E C**

Lord Inverchapel.
 No. 5842.
 10th June 1946.

D. 10.00 p.m. 10th June 1946.
 R. 4.15 a.m. 11th June 1946.

0:0:0:0

IMMEDIATE**TOP SECRET**

Your Top Secret and Personal telegram No. 5704.

State Department, whom we have immediately informed, have taken note of your views, but incline to the opinion that White House will want to go through with the proposal for the preliminary team, both to deflect American criticism of inaction and to attempt to meet your deadline of one week before 20th June.

2. Member of my staff had learned shortly before the receipt of your telegram under reply that this advance guard would leave for London on Wednesday and be composed of Evan Wilson, American secretary to the Anglo-American Committee, Larry Cramer (not a Jew), Assistant to General Hildring and a former Governor of the Virgin Islands, Lieutenant Colonel Geoffrey Lewis of the Civil Affairs Division of the War Department and one other Army officer not yet chosen. Also that Colonel Mickelsen, O/C Displaced Persons, Frankfort-am-Main has received instructions to proceed to London for these consultations, over which United States Ambassador in London is to preside pro tempore.

3. Henderson well understands your doubts about embarking on advance consultations, but he avers that intention is to merge these preliminary talks with the wider expert

/consultations

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consultations and that there is no question of the United States Government seeking a decision on the problem of the 100,000 in advance. The President will of course be replying direct to the Prime Minister.

4. For your most confidential information, White House approval of proposal for expert committee headed by Secretaries of State, Treasury and War has been given and Henry Grady has accepted Byrnes' alternate representation. Drew Pearson revealed the latter piece of news in his broadcast last night, but authorities in Washington are refusing as yet to confirm officially.

O.T.P.

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Sent D.S.
Mr Harvey Pa/46/29⁴⁹
Mr Home 2. D.P.V.

[Cypher]

P R I S E C

N.A
W.B.C.FROM WASHINGTON TO FOREIGN OFFICE.Lord Inverchapel,
No. 3900

D. 11.50 a.m. 13th June, 1946.

13th June, 1946.

R. 9.45 p.m. 13th June, 1946.

Repeated to Jerusalem.

C.O
W.H.-BakerMOST IMMEDIATE.

My telegram No. 5842.

Your remarks at Bournemouth yesterday on the subject of Palestine and particularly your unfavourable reference to the immediate admission of the 100,000 and to probable feelings of New Yorkers have caused the inevitable uproar here. They provided the major theme for last night's long scheduled meeting to protest against Palestine delays, held at Madison Square Garden, New York, and attended by some 12,000 persons, who would otherwise have made their main dish out of Mufti.

2. Chief speakers were Wise, Silver, Crum and Senator Johnson (Democrat Colorado). Fresh points were made that (a) demand that loan should be refused unless your statements were repudiated, (b) Britain should surrender the mandate, possibilities of assumption of which by the United States of America should (c) be investigated by the Senate, (d) British troops should be withdrawn from Palestine since they were there not to protect Jews but for reasons of imperial security and (e) your remarks had for the first time afforded an opening to the Soviet Union to ask for a share in the Palestine trusteeship.

3. More serious, however, than this local ferment is the fact that your remarks are being widely interpreted here as an indication that His Majesty's Government have already made up their minds not (repeat not) to admit the 100,000 /and

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and never intended to carry out the Anglo-American Committee's recommendations. In view of the President's personal association with the 100,000 proposals, it is being argued in anti-Administration circles that you have made the President look foolish. Latter consideration will not worry Republicans (nor a good many Democrats). But quite apart from the Zionists, statement has undoubtedly troubled many Liberals, who are less concerned with the alleged slights to the President or to New York than at the revelation of the United States Government and ourselves at loggerheads at the very outset of the expert discussions.

4. Your criticism of New York has, of course, not only hit the nail on the head but driven it wounding deep. Whilst we should not attach too much weight to the Jewish vote as regards the loan (I learn this morning that it has got through the House Committee by a majority of 20 to 5), I think that early statement from yourself welcoming the formation of the President's Committee on Palestine and related problems and possibly also some official recognition of the arrival in London of the advance American team of 24 experts might help somewhat to deflect the force of charges of cynical inaction that are now being hurled at us.

O.T.P.

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SECRETARY OF STATE'S FILE

Rd Easter Day Pa /46/30 51
P. 146/99.

PRIME MINISTER.

Problems of European Jewry and Palestine:
Discussions between British and American
Officials.

In your last message to the President on this subject (Foreign Office telegram to Washington No. 5704, copy attached) you expressed the doubts of His Majesty's Government as to whether any useful purpose would be served by the sending to London of an advance party of American officials to discuss the physical problems involved in the admission of 100,000 immigrants to Palestine.

2. I have nevertheless received a letter from the United States Ambassador (copy attached) informing me that the advance party of American officials was expecting to leave Washington on June 12th.

3. There is evidently some danger that the United States Government will attempt to commit His Majesty's Government to acceptance of the 100,000 immigrants before decisions have been taken on the

single/

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Anglo-American Committee's Report as a whole. It therefore seems advisable to sound another note of warning on this point.

4. If you agree, would you despatch the attached draft telegram from yourself to the President?

(Sd.) ERNEST BEVIN

14th June, 1946.

Reference:-

FO 800 / 485

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OUTWARD TELEGRAM

53

PM/President

Pa/46/31 13

[CY-PHER]

P R I S E CFROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO WASHINGTONNo. 5879
15th June, 1946

D. 12.55 p.m. 15th June, 1946

dddddd

IMMEDIATEDEDEFPERSONAL AND TOP SECRET

Following sent by Prime Minister to President telegram
No. T 331/46 of 14th June, 1946.

[Begins]

1. Your telegram of the 5th June about the Palestine Report.

2. I am glad to be able to tell you that a Delegation of British officials has now been constituted for the purpose of discussing the Report of the Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry with the United States officials whom you are sending to London. The Delegation is composed of representatives of the Foreign Office, Colonial Office, Treasury and the Services. Its Chairman is Sir Norman Brook, Additional Secretary to the Cabinet.

3. This Delegation will take contact immediately with the advance party expected tomorrow from Washington, with a view to preparing the ground for their discussions with the representatives of your Cabinet Committee. I should like, however, to draw your attention to the decision of His Majesty's Government, to which I referred in my telegram of 10th June, that we cannot determine our policy on any one of the Committee's recommendations until we have examined the results of the official consultations on the Report as a whole. More particularly, we cannot contemplate accepting the proposal to admit large numbers of Jews to Palestine without very careful consideration of the effects which such a decision, when announced, would have in the light of the other proposals we were making at the same time. Tension is mounting in Palestine and we are satisfied that precipitate action on the immigration question alone would provoke widespread violence. I am sure you will appreciate that His Majesty's Government cannot take this risk. [Ends].

O.T.P.

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PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

OUTWARD TELEGRAM

54

President 1PM

Pa/46/32 8

[CYPHER]

P R I S E CFROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO WASHINGTONNo. 5905

15th June, 1946

D. 9.50 p.m. 15th June, 1946

F F F F F

IMMEDIATEDE DIPPERSONAL AND TOP SECRET

Following sent by President to Prime Minister,
telegram No. T332 of 14th June, 1946.

[Begins]

1. In reply to your telegram of June 10th concerning the Palestine talks, I, of course, agree that it will not be possible for our two Governments to reach any definite decisions regarding any of the recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee until after June 20th. I also am appreciative of the considerations which will undoubtedly impel your Government to give the most careful consideration to determining its future action regarding all of the Committee's recommendations, including that pertaining to the 100,000 Jews.

2. Nevertheless, I consider that our two Governments should without delay endeavour to make detailed plans for the transfer of the 100,000 Jews to Palestine.

3. The plans would thus be ready for use when definite decisions are made. I feel, moreover, that considerable time would be saved, when the two Governments discuss all of the various matters relating to these points if such plans had already been devised. It is for this reason that we are instructing our Ambassador in London, Mr. Harriman, to initiate preliminary conversations at once with representatives of your Government relative to these technical and physical problems. He will be assisted by a group of representatives of the State and War Departments who are proceeding to London this week.

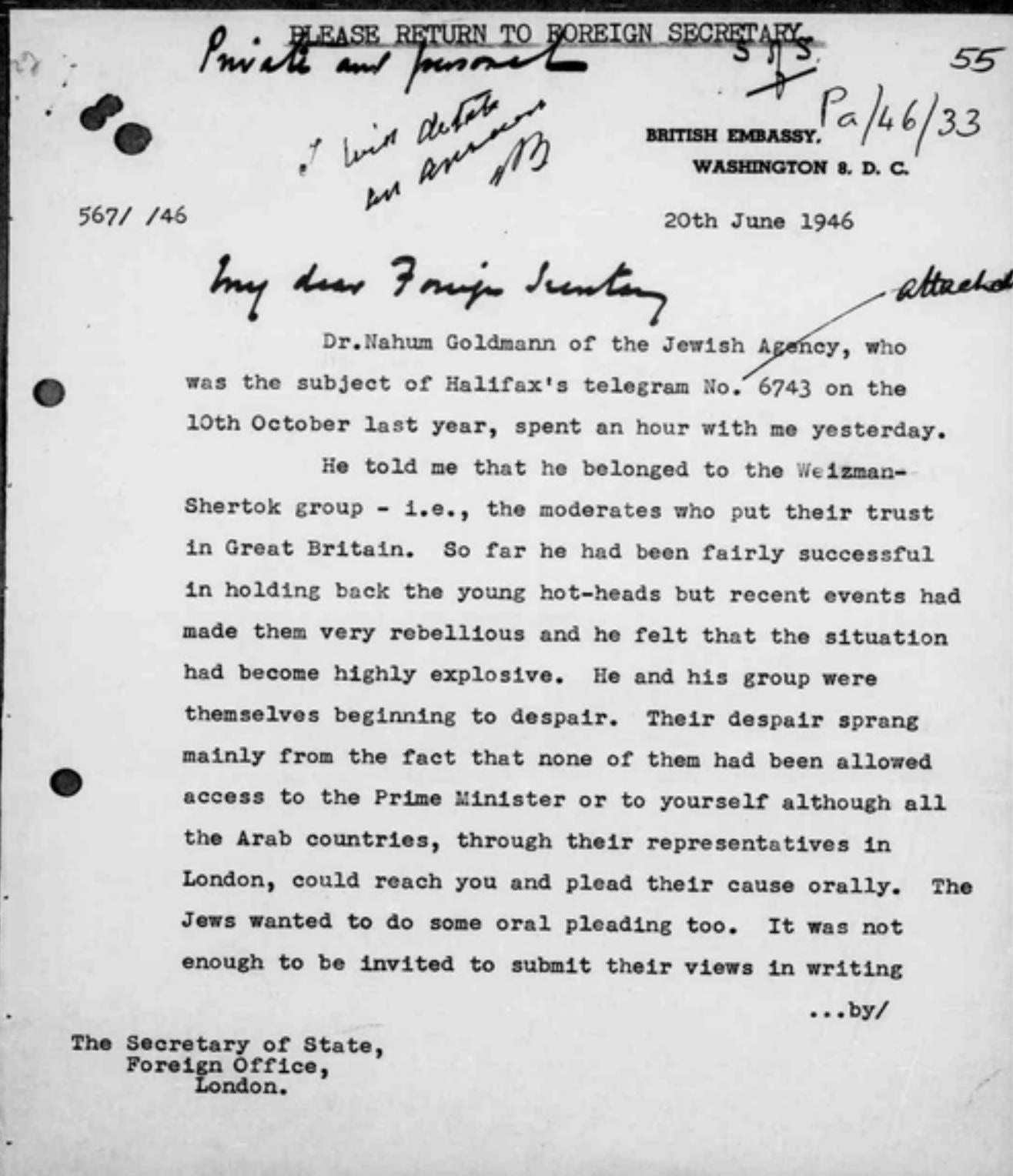
4. We are organising as rapidly as possible the group which is to go to London to discuss the report in more detail. Meanwhile, however, I hope that your Government will agree to begin at once the exploratory conversations relative to the purely technical issues involved in the transfer to Palestine of the 100,000 Jewish displaced persons, whose situation requires such urgent attention.

[Ends]

(OTP)

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by the 20th June. They had many suggestions to make towards a compromise which they could not put in writing at this stage.

Goldmann told me that Weizman would probably be in London early next month for an operation for cataract, I do not suppose there is any foundation for Goldmann's impression that the Jewish leaders are being held at arm's length, but in view of what he tells me I much hope that you will make a point of seeing Weizman as soon as he shows up. He is a very old friend of mine, and a *very* wise and decent man.

Yours ever
Annie I.

Reference:-

FO 800 / 485

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PRIVATE AND PERSONAL.

Prime Minister.

I received this letter from Archie Clark Kerr. It is very interesting. I have acknowledged it and I am inclined to the view that, with the change in Egypt and the new developments we are working out, we shall soon be in a position to try our hand at getting a conference of Arabs and Jews. I do not despair of it.

(Signed)

E. Bevin.

30th June, 1946.

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PM/46/114

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Vol. xxv
Palestine (ctd.)The Prime MinisterPa/46/³⁵
34PALESTINE

Washington inform us that the State Department have made the following announcement: "In response to enquiries whether this Government had advance information regarding the raid on Jewish Agency headquarters in Palestine, the Department of State stated to-day that it received no information until after the raid apparently had taken place".

According to the United Press, a State Department spokesman said that you had merely told Mr. Harriman on June 19th that His Majesty's Government were very concerned over terroristic activities in Palestine. The spokesman said that you had added that British forces were acting with the greatest restraint. Nowhere in Harriman's telegram, according to the spokesman, was there any mention of counter measures, or any indication of what the British intended to do.

In fact, as is shown by your telegram to the Secretary of State on June 19th (Foreign Office to Paris No. 34) you told Harriman that the position was serious and that we should be considering what action to take in view of the renewal of terrorism.

There is clearly some danger of a serious misunderstanding. We do not wish to issue any statement implying that Mr. Harriman has not sent accurate information to his Government. The line we should like our News Department to take is as follows:

(1) Details of the operation carried out on June 29th in Palestine were not communicated to President Truman until immediately after it had begun.

(2) We had nevertheless warned the U.S. Government some ten days in advance that we took a very grave view of the renewal of terrorism in Palestine. The clear implication of this warning was that some counter-action was in contemplation.

(3) They might then refer to your statement in the House yesterday: "The Government have to take responsibility for their own actions, and it would be unfair to try to put the onus on another Government".

As we are under some pressure on this matter, I should be grateful if you could let us know soon whether you agree with the above line. We may be asked whether it is consistent with your answer to Mr. Jenner that "the American Government were fully informed."

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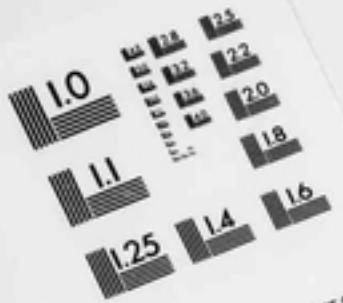
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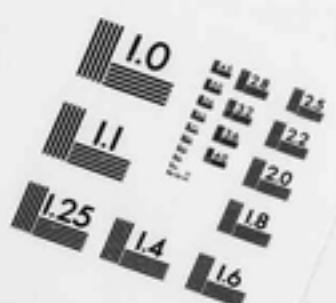


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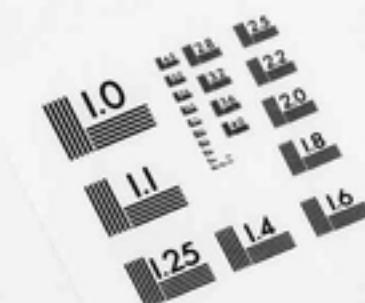
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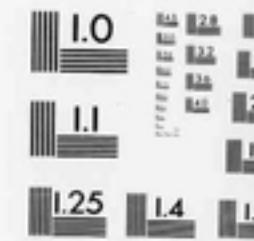
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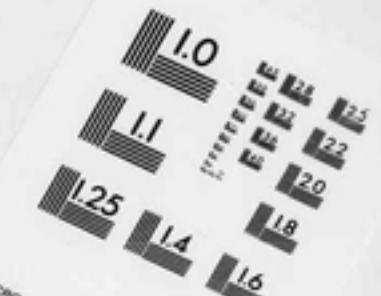
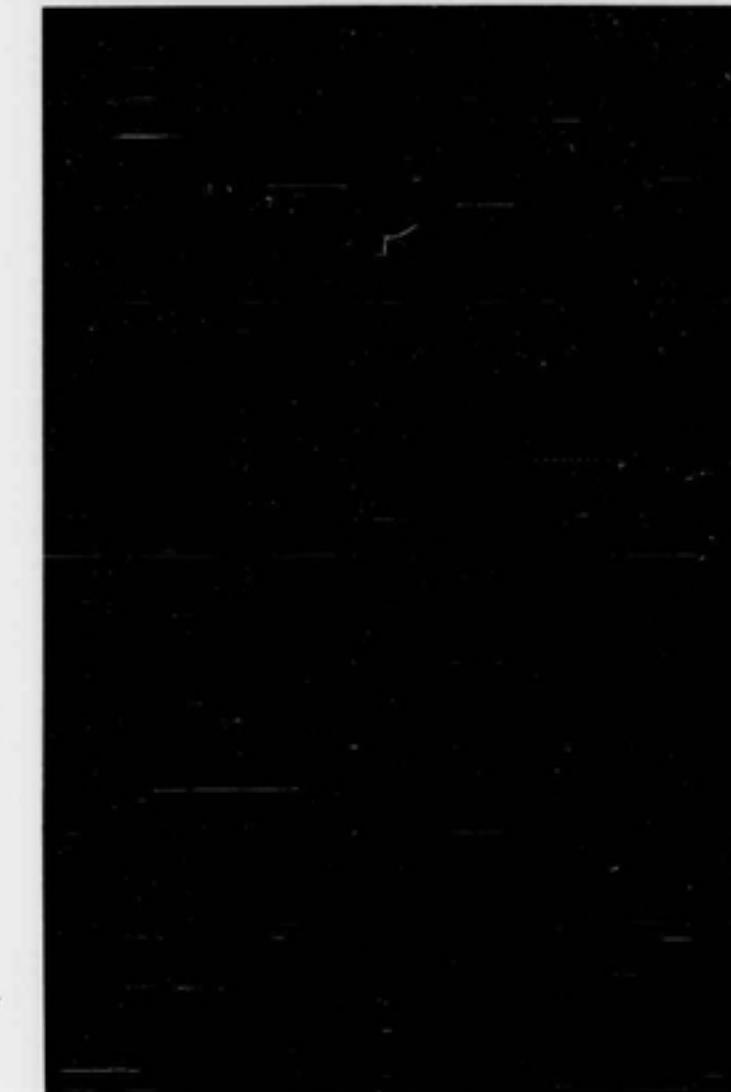
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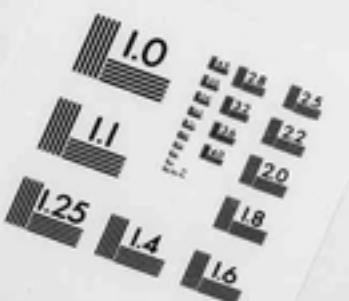


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FO.800/485

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PM/46/114

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Vol. xxv
Palestine (contd)The Prime MinisterPa/46/34³⁵PALESTINE

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1263 GOVERNMENT.

2nd July, 1946.

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OUTWARD TELEGRAM

[CYpher]

President/P.M
59

Pa/46/369

P R I S E C

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO WASHINGTON

No. 6501
2nd July, 1946

D. 5.55 p.m. 2nd July, 1946

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IMMEDIATE

DEDIP

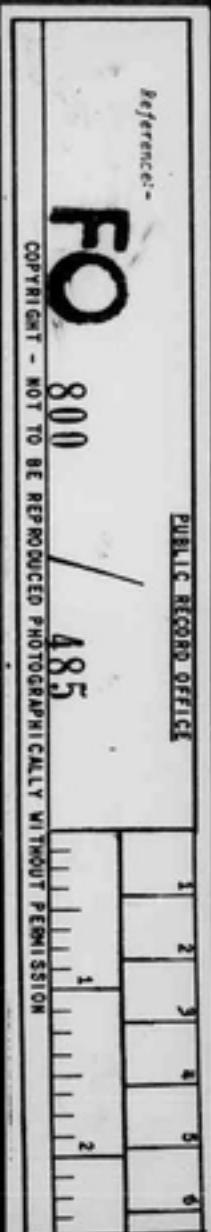
Personal and Top Secret.

Following sent by President to Prime Minister
telegram of 2nd July, 1946.

[Begins]

I share the feeling expressed in your message of
26th June, 1946 that the American Cabinet Committee on
Palestine and the British Delegation should initiate
their discussions as soon as possible. The Committee
has made arrangements to depart for London by air on
13th July. It is now studying the problem and awaiting
the return of the American experts who have been discussing
in London the technical aspects of the early immigration
of 100,000 Jews into Palestine. [Ends].

O.T.P.



President /P. M.

OUTWARD TELEGRAM

Pa/4, 6/37 10³⁷ 60

[CYPHER]

PRISEC

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO WASHINGTON

No. 6552

D. 7.20 p.m. 3rd July, 1946

3rd July, 1946.

u u u u u

IMMEDIATE

DEDIP.

Personal and Top Secret.

Following sent by President to Prime Minister.

Telegram of 2nd July

[Begins] *

Replying to your message of June 28, I join with you in regretting that drastic action is considered necessary by the Mandatory Government while discussions of the report of the Anglo-American Committee are in progress. I also join with you in the hope that law and order will be maintained by the inhabitants of Palestine while efforts are being made toward a solution of the Long Term Policy. [Ends]

* not in file

O.T.P.

Reference: -

FO 800 1/485

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OUTWARD TELEGRAM

P.M./President

Pa 146 / 38

16

[CYPHER]

P R I S E C

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO WASHINGTON

No. 6594.

D. 6.25 p.m. 4th July 1946.

NO. 5001
4th July 1946.

0:0:0:0

IMMEDIATE

DED IP

PERSONAL AND TOP SECRET

Following sent by Prime Minister to President telegram of
4th July 1946.

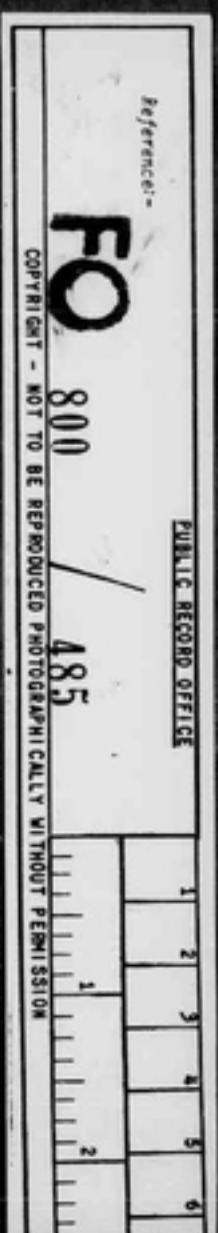
[Begins]

1. I note from your telegram of 2nd July that the representatives of your Cabinet Committee plan to leave for London on 15th July to begin the second stage of the discussions on the Palestine Report.

2. I am increasingly concerned about the time-table of these discussions in relation to our Parliamentary situation here. I have promised that the House of Commons shall have an opportunity to debate the Palestine problem before Parliament rises for the Summer Recess on 2nd August. Parliamentary interest in this question is so keen that I could not deny facilities for this debate. But you will realise that in such a debate I shall be placed in an embarrassing position if no further progress has been made towards an agreement between our two Governments on at least the main recommendations of the Report. It would certainly be very difficult to conduct such a debate in Parliament here while the discussions between officials of the two Governments were still proceeding in London.

5. I am also concerned about the effect in Palestine of

/delaying



OUTWARD TELEGRAM

62

- 2 -

delaying much longer a decision on the important issues dealt with in the Report.

4. We have also to take into account the notification from the Arab States that, unless some arrangement satisfactory to them has been reached meanwhile, they will bring this matter forward at the meeting of the Assembly of the United Nations in September.

5. For all these reasons it has become a matter of the greatest urgency that the officials' discussion should begin at the earliest practical moment and be conducted with the utmost speed. I should have wished myself to set 20th July as a target date for the completion of their work. But if they do not begin until the 15th July I do not imagine that they can finish by the 20th. This moves me to ask yet again whether it would not be possible for them to leave Washington earlier. Every day gained is of value and I should still like to see these talks start as early as possible in the week beginning 8th July.

6. Thank you also for your further telegram of July 2nd and for what you say therein. Best wishes.

O.T.P.

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Copied *Eastern Dept* 63
M. R. Baker
A. A. Dept.
H. S. Dept.
Mr. Howe
No. 10 P R I S E C

[CYPHER]

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO WASHINGTON

Pa/46/39

No. 6885.

6th July 1946.

D. 5 p.m. 6th July 1946.

0:0:0:0

IMMEDIATE

DEDIP

PERSONAL AND TOP SECRET

Following sent by President to Prime Minister telegram
of 6th July 1946.

[Begins]

I fully appreciate the problems brought out in your
message of July 4th, and in compliance with your wishes, we
are arranging that our Committee and their Staff of 12 depart
by air from Washington on Wednesday evening, July 10th. If
there are no delays en route they should be in London ready
to start discussions on Friday next.

I would appreciate it very much if you could talk
personally with Ambassador Grady and Mr. Dorr upon their
arrival.

I join you in the hope we can reach an agreement on the
main recommendations of the report by the target date you
mention.

O.T.P.

[ENDS]

Reference: **FO** 800 / 485

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Pa/46/40

THE SECRETARY OF STATE Sir N. Brook & Mr. Basley are arriving about midday tomorrow & leaving in the evening. JH 9/7
Palestine - Conversations between British and American Officials

The main party of American officials who will conduct conversations with Sir Norman Brook's Team on the recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry, is now expected to arrive in London on Thursday, July 11th. Sir Norman Brook is anxious to have the clearest possible instructions on the conduct of these talks before they begin.

2. We and the Colonial Office are in agreement that the policy recommended in the report of the Anglo-American Committee would be a difficult and dangerous one to put into effect. On the other hand, there would be obvious advantages in securing full American participation in the execution of the policy in Palestine. There appear to be two courses open to Sir Norman Brook and his colleagues:

- (a) To seek to convince the Americans of the impracticability of the Committee's recommendations with a view to securing the acquiescence of the United States Government in a different policy, *or the line set out in § 3 below*
- (b) To present the difficulties of carrying out the recommendations with British resources alone, with a view to securing American assistance, military and political as well as financial. (It is assumed that in any event we should not regard financial assistance unaccompanied by military support as adequate, and that, if this was offered, we should have to decline it).

It is on the above alternatives in particular that Sir Norman Brook wishes to have guidance.

3. In accordance with the decision taken by the Cabinet on July 4th, the Colonial Secretary is circulating a paper which will be printed tonight and sent to you tomorrow. In

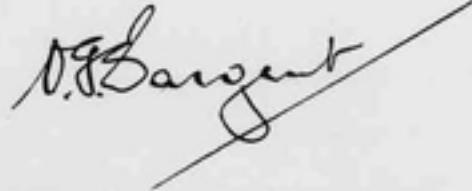
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it he outlines a plan for the division of Palestine into a Jewish and an Arab province. This would enable part of the country to be administered with a pro-Jewish, and the other part with a pro-Arab, bias, leaving open the question of whether future events would lead towards partition or towards an independent Federal State. We do not know whether the American Delegation will consider themselves empowered to discuss this proposal. It may prove attractive to them since it should make easier the admission to Palestine in the near future of a substantial number of Jewish immigrants. The Cabinet will presumably decide whether the British Delegation are to press for the discussion and acceptance of this plan.

4. Sir Norman Brook (with Mr. Beeley of Eastern Department) is ready ^{if you wish it} to go to Paris on Wednesday to put these problems more fully before you and to ascertain your views.



8th July, 1946.

P.S. Since writing the above, I have consulted the Prime Minister, who is in favour of Sir Norman Brook going to Paris to obtain your views before the Cabinet Meeting on Thursday when the Colonial Secretary's paper will be taken. Unless I hear to the contrary, therefore, Sir Norman Brook will go to Paris on Wednesday.



Reference: FO 800/485

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P.M./President

OUTWARD TELEGRAM

17⁶⁶

Pa/46/41

[CYPHER]

P R I S E Q

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO WASHINGTON

No. 6734
8th July, 1946

D. 1.52 a.m. 9th July, 1946

ddddddd

IMPORTANT

DEDIP

Following is text of message from Prime Minister
to President Truman.

Personal and Top Secret sent through United States
Embassy 8th July.

[Begins]

Many thanks for your telegram of 6th July and for
the action you have taken to expedite the departure of
your Committee and their staff. We shall all here be
ready for discussions to begin on Friday next.

I shall be delighted to see Ambassador Grady and
Mr. Dorr upon their arrival, and have asked Averell to
let me know immediately they arrive. [Ends].

OTP

Reference: FO 800/485

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Copy Sir Orme Sargent. 67
Ran

Pa/46/42

P R I S E C

[CYPHER]

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO PARIS

(To United Kingdom Delegation to Conference of Foreign Ministers)

No. 609

9th July, 1946 D. 1.25 p.m. 9th July, 1946

Repeated to Washington No. 6750.

F F F F

IMMEDIATE

DEDIP

Your telegrams Nos. 552 and 555.

Following for Secretary of State from Sir Orme Sargent.

At yesterday morning's meeting, the Cabinet decided not to issue a statement of the kind suggested in your telegram under reference. They thought it unlikely that such a statement would have the desired effect on American opinion.

2. They decided however to invite the Colonial Secretary to ask the High Commissioner whether a helpful statement could be issued in Jerusalem containing news of the progress of operations in Palestine.

3. [To Paris only] The text of the Cabinet minutes will reach you by this afternoon's aircraft.

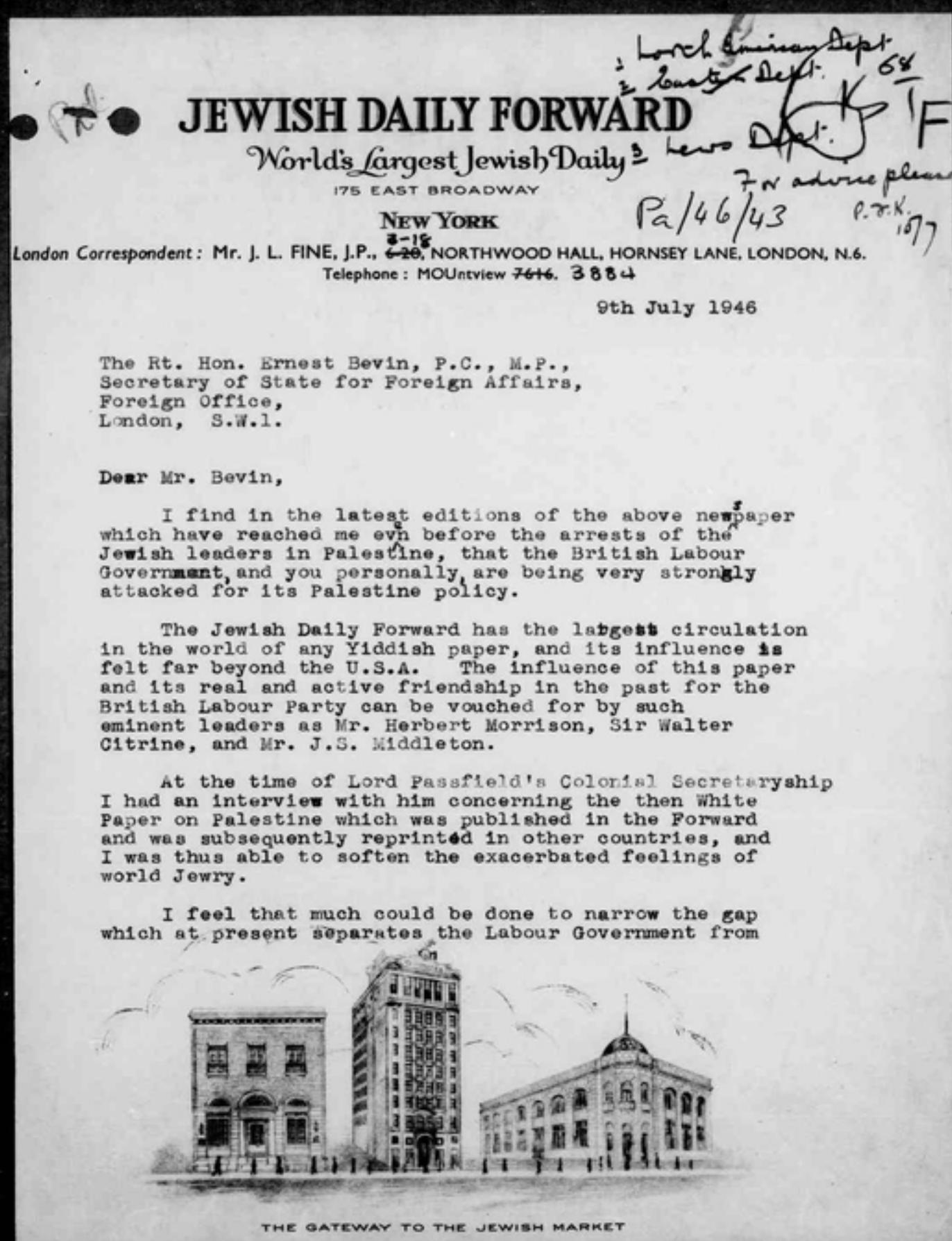
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continued)

69.

a large body of opinion if you would be good enough to grant me a personal interview with you which I could report for my paper, and I write this letter hoping that you will be able to find a few minutes for me from your arduous duties.

Yours very sincerely,



J.L. Fine.

Reference: FO 800 / 485

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Pa/46/44

PALESTINE

Note of points agreed in conversation with the Foreign Secretary on 10th July 1946.

1. The Secretary of State said that he proposed to ask Mr. Byrnes to consider an early announcement that a substantial number of Jewish refugees from Europe would be admitted to the United States, even though this meant enlarging the existing quota. He would say that a gesture of this kind would be of great value in making more palatable to the Arabs the proposal for the admission of a hundred thousand Jews to Palestine. If asked whether the United Kingdom would not make a similar contribution, he would say that our Polish commitment made this impossible. But it would help him if other parts of the Commonwealth could show a greater willingness to accept some Jewish refugees.

2. The Secretary of State said that he did not feel able to oppose the admission of the one hundred thousand Jews to Palestine, so long as there was proper consultation with the Jews and the Arabs. Every effort should be made to convene a Conference in London to follow the official conversations, and the Americans should be firmly told that this step was in our view essential.

3. The necessity for a Conference meant that it would not be possible to reach a settlement in a hurry. The Americans must be asked to co-operate with us in a programme which gave sufficient time to work out a settlement based on the widest possible measure of agreement. In this connexion the Secretary of State said that he would prefer to settle the Egyptian problem before proposals for Palestine were made public, and hoped that the Egyptians would be helpful over Palestine if their own problem had been settled first.

4. The Secretary of State was ready to explore the scheme for provincial autonomy put forward by the Colonial Secretary, and agreed that it should be discussed with the American officials. But he doubted whether this plan would be satisfactory as a definitive settlement. He was considering another proposal, under which the major part of the Arab province would be attached to Trans-Jordan and the Arab portion of Galilee to Lebanon. This would make possible the establishment of an independent Jewish state, perhaps with a rather larger territory than that allocated to the Jewish province in the Colonial Secretary's plan. Jerusalem would become an international area under the United Nations, the Holy

Places/

*X or simply under God -
the Holy State of Jerusalem.*

P.S.

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PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

71

Places being controlled by a Council representing all the interested religions, and the local administration remaining in British hands. This settlement should not be put forward at the present stage, but the immediate proposals should leave the way open for its eventual adoption.

5. The Americans should be asked for political support in announcing the new policy, negotiating it with the Arabs and Jews and defending it if necessary in the United Nations; but we should not contemplate their participation in the administration of Palestine.

The Americans should also be asked for their financial support not only in the settlement of Jewish immigration but also in raising the Arab standard of living - which, under the new policy, would probably take the form of subsidising the Arab province.

The question of American military assistance would not immediately arise under the new proposals. We should, however, make it clear that, if in the end it became necessary to impose a solution by force, we were neither willing nor able to do this alone and should have to ask for active American assistance. This might be used as an argument for persuading the Americans to agree with us in putting forward a solution which had a chance of securing the agreement of the Jews and the Arabs, and in making every effort to obtain that agreement before the policy was put into effect.

10th July 1946.

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Rapport Minutes.
N.A. Dept would like to F
consider this after news Dept 72
Easter Dept have expressed their
views.

Pa/46/45

*Rogan
1117*

I feel very strongly that we should encourage friendly Jewish newspaper wherever possible. The danger is that, if the S.O.S. consents to a personal interview for publication, it establishes a precedent which will be generally appealed to by the representatives in London of rival newspapers. And it would be very embarrassing to have to resist them. I am on the whole inclined to think we must refuse at this stage to advise the S.O.S. to grant such an interview exclusively to one newspaper.

How do I think the two is appropriate for suggesting a small party of specially interested journalists to meet at the Berlin.

Would it be a sensible alternative course to ask Dickie to

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Minutes.

73

to meet in line? I hesitate to put forward this suggestion as I realise that the Parliamentary Under-secretary is probably too busy to adopt it. But it would, I think, be useful and if it would serve to keep the Jewish Daily toward on the right lines. And it would not arouse the clamour for similar treatment by other journalists that would be provoked if the S.Y.S. acceded to this request.

H. E. Nash.
11/7.

North American Dept

I agree with Mr. Nash. The Forward is the least fanatical of the American Jewish papers, and might even be positively helpful.

H. Bailey 12/7

I agree with the action suggested in the above minutes.

I agree. J. Henderson
17.7 So do I. but
Pls Secy. } for our info.
T.V. 866 } 17.7

so do I, 17.7
Please →
16.7

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SECRETARY OF STATE'S FILE

PRIME MINISTER.

Palestine.

On or about the 19th June the Arab Governments invited us to enter into negotiations with them on the subject of Palestine (a copy of the Iraqi note is attached at Annex A; the others are substantially identical). The intention of the Arab Governments appears to be to initiate negotiations for a trusteeship agreement. But they do not use the word trusteeship, and as we are not yet ready to commit ourselves as to the form of trusteeship negotiations for Palestine, it seems better to ignore this point for the time being, and to reply in more general terms.

2. A draft reply to the Arab Governments is attached at Annex B. It invites those Governments to send delegations to London for a Conference which should be timed to take place in advance of

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the United Nations General Assembly. It is contemplated that Jewish representatives would also be invited to this conference, and the United States Government could also be asked to participate if they desired to do so. *The Colonial Secretary agrees with the draft.*

3. It was originally contemplated that the draft replies to the Arab notes should be submitted to the Cabinet together with an explanatory memorandum. But the matter has now become urgent, largely because of reports appearing in the press to the effect

(a) that we plan to announce our Palestine policy in the near future, and

(b) that Dr. Weizmann will shortly be received by you.

These reports are bound to create the impression in Arab countries that we are consulting Dr. Weizmann but intend to reach a final decision before we have consulted any Arab leaders or even answered their invitation to negotiate. Since this is by no means

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our intention, it seems essential that we should make our position clear to the Arab Governments without further delay.

4. If you agree, Sir Norman Brook will at once show Mr. Harriman and Mr. Grady the text of our draft reply to the Arabs, invite their comments and ask them to find out whether the United States Government would wish to participate in the conversations. You will notice that, while our draft does not mention American participation, it is in no way inconsistent with it. It could, therefore, be sent without waiting for the Americans to make up their minds whether or not they wish to take part. It is already clear from the present talks with American officials that they accept the idea of a Conference between ourselves and the Jews and Arabs.

All mention of this orally, Monday,
can read before meeting.

(Sd.) ERNEST BEVIN

21st July 1946

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OUTWARD TELEGRAM

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Pa/46/47

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 M. D. Allen
P R I S E C

N. Harvey.

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO PARIS (EMBASSY)No. 628
24th July, 1946

D. 9.25 p.m. 24th July, 1946

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IMMEDIATEDEDIPTOP SECRET

Following for Ashley Clarke from Dixon.

We have been reviewing question of security of the Secretary of State and United Kingdom Delegation to the Peace Conference in the light of the danger of Jewish terrorist attacks. Outrage at St. David's Hotel in Jerusalem and information which has now reached us regarding Jewish terrorist preparations in France convince us that this danger cannot be disregarded.

2. In the light of this danger existing conditions at the Hotel George V are extremely unsatisfactory. We are advised that to give us minimum security it is essential that the hotel should be closed to the general public with the exception of the tenants of the apartments. This would mean evicting the members of the public from the hotel rooms which they at present occupy, closing the public dining-room, bars, dancing-rooms, barber's shop etc. We recognise that it would be physically impossible to evict tenants of the apartments, but we should require facilities for a security check on them. We should also require facilities for security check on the French domestic staff and intend to strengthen the number of the British Security guards in order to ensure that all entrances and exists to the hotel are covered. Finally, we intend to introduce a system of passes in conjunction with the French Security authorities.

3. We recognise that these requests will be extremely inconvenient to the French Government in view of the great difficulties they are experiencing in finding accommodation for the delegations to the Peace Conference. We feel sure, however, that in the light of the serious view which we take of the danger to the Secretary of State and the Delegation, they will meet us in this matter. If it would help, we should be prepared to agree that the accommodation vacated

by/

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OUTWARD TELEGRAM

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by members of the public should be offered to other visiting delegations, though we should like to have a say in the choice of those delegations.

4. Colonel Codrington, head of Conference Department, and two members of the Special Branch, Scotland Yard, are proceeding to Paris by air tomorrow morning, 25th July in order to discuss the position with the French authorities. We shall be grateful if, in the meantime, you will prepare the way in the highest quarters and if possible arrange for Colonel Codrington and his assistants to see the competent official at the Quai d'Orsay in company with yourself.

O.T.P.

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OUTWARD TELEGRAM

[CYPHER]

Pa/46/48
S R I S E C

L.O.S. 79

Howe

Easter

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO WASHINGTON

No. 7569.

26th July 1946.

D. 1.10 p.m. 26th July 1946.

YYYYYY

IMMEDIATEDEDEIPPERSONAL AND TOP SECRET

Following sent by Prime Minister to President telegram of 25th July 1946.

[Begins]:

The conversations between American and British officials on Palestine and related problems are now almost concluded and agreement has been reached on all matters of substance. I understand that their recommendations have been telegraphed to you.

2. I am sure you will agree that the inhuman crime committed in Jerusalem on 22nd July calls for the strongest action against terrorism but having regard to the sufferings of innocent Jewish victims of Nazism this should not deter us from introducing a policy designed to bring peace to Palestine with the least possible delay. I hope therefore that you will be able to give urgent attention to the agreed recommendations of the two Delegations and to let us have your views in the next few days.

3. I have had some useful talks with Ambassador Grady and his colleagues, and I should like you to know that the British officials have paid a warm tribute to their energy and co-operative spirit in the discussions here.

O.T.P.

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G.R.

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FOREIGN SECRETARY

PALESTINE

Pa/46/49

..... I attach copy of ~~the~~ minute which I have submitted to the Prime Minister about the form of a public announcement of the new policy for Palestine.

Forman Brook.

26th July, 1946

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PRIME MINISTERPALESTINE

At Thursday's Cabinet it was agreed that we should aim at a simultaneous announcement of the new policy, in London and Washington, in identical terms - preferably on 31st July.

I explained this to the United States Delegation, who were in full agreement; and we have together drawn up a draft of a public announcement.

A copy of this draft, in the form in which we have agreed it with the Americans today, is attached.

This is drawn in a form suitable for use both by yourself and by President Truman. It is our understanding with the Americans that you should both use this language in describing the scheme - though what is said before and after the agreed statement is, of course, a matter for your discretion. Thus, you will probably wish to make some reference to the generosity of the United States Government - and this could not be included in the attached statement as it would obviously be unsuitable for use by the President.

The United States Delegation will telegraph this text to Washington tomorrow recommending that the President should make the announcement, at the agreed time, in these terms. All this, of course, is on the assumption that the United States Government endorse the statement of policy in which their Delegation have concurred.

I am sending copies of this minute and its enclosures to the Foreign Secretary and the Colonial Secretary.

25th July, 1946.

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*S/S Foreign Affairs**82*TOP SECRETCOPY NO. 49

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THIS DOCUMENT

PALESTINEDraft Public Announcement

1. Representatives of His Majesty's Government and the Government of the United States have completed their examination of the recommendations made in the Report of the Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry on the problems of European Jewry and Palestine. The results of these consultations have now been reported to the two Governments; and I am glad to be able to announce today that our two Governments have reached full and entire accord on the policy which they will put forward on all the matters covered by the Report of the Anglo-American Committee. In the following statement I will explain, in broad outline, the main features of that policy. President Truman is today making a similar statement in Washington on behalf of the United States Government.

2. The events of recent years, after Hitler's rise to power, have given a special emphasis to the character of the Jewish National Home as a sanctuary for those who could reach it from among the tragically few survivors of European Jewry. It is the pressure of immigration from Europe that has so

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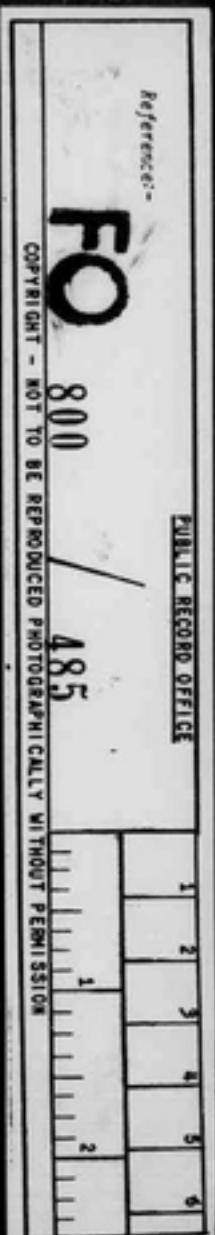
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intensified the difficulties of the Palestine problem. The Anglo-American Committee therefore began their enquiry with an examination of the position of the Jews in Europe. They recognised that Palestine alone cannot meet the immigration needs of the Jewish victims of Nazi and Fascist persecution and recommended that our two Governments, in association with other countries - for the whole world shares the responsibility - should endeavour immediately to find new homes for all displaced persons irrespective of creed or nationality.

3. Our Governments have agreed on means of making an immediate contribution to the solution of this problem. First, they will seek to create conditions favourable to the resettlement of a substantial number of displaced persons in Europe itself, since, as the Committee recognise, the overwhelming majority will continue to live in Europe. In the British and American Zones of Germany and Austria we are doing our utmost to assist resettlement and to eradicate anti-Semitism. In Italy and the ex-enemy satellite states the authorities will be required by the Peace Treaties to secure to all persons under their jurisdiction human rights and the fundamental freedoms. Elsewhere in Europe we shall support the efforts of the United Nations to ensure the protection of those rights and freedoms. Further, by assisting to re-establish political and economic stability in Europe, our Governments will continue to contribute to the restoration of those basic conditions which will make possible the re-integration in Europe of a substantial number of displaced persons, including Jews.



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4. But when all that is possible has been done in Europe, it is clear that new homes must be found overseas for many whose ties with their former communities have been irreparably broken. Our two Governments will support the following proposals designed to promote this movement. First, we shall continue to press for the establishment of an International Refugee Organisation designed to deal effectively with the problem of refugees and displaced persons as a whole. Secondly, we shall give strong support at the forthcoming General Assembly of the United Nations to an appeal calling on all Member Governments to receive in territories under their control a proportion of the displaced persons in Europe, including Jews. His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have already given a lead in this matter by accepting a commitment to promote the resettlement of about 235,000 Polish troops and civilians and their dependants. This is, of course, in addition to refugees admitted during the period of Nazi persecution of whom some 70,000 Jews remain in the United Kingdom. The United States, where 275,000 refugees (including 180,000 Jews) have permanently resettled in the same period, are now resuming normal immigration and expect to receive some 53,000 immigrants each year from the European countries from which the displaced persons are drawn. As a further contribution Congress will be asked to approve special legislation for the entry into the United States of an additional 50,000 displaced persons, including Jews. His Majesty's Governments in the Dominions have been informed of the action being taken by the Governments of the United States

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and the United Kingdom and have been urged to support the appeal to Member Governments of the United Nations and to receive a number of displaced persons in the territories under their control. Finally, pending the establishment of an International Refugee Organisation, our two Governments will continue to promote the resettlement of refugees and displaced persons through the agency of the Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees. Plans are in preparation in co-operation with the nations concerned, for resettling large numbers of displaced persons in Brazil and other South American countries.

5. I shall refer later to our policy as regards immigration into Palestine. Meanwhile, it will be seen from what I have said, that while dealing with the question of Jewish immigration into Palestine, we have not overlooked the broader aspects of the refugee and displaced persons problem. We have considered how we might contribute to the restoration of conditions in Europe permitting the reintegration there of as many displaced persons, including Jews, as may wish to remain. The ability and talent of Jews and others is needed for the difficult tasks of reconstruction that lie ahead. At the same time, we are taking urgent and practical steps to ensure that other countries as well as Palestine will contribute to the resettlement of those displaced persons, including Jews, who must look elsewhere than to Europe for their permanent homes.

6. In formulating a new policy for Palestine, our two Governments have accepted as a basis the principles laid down in the third Recommendation of the Anglo-American Committee,

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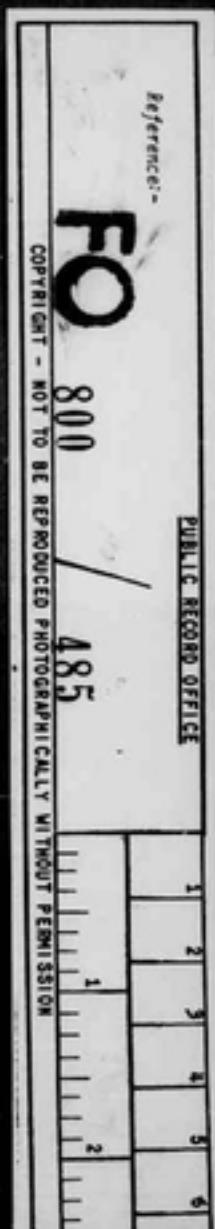
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that Palestine as a whole can be neither a Jewish nor an Arab State, that neither of the two communities in Palestine should dominate the other, and that the form of government should be such as to safeguard the interests in the Holy Land of both Christendom and the Moslem and Jewish faiths. These principles should be embodied in any instrument of Government.

7. The political aspirations of the two communities in Palestine are irreconcilable. The conflict which these aspirations have provoked is so bitter that there is little hope of securing within any reasonable period that measure of co-operation between Arab and Jew which would make possible the establishment in Palestine of a unitary system of government, consistent with these basic principles, in which each people played its part. The only chance of peace, and of immediate advance towards self-governing institutions, appears to lie in so framing the constitution of the country as to give to each the greatest practicable measure of power to manage its own affairs. We believe that in present circumstances this can best be secured by the establishment of Arab and Jewish Provinces which will enjoy a large measure of autonomy under a Central Government.

8. It is our proposal that for this purpose Palestine shall be divided into four areas, an Arab Province, a Jewish Province, a District of Jerusalem and a District of the Negeb. The Jewish Province will include the great bulk of the land on which Jews have already settled and a considerable area between and around the settlements. The Jerusalem District will include Jerusalem, Bethlehem and their immediate

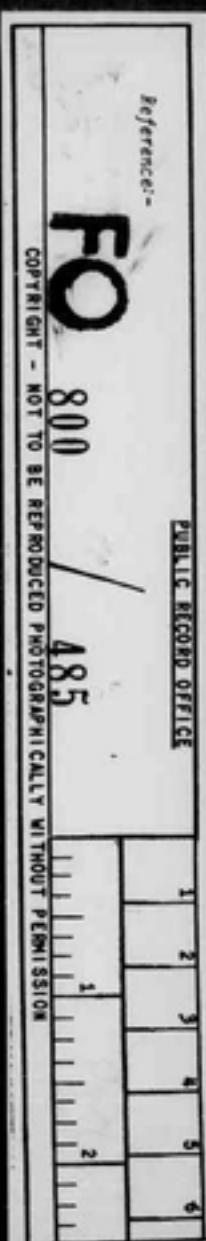


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environs. The Negeb District will consist of the uninhabited triangle of waste land in the south of Palestine beyond the present limits of cultivation. The Arab Province will include the remainder of Palestine; it will be almost wholly Arab in respect both of land and of population.

9. The Provincial boundaries will be purely administrative boundaries, defining the area within which a local legislature will be empowered to legislate on certain subjects and a local executive to administer its laws. They will have no significance as regards defence, customs or communications. But in order to give finality the boundaries, once fixed, will not be susceptible of change except by agreement between the two Provinces. A provision to this effect will be embodied in any trusteeship agreement and in the instrument bringing the plan into operation.

10. The Provincial Governments will have power of legislation and administration within their areas with regard to a wide range of subjects of primarily provincial concern. They will also have power to limit the number and determine the qualifications of persons who may take up permanent residence in their territories after the introduction of the plan. The Provincial Governments will be required by the Instrument of Government which establishes the fundamental law to provide for the guarantee of civil rights and equality before the law of all residents and for the freedom of inter-territorial transit, trade and commerce. The Provincial Governments will have the necessary power to raise money for the purpose of carrying out their functions.



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11. There will be reserved to the Central Government exclusive authority as to defence, foreign relations, customs and excise. In addition there will be reserved initially to the Central Government exclusive authority as to the administration of law and order (including the police and courts) and a limited number of subjects of all-Palestine importance. The Central Government will have all powers not expressly granted to the Provinces by the Instrument of Government.

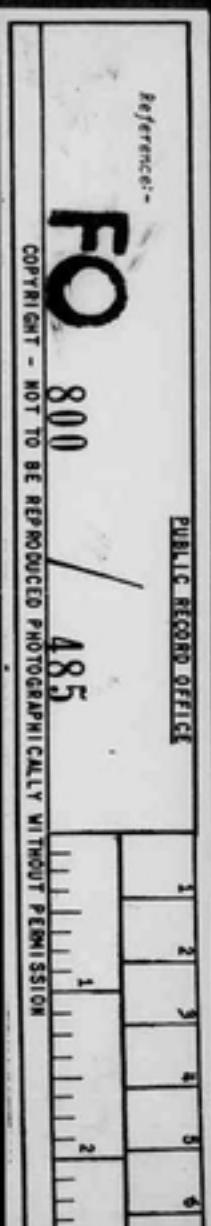
12. An elected Legislative Chamber will be established in each Province.

An Executive consisting of a Chief Minister and a Council of Ministers will be appointed in each Province by the High Commissioner from among the members of the Legislative Chamber after consultation with its leaders.

Bills passed by the Legislative Chambers will require the assent of the High Commissioner. This, however, will not be withheld unless the Bill is inconsistent with the Instrument of Government, whose provisions will afford safeguards for the peace of Palestine and for the rights of minorities.

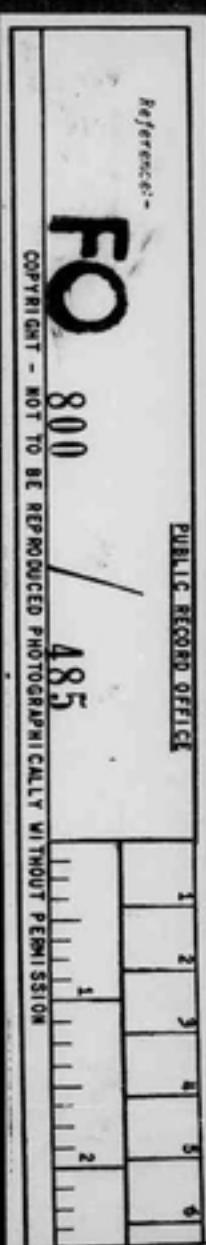
It will also be necessary to reserve to the High Commissioner an emergency power to intervene if a Provincial Government fails to perform, or exceeds, its proper functions.

13. The executive and legislative functions of the Central Government will initially be exercised by the High Commissioner, assisted by a nominated Executive Council. Certain of the departments of the Central Government will be headed, as soon as the High Commissioner deems practicable, by Palestinians.



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14. The High Commissioner will establish a Development Planning Board and a Tariff Board composed of representatives of the Central Government and of each Province.
15. In the Jerusalem District a council will be established with powers similar to those of a municipal council. The majority of its members will be elected, but certain members will be nominated by the High Commissioner.
16. The Negev District will be administered for the time being by the Central Government.
17. This plan for provincial autonomy will greatly simplify the problem of Jewish immigration into Palestine. Though final control over immigration will continue to rest with the Central Government, this control will be exercised on the basis of recommendations made by the Provincial Governments. So long as the economic absorptive capacity of the Province is not exceeded, the Central Government will authorise the immigration desired by the Provincial Government. It will have no power to authorise immigration in excess of any limitations proposed by the Provincial Governments. Thus, though the Government of the Arab Province will have full power to exclude Jewish immigrants from its Province, the Jewish Province will normally be able to admit as many immigrants as its Government desires.
18. As part of this plan it will become possible to accept the recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee for the immediate admission of 100,000 Jewish immigrants into Palestine and for continuing immigration thereafter. A plan has been prepared for the movement of 100,000 Jews from Europe to Palestine, and this plan will be set in motion as soon as it is decided to put into effect the constitutional proposals already described. The immigration certificates



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will be issued as rapidly as possible and every effort will be made to complete the operation within twelve months of the date on which the emigration begins. The immigrants will be selected primarily from Jews in Germany, Austria and Italy; and priority will be given to those who have already spent some time in assembly centres in those countries and to others who, though no longer in those centres, were liberated in Germany and Austria. Within those groups, priority will be given to building craftsmen and agricultural workers, young children, the infirm and the aged. The bulk of the 100,000 will be drawn from Germany, Austria and Italy; and any certificates available for the Jews in other countries of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe will be issued only to orphan children. Shipment will proceed at the maximum rate consistent with the clearance of the transit camps in Palestine, in which the immigrants will be temporarily accommodated until they can be absorbed.

19. The United States Government will undertake sole responsibility for the sea transportation of these Jewish refugees from Europe to Palestine. They will provide the ships and will defray the whole cost of sea transportation. They will also provide food for the immigrants for the first two months after their arrival in Palestine.

20. The cost of transferring and settling this number of persons in Palestine will be considerable. The Jewish organisations have accepted financial responsibility and we see no reason why the required finance should not be found from reparations, from contributions by world Jewry and from loans.



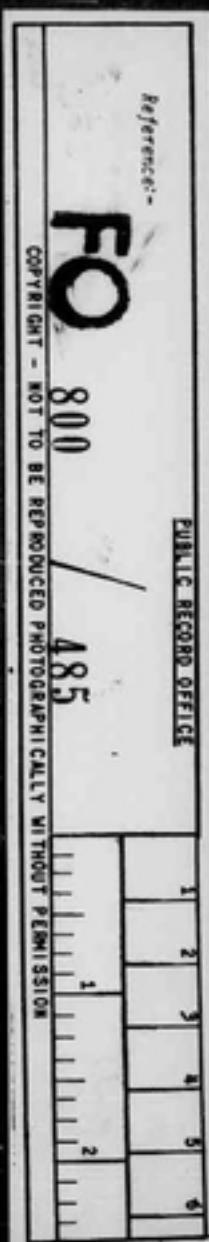
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21. Our two Governments accept the recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee for improving the economic and social conditions of the Arabs in Palestine. The programme will include the provision of a health service comparable to that already available to the Jews, an expansion of educational facilities, the provision of cheap credit for the Arab cultivators and other measures designed to increase the productivity of the land, the promotion of the co-operative movement, the development of light industries and improvements in both rural and urban living conditions.

22. For some years the implementation of these and other plans for the improvement of economic opportunities and living standards in Palestine will impose heavy capital costs not eligible for loans and will constitute a severe strain on the finances of Palestine. The setting up of the Provincial system will also entail a deficit in the budget of the Arab Province which will have to be met by a Central Government subvention. Further financial aid for Palestine will be required if the plan as a whole is to be carried out.

To meet this situation the United States Congress will be asked to grant \$50 million to the Government of Palestine to be used principally for financing Arab development projects not suitable for self-liquidating loans, and for assisting in the meeting of extraordinary expenditure during the transitional period.

For their part His Majesty's Government propose to ask Parliament to take ultimate responsibility for meeting Palestine's annual budgetary deficit up to the time when increased revenues make this unnecessary.

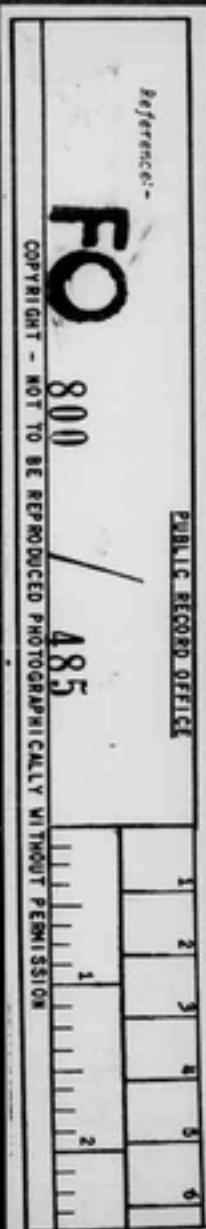


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23. Our Governments believe that the need for economic development in Palestine should be considered against the background of the Middle East as a whole. They have assisted and welcomed the attainment of independence and full political equality by the States of that region. We understand that the Governments represented in the Arab League are now examining the possibilities of economic development in their countries. If any of those States find difficulty in obtaining international loans for this purpose, Congress will be asked to authorise development loans up to a total of 250 million dollars. These loans would be made through an appropriate agency for the development of the Middle East region, including Palestine.

24. Most large-scale development from which Palestine could benefit should be undertaken in co-operation at least with Transjordan and probably with Syria and Lebanon. The two Governments propose that, subject to the consent of the Government of Transjordan, the common water resources of both Palestine and Transjordan should be surveyed as soon as possible by consulting engineers acting on their behalf.

25. The difficulties of introducing a new policy on these lines will be greatly enhanced so long as there exist in Palestine armed organisations determined in the last resort to oppose by force any solution which is not to their liking. As the Anglo-American Committee declared, private armies constitute a danger to the peace of the world and ought not to exist. Armed organisations which are not prepared to submit themselves to the full control of the Palestine Government should be dissolved and the illegal



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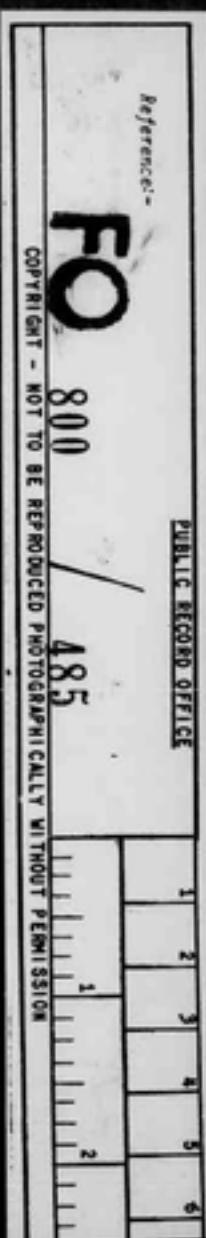
holding of arms and explosives should be vigorously combated.

26. While determined resolutely to suppress violence in Palestine, the Government of the United Kingdom will, at the same time, make every effort to obtain the co-operation of both Arabs and Jews in the proposed new policy for Palestine. They have therefore invited the States members of the Arab League to send delegates to a conference at which these proposals will be put forward as the basis for discussion. Representatives of the Jews and representatives of the Palestine Arabs are also being invited to participate in this conference, which it is hoped to convene in August.

Finally, it is proposed that the new policy shall as soon as possible be embodied in a Trusteeship agreement for Palestine; and the opportunities for petition provided by the United Nations Charter would thus be available to both peoples of Palestine.

27. Our Governments believe that these proposals offer many advantages to both communities in Palestine. The Jews will be free to exercise a large measure of control over immigration into their own Province and to forward there the development of the Jewish National Home. The Land Transfers Regulations will be repealed. It will be open to the Government of the Arab Province to permit or to refuse permission to Jews to purchase land there, but the area of the Jewish Province will be much larger than that in which Jews are free to buy land at present.

The Arabs will gain in that the great majority of them will be freed, once and for all, from any fear of Jewish domination. The citizens of the Arab Province will achieve



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at once a large measure of autonomy, and powerful safeguards will be provided to protect the rights of the Arab minority left in the Jewish Province. Moreover, the grant of external assistance to promote the social and economic advancement of the Arab Province is an integral feature of the whole plan.

To both communities the plan offers a prospect of development towards self-government of which there would be little hope in a unitary Palestine.

28. In the long term, the plan leaves the way open for peaceful progress and constitutional development either towards partition or towards federal unity. The association of representatives of the two Provinces in the administration of central subjects may lead ultimately to a fully developed federal constitution. On the other hand, if the centrifugal forces prove too strong, the way is open towards partition. Our proposals do not prejudge this issue either way.

Our two Governments believe that this plan provides as fair and reasonable a compromise between the claims of Arab and Jew as it is possible to devise and that it offers the best prospect of reconciling the conflicting interests of the two communities.

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PALESTINE.

STATEMENT OF POLICY.

1. The British and United States Delegations have now examined as a whole the recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry and have arrived at a common viewpoint on the broad principles of a policy for carrying out these recommendations. The following summary of these general principles is submitted for consideration by the two Governments.

DISPLACED PERSONS AND THE POSITION OF EUROPEAN JEWS.

2. There are two aspects to this problem—(i) re-settlement in Europe, and (ii) emigration to countries outside Europe.

The Anglo-American Committee recognised that the overwhelming majority of displaced persons, including a considerable number of Jews, will continue to live in Europe. One of our objectives should, therefore, be to create conditions favourable to the re-settlement of a substantial number of displaced persons in Europe.

3. The only areas in Europe in which our two Governments can directly control these conditions are the British and United States Zones of Germany and Austria. In these areas, they are prepared to assist native Jews to resettle once more in German and Austrian communities. All available means are being used to eradicate anti-semitism. Concentration camp survivors receive special treatment as to rations, financial assistance, housing and employment. Moreover, both American and British authorities are pressing for an early decision on plans, at present under quadripartite examination, for the restitution of property confiscated by the Nazis. We recommend that all further practicable steps should be taken to make possible the resettlement of displaced persons in those zones.

4. Italy and the four ex-enemy satellite States will be required by the peace treaties to secure to all persons under their jurisdiction human rights and the fundamental freedoms, and it may be hoped that this will promote in these countries conditions favourable to the resettlement of displaced persons.

5. Elsewhere in Europe our two Governments must rely on action through the United Nations to give practical effect to the provisions on human rights in the Charter. They should support the establishment of a Commission for Human Rights, and also such measures of implementation as the United Nations may adopt to ensure the protection of these rights, to the fullest extent practicable. Through their support of the efforts of the United Nations to re-establish political and economic stability in Europe, our Governments will continue to contribute to the restoration of those basic conditions which will make possible the reintegration in Europe of a substantial number of displaced persons, including Jews.

6. Though substantial numbers of displaced persons may be resettled in Europe, new homes must be found elsewhere for many of those, including Jews, whose ties with their former communities have been irreparably broken. As the Anglo-American Committee pointed out, Palestine alone cannot provide for the emigration needs of all Jewish victims of Nazi and Fascist persecution. The two Governments should therefore proceed at once with measures designed to aid the resettlement elsewhere of other Jews and displaced persons. These will include the following :—

- (a) Continuing support, through the United Nations, for the establishment of the International Refugee Organization which will be capable of dealing effectively with the problem of refugees and displaced persons as a whole.

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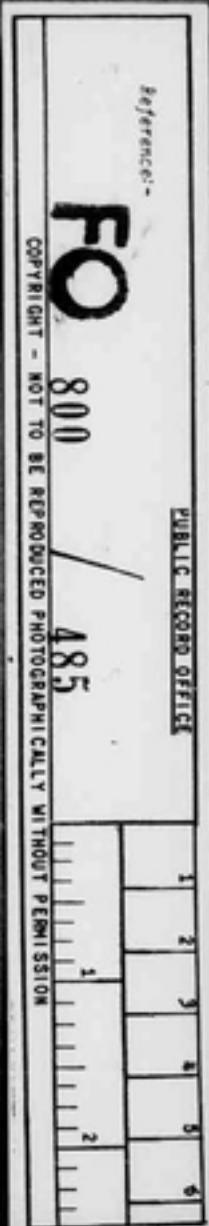
- (b) Strong support for the appeal to be made at the forthcoming General Assembly of the United Nations calling on all member Governments to receive in territories under their control a proportion of the displaced persons in Europe, including Jews. In doing so, it should be emphasised that the United Kingdom Government has already accepted a commitment to promote the resettlement of about 235,000 Polish troops and civilians and their dependants. In addition, a large proportion of the refugees admitted during the period of Nazi persecution have remained in the United Kingdom. Of these, approximately 70,000 are Jews. With respect to the United States, 275,000 refugees have been permanently resettled there, including 180,000 Jews. On resumption of the normal flow of immigration to the United States some 53,000 quota and non-quota immigrants from those European countries from which the displaced persons are drawn will be able to enter as permanent residents every year. It may be assumed that in the fiscal year ending the 30th June, 1947, the large majority of these immigrants will be Jews and other displaced persons. The President of the United States is prepared to seek the approval of Congress for special legislation for the entry into the United States of 50,000 displaced persons, including Jews.
- (c) Simultaneous, though separate, approaches to the Governments of the British Dominions, who should be informed of the action taken and proposed, and should be invited to support the appeal to member Governments of the United Nations and to receive a number of displaced persons in territories under their control. Both Governments, in their approach, would emphasise the weight of the influence which could be exerted by the example of action by the Dominions, the United Kingdom and the United States, in inducing other United Nations to correspondingly liberal action. The United Kingdom Government would further stress the relations between the settlement of displaced persons and the problem of Jewish immigration into Palestine. The United States Government would indicate that the arrangements it could undertake for an emergency quota would be favourably influenced if assurances had been given that a number of displaced persons would be resettled in the British Commonwealth.
- (d) Continued active support to the Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees and, through it, to the resettlement of as many refugees and displaced persons as practicable. Active consideration is already being given to a promising proposal for the transfer of displaced persons to Brazil. The number to be resettled there is estimated at 200,000 or more. Similar proposals relating to other South American countries are also being explored.

7. We recommend that, simultaneously with the announcement of the new policy for Palestine, our two Governments should make a statement on the lines indicated in paragraphs 2-6 above. Arab opposition to the admission of 100,000 Jews to Palestine will be much stronger if this movement begins before any indication has been given that steps are being taken to promote the resettlement of Jews and other displaced persons in Europe and to secure that other countries receive a share of those for whose emigration provision must be made.

PALESTINE.

8. We accept the principles laid down in Recommendation 3 of the Report of the Anglo-American Committee, that Palestine as a whole can be neither a Jewish nor an Arab State, that neither of the two communities in Palestine should dominate the other, and that the form of government should be such as to safeguard the interests in the Holy Land of the three great monotheistic religions. We recommend that any form of government adopted should be based on these principles. We also endorse the ultimate objective, set forth in the Report, of securing self-government for the inhabitants.

The various alternatives to proceeding with the implementation of the recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee have been considered. It is our view that some alteration in the present governmental situation in Palestine has to be made and made speedily. To attempt to continue the present situation would involve the imposition of a policy by the exertion of military force and against the resistance of either or both of the two peoples of Palestine.



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In the present situation in Palestine the imposition of a system of government by external authority could only be avoided either (a) by the termination of the Mandate and withdrawal of British troops, which would lead to such internecine warfare by the Jews and Arabs as to make such a course unthinkable, or (b) by agreement among the Jews and Arabs themselves, of which there seems to be no present prospect.

Since some degree of compulsion will probably have to be employed it should be employed in setting in motion a system of government based on Recommendation 3. The degree of such compulsion may be minimised and perhaps even acquiescence secured by wise and practical implementation of that Recommendation.

The crux of the governmental problem in Palestine is to find a constitutional system which, while observing the principles of Recommendation 3, will best make possible progress towards self-government. The Report puts forward no detailed suggestions for this purpose and our main task has therefore been to devise a method for its attainment.

We have considered an Instrument of Government on unitary bi-national lines based on parity between the two peoples in its legislative and executive functions, with provision for emergency action by the Administering Authority in the event of absence of willingness on the part of the two peoples to participate in the functioning of such a plan, or in the event of a deadlock in such governmental machinery.

In view, however, of the expressed reaction of the two peoples to the Report of the Anglo-American Committee, we believe that the following plan is more practicable and that effect could be given to it with less difficulty.

Plan for Provincial Autonomy.

9. *Territorial Areas.*—The plan envisages the division of Palestine into four areas: an Arab Province, a Jewish Province, a District of Jerusalem and a District of the Negev. The Jewish Province will include eastern Galilee, most of the Plains of Esdraelon and Jezreel, the Beisan area, Haifa, the Plain of Sharon (excluding the town of Jaffa) and a portion of the southern coastal plain. The Jerusalem District will include Jerusalem, Bethlehem and their immediate environs. The Negev District will consist of the uninhabited triangle of waste land in the south of Palestine beyond the present limit of cultivation. The Arab Province will include the remainder of Palestine.

The population of these areas will be approximately as follows:—

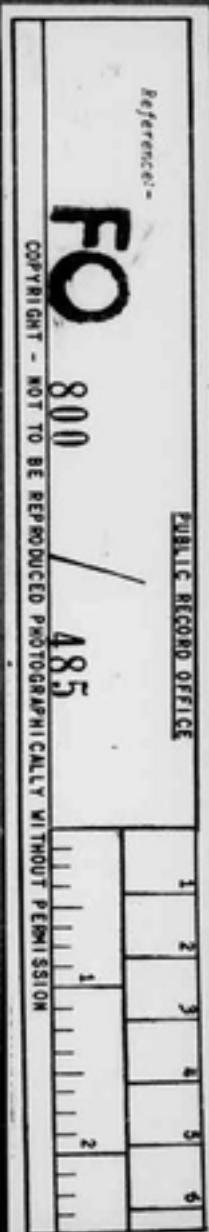
	Arabs.	Jews.
Arab Province	815,000	15,000
Jewish Province	301,000	451,000
Jerusalem District	96,000	102,000
Negev District	—	—

The Provincial boundaries will be purely administrative boundaries, defining the area within which a local legislature is empowered to legislate on certain subjects and a local executive to administer its laws. They will in no sense be frontiers and they will consequently have no significance as regards defence, customs or communications. In our view, however, it is of great importance to make it clear that, once settled, these boundaries will not be susceptible of change except by agreement between the two Provinces. We recommend that a provision to this effect be embodied in any Trusteeship agreement and in any instrument bringing the plan into operation. The details of the boundaries proposed are shown in the map reproduced in Appendix A.

10. *Division of Powers.*—The Provincial Governments will have power of legislation and administration within their provincial areas with regard to municipal and village administration, agriculture, fisheries, forests, land registration, land sales, land settlement, land purchase and expropriation, education, public health and other social services, trade and industry, and local roads, irrigation, development and public works. They will also have power to limit the number and determine the qualifications of persons who may take up permanent residence in their territories after the date of the introduction of the plan. The Provincial Governments will be required by the Instrument of Government which establishes the fundamental law to provide for the guarantee of civil rights and equality before the law for all residents. They shall not, in their legislation or administration, impose obstacles to free inter-territorial transit, trade or commerce.

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For the purpose of carrying out these functions the Provincial Governments will have power to appropriate funds, to levy taxes, excluding customs and excise duties, to borrow within the Province, and, with the consent of the Central Government, to borrow abroad.

Control of foreign exchange and currency shall, for the time being, be a function of the Central Government. The Central Government shall also for the time being be responsible for the licensing of imports. It shall allocate licences equitably between the two Provinces after consultation with their representatives. Within two years of the introduction of the provincial autonomy plan (unless a later date is agreed to by the Provinces and the Central Government) a broad allocation of the value of import licences between the two Provinces shall be made from time to time by the Central Government, in consultation with the Provinces. Thereafter the Provinces shall have the right to obtain for their residents licences up to the amount of the allocation and to decide to what classes of goods such licences shall be allocated. At a date not later than the 31st December, 1946, import licensing shall be on a non-discriminatory basis as between sources of supply.

If Palestine becomes a member of the United Nations or any specialised agencies thereof (including the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank, or the proposed International Trade Organisation) the Provincial Governments must deal with all relevant matters within their jurisdiction in a manner consistent with the obligations of Palestine as a member of these bodies.

There will be reserved to the Central Government exclusive authority as to defence, foreign relations, customs and excise. In addition, there will be reserved initially to the Central Government exclusive authority as to police, prisons, courts, railway facilities and Haifa harbour, posts and telegraphs, civil aviation, broadcasting and antiquities, though certain of these powers will be transferred in whole or in part to the Provincial Governments as soon as it becomes practicable. The Central Government will, in addition, have power to borrow money, to make financial grants to the Provinces, to provide for inter-territorial and international irrigation and development projects, to facilitate inter-territorial and international trade and commerce and communications and to provide for arterial highways. It will be empowered to examine and verify municipal and provincial accounts, to prescribe suitable and uniform methods of accounting, to prescribe the uses of any funds granted by it to the Provinces, and to examine proposed budgets of provincial expenditures, and to make recommendations with respect to them.

Immigration will be administered by the Central Government. So far as the Provinces are concerned, the Central Government will authorise the immigration desired by the respective Provincial Governments, to the extent to which the economic absorptive capacity of the Province will not thereby be exceeded. It shall not have power to authorise immigration into either Province in excess of any limitations imposed by the Provincial Government.

All powers not expressly granted to the Provincial Governments will be reserved to the Central Government.

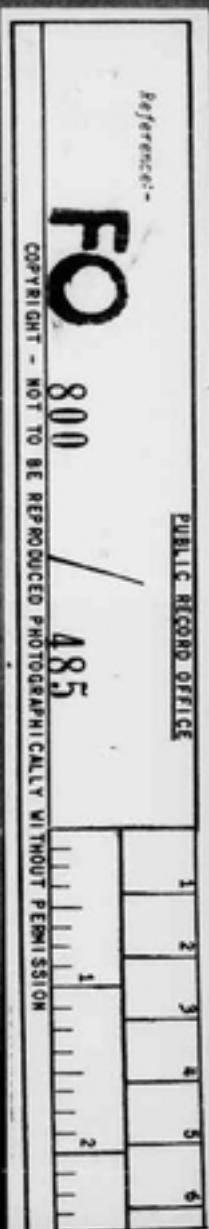
11. Provincial Governments.—An elected Legislative Chamber will be established in each Province. During the first five years of the plan the presiding officers of those Chambers will be appointed by the High Commissioner. Thereafter they will be elected by the Chambers from among their members. Bills passed by these Legislative Chambers will become law only after they have received the assent of the High Commissioner, representing the Administering Authority, but assent will be denied only if such Bills are inconsistent with the Instrument of Government.

A provincial legislature may provide that any residents of the Jerusalem District designated by it may be represented in the provincial legislature if they so desire.

An Executive consisting of a Chief Minister and a Council of Ministers will be appointed in each Province by the High Commissioner from among the members of the Legislative Chamber, after consultation with its leaders.

If a Provincial Government fails to perform a proper governmental function or exceeds its proper function, the High Commissioner will have authority to exercise emergency powers within the Province for the performance of that function or to prevent such excess.

12. The Central Government.—The executive and legislative functions of the Central Government will initially be exercised by a High Commissioner appointed by the Administering Authority. He will be assisted by a nominated



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Executive Council composed of the heads of the major executive departments. Certain of these departments will be headed, as soon as the High Commissioner deems practicable, by Palestinians.

A Development Planning Board will be established by the High Commissioner comprising the heads of the appropriate central executive departments and representatives of each of the Provinces. This Board will initiate plans for the general economic development of Palestine and will supervise the implementation of such plans. A Tariff Board will also be established on similar lines to advise on customs and excise policy and on the rates of duty to be imposed.

13. *The Jerusalem District.*—In the Jerusalem District there will be established a council with powers similar to those of a municipal council. The majority of its members will be elected, but there will be certain members designated by the High Commissioner.

The Central Government in respect of the Jerusalem District will have the same powers to limit the number and determine the qualifications of persons who may take up permanent residence in that District as are conferred on Provincial Governments in respect of their Provinces.

Powers not delegated to the District Council will be exercised in the Jerusalem District by the Central Government.

14. *The Negev District.*—The Negev District will be held under direct administration by the Central Government pending a survey of its development possibilities. Within five years and upon the completion of this survey, the Administering Authority shall submit to the appropriate organ of the United Nations recommendations, arrived at after consultation with the Arab and Jewish Provinces, concerning the disposition of the area.

15. *Considerations in the Adoption of the Provincial Plan.*—The following are the main advantages of the plan for provincial autonomy:—

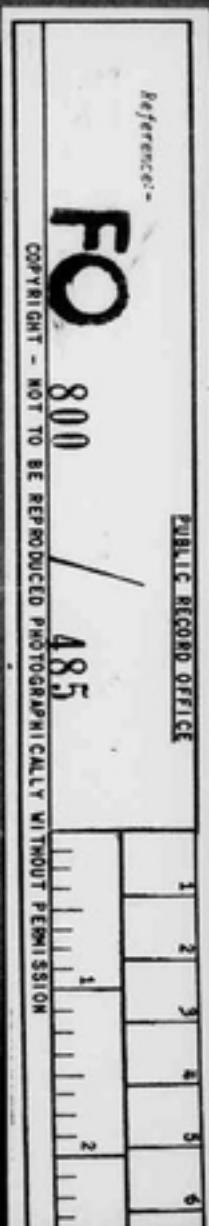
The plan offers to the Jews an opportunity to exercise a wide measure of control over immigration into one part of Palestine and to forward in the Jewish Province the development of the Jewish National Home. At the same time it offers to the majority of the Arabs of Palestine their own political institutions in an Arab Province and freedom from the fear of further Jewish immigration into that Province without their consent. It makes it possible to give practical effect to the principles of government enunciated in Recommendation 3 of the Anglo-American Committee; and it offers a prospect of development towards self-government of which there is less hope in a unitary Palestine. It provides a means of segregating Jew and Arab to an extent which should substantially reduce the risk of a continuation of widespread violence and disorder in Palestine.

In the long term, the plan leaves the way open for constitutional development either towards partition or towards federal unity. The association of representatives of the two Provinces in the administration of central subjects may lead ultimately to a fully developed federal constitution. On the contrary, if the centrifugal forces prove too strong, the way is open towards partition. The provincial plan does not prejudge this issue either way. The Administering Authority will be prepared to hand over the government to the people of the country as soon as the two communities express a common desire to that end and present an agreed scheme which will ensure its stable administration.

In arriving at the provincial autonomy plan, as preferable on grounds of practicability to the unitary bi-national plan, we are not unmindful of the fact that there are inherent in it certain difficulties:—

(a) The plan calls for immediate decision on the highly controversial matter of the boundaries of the respective provinces. It is one on which feelings on both sides are apt to run high.

(b) The Jewish and Arab populations are so interlaced in the area out of which a Jewish Province would have to be created that a very serious minority problem would arise in that province which would not be involved in the proposed Arab Province. The argument may be made by the Arabs that if it is proper to submit such a large segment of the Arab population to a majority rule by the Jews in the Jewish Province those same considerations would support their own contention that a Palestinian State be set up in which there would be a majority of the Arabs and a minority of the Jews. Under the proposed system, however, there would be effective protection for the Arab minority in the Jewish Province.



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(c) The proposed boundaries are such that the land and other economic resources in the Jewish area are superior to those in the Arab area. The Jewish area would be well able to support the requisite governmental services of the Provincial Government. The Arab area would not now be able to support even the present level of services, much less the improved services which the recommendations of the Anglo-American Report urge as necessary to raise the Arab standard of living. This difficulty is met by the general power given to the Central Government to make grants to provinces and by the specific provisions in a later paragraph for meeting the anticipated deficiencies in the budget of the Arab Province during the earlier years of the autonomy plan.

After considering the foregoing difficulties, we feel that the provincial autonomy plan is the preferable one for meeting Recommendation 3.

15A. *Further Details of Provincial Autonomy Plan.*—The United States Delegation have submitted a preliminary draft for the heads of an instrument of government to give effect to this Plan. This draft, which is reproduced in Appendix B, gives some further details of the constitution proposed. The draft has not been examined by the two Delegations jointly; but it is a valuable contribution which will serve as a basis for further work on the preparation of the draft constitution.

Holy Places.

16. It will be the duty of the Central Government to safeguard the Moslem, Jewish, and Christian Holy Places. An inter-denominational Council will be set up to advise the Central Government on all matters relating to the Christian Holy Places.

Land Policy.

17. In putting the provincial autonomy plan into effect the Administering Authority will rescind the Land Transfers Regulations of 1940. The prohibition or frustration of provisions in leases stipulating that only members of one race, community or creed may be employed on or in connection with the land leased will be a matter for action by the provincial authorities.

Immigration.

18. Under the provincial autonomy plan immigration will be administered by the Central Government separately for the Arab Province, the Jewish Province, and the Jerusalem and Negev Districts. In effect, immigration into the Provinces will be regulated by the provincial Governments, subject only to the power of the Central Government, which may impose limitations upon immigration in accordance with the economic absorptive capacity of either Province. These provisions will probably mean the complete exclusion of Jewish immigrants from the Arab Province, but will result, under ordinary circumstances, in immigration into the Jewish Province on whatever scale is desired by its Government. The grounds on which the Central Government could curtail the immigration quotas proposed by the Provinces will be defined in the Instrument of Government and in any trusteeship agreement or other instrument approved by the United Nations. The provincial authorities will, therefore, be able to appeal to the United Nations against any decision in respect of immigration which they consider to be in contravention of the terms of such instruments.

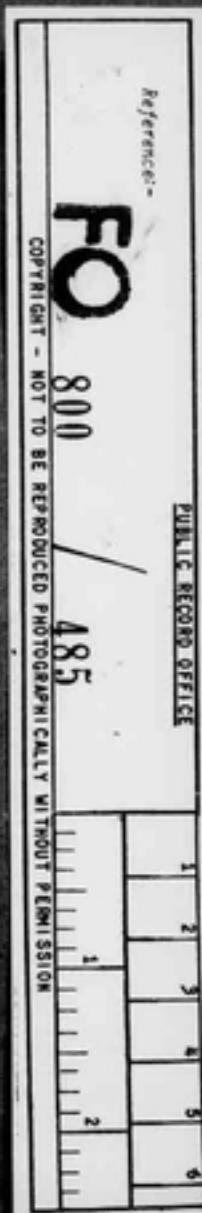
On the assumption that our proposals for provincial autonomy are adopted as the policy of our two Governments, we recommend the acceptance of Recommendations 2 and 6 of the Anglo-American Committee.

19. We have considered the memorandum embodying the results of the preliminary discussions held in London from the 17th to 27th June on Recommendation 2 of the Anglo-American Report, and we endorse the Outline Plan for the movement of 100,000 Jews to Palestine.

A summary of this Plan, revised to take account of our conclusions on the questions of policy then left outstanding and to incorporate certain later information, is contained in Appendix C.

We recommend that this plan be initiated immediately it is decided to put the constitutional proposals into effect.

We recommend that every effort should be made to complete the operation within twelve months of the date on which the emigration begins. We recommend that the necessary immigration certificates should be issued as rapidly as



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possible. As regards the rate of movement, shipment will proceed at the maximum rate consistent with the clearance of the transit camps in Palestine.

For the purpose of checking illegal immigration, any Jews entering Palestine illegally after the plan has been initiated will be counted against the 100,000.

The Arab Programme.

20. We accept Recommendations 5 and 9 of the Anglo-American Committee that the economic and educational standards of the Arabs should be raised, subject to the proviso that the pace at which such development can be undertaken will have to be limited by practical considerations such as the provision of trained personnel and the capacity of the economy of the area to absorb a large spending programme. A tentative plan has been worked out by the Palestine Government which can form the basis of the programme.

(a) *Health and Social Services.*—We endorse the proposals for a health service for the Arabs of a standard similar to that established for the Jews. We also contemplate the establishment of social services ancillary to education and health, e.g., institutions for the care of mothers, children and the old, school feeding, playgrounds, unemployment assistance, the teaching of handicrafts, youth and cultural organisations.

(b) *Education.*—The immediate provision of compulsory education for the Arabs is not practicable, but universal primary education could be achieved in ten years except as regards girls in the smaller villages. Immediate steps should be taken to improve primary, secondary and university education in the Arab community.

(c) *Economic Measures.*—Improved facilities for education and for health and other social services will not alone bridge the gap between the standards of living of the two communities; a wide economic advancement must accompany them.

The greatest part of the Arab rural community, which constitutes 66 per cent. of the whole Arab population, consists of a peasantry living at about bare subsistence level. There are few village industries and Arab industry in general provides very little employment. Measures to improve Arab economic conditions must be directed primarily to the agricultural population, but should also include measures to promote the development of light industries. The principal measures envisaged are the following:—

- (i) Agrarian reorganisation to rationalise and consolidate land holdings.
- (ii) Improvement in the use of land: promotion of regional development: prevention of erosion: agricultural research.
- (iii) Promotion of light industries and development of local crafts and industries.
- (iv) Provision of cheap credit.
- (v) Expansion of labour organisations.
- (vi) Promotion of the co-operative movement.

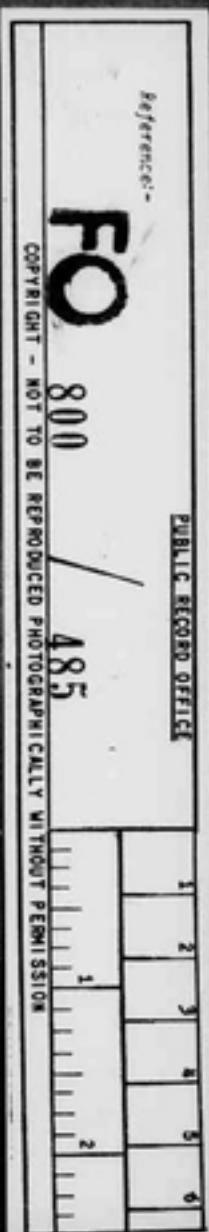
(d) *Living Conditions.*—We also recommend the following measures for improving living conditions in the Arab community:—

- (i) Improvements in housing and promotion of housing schemes.
- (ii) Survey and town planning with a view to improvement schemes.
- (iii) Improvement of water supplies.

21. The cost of the foregoing proposals is discussed in later paragraphs.

Development Projects.

22. We believe that the need for economic development in Palestine should be recognised as merely a part of a broader situation with respect to economic development in the countries of the Middle East. In any statement which is made to the interested parties or to the public, it should be emphasised that our Governments have assisted and welcomed the advent of the States of the Middle East into full political equality. They have observed with interest the examination by those States of their possibilities for economic development, which appear to be great. If it is the desire of any of those States to resort to international agencies for aid by loan or otherwise in exploring and effectuating such projects, as for example in the reclaiming or improvement of great areas by water control and irrigation, they will receive sympathetic support.



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Certainly most substantial Palestinian development should be linked developments in Trans-Jordan and probably in Syria and the Lebanon.

We recommend that a survey of the water resources of Palestine and, with the consent of the Government of Trans-Jordan, of water resources common to the two areas should be undertaken as soon as possible by consulting engineers of international repute. They should further be invited, if adequate data for the purpose is available, to draw up an outline project indicating the best use of the water available. This project should be considered, and action on it taken, by the Central Government in consultation with the Development Board, to which for this purpose the Government of Trans-Jordan and of any other neighbouring State affected would be invited to send representatives.

23. Long-term development schemes which are wholly within one Province will be financed by borrowing internally or abroad by the Provincial Government or an appropriate organisation in the Province. In the event that the borrowing is from abroad it is possible that the loans will have to be guaranteed by the Central Government. Long-term development schemes which involve both Provinces or perhaps neighbouring countries will require participation by the Central Government but it will be desirable for the Provincial Governments to take as much responsibility as is practicable in day-to-day administration and particularly in finance. The financial support of such projects should ultimately be made the responsibility of the Provinces in proportion to the benefits which they derive. Schemes financed by loans should be self-liquidating and as such they can be secured on revenues from the projects reinforced when necessary by a general charge on provincial revenues.

Finance.

24. We have considered various estimates of the cost of carrying out the measures set out above. We have also considered the effect on the Palestine budget of introducing the proposed scheme of provincial autonomy. We have based our conclusions on two assumptions; first, that the cost-of-living index will not rise in Palestine, and, secondly, that there will be no increased expenditure on law and order coupled with loss of revenue due to disorders and non-co-operation.

On the first of the points, it is clear that the programmes envisaged will constitute an inflationary influence, but against this a large part of expenditures will be for imported goods financed with external money. In addition, substantial borrowing of savings within Palestine may be assumed and increasing supplies of imported goods at lower prices should become available. Should our assumption be incorrect, it is not possible to estimate the effect on the Palestine budget, but cost-of-living subsidies involving expenditure of up to £4 million might be necessary. Equally, disorders and non-co-operation might add significantly to expenditures and reduce revenues.

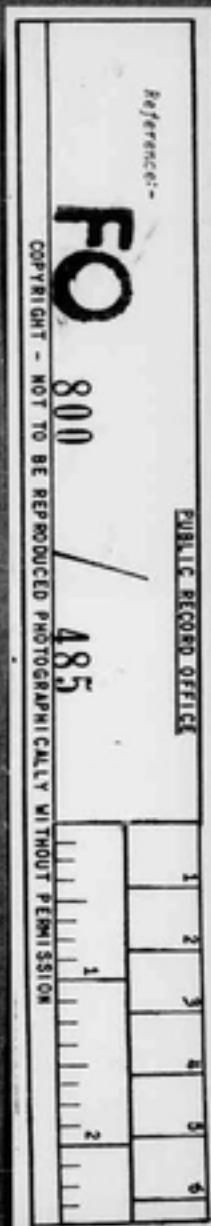
25. *The Jewish Programme.*—According to our studies the total costs of the immigration of the 100,000 Jews can be put at approximately £70 million, made up as follows:—

	£
Transitional assistance	6,000,000
Housing	14,000,000
Capital investment to provide employment ...	50,000,000

Since it is essential to complete the programme as soon as possible, we assume that the whole £70 million will be spent within two years. The maximum expectation from reparations available for Palestine is £5 million; from contribution by world Jewry £20 million; and from loans to be raised in Palestine, whether in Palestine pounds or in sterling, £35 million. This would give a total of £60 million for the Jewish programme, leaving a deficit of £10 million, which can be met by self-liquidating loans.

26. The Jewish Agency has publicly accepted responsibility for costs connected with the immigration of 100,000 Jews to Palestine. This financial responsibility should be confirmed, but there would be no need to ask the Agency to agree to any of our specific estimates. In due course the responsibility in question will be transferred to the Government of the Jewish Province.

Our studies indicate that £10 million of required capital cannot be provided from Jewish sources within the next two years. As, however, this deficiency is for purposes suitable for self-liquidating loans, it can be met by loans under the \$250 million credit provided for in paragraph 29.



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7. *Financial Effects of Provincial Autonomy.*—A rough distribution of existing expenditures and revenues on the basis of the division of responsibility among the Central Government, the two Provinces and the Jerusalem District indicates that—

- (a) The Central Government will continue to incur more than half of the present expenditures of the Palestine Government. It will have an estimated surplus of the order of perhaps £1 million.
- (b) Revenues of the Jewish Province will be substantially in excess of expenditures, giving rise to a surplus of £1,400,000.
- (c) Expenditures of the Arab Province, will be substantially in excess of revenues, giving rise to a deficit of £2,100,000.

Since expenditures in the programme for the benefit of the Arabs would be concentrated entirely in the Arab Province, the deficit of £2,100,000 in that Province will be increased by an amount which might run to £1 million annually as an average in the first five years.

From this total recurrent deficit of roundly £3 million there may be deducted possibly as much as £1 million representing excess revenues of the Central Government subject to grants to the Province. There will remain currently a net deficit in the neighbourhood of £2 million. The United Kingdom Delegation proposes to recommend His Majesty's Government to ask Parliament to assume ultimate responsibility for recurring deficits up to the time when increased revenues permit it to be met out of Arab Provincial or Central Government funds.

28. *Cost of the Arab programme.*—We have attempted to estimate the cost of a practicable programme, using as a guide the estimate of costs made in a survey by the Palestine Government. That survey was made on the basis of a programme spread over the whole of Palestine. The concentration of the programme in the Arab area would, in any case, make it necessary to revise these estimates. We have allowed for this, and also for such limitations as the provision of trained personnel and the capacity of the Arab economy to absorb a large spending programme. Allowing for such considerations we think that a spending programme of up to £15 million to £20 million over 10 years should be regarded as fully adequate to implement the recommendations for improved education, health, and economic services of the Anglo-American Committee. In addition £10 million should be provided for credit facilities.

There are, however, so many unknown factors in the carrying out of such a programme that it would be most unwise to commit ourselves to any public statement as to the amount of the programmes to be undertaken. Of the Arab programme £10 million for credit facilities could be secured from local bank credits. Of the remainder of the programme, only a small portion would be suitable for the self-liquidating loans dealt with under paragraph 29. Provision of an additional £12,500,000 at this time will, it is believed, care for expenditure sufficient to ensure that the programme will be effectively carried forward to the period when means of additional financing may be found. The United States Delegation has therefore agreed, as a part of its contribution to the general programme, to propose to the President of the United States that he recommend legislation granting \$50 million to the Government of Palestine for the purpose of financing development schemes not suitable for self-liquidating loans and for assisting in the meeting of extraordinary expenses during the difficulties of the transitional period.

29. *Capital for Development.*—A large portion of the capital needed for the self-sustaining projects mentioned in paragraph 22 must come from outside sources. It is possible that Palestine could obtain a loan from the International Bank if she should become a member. The United States Delegation proposes, in the event that adequate finance from other sources such as the International Bank is not available, to recommend that the President seek legislation authorising the making of loans through an appropriate agency for the development of the Middle-East region, including Palestine, up to \$250 million.

29A. Details of the financial implications of our proposals are contained in Appendix D.

30. *Public Order.*—It is clear that the difficulties of introducing the policy which we have outlined will be greatly enhanced so long as there are in existence armed organisations, Arab and Jewish, determined in the last resort

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