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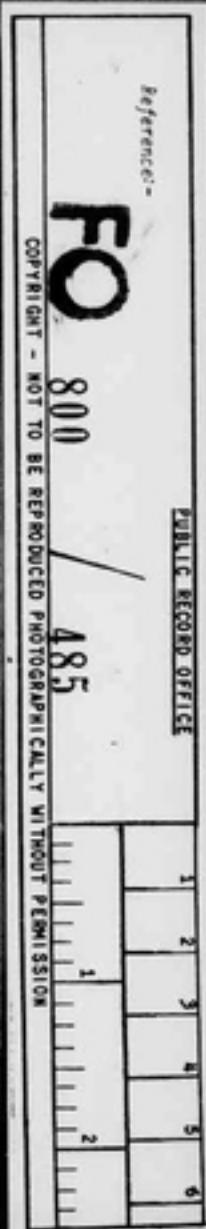
to oppose by force any solution which is not to their liking. We agree that private armies constitute a danger to the peace of the world and ought not to exist, and that attempts to prevent by violence the execution of the policy once it has been put into effect should be resolutely suppressed. We agree that to this end it is necessary that armed organisations which are not prepared to submit themselves to the full control of the Central Government should be dissolved and that the illegal holding of arms and explosives should be vigorously combated.

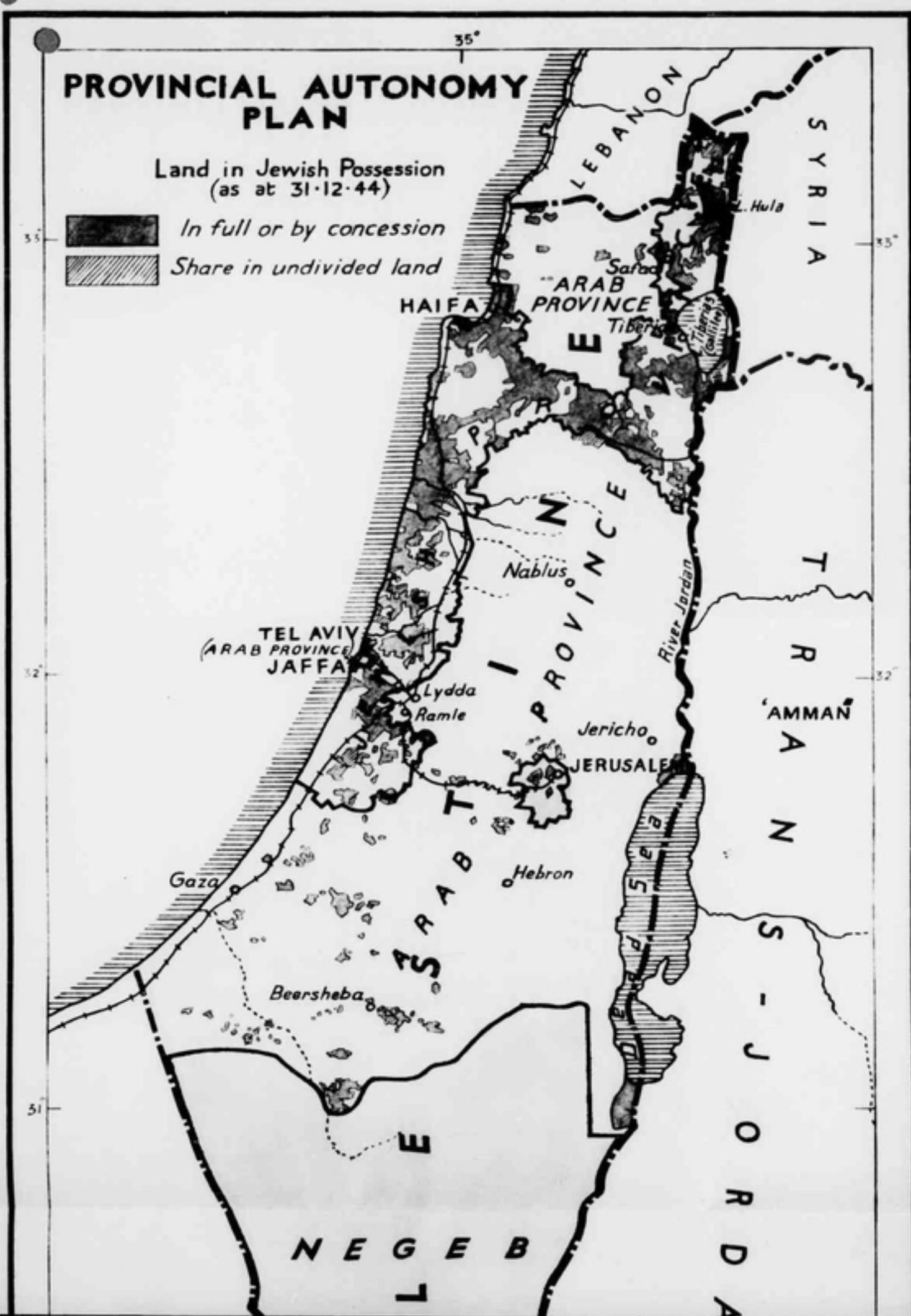
31. *Future Procedure.*—We recognise that, in view of the existing situation in Palestine, any policy for that country will probably have to be introduced without the willing consent of either community. On the other hand, there is a degree of sustained and determined resistance of either Jews or Arabs beyond which no policy could be enforced. An effort to obtain at least a measure of acquiescence from the Arabs and Jews would, therefore, be an essential preliminary to the introduction of the above proposals. We therefore recommend that, if these proposals are adopted by our two Governments, they should be presented to Arab and Jewish representatives as a basis for negotiations at a conference to be convened by the United Kingdom Government.

32. In accordance with Recommendation 4 of the Anglo-American Committee, we propose that the new policy should be embodied in a trusteeship agreement for Palestine. The conference with Arab and Jewish representatives should therefore be convened in time for its results to be available before the opening of the second part of the first session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. If the results of the conference were such as to suggest that the new policy would meet with a sufficient degree of acceptance in Palestine, the Government of the United Kingdom would proceed to put the plan into effect and would inform the General Assembly that practical considerations required this to be done under the existing Mandate, but that they would press on as quickly as possible with a trusteeship agreement and would hope to lay a draft before the General Assembly at its next (1947) session. It would then be possible simultaneously to inaugurate the policy in Palestine and to undertake the consultations provided for in Article 79 of the United Nations Charter.

33. We are not able at this stage to make recommendations regarding the course to be adopted if the conference with Arab and Jewish representatives led to the conclusion that the introduction of the policy proposed would be so violently resisted by one or both of the two peoples in Palestine that it could not be enforced. In that situation further consultation between our two Governments would be necessary.

London, 26th July, 1946.



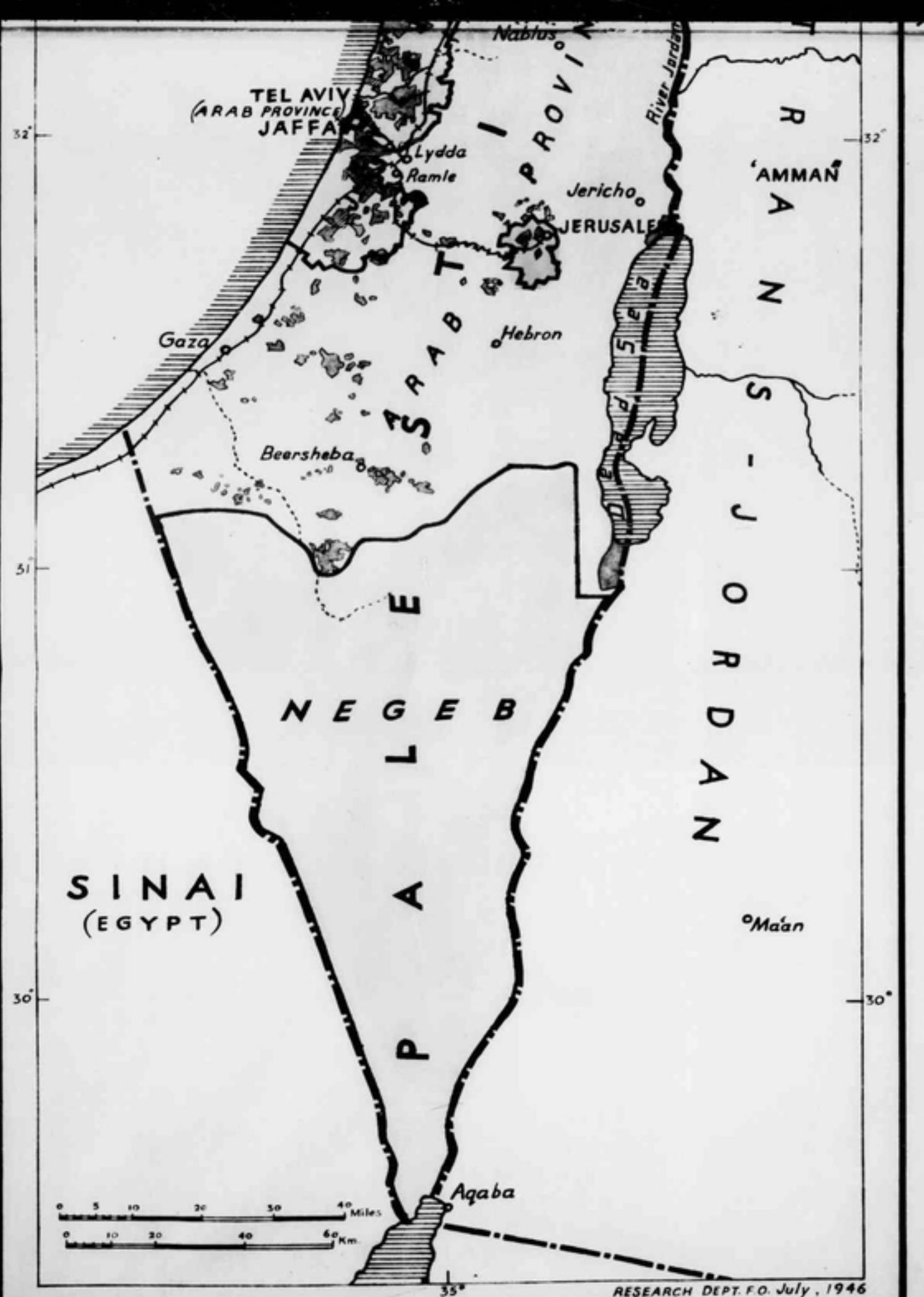


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APPENDIX B.

PRELIMINARY DRAFT OF HEADS OF INSTRUMENT OF GOVERNMENT.

I.—*Preamble.*

Palestine shall be neither a Jewish State nor an Arab State.

II.—*Territorial Areas.*

Palestine shall be divided into four territorial areas:—

1. An autonomous Arab Province.
2. An autonomous Jewish Province.
3. A District of Jerusalem.
4. A District of the Negev.

Matters of common concern to these four territorial areas shall be the concern of the Central Government of Palestine.

III.—*Division of Governmental Powers.*

1. Upon the organization in a Province of the legislative and executive bodies provided for in Section IV the present Government of Palestine shall transfer to the Provincial Government the administration in its provincial area of the matters hereinafter committed to the Provincial Government.

2. The Provincial Governments shall have power of legislation and administration with regard to municipal and village administration, agriculture, fisheries, forests, land registration, land sales, land settlement, land purchase and the acquisition of land for public purposes for fair compensation, education, public health and other social services, trade and industry within the provincial borders and provincial roads, irrigation, development and public works. The Provincial Governments shall have power to fix the number and qualifications of any persons subsequently to become domiciled within their provincial borders. They shall in addition have power to levy taxes, excluding customs and excise duties, to borrow within the Province and, with the consent of the Central Government, to borrow abroad, and to appropriate and expend the funds so secured and any other funds which may be received from the Central Government under Section III (6) for any of the matters hereinabove enumerated as to which they are empowered to legislate and administer.

3. Each of the Provincial Governments shall be under obligation to provide for and administer its general governmental services fairly and equally as between all of its residents, and to provide for them equal and suitable public health, social and educational services and shall not in its legislation or administration impose obstacles to free inter-provincial transit, trade and commerce, or the free exercise of religion and civil rights within its borders.

4. If Palestine becomes a member of the United Nations or any specialized agencies thereof (including the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank, or the proposed International Trade Organization) 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.

5. Existing statutes at present applicable in the provincial areas, so far as not inconsistent with the provisions of this instrument, shall remain in force in those areas until repealed, or amended by the provincial legislature under the powers hereinabove granted.

6. There is reserved to the Central Government exclusive legislative and administrative power, during the initial period of the operation of this Instrument of Government, as to defence, foreign relations, customs and excise, police, prisons, courts, railway facilities and Haifa Harbour, posts and telegraphs, civil aviation, broadcasting and antiquities. The Central Government shall 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, to provide for arterial highways, and to promote education and agriculture throughout

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Palestine by a central information and supervisory service. It shall be empowered also to examine and verify municipal and provincial accounts, to prescribe suitable and uniform methods of accounting, to determine the bases upon which funds collected by it in excess of its expenditures in the performance of its functions may be distributed to the Provinces, to prescribe to the Provinces the uses of such funds, and to examine proposed budgets of provincial expenditures and make recommendations with respect to them.

7. 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 coming into effect of this Instrument (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.

8. Immigration shall be administered by the Central Government. So far as the Provinces are concerned, however, the Central Government shall 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. The Central Government shall not have power to authorize immigration into either Province in excess of limitations imposed by the Provincial Governments under the powers hereinabove granted to them.

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

10. The High Commissioner shall, as soon as he deems it practicable, transfer in part or in full to the provincial authorities power over those matters, with the exception of foreign relations, defence, and customs and excise, which are initially reserved to the exclusive authority of the Central Government under Section III (6).

IV.—*Provincial Government.*

A.—*Legislature.*

1. In each Province a legislative chamber shall be established which shall be entitled to legislate on all matters declared by this Instrument to be the responsibility of the Provincial Government.

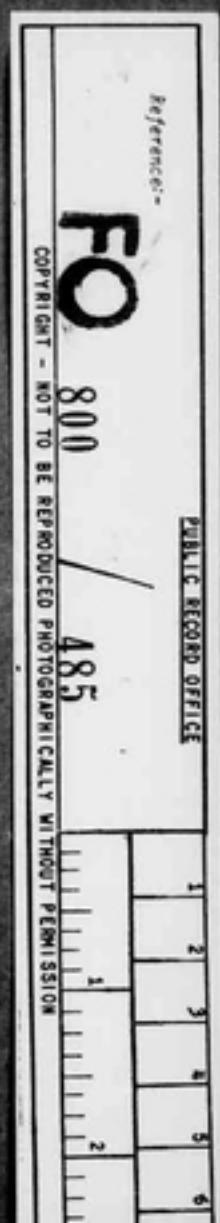
2. The Provinces shall be divided into single member districts of approximately equal population in a manner calculated to give fair representation to the various elements of the population.

3. The provincial legislative chambers shall have the power to determine qualifications for voters, boundaries of districts and the method of election. Until the provincial legislative chambers are established the present Government of Palestine shall lay down electoral rules in harmony with the above provisions.

4. During the first five years of the operation of this Instrument the presiding officer of each legislative chamber shall be appointed by the High Commissioner and shall as far as possible dissociate himself from the political implications of the functioning of the legislative chambers. Thereafter the presiding officers shall be elected by the legislative chambers from among their members.

5. Bills passed by a provincial legislature shall become effective law only after they have received the assent of the High Commissioner. This assent shall be refused only when a bill is inconsistent with this Instrument of Government or violates international obligations of the Administering Authority.

6. A provincial legislature may provide that any residents of the Jerusalem District designated by it may be represented in the provincial legislative chamber if they so desire. Voting qualifications, district boundaries and methods of election for this purpose by such residents shall be established by the Central Government in conformity as far as possible with those of the respective Provinces.



Executive.

An Executive consisting of a Chief Minister and a Council of Ministers in each Province shall be appointed by the High Commissioner from among the members of the legislative chamber after consultation with the leaders of the chamber. The legislative chamber shall determine the powers, functions and organisation of the Executive.

C.—Emergency Powers.

In the event a Provincial Government fails to perform a proper governmental function or exceeds its proper functions the High Commissioner shall have the power to dissolve the legislative chamber and order a new election, or in the last resort to exercise some or all of the powers vested in the Provincial Government. In the event of such action by the High Commissioner the Administering Authority shall report the facts of the situation to the appropriate agency of the United Nations within ten days.

*V.—The Central Government.**A.—High Commissioner.*

The Administering Authority for Palestine shall appoint a High Commissioner who shall initially exercise the executive and legislative power of the Central Government.

B.—Executive Departments.

The High Commissioner shall appoint the heads of the Central executive departments. Various departments shall be headed as soon as the High Commissioner deems practicable by citizens of Palestine with approximate equality of numbers being maintained between Arab and Jewish appointees. Departments headed by non-Palestinians shall have two deputy heads, one Arab and one Jewish, appointed by the High Commissioner.

C.—Executive Council.

There shall be an Executive Council whose members shall be selected by the High Commissioner from among the heads of the major executive departments. This Council shall serve as an advisory body to the High Commissioner in the exercise of his executive and legislative functions.

D.—Development Planning Board.

A Development Planning Board shall be established, composed of the heads of those executive departments of the Central Government concerned with economic problems and finances and of representatives selected by the High Commissioner from the two Provinces. The Development Planning Board shall initiate plans for the general economic development of Palestine and shall supervise the implementation of such plans, which may be carried out either directly by the Central Government or through the agency of the Provincial Governments or appropriate private, public or international organisations.

E.—Advisory Boards.

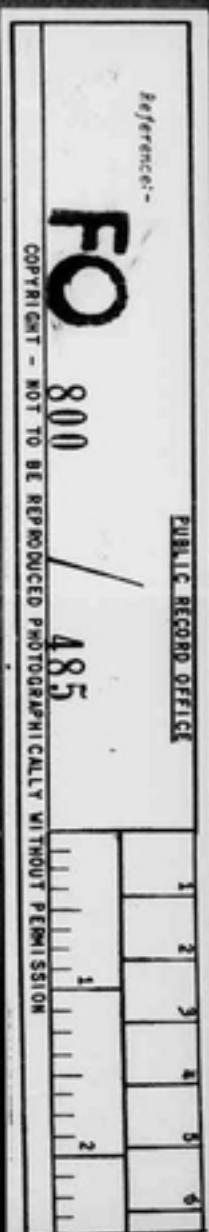
The High Commissioner may constitute by appointment other mixed boards containing in their composition representatives of the various territorial areas which shall serve as advisory bodies to the Central Government in relation to its specific functions. Among these there shall be a Tariff Board to advise on customs and excise policy and on the rates of duty to be imposed.

F.—Provincial Representatives.

The High Commissioner shall accredit to each province a Representative whose function shall be to serve as the normal channel of communication between the Central Government and the Provincial Government.

VI.—The Jerusalem District.

There shall be established in the Jerusalem District a Council with powers similar to those of a municipal council. The majority of its members shall be elected by the residents of the District. There shall also be a small number of



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members designated by the High Commissioner. Powers not expressly delegated to the District Council shall in the Jerusalem District be exercised by the Central Government.

VII.—*The Negev District.*

The Negev District shall be held under direct administration by the Central Government. Within five years a full survey of its development possibilities shall be made in connection with the planning of general economic development for Palestine. Upon the completion of such survey the Administering Authority shall submit to the United Nations, through its appropriate agency, its own recommendations and such recommendations as the Arab and Jewish Provinces may wish to make as to inclusion of the Negev District in the Arab or Jewish Province, its division between them or its further retention as a territory of the Central Government.

VIII.—*Holy Places.*

1. It shall be the duty of the Central Government to safeguard the Moslem, Jewish and Christian Holy Places.

2. A Christian Holy Places Council shall be established composed of representatives selected by the various Christian religious communities in Palestine. This Council shall serve in an advisory capacity to the Central Government in the fulfilment of its obligation to protect Christian interests in Palestine and to maintain the *status quo* of the Holy Places. The Council's powers shall not extend to legislative, executive or administrative action.

IX.—*Method of Amendment.*

The Instrument of Government of Palestine may be amended by agreement between the Administering Authority and the legislatures of both Provinces or under such authorisation as may be provided by the United Nations. No such United Nations authorisation shall, however, be availed of to provide an alteration of the provisions of Section I, nor shall such authorisation be availed of to lessen the rights of self-government of the inhabitants of either of the autonomous Provinces provided for by this Instrument without the consent of the legislature of the Province affected.

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APPENDIX C.

The Move of 100,000 Jewish Immigrants into Palestine.

1. Discussions were held in London from the 17th to the 27th June between official representatives, civil and military, of the British and United States Governments to review the main problems involved in the physical movement of 100,000 Jews into Palestine and their settlement there and to prepare an outline plan for the movement. The plan, revised in the light of later information and discussions, will be found in this Appendix, together with brief comments on certain aspects of the problem which are not covered either in the plan itself or in the main Report.

Method of Selection.

2. The Anglo-American Committee estimated that at the time of their Report there were in Germany, Austria and Italy some 98,000 Jews from other countries. These then represented about 10 per cent. of the total number of displaced persons. Since then the numbers have increased. The latest returns obtained from the control authorities in countries under Allied occupation are given in Annexes II and III.

3. There is ample evidence that Jews have been moving into the western Zones in the hope of securing onward passage to Palestine. If, therefore, 100,000 Jews are to be sent to Palestine from Europe, it is most important that they should be selected in such a way as to make it clear to Jews in eastern Europe that they will not improve their chances of reaching Palestine by moving into the occupied areas. It is, therefore, recommended that in the first instance selection should be limited to Jewish displaced persons and persons assimilated to displaced persons in status who are already in the western Zones of Germany and Austria or in Italy. If it is found that the whole of the 100,000 cannot be drawn from those countries, the balance of the 100,000 certificates should be allocated to other countries of eastern and south-eastern Europe, in proportions to be determined in agreement between the Governments of the United Kingdom and United States, for the benefit of orphaned Jewish children in those countries.

4. The method of selection proposed in the preceding paragraph should go far to check the infiltration into the western Zones of Jews who are anxious to emigrate to Palestine. There are, however, additional measures which should be taken to check this infiltration. Thus, after the movement of the 100,000 has been approved, the control authorities in the British and United States Zones should be authorised to refuse displaced persons care and treatment to all persons not already registered who apply thereafter for such assistance. This would not preclude the grant of more limited assistance, at the discretion of either Government. Secondly, the control authorities should pursue, as the movement of the 100,000 proceeds, a progressive policy of closing and dis-establishing the assembly centres in which Jews have been segregated. The Jewish element in the displaced persons population would thus be concentrated, progressively, into a smaller number of camps. Thirdly, the Governments of the United Kingdom and United States should seek to enlist the assistance of organised Jewish agencies in discouraging further infiltration of Jews into Germany, Austria and Italy.

5. The priority groups suggested by the Anglo-American Committee in their Report were taken as a framework and the details which were worked out are set forth in the plan.

Certificate-issuing Agency.

6. The certificates will be issued by the Jewish Agency in accordance with a directive agreed between the United Kingdom and United States Governments. A draft of this directive is reproduced in Annex IV.

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Transportation.

7.—(a) *General Principles.*—The Government of the United States will assume responsibility for the movement from Germany, Austria and Italy to Palestine, except that the necessary rations, plus three days reserve, rolling-stock and train guards for movements between a Zone not occupied by United States forces and a port of embarkation will be furnished by the originating Zone. For the movement to Palestine of immigrants, if any, to whom certificates might be allotted in other countries, the British Consul-General or the British member of the Allied Control Commission will be responsible with the assistance and co-operation of the Allied military authorities, the Jewish Agency and other agencies and Governments concerned.

(b) *Logistics.*—The United States Government will designate a co-ordinator of the entire movement with Headquarters in the United States Zone of Germany. Movement will take place entirely through Italian ports or partly through Italian ports and partly through a Channel port. Movement will commence in Italy, in order to clear necessary staging areas. Converted Victory ships will be provided by the United States Government for the purpose, and the assistance of organised relief agencies will be employed as appropriate throughout.

Reception in Palestine.

8. Consideration was given to the responsibilities to be assumed by the Palestine Government and the Jewish Agency respectively in the reception of the immigrants on their arrival in Palestine. The arrangements suggested for the reception of the immigrants are set out in the plan.

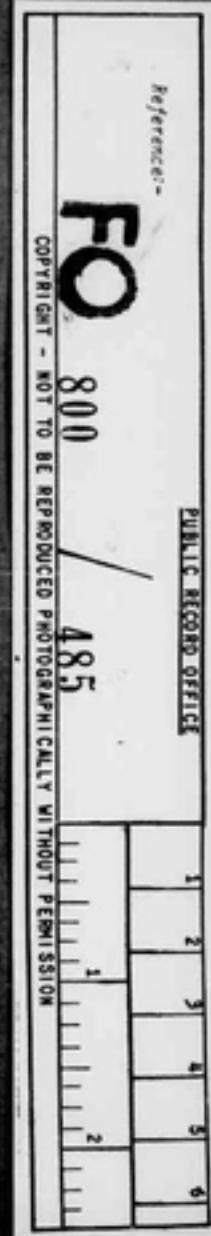
Provision of materials and supplies.

9. Full details are not yet available of the quantity of materials which will be involved in the construction of accommodation, both temporary and permanent, for the immigrants, but the bulk of these materials (other than a portion of the cement) will have to be imported from overseas. The main requirements will be cement, mild steel bars, timber, pipes, pig iron, foundry coke, wire rods and copper sheet. From such enquiries as have been made to ascertain the extent to which these materials are available in the United Kingdom or in the British and United States Zones in Germany for export to Palestine, it seems clear that a large part will have to be drawn from other sources. It will be necessary to be assured that they will be made available to the extent required; and any supplies obtained by the Jewish Agency for the purpose should be regarded as additional to Palestine's ordinary quota in respect both of commodities and of shipping. The United States and United Kingdom supply authorities should lend all appropriate assistance in this regard.

10. The British and United States Governments should recognise the need for increasing the Palestine quotas of imported food-stuffs to the extent necessitated by the addition of 100,000 persons to the population and should assist in making available non-quota items. The most important of these are:—

	<i>Per annum</i> <i>Tons.</i>
Flour, in terms of wheat ...	6,380
Flour, in terms of barley ...	3,360
Edible oil, in terms of oilseeds ...	1,800
Margarine, in terms of oilseeds ...	580
Margarine, in terms of copra ...	300
Sugar ...	1,200
Tea ...	23
Coffee ...	92
Beef ...	936
Rice ...	300

11. Contributions from various sources in the United States towards the cost of the immigration should be exempt from currency quota restrictions.



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OUTLINE PLAN.

1. Target.

To issue as soon as possible 100,000 certificates for admission into Palestine of Jews who have been victims of Nazi and Fascist persecution, and to effect their actual immigration as rapidly as conditions will permit.

2. Phasing.

Every effort will be made to complete the operation within twelve months of the date on which emigration begins.

3. Illegal Immigration.

All immigrants entering Palestine illegally after the initiation of the plan will be counted against the 100,000, and a corresponding number of certificates deducted.

4. Method of Selection.

(a) Geographical Allocation of Certificates.

(1) All certificates to be allocated initially for issue to Jewish displaced persons or Jews assimilated to displaced persons in status in the Western Zones of Germany, Austria and in Italy. The overall allocation of certificates between Italy and the several zones of occupation to be in proportion to the number of eligible Jews in each on the 1st July, 1946.

(2) Unused balance, if any, of certificates not required to permit all eligible Jews in Germany, Austria and Italy desiring to enter Palestine to do so to be allocated to other countries of eastern and south-eastern Europe for issue to orphaned Jewish children in proportions to be determined in agreement between the Governments of the United Kingdom and the United States.

(b) Priority Groups.

(1) Among eligible Jews in Germany, Austria and Italy, priority in the issue of certificates and transfer to Palestine will, as far as possible without breaking up family groups and without delaying the rate of emigration, be given in the following order :—

(i) Those resident in Italy and the Western Zones of Germany and Austria and receiving care and assistance from the Allied Military Authorities or from the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration on the 1st October, 1945, with first priority to concentration camp survivors.

(ii) Those resident in the Western Zones of Germany and Austria and in Italy on the 1st May, 1946, who had taken up residence and received the assistance of the Allied Military Authorities or the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration subsequent to the 1st October, 1945.

(iii) Others.

(2) Within each of the above groups priority will be given to the following classes :—

(i) Skilled workmen in the building and affiliated trades; agricultural workers.

(ii) Children under 12 years of age.

(iii) Persons permanently incapacitated for gainful employment.

(iv) Persons over 60 years of age.

(3) The immediate families of the individuals in the classes set forth in paragraphs (1) and (2) will be accorded the same priorities as such individuals.

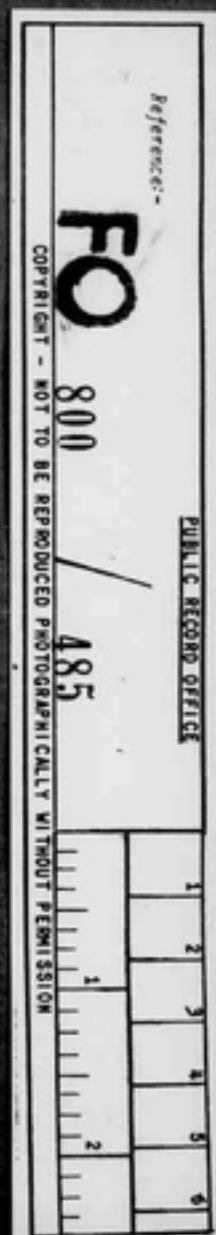
(4) In other countries of eastern and south-eastern Europe any available certificates will be issued only to orphaned Jewish children below 17 years of age.

(c) Issue of Certificates.

(1) The Jewish agency for Palestine will issue certificates to eligible Jews in accordance with the provisions of a directive (in the terms proposed in Annex IV) to be issued by the Government of the United Kingdom.

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(2) In Allied occupied areas or countries, the Zone Commander or the British member of the Allied Control Commission, respectively, will exercise general supervision and control over the issue of certificates by the Jewish Agency and its representatives.

The United Kingdom Government will provide liaison officers to assist United States Zone Commanders in carrying out these duties and to be responsible for security screening of persons awarded or requesting certificates; it being understood that this screening process will be geared to the rate of movement.

(3) The United Kingdom Government will be responsible for seeing that appropriate arrangements are made in the French Zones of Occupation, in Poland and in other countries of eastern and south-eastern Europe.

5. Transportation to Palestine.

(a) Movement from Occupied Areas.

(1) The overland portion of the movement will be accomplished by rail in box cars (heated during winter months) or coaches if available. Railway rolling stock and train guards, which will carry through to destination, will be furnished by the Originating Zone. Each train will carry approximately 1,000 persons. Rations and 3 days' reserve will be supplied. Feeding facilities will be established as determined by the respective Zone Commanders.

(2) Supreme Allied Commander, Mediterranean Theatre, will be requested to provide rail, port, and staging facilities in Italy as required, though the closing down of military installations in Italy by the due date shall not be delayed on account of the necessity of meeting the commitment. The Italian Government through SACMED will be requested to provide facilities required in excess of those military facilities which can be made available.

(3) Other factors may dictate the use of a Channel port for a portion of the movement, which might include as a maximum all Jews to be moved from Germany and Austria.

(4) Within total allotments to the respective areas, initial allotment of certificates will be made to Italy and initial movement will be from Italy to clear necessary facilities in that area for use as staging centres.

(b) Water Movement.

(1) Necessary ocean shipping in the form of converted Victory ships, appropriately staffed, will be provided by the United States.

(2) Time factors and ship requirements are attached as Annex I.

(c) General.

(1) Administrative arrangements will be concluded between a Co-ordinator of Movement, designated by the United States, and Supreme Allied Commander Mediterranean, CG USFET, CG USFA, Commander-in-Chief British Forces in Germany, Commander-in-Chief British Forces in Austria.

(2) The assistance of organised relief agencies will be employed as appropriate throughout.

(d) Movement from Non-Occupied Areas.

If certificates are issued to Jews in any country other than Germany, Austria and Italy, the British Consul-General or the British Member of the Allied Control Commission will be responsible for the identification, documentation, collection, staging and transportation of such Jews. In carrying out the above responsibilities he will make the necessary arrangements with:

- (1) the Governments concerned,
- (2) the United States military authorities whose assistance may be required to accomplish transportation to Palestine,
- (3) such Jewish Agency personnel as may be of assistance to him.

6. Reception in Palestine.

(a) Arrival.

Clearance through the port will be the sole responsibility of the Palestine Government, the Jewish Agency being accorded the normal facilities to greet the immigrants and provide them with amenities.

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(b) Staging Camp.

The Jewish Agency will set up camps on approved sites for the reception of the immigrants. One of these camps might be designated as a staging camp at which all the control processes incidental to immigration will be carried out, the immigrants being then transferred to one or other of the remaining camps, here described as "residential camps" or, alternatively, cleared immediately on evidence that appropriate accommodation is available.

The control processes mentioned above will be carried out under the sole authority of the Palestine Government. All other services in the staging camp, including welfare with the exception of supervision and security, will be the responsibility of the Jewish Agency under the general supervision of the Palestine Government.

(c) Transport.

Transport between port and staging camp will be provided by the Palestine Government on application by the Jewish Agency, which will be responsible for the relevant expenditure. Transport between the staging camp and the residential camps will be provided by the Jewish Agency.

(d) Residential Camps.

The Jewish Agency will be responsible for constructing and maintaining the residential camps and for providing all services except general superintendence and security. In particular, the Jewish Agency will be entrusted with the administration of approved schemes of rehabilitation and technical training in or outside the camps.

(e) Settlement and Absorption.

The construction of housing and ancillary buildings and works for the permanent settlement of the immigrants will be the responsibility of the Jewish Agency.

(NOTE.—The use of the term "Jewish Agency" above is not intended to preclude from association with the Jewish Agency in the maintenance of the camps and the provision of services any organisation from which the Jewish Agency may, with the approval of the Palestine Government, obtain assistance to these ends.)

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ANNEX I.

MOVEMENT TIME FACTORS AND SHIPPING REQUIREMENTS.

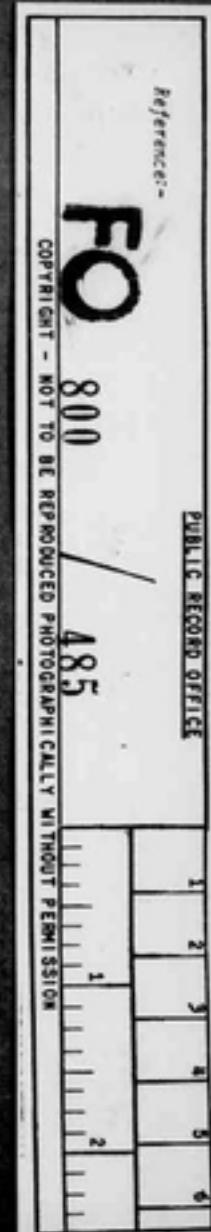
Alternative No. of Immigrants per month.	Turnaround Time.	Lift per Ship.	Ships (Victories) required.	Time in months (including 2 months positioning).
<i>A.—From Mediterranean Ports.</i>				
4,000	14 days	1,000	3	27
12,000	14 days	1,000	7	11
20,000	14 days	1,000	11	7
<i>B.—From Channel Ports.</i>				
4,000	30 days	1,000	5	27
12,000	30 days	1,000	14	11
<i>C.—From Mediterranean and Channel Ports Combined.</i>				
20,000—				
10,000—Med.	14 days			
10,000—Channel	30 days	1,000	{ 7 }	7
{ 12 }				

NOTE.—Shipping requirements have been weighted to allow for accidents and voyage repairs.

ANNEX II.

ESTIMATED NUMBERS OF JEWISH AND OTHER DISPLACED PERSONS IN THE THREE WESTERN ZONES OF GERMANY AND AUSTRIA, AND IN ITALY.

	Zone.	Total D.P.s.	Non-Jewish D.P.s.	Jewish D.P.s.	Jewish D.P.s.		Estimated Number of Jewish D.P.s. wishing to go to Palestine.
					In Centres.	Outside Centres.	
Germany	U.S.	491,000	402,000	89,000	63,000	26,000	80,000
	British	354,000	339,500	14,500	14,500	...	13,000
	French	45,500	44,000	1,500	500	1,000	1,350
Austria	U.S.	43,000	32,000	11,000	7,000	4,000	9,000
	British	50,000	48,100	1,900	1,900	...	1,900
	French	18,620	18,000	620	320	300	620
Italy	...	44,100	20,100	24,000	8,500	15,500	20,000
Total	...	1,046,220	903,700	142,520	95,720	46,800	125,870



ANALYSIS BY SEX, AGE GROUPS AND SKILLS OF JEWISH DISPLACED PERSONS IN ASSEMBLY CENTRES IN THE UNITED STATES AND BRITISH ZONES
OF GERMANY AND AUSTRIA.

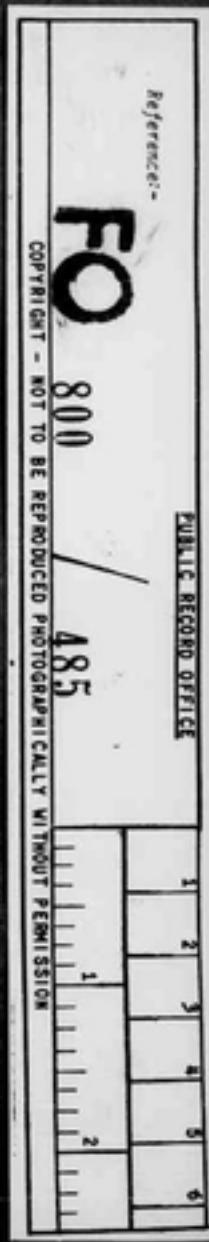
Zone.	Total Jewish D.P.s. in Centres.	Males.	Females.	12 and under.		60 and over.		Infirm under 60.		Skilled workers of particular use in resettlement.		Estimated total wishing to go to Palestine		
				Acomp.	Unacomp.	Acomp.	Unacomp.	Accomp.	Unacomp.	Total employ- able.	Building trades.	Agricul- tural workers.		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
Germany	U.S.	52,000	29,000	28,000	2,850	250	1,150	350	+	+	35,000	3,800	5,700	48,000
	British	14,500	6,250	8,250	250	130	30	40	50	60	12,600	640	2,500	13,000
Austria	U.S.	7,000	3,800	3,200	330	Nil	85	400	+	+	4,700	775	200	5,700
	British	1,700	1,100	600	80	Nil	10	50	20	20	1,450	35	15	1,600
Total	...	75,200	40,150	35,050	3,510	380	1,265	800	(100)	(80)	53,750	4,355	8,415	68,300

Note.—All figures are approximate estimates.
The details in this table were obtained at an earlier date than the figures in Annex II and the totals therefore differ.

ADDENDUM.
ANALYSIS BY SEX, AGE GROUPS AND SKILLS OF JEWISH D.P.s. IN ITALY.

NOTE.—Figures include both those in assembly centres and those on side.

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ANNEX IV.

RULES GOVERNING ISSUE OF IMMIGRATION CERTIFICATES. DRAFT OF DIRECTIVE
TO JEWISH AGENCY.A.—*Eligibility.*

1. One hundred thousand Jews who have been the victims of Nazi and Fascist persecution or who may have been impelled by their circumstances to leave the countries of their origin or who fled from persecution before the outbreak of the war are eligible for certificates.
- (a) In Italy and in United States, British and French Occupation Zones in Germany and Austria only those eligible Jews who were registered as D.P.s. or as persons assimilated to D.P.s. in status on or before may be awarded certificates.
- (b) In countries other than Germany, Austria and Italy certificates may be awarded only to eligible Jews who are orphaned and below 17 years of age.
2. No eligible Jew shall be denied a certificate because of his political beliefs or utterances.
3. Persons who are ineligible for admission to Palestine under the immigration laws now in force or who, as a result of military security screening to be administered by the British authorities, are declared ineligible for admission to Palestine will not be awarded certificates.

B.—*Allocation of Certificates.*

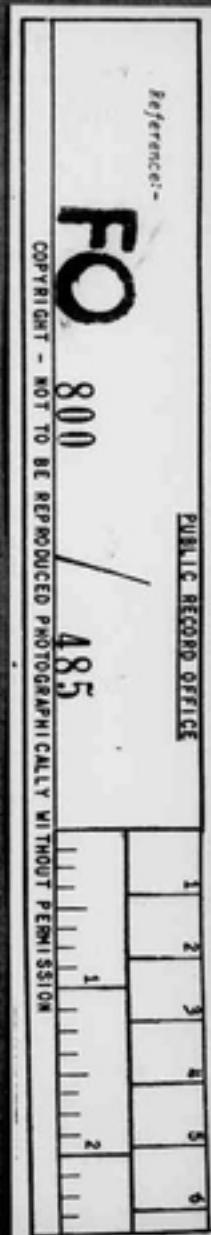
Allocation of certificates between the countries concerned will be made by the Palestine Administration in accordance with methods agreed between the United Kingdom and United States Governments.

C.—*Priority Groups.*

1. Among eligible Jews in Germany, Austria and Italy, priority in the issue of certificates and transfer to Palestine will, as far as possible without breaking up family groups and without delaying the rate of emigration, be given in the following order :—
- (i) Those resident in Italy and the Western Zones of Germany and Austria and receiving care and assistance from the Allied Military Authorities or from the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration on the 1st October, 1945, with first priority to concentration camp survivors.
- (ii) Those resident in the Western Zones of Germany and Austria and in Italy on the 1st May, 1946, who had taken up residence and received the assistance of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration or Military Authorities subsequent to the 1st October, 1945.
- (iii) Others.
2. Within each of the above groups priority will be given to the following classes :—
- (i) Skilled workmen in the building and affiliated trades; agricultural workers.
- (ii) Children under 12 years of age.
- (iii) Persons permanently incapacitated for gainful employment.
- (iv) Persons over 60 years of age.
3. The immediate families of the individuals in the classes set forth in paragraphs 1 and 2 will be accorded the same priorities as such individuals.
4. Balance of certificates unused in Austria, Germany and Italy, will be allotted to orphaned Jewish children in the countries of eastern and south-eastern Europe in proportions to be determined in agreement between the Governments of the United Kingdom and the United States.

D.—*Control of Agency Representatives.*

1. In Allied occupied areas or countries the Zone Commander or the British member of the Allied Control Commission, respectively, will exercise general



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Supervision and control over the issue of certificates by the Agency and its representatives. In other countries such supervision will be exercised, as required, by the British Consular authorities.

2. In United States and French Occupation Zones Agency representatives will serve under the immediate direction and control of British liaison officers.
3. The United Kingdom Government will make appropriate arrangements with the respective Governments and with the Allied Control Commissions in ex-enemy countries in south-eastern Europe for the admission, supervision and functions of Agency representatives in those countries to permit the award of certificates to eligible Jews.

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APPENDIX D.

FINAL REPORT BY THE FINANCE SUB-COMMITTEE.

1. Our first report was made on the assumption that something like the present form of government would continue in Palestine. Our second report set out to revise our conclusions in the light of the decision to recommend the provincial plan. It may be convenient if in this our final report we set out in a single document the findings in both reports which apply to the provincial plan, and if we also add our recommendations for meeting the financial needs of the proposed new régime in Palestine.

2. We have had three main tasks—

- (a) to investigate the capital programmes that may have to be undertaken in connection with the immigration of 100,000 Jews (Recommendation 2), to secure the improvement of Arab health and social services and the promotion of economic and social measures (Recommendations 5 and 9) and to promote long-term development schemes (Recommendation 8) as recommended by the Anglo-American Committee; and to see how far finance is available towards such programmes.
- (b) to consider the administrative problems involved on the financial side in carrying out the provincial plan.
- (c) to consider how far the budgets of the central and provincial Governments under the provincial plan will be self-supporting.

We deal with each of these problems in turn.

THE CAPITAL PROGRAMMES.

(a) *Jewish Immigration.*

3. The immigration of 100,000 persons obviously requires a large capital programme to cover not only their maintenance and housing but also the further investment of capital in agriculture and industry necessary to provide for their employment. We took as the basis of our studies the estimates prepared by the British authorities and by the Jewish Agency respectively. We give below their figures together with the figure which our investigations lead us to suggest as the likely cost of this operation.

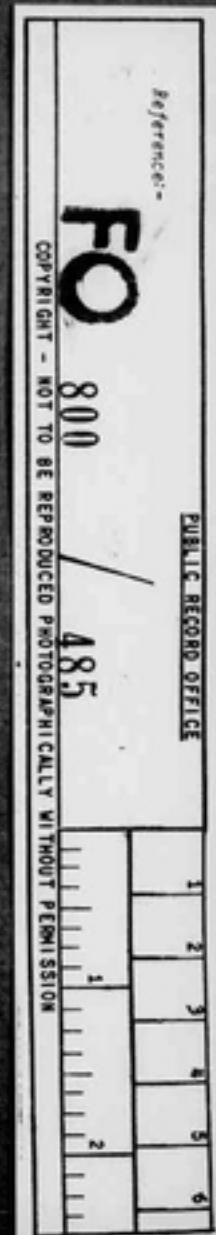
<i>Item.</i>	<i>Original British Estimate.</i>	<i>Jewish Agency Estimate.</i>	<i>Our revised Estimates.</i>
Transitional Assistance	4·9	6·8 to 8·8	6
Housing	14 to 28	12·5 to 12·8	14
Capital investment to provide employment for the immigrants ...	85	33·8 to 42·5	50
	103 to 117·9	53·1 to 63·1	70

We comment on these items in turn.

4. *Transitional Assistance.*—We have taken into account two factors:—

- (a) Since the British figure was compiled the United States Army have agreed to provide each immigrant with two months' rations and a certain amount of clothing. This will reduce the cost;
- (b) On the other hand, we feel that in actual fact it is more likely that assistance will be provided on the more generous scale contemplated by the Jewish Agency than on the more economical basis assumed by the British.

We reach our figure of £6 millions after taking both factors into account.



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43. In the case of the Arab budget, no allowance is made for the increased annual cost of maintaining the improved education, health and social services recommended by the Anglo-American Committee. A tentative estimate by the Palestine Government puts the annual cost of such improved services at £1·3 millions initially rising in the tenth year to £4·4 millions. We rather doubt whether progress will be sufficiently fast to require such a rate of expenditure, but in so far as it is incurred it will serve to increase the budgetary deficit.

44. We would add the following comment on these estimated outturns:—

- (a) We have throughout taken the existing figures of expenditure. In the case of the provincial Governments some allowance should probably be made for increased expenditure due to the duplication of administrative machinery:
- (b) Both the British and United States Groups agree that, if there is any further rise in internal prices, there will have to be an addition to the provision in the Central Government's budget for increased cost of living subsidies. The British Group feel that £4 millions should be included for this purpose but the United States Group are not certain that any expenditure will be required under this head;

We should perhaps explain why the United States Group differ with the British about their provision for further additions to the existing provision of £7,650,000 for cost of living subsidies in the Palestine budget. They agree that the Palestine economy (measured by its existing national income of £110 millions and its Government budget of £21 millions) will have to absorb a very large spending programme such as is contemplated, but in their view allowance should be made—

- (i) for the fact that a large part of this programme will consist of imported goods financed with external money;
- (ii) for the fact that borrowing of some £35 millions mostly from internal sources may be assumed (see paragraph 11);
- (iii) for the fact that larger supplies of imported consumer goods at lower prices will become available.

All the above will tend to counteract the inflationary effect of the programme. The United States Group feel unable to estimate whether prices in Palestine will rise or fall and, therefore, feel unable to endorse the British estimate. The British equally feel bound to include provision for the contingency of rising prices and cannot reduce their estimate to below £4 millions.

- (c) On the assumption that the provincial plan will be accepted by both sides, we have made no allowances for any increase in the cost of law and order, nor for any losses in revenue resulting from disorders and non-co-operation.
- (d) Initially, the change-over to the provincial system may cause some dislocation, but apart from this and apart from any further increase in cost of living subsidies, the Central Government budget should show a more substantial surplus. In particular, we look for a considerable buoyancy in Customs revenue and, granted civil peace, a reduction in the cost of Police and Prisons.
- (e) In the Jewish Province, there is a large margin with which to cover any increase in expenditure on setting up administrative machinery for locally administered services and on expanded social services. We do not, however, see how any of this surplus could be diverted to either the Central Government or the Arab Province so long as the existing allocation of functions is maintained.
- (f) In the Arab Province, we fear that there is little chance of substantially increased revenue for some time till the development and social service schemes bring in their harvest of increased income and increased taxable capacity. Expenditure on the capital programme will produce some benefit to the revenue, though mainly to the central Government taxes of Customs and Excise. At best any such benefit to local taxation will only go to offset increased expenditure following on decentralisation and the estimated increased cost of improving Arab social services (£1·3 millions in the first year rising to £4·4 millions in the tenth year).

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PALESTINE'S FINANCIAL NEEDS.

45. Our studies above lead to the following conclusions :—

(a) *Capital.*

The Jewish Province may need up to a further £10 millions to finance its immigration scheme. This would all be suitable for a self-liquidating loan.

The Arab Province might need up to £15 millions to £20 millions over the next ten years. Of this only a small proportion would be suitable for a self-liquidating loan.

Long-term *economic development* will require self-liquidating loans of considerable magnitude. We are unable at this stage to estimate what sums might be required.

(b) *Annual deficits.*

The budgets of the Jewish province and of Jerusalem should be self-supporting. The budget of the Central Government should show a surplus which, assuming a net profit of some £·7 million from Railways and Ports, and Posts and Telegraphs, might amount to some £1 million. This assumes that there would be no outbreak of disorder or of non-co-operation sufficient to cause a loss of revenue and that internal prices will not rise sufficiently to require an increase in cost of living subsidies. In the British, but not in the American, view this risk of increased prices is sufficiently serious to justify the assumption that up to £4 million of additional expenditure might be necessary on this account which would convert the assumed surplus of £1 million into a deficit of £3 million. The Arab budget will have a deficit of £2 million on the basis of existing expenditure which will be increased by the additional expenditure on improved social services, which we might estimate very roundly at an average of £1 million a year in the first five years.

The Arab deficit of £3 million a year would be reduced by the amount of any surplus on the Central Government budget. On the more favourable hypothesis £1 million would be available from this source, thus reducing the annual needs of Palestine as a whole to £2 million. On the more gloomy British prognostication, the Central Government budget would also show a deficit of up to £3 million, and the overall needs of Palestine would be increased to £6 million a year. Both the £2 million and the £6 million would be increased by any loss of revenue due to disorder and would be reduced as any increase in tranquillity made it possible to reduce expenditure on law and order.

HOW THESE NEEDS MIGHT BE MET.

46. The United States Delegation has agreed 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. The United States Delegation also recognises that a large proportion of the capital needed for the self-sustaining projects mentioned in paragraphs 10, 20 and 22 must come from outside sources. It is possible that Palestine could obtain a loan from the International Bank if she becomes a member, but the United States Delegation proposes to recommend that the President of the United States seek legislation authorising, in the event that adequate finance from other sources, such as the International Bank, is not available, the making of loans through an appropriate agency for the development of the Middle East region, including Palestine, up to \$250 million.

47. The United Kingdom delegation for their part propose to recommend to His Majesty's Government that they should ask Parliament to take ultimate responsibility for meeting recurring deficits up to the time when increased revenues may allow them to be met out of Arab provincial or Central Government funds.

48. The British proposal would provide for the recurrent deficit under the provincial plan which they estimate at £6 millions a year (reduced to £2 millions if internal prices do not in fact rise).

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49. The United States proposed grant of \$50 millions should care for expenditure sufficient to ensure that the Arab capital programme be effectively carried forward to the period when means of additional financing may be found. The proposed United States loan of \$250 millions would provide for the assumed deficit on the Jewish capital programme, will be available towards any part of the Arab programme suitable for self-liquidating loans and could be used for financing the long-term economic development schemes.

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5. *Housing.*—The British and Jewish Agency estimates for semi-permanent housing are virtually the same, and we have adopted the slightly higher British figure of £14 millions. We do not dispute that further money will have to be spent eventually in providing additional housing, but this will be a long-term process and in our view can be disregarded when considering the more immediate problem.

6. *Capital investment to provide employment for the new immigrants.*—The British figure was built up on the basis of past and current experience in Palestine of the amount of investment needed to provide work for a breadwinner. After taking an assumed figure for the number of persons dependent on the breadwinner, these calculations gave £565 as the average amount of investment required to provide work for a Jewish immigrant, whether breadwinner or dependent. We do not dispute the general soundness of this approach.

The British went on, however, to assume that, although the current investment figure of £565 might suffice for the first 50,000 immigrants, allowance would have to be made for the progressive difficulties of Palestine industry in dealing with outside competition. In the British view Palestine industry at that point would have to reorganise itself so that a far higher investment figure would be required. To allow for this the British had assumed an investment figure of just double the current figure as being required for the second 50,000. Thus—

	£m.
50,000 @ £565 =	28·25
50,000 @ £1,130 =	56·50
	<hr/> 84·75

or, say, £85 million.

7. The United States Group criticised this conclusion about the second 50,000. In their view, insufficient allowance had been made for two factors:—

- (a) By suitable policy, employment could be assured, without calling on the higher investment figure needed to enable Palestine industry to compete in world markets at the existing exchange rates;
- (b) A considerable part of the investment programme would consist of imported goods. The British had assumed that all would be imported at the existing internal Palestine price level of 300. Admittedly, Palestine was at present forced to import from designated sources of supply at a c.i.f. price approximating to the internal price level, but as world conditions improve it would be reasonable to assume that a proportion of imports would come from the cheaper sources.

8. Both the United States and the British Group admit that this is an extremely speculative item on which it is only possible to make informed guesses. But they suggest that, for current purposes, it might be nearer the mark to put the investment figure at about £50 m. over the next two years without prejudice to the extent of longer term investment in subsequent years.

9. The spread of this programme is important. We think that there is little doubt that this expenditure will be concentrated in the first two years. There is an obvious urge to force the pace. Houses and employment must be found just as fast as conditions permit.

10. *Sources of finance for this programme.*—We have considered how far this programme would be suitable for self-liquidating loans and we make the following estimates:—

Item.	<i>Suitable for loan.</i> £m.	<i>Not suitable for loan.</i> £m.
Transitional Assistance	...	6·0
Housing	7·0	7·0
Capital Investment for immigrants...	38·0	12·0
	<hr/> 45·0	<hr/> 25·0
		E

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11. For meeting this programme, we reckon that the Jewish Agency or Government of the Jewish Province could count on raising some £60m. in the next two years.

- (a) From Reparations the maximum expectation is £5m.
- (b) From World Jewry it would not be well to count on more than £20m. Finance from these sources could be applied to the £25m. not suitable for loan. For the rest,
- (c) We put the maximum expectation of the amount that could be raised in loans in Palestine (whether in Palestine pounds or in sterling) at £35m. It should be noted that in this £35m. we have allowed for the use of sterling balances in London.

12. This leaves a possible deficit of £10m., all of which would be suitable for a self-liquidating loan.

13. *Responsibility for this programme.*—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 though there would be no need to ask the Agency to agree to any of our specific estimates. In due course the responsibility in question should be transferred to the Government of the Jewish Province.

14. *Nazi assets in Germany.*—We should record that the existence of these assets will not contribute materially to this immigration scheme. We find that in the British zone, at any rate, the authorities contemplate that a certain proportion of displaced persons (not Jews) should be permanently settled in Germany. They contemplate that this settlement should be financed out of the general German budget. The revenue of this budget will include receipts from the sale of confiscated Nazi assets. To this extent these assets will be contributing to these settlement schemes, but no object would be served in formally hypothecating them for this service. We emphasise that these assets are mark assets and as such can only be used for expenditure inside Germany.

15. Another relevant question is the claim against the German Treasury in respect of compensation claims by Jews for property confiscated from them by the Nazis. The relevance of these claims to the Palestine question is that, even when admitted, these claims can only be met in marks, which are useful only for purchases inside Germany. Any goods required for export from Germany must, under the Quadripartite Agreement, be paid for in dollars. It might help the immigration scheme for the 100,000 if certain building materials in Germany could be acquired by the Jewish Agency and we recommend that the authorities in the Western Zones should look into the possibility of making any such materials available. The Jewish Agency would have to find the dollars and could reasonably expect the transaction to be effected at world prices.

(b) *The Arab programme.*

16. We used as the basis of our investigation a tentative survey made by the Palestine Government as to the cost of implementing recommendations 5 and 9 of the Anglo-American Committee's Report. These recommendations called for an improvement of educational, health and other social services to bring Arab standards in line with Jewish standards and for economic and social measures also designed to raise the Arab standard of living nearer to that of the Jews. Such a programme clearly called for a large capital outlay and the Palestine Government reached very tentative conclusions as to the cost involved. These estimates were drawn up, however, on the assumption that something like the existing form of Government would continue and that the programme would be spread over the whole country of Palestine. In our view under the provincial plan these developments must be carried out in the Arab province alone. Not only would the Arabs object to a scheme, allegedly for their benefit, which resulted in capital improvements in an area under Jewish control, but there would be considerable administrative difficulties in devising machinery for the spending and control of the Arab programme in the Jewish province. This concentration of effort in the Arab province makes it necessary to revise the basis of the Palestine Government plan. The economy of the Arab province (which may be gauged by its existing revenue of some £1·3 millions) cannot, without disastrous results, absorb an excessive spending programme. The necessity to find and train skilled personnel will also set a limit to the pace at which the educational and social programme can be advanced.



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Allowing for all these considerations we think that a spending programme of £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 made by the Anglo-American Committee. In addition, up to £10 million should be provided for credit facilities. There are, however, so many unknown factors in the carrying out of such a programme as that for which we have indicated the £15 million to £20 million target that it would be most unwise to commit ourselves to any public statement as to the amount of the programmes to be undertaken.

17. We should mention that the measures to be dealt with in this programme would include the following :—

(a) *Health and Social Services*.—The provision of a health service for the Arabs of a standard similar to that established for the Jews. 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.

18. We do not think it would be of any use at this stage to suggest what proportion of the programme might be assigned to each of these heads. Only in respect of credit facilities have we suggested a tentative target of £10 million.

19. *The spread of the programme and the sources of finance*.—As we have already suggested the undertaking of so large a capital programme will impose a considerable strain on the economy of the Arab province. The programme must therefore be spread as far as possible. Delays in recruiting trained social service and educational personnel will in any case be a limiting factor. We reckon that, excluding credit facilities, if a programme of between £15 million and £20 million can be achieved over the next ten years that will be the maximum effort possible and will be a fully adequate implementation of the Anglo-American Committee's Recommendations.

20. Finance for credit facilities should be found from local bank credits. For the rest of the programme we can see no sources of finance in sight from among the Arab community. We must therefore report that if this programme

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is to be achieved the whole of the finance for the £15m. to £20m. programme must be found from outside. Of this sum, only a small proportion would be suitable for self liquidating loans.

21. We should, perhaps, mention here that the Arab capital programme, though it may compete to some extent with the Jewish so far as materials are concerned, will not compete for labour. The Arab programme will use local Arab or imported labour that for political reasons could not be used on the Jewish programme.

(c) *Long Term Economic Development.*

22. We should mention among capital requirements the finance required if such long term development schemes as the Hays plan (Recommendation 8) prove practicable. Such schemes will, of course, make it necessary for the Central Government to play a prominent part, e.g., in legislation for the acquisition and reassignment of land, the protection of water rights, &c. At the same time 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. Finance should ultimately be made the responsibility of the provinces benefiting by the scheme in proportion to the profits which they derive. The finance should be provided by loan which, if the scheme is practicable, should be self-liquidating. As such it can be secured on the revenue of the scheme reinforced by a general charge on provincial revenues. As much as possible of the loan should be raised internally. The external finance may well be considerable, and we trust that international institutions will give sympathetic considerations to the requirements of such schemes.

23. We do not think it would serve any purpose at this stage to suggest how much finance might be required for such projects beyond indicating that it would be considerable.

ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS.

24. We now turn to certain administrative problems that arise in the financial sphere as a result of the setting up of a Central and three Provincial Governments, each with its own budget.

25. We assume that it is the intention of the provincial plan (P.30) that the Central Government should only administer and collect such taxes as are required to defray Central Government services and that all other taxes should inure to and be administered by the Provincial Governments. On this general proposition we offer the following comments.

26. We think that excise must be administered by the Central Government, if only out of administrative necessity. Separate provincial excise systems might result in differential tariffs that would invite smuggling. It would be possible to administer the tax centrally and still to distribute it to the provincial budgets, but we are against this for the following reasons :—

- (a) Central Government needs an additional source of revenue.
- (b) The provinces may well make claims for a share of customs revenue.
If they are given a share of excise, they have a far stronger case in logic for demanding a share of customs.

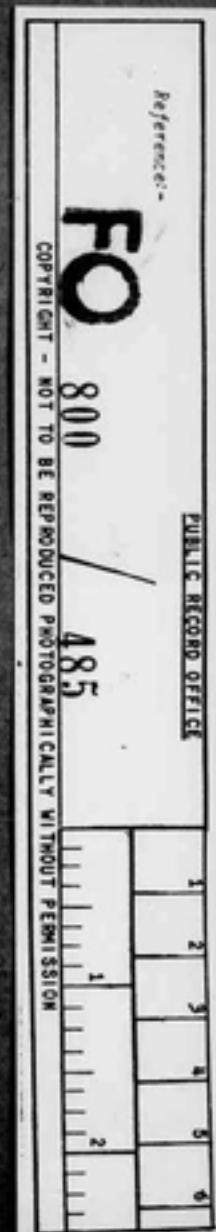
27. *Income Tax.*—A good case can be made out for making this tax one which is both administered by the Central Government and inures to it.

- (a) A centrally administered system is more efficient.
- (b) It would be desirable that the Central Government should have some direct taxation as well as indirect at its disposal.

On the other hand :—

- (i) There might well be practical advantages for different tax systems in the Jewish and Arab provinces respectively. A different approach and a different kind of machine is necessary to get the best results in each community.
- (ii) Politically, there is enormous advantage in a locally administered system. This tax has considerable potential yields, but the best results will only be obtained under a system in which each province taxes itself for its own services.

We, therefore, recommend a locally administered system.



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28. *Subvention of Provincial Governments by Central Government.*—The Arab province will initially at any rate be unable to balance its budget. The Central Government on the other hand might have a surplus. We recommend that this surplus should be at the free disposal of the Central Government, and that this power to dispose of a surplus should include the subvention of any provincial budget incurring a deficit. Before such help is given, the Central Government should satisfy itself that the Provincial Government in question is conducting its financial affairs with proper economy and that taxation is being imposed up to reasonable limits.

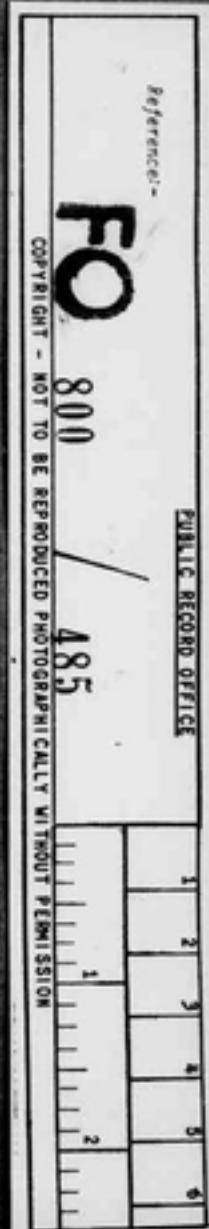
29. *Financial Powers.*—The Constitution will have to provide for the financial powers of the Provincial Governments. We wish to emphasise that if the provincial plan is to have any attractions, the utmost autonomy in financial matters should be given to the Provincial Governments consistently with the overall responsibility of the Central Government. We draw attention to three matters, which are of particular importance in this connection:—

- (a) The Provincial Governments should have the power to raise local loans. They should also have the power to take up external loans, but for such loans they should first obtain the consent of the Central Government.
- (b) We attach particular importance to giving the Provincial Governments as much control as possible in the sphere of foreign exchange, since in the past the control necessarily exercised by the Government of Palestine owing to war conditions has been a source of considerable resentment. After discussion with the British authorities on this point we are bound to recommend that the control of foreign exchange and currency shall for the time being be a function of the Central Government, and that the Central Government shall also for the time being be responsible for the licensing of imports. It shall, however, allocate licences equitably between the two Provinces after consultation with their representatives. Moreover, 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.

- (c) Although we have recommended that the Provincial Governments should have as much independence as possible in finance, we recognise that when it is a question of making deficiency grants to a Province either out of a surplus from the Central Government budget which will have been collected from the country as a whole or out of a Grant-in-Aid from the Mandatory Power, it will be necessary to provide for some powers of scrutiny over the budget of the Province. We, therefore, recommend that the Central Government should not only be empowered to examine and verify provincial and municipal accounts and to prescribe suitable methods of accounts, but that it should also have authority to prescribe the uses of any funds granted by it to the Provinces and to examine proposed budgets of provincial expenditure and to make recommendations with respect to them.

30. We should like to emphasise that the Central Government will not be able to use the power of the purse as an effective sanction for securing minority rights or other policy ends. These objectives must be secured by constitutional and not by financial machinery.



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THE STATE OF THE CENTRAL AND PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS' BUDGETS.

31. We now have to estimate how far under the provincial plan the budgets of the Central Government and of the Governments of the Jewish, Arab and Jerusalem areas will be self-supporting.

The basis of our estimate of the revenue and expenditure likely to be included in the Budgets of the Central and Provincial Governments has been to take the existing figures of revenue and expenditure of the Palestine Government and to allocate this revenue and expenditure between the three Budgets.

Estimates of Revenue.

32. The railways, posts and telegraphs and port administration together contribute a surplus to the Palestine Treasury, which is considered at a later point. Omitting meanwhile the gross revenue attributable to these services we get some £19 millions as the existing revenue of the Government of Palestine from all other sources. The first task is to decide what portion of this revenue will go to the Central Government.

33. The Provincial Plan allocates to the Central Government the following heads of revenue against which we give the current yields:—

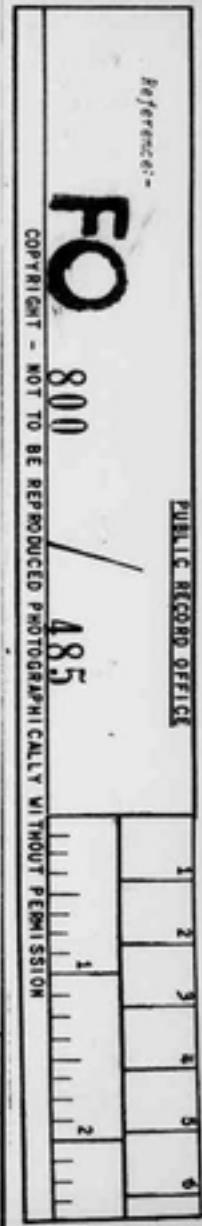
	£m.
Customs	7·00
Interest	·22
Repayment of loans	·33
Government properties	·10
Miscellaneous (including currency)	·54
Court fees	·16
Other fees and reimbursements	·77
	<hr/> 9·12

We recommend (paragraph 26) that the Central Government should also take excise which at present yields £2·80 millions. This would bring the revenue of the Central Government to £11·92 millions.

34. Deducting this £11·92 millions from the present total revenue of £19 millions we get £7·08 millions available for the two Provincial Governments and for Jerusalem. We estimate that this revenue which would come from the sources listed below would inure to the three Budgets as follows:—

	£m.	£m.	£m.
	Jewish Province.	Arab Province.	Jerusalem enclave.
Income tax	2·100	·230	·450
Animal tax	·085	·150	·015
Property taxes	·720	·375	·175
Land registration fees	·660	·185	·155
Road transport	·165	·050	·039
Fees and taxes	·836	·218	·156
Other receipts	·133	·148	·035
	<hr/> 4·699	<hr/> 1·356	<hr/> 1·025
	<hr/> £m. 7·080		

35. We should indicate briefly the principles on which we have arrived at this assumed division of revenue. The Government of Palestine have fairly extensive statistics as to their sources of revenue. Where these statistics enable revenue to be allocated with something like scientific accuracy to the two Provinces and Jerusalem we have worked on them. Where such information does not exist we have had to work from a more arbitrary basis by assuming that revenue will inure to the three areas in proportion to the population of those areas or in accordance with some similar formula, with such weight as can be given for any factors known to counterbalance an allocation on the population basis.



36. These principles are applied to the main heads of revenue as follows :—

Income Tax.—Here our figures are reasonably scientific. For over 75 per cent. of the existing yield of income tax we have information giving the yield from the three areas. Only as to the remaining 25 per cent. do we have to work on an arbitrary basis.

Animal Tax.—Here we have worked on the proportions attributable to the three areas given in the census of 1942–43.

Property Tax.—For this tax we have again got reliable information from the Palestine statistics. It should be noted that though land tax is the most productive Arab tax we still get a higher yield in the Jewish Province. This is accounted for by the fact that property tax covers the urban property tax which produces a heavy yield in the Jewish cities and by the fact that the land tax is graduated according to the value of the land. Much land in the Jewish agricultural area is more valuable than agricultural land in the Arab area.

Land Registration Tax can be attributed with reasonable accuracy from the Government statistics.

The yield of the *Vehicle Tax* is based on the last census of vehicles which enables the distribution between the different areas to be calculated with some accuracy.

For the other taxes we have had to use a number of formulae, weighted where justified for known factors.

37. We do not pretend that our estimates are wholly scientific but the Sub-Committee recommend them as a reasonable attempt to allocate existing revenues between the three areas.

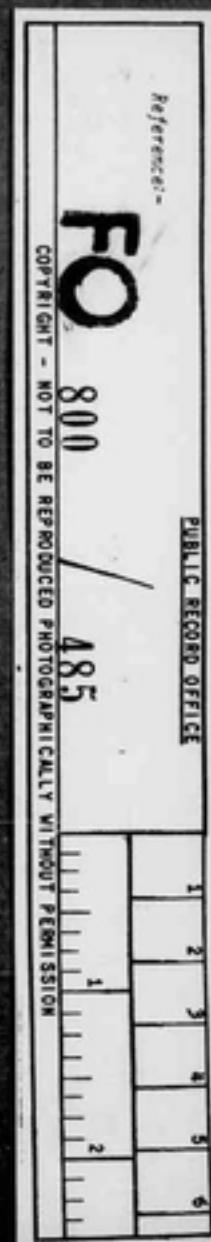
Expenditure.

38. The existing expenditure of the Government of Palestine (excluding the services of Railways, Posts and Ports) is some £19 millions. The services recommended in P. 30 for retention by the *Central Government* at present account for the following expenditure :—

	£m.
Administration	·210
Antiquities	·040
Audit	·040
Customs	·400
Legal	·225
Migration	·050
Miscellaneous	·100
Palestine Broadcasting Service	·180
Police	6·000
Prisons	·390
Public Works*	·125
Secretariat	·425
Statistics	·090
Surveys	·225
Transjordan Frontier Force	·043
Price subsidisation and control	2·200
Probation	·025
Public works extraordinary*	·400
Loan charges*	·240
Pensions	·075
	<hr/> 11·483

39. We should mention that for one item we have included an arbitrary figure. Central Administration, consisting of the High Commissioner, the Secretariat and District Administration at present costs £1 million. We have made the arbitrary estimate that the central machine will require £425,000 under this head.

* Proportion attributable to Central Government.



Provincial Government Expenditure.

40. After allowing £11·483 millions for the Central Government, we are left with £7·517 millions for the three area budgets. The attribution of this figure cannot be made with the same accuracy as in the case of revenue. In general we can only assume that the spending of the three areas will be in accordance with their population. Wherever a more scientific formula is available we have adopted it. For example, in the case of Public Debt Service, since we know in what areas the capital has been spent, we have allocated the cost of loan service proportionately.

41. On this basis, we estimate the following distribution of expenditure:—

<i>Service.</i>	<i>Jewish Province.</i>	<i>Arab Province.</i>	<i>Jerusalem Enclave.</i>
	£m.	£m.	£m.
Public Debt	·230	·230	·032
Administration	·141	·152	·022
Agriculture, fisheries and forests	·200	·282	·011
Co-op. Societies	·007	·008	·002
Education	·460	·625	·127
Local authorities	·900	·108	·087
Health and social welfare	·463	·582	·113
Income tax	·074	·074	·074
Labour	·140	·140	·070
Land registration and settlement	·093	·162	·021
Miscellaneous	·089	·120	·036
P.W.D.	·450	·910	·215
Supreme Moslem Council	—	·040	—
Town-planning	·009	·009	·009
Total	3·256	3·442	·819
	£m. 7·517		

The resulting budgetary position.

42. On the basis of the above estimates we get the following budgetary outturns:—

Central Government—

	£
Revenue	11,920,000
Expenditure	11,483,000
Surplus	437,000

If it continues, the surplus of around £·7 millions from railroads, ports and posts could be added to this figure.

Jewish Province—

	£
Revenue	4,699,000
Expenditure	3,256,000
Surplus	1,443,000

Arab Province—

	£
Revenue	1,356,000
Expenditure	3,442,000
Deficit	2,086,000

Jerusalem—

	£
Revenue	1,025,000
Expenditure	819,000
Surplus	206,000



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FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.¹³¹

29th July, 1946.

Pa 146/51

Dear Mr. Fine,

Mr. Bevin has asked me to answer your letter of the 9th July and to say that he very much regrets that he will not be able to give you a personal interview owing to his present indisposition and the fact that he is likely to be very heavily engaged during the rest of the summer.

Yours truly,

(Sgd.) J. P. E. C. HENNIKER

Private Secretary.

D. L. Fine, Esq., J.P.,
Jewish Daily Forward.

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Copy to
Faska Dept
Mr. Murie Co.
Sir D.

[Cypher]

P R I S E C

Pa/46/52

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO PARIS

(To United Kingdom Delegation to Conference
of Foreign Ministers)

No. 714.

29th July, 1946. D. 9.00 p.m. 29th July, 1946.

MOST IMMEDIATE. - - - - -

Following from Murrie, Cabinet Office.

Personal for Prime Minister.

TOP SECRET.

The Cabinet discussed telegram No. 1212 from the Palestine High Commissioner to the Colonial Secretary recommending that illegal immigrant ships should be forced to return to the port of departure, except ships from the Balkans which should be diverted to Cyrenaica or Cyprus.

2. The Cabinet were informed by the Colonial Secretary that he had discussed the matter with you and that your view was that the illegal immigrants must be allowed to land in Palestine but that only women and children should be released, any adult males being detained indefinitely in camps for security purposes.

3. The Chief of the Imperial General Staff told the Cabinet that, in his view, unless illegal immigration was stopped at once there would be an Arab rising. Our present Forces in Palestine would be unable to cope with this and with trouble from the Jews simultaneously. If we sent reinforcements to Palestine we should have to slow down the Army release scheme drastically. The Chief of the Imperial General Staff also said that the indefinite detention of adult male immigrants in camps would not lessen the resentment of the Arabs and that trouble from the Arabs could be avoided only by a resolute declaration that the Government intended to stop illegal immigration.

4. The Chief of the Imperial General Staff also said that if the Cabinet decided that illegal immigration must be stopped, the naval and military authorities could undertake the task of stopping it. His plan would be to stop ships carrying illegal immigrants within three miles of the Palestine coast, to transfer the illegal immigrants to British ships and to carry them in these ships to Cyprus or Cyrenaica.

5. It was made clear to the Cabinet that generally it would be quite impossible to send illegal immigrants back to the ports of departure (e.g. to Constanza). Several Ministers felt that, even if the plan was to divert immigrants to Cyprus or Cyrenaica, to attempt to turn them back when they had got within sight of Palestine would soon lead to serious incidents which would make it impossible for

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PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

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the Government to adhere to a resolute policy of stopping all illegal immigration. It was also suggested that to stop illegal immigration would seriously damage our chances of getting co-operation from the United States in a long-term solution of the Palestine problem. While no decision was reached and it is not possible to say what conclusion the Cabinet would have reached, the general atmosphere indicated that they were disposed to take the view that, even though there was a risk of serious trouble with the Arabs if illegal immigration continued, the alternative of turning back immigrants who had reached the coast of Palestine was unacceptable and that your solution was the best in all the circumstances.

6. In view of the advice given by the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, the Cabinet agreed that the discussion should be reported to you and that no decision should be taken until your views had been received on the question whether immediate steps should be taken to turn illegal immigrants back from Palestine.

The Cabinet will meet again at 10.30 a.m. tomorrow and the Lord President would be grateful if you would let him have your views before then.

7. Since the meeting of the Cabinet a further telegram (1259) has been received by the Colonial Secretary from the High Commissioner. This is being repeated to you in my immediately following telegram. This new telegram shows that, apart from the effect of further illegal immigration on the Arabs, the Palestine authorities are unable to guard any more immigrants in Palestine.

8. I should add that the Cabinet have ordered an immediate investigation by the Chiefs of Staff and the Foreign Office into the possibility of doing more to stop the departure of ships with illegal immigrants from countries such as Greece and Italy. This, however, does not affect the position of ships already on their way to Palestine, nor is it likely that we shall be able to stop the departure of ships from all European ports.

9. Since the Cabinet discussion the Colonial Secretary has suggested that it might be worth issuing a warning that we intend to turn back any immigrants who embarked after the date of the warning. This suggestion will be discussed at Cabinet tomorrow and the Lord President would be glad to have your views on it.

O.T.P.

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Copied:- *Easika*
M. Murie
Sir S.
Pa/46/53

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[CYPHER]

P R I S E C

FOREIGN OFFICE TO PARIS

(To United Kingdom Delegation to Conference of
Foreign Ministers)

No. 715.
29th July 1946.

D. 8.17 p.m. 29th July 1946.

0:0:0:0

Following from: Murrie, Cabinet Office.

Personal for Prime Minister.

MOST IMMEDIATE

Following is copy of telegram referred to in my
immediately preceding telegram:-

Cypher (O.T.P.)

FROM: PALESTINE (General Sir A. Cunningham)

To: Secretary of State, Colonies.

D. 29th June, 1946.

R. 29th June, 1946, 12.05 hours.

MOST IMMEDIATE

No. 1259. Top Secret.

2,670 illegal immigrants were brought into Haifa today
and are now lying off shore. At least one other ship with
500 suspected illegal immigrants on board may be expected
wide your No. 1277 regarding S.S. Hochelaga. There are also
reports of movement of other illegal immigrant ships. Precise
information has not yet been obtained.

2. We are quite unable at the moment to guard any more
illegal immigrants in this country. I would urge that
every other ship on the sea is diverted. Otherwise the
situation here may become completely impossible.

O.T.P.

Reference: -

FO 800 / 485

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*Keston
M. Mayne
PRIS E.C.*

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[CYPHER].

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO PARIS. *U.N. Dept.*

(To United Kingdom Delegation to Conference of Foreign Ministers).

No. 716.

29th July 1946.

D. 9.15 p.m. 29th July 1946.

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MOST IMMEDIATE.

TOP SECRET.

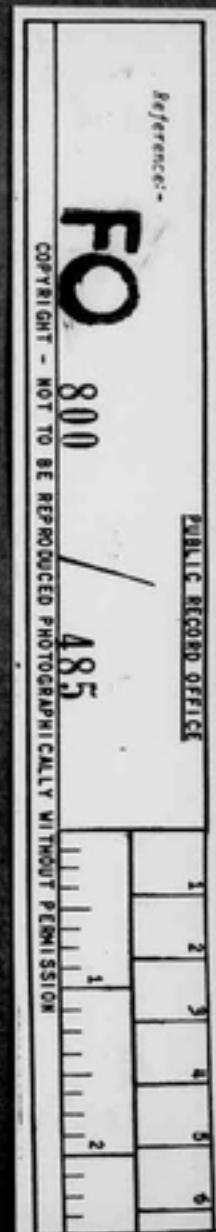
Following from Murrie, Cabinet Office.

Personal for Prime Minister.

Following is a brief note of the decisions taken at this morning's Cabinet:-

1. Foreign Secretary. It was agreed to send him a letter of sympathy.
2. World Federation of Democratic Youth. It was agreed that the United Kingdom Representative on the Economic and Social Council should oppose the application of this body for inclusion on the panel of non-Government organisations recognised as consultants, on the general ground that there seemed to be no case for having a consultant body on such a subject as youth. Further enquiries are to be made into the suggestion that the World Federation of Democratic Youth is completely under Communist influence.
3. Proposals for Breaking up the Poor Law. General approval was given for discussions with local authorities, on the understanding that there would be no commitments whatever on the financial aspects of the proposals. A further memorandum on these aspects is to be circulated to the Cabinet. It was also pointed out that there could be no commitment as to legislation next Session.

4.



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4. Disposal of German Merchant Ships. The proposals of the Minister of Transport were approved.

5. Palestine: Long Term Policy. The Colonial Secretary informed the Cabinet of the developments in Paris yesterday and said that you were seeing Mr. Byrnes again today and would communicate the results of your talks to the Lord President so that a final decision may be taken as to what is to be said in Wednesday's debate. The Lord President will open on Wednesday, the President of the Board of Trade will open on Thursday and the Colonial Secretary will wind up.

6. Palestine: Illegal Immigration. I am reporting to you separately on this.

7. Conference on Palestine: Invitation to Jews and Palestine Arabs. The Cabinet took the view that the Colonial Secretary should do what he could to discourage the Arabs from proposing the inclusion of the Mufti in their delegation and to discourage the Jewish Agency from nominating members of its Executive now in detention or Mr. Ben Gurion or Mr. Sneh (security member of the Jewish Agency Executive), but that in the last resort we should not oppose the inclusion of these members in the delegation in view of the over-riding desirability of getting a settlement.

O.T.P.

Reference: FO 800 / 485

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Most immediate

TELEGRAM

Dep 8.5pm
in OS

137

Following

FROM: Murrie, Cabinet Office.

TO: Personal for Prime Minister, U.K. Delegation,
Peace Conference, Paris.TOP SECRETMOST IMMEDIATE

Pa 146/55

K. M.

Paris.

No 125

Rt July 30th

cph.

Other ships
arrived by
British crews

SAC.

pls to

Arabist Newslet

Minister of State

Sir J. Sargent

Mr. Howie

Eastern Dept.

Bridges (Adm)

- Long (-)

i. N. Bush (-)

Mr. Murray (-)

Mr. Leathem (-)

Mr. Morris (-)

1. Illegal Immigration into Palestine. The Cabinet had a further discussion this morning about this question. They had before them a report by the Chiefs of Staff (a) urging from the military point of view that illegal immigration should be stopped, (b) recommending that the Foreign Office should continue to exert pressure on foreign Governments to stop illegal immigration at the source, (c) pointing out that the military authorities could not take direct action to stop ships at Italian and Greek ports, and (d) recommending that illegal immigrants could be trans-shipped within Palestine territorial waters from the ships in which they had arrived and sent to Cyprus.

2. Sir John Shaw, Chief Secretary for Palestine, from whom the Cabinet had an oral report on the situation, confirmed the message received yesterday from the High Commissioner (see my telegram No. 715) to the effect that the Palestine authorities were unable to guard any more immigrants in Palestine. He stressed the very ugly temper of the Arab community at the moment and expressed the great concern of the High Commissioner lest the continued arrival of shiploads of illegal immigrants should precipitate serious trouble with the Arabs.

3. Your telegram of this morning in reply to my No. 714 was read to the Cabinet, stating that you still adhered to the view that illegal immigrants must be allowed to land in Palestine but that only women and children should be released and that adult males should be detained indefinitely in camps.

Sir G. Galt (Co.)
Chiefs of Staff (A)

-1-

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PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

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4. In view of the evidence of Sir John Shaw and of the fact that ten more ships are believed to be on their way to Palestine, the predominant feeling of the Cabinet was in favour of a scheme for transshipping illegal immigrants before they landed in Palestine and for conveying them to Cyprus where they could be accommodated in a staging camp, but before reaching a final decision the Cabinet felt that you should know their views and that they ought to have detailed information about how a plan of this kind would be carried out so as to minimise risk of serious incidents. It has accordingly been arranged that the Colonial Secretary will draw up a plan after consultation with Sir John Shaw, the High Commissioner in Palestine, the Chiefs of Staff and the Ministry of Transport. This plan will show exactly what would be done and what methods would be employed. It is hoped that the plan will be available for consideration by the Cabinet on Thursday. The Lord President would be glad to know whether, in the light of what is said above, you wish him to convey to the Cabinet any further expression of your views.

5. Sequestration of Zionist Property. The Cabinet reaffirmed their decision not to authorise the sequestration of Zionist property as proposed in paragraph 6 of telegram No. 1226 from the High Commissioner in Palestine.

[was that it was imperative to take action which would put a stop to illegal immigration before it resulted in a serious deterioration of the position. The most promising course is felt to be]

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PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

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6. Letter from the Military Commander

forbidding social intercourse with Jews. The Cabinet decided that in the opening speech of tomorrow's debate the Lord President should state that, while the Government must make all allowances for the extreme provocation experienced by British troops in Palestine and while they supported the action of General Barker in forbidding British soldiers to have social intercourse with Jews, they must dissociate themselves from the terms of the letter which he had issued. The Lord President would also say that the Chief of the Imperial General Staff had taken up this aspect of the matter with General Barker. The Lord President will take special care not to give the military authorities on the spot any cause to think that the Government do not fully support them.

7. Long-term Policy for Palestine. The Cabinet were informed that the shorter United States statement (Telegram No. 406) to which you had agreed had not yet been approved by President Truman but that his reply was expected this afternoon. The Cabinet agreed that the Lord President and the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs should make the longer statement at the beginning of tomorrow's debate on Palestine. The Cabinet felt that a full statement of the plan for provincial autonomy ought to be made even though President Truman proved to be unwilling to make any statement himself.

8. Proposed Inquiry into the Press. The Cabinet agreed that further investigation should be made of the lines on which any such inquiry might be carried out and that, until after the summer Recess, no decision should be taken or announcement made on the question whether there should be an inquiry.

-3-

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30/7

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6/8

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PRIME MINISTER.Palestine Conference.

A Meeting was held in Sir Orme Sargent's room at 5 o'clock on Friday August 2nd. The Colonial Office was represented by Sir George Gater and Sir Douglas Harris. They reported that the Colonial Secretary had seen Dr. Weizmann, who had discussed with him the question of Jewish representation at the forthcoming Conference. Dr. Weizmann had appeared to acquiesce in the view that the participation in the Conference of those members of the Jewish Agency who had been arrested in Palestine, or who would have been arrested but for their absence from Palestine, would be undesirable. He also accepted the proposed procedure by which Jewish representatives other than those of the Jewish Agency for Palestine would be nominated by the Colonial Secretary and not, as had been done in 1939, by the Jewish Agency itself. Dr. Weizmann undertook to inform the Colonial Secretary of his views on Jewish representation early next week.

Meanwhile an invitation had been sent to the Arab

/Higher

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Higher Executive in Palestine. It was intended that, in addition to the four members of the Executive, four other Palestine Arabs should be invited.

The Foreign Office reported that four of the seven Arab Governments to whom invitations had been sent - Saudi Arabia, Syria, Lebanon and Transjordan - had accepted them.

It was agreed that the Foreign Office Conference Department should be responsible for the accommodation of all the visiting delegations. Telegrams would be sent immediately to the Middle East posts asking them for information as to the numbers likely to be sent from the Arab countries.

It was agreed that Lancaster House would be the most suitable place for the Conference to meet, and that the Cabinet Offices should be asked to provide an official who would take charge of the Conference Secretariat, assisted by an official from the Foreign Office and one from the Colonial Office.

The date for the opening of the Conference was then discussed. The Arab States had been informed of our intention that the results of the Conference should

/ be known

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It was assumed that the British Delegation would consist of Ministers, but it was agreed to propose to you, subject to the consent of Sir E. Bridges, that Sir Norman Brook should also be a member of the Delegation.

(Signed) O. G. SARGENT.

6th August, 1946.

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SS 143
 The C.O. wish to put this out
 at the beginning of next week.
 But they will like your news
 as soon as possible. The Dept. have however
 agreed a new draft here. However
 on the 16th and 8th August, 1946.
 President and I do not therefore
 like you new consider the
 attack. Pa/46/57 J.H. 9.8

IMMEDIATE
TOP SECRET

Dear Dixon,

In accordance with the Conclusions of yesterday's Cabinet, we have redrafted the proposed announcement about the stopping of illegal immigration into Palestine. I enclose the redraft which has been approved by my Secretary of State as a basis for consideration. I should be grateful if you will let me know as soon as possible whether Mr. Bevin agrees.

I am writing similarly to Rowan and Christie.

Yours sincerely,

P. Roger.

P.S. We have drafted the announcement (you will see the addition in the penultimate paragraph) on the assumption that it has been decided to make protests to Poland and other Eastern European countries where anti-Jewish measures have been taken. The point was, as you know, left for the Foreign Secretary to decide, and if it has been decided not to make such protests, the reference to it in the announcement will of course have to be deleted. Perhaps you could cover that point in your reply and let Rowan and Christie know the position.

J.H. 9.8
P. J. Dixon, Esq., C.M.G.

P.R.

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DRAFT ANNOUNCEMENT ON ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION
INTO PALESTINE.

In December, 1945, the quota permitting the entry into Palestine of 75,000 Jewish immigrants under the provisions of the White Paper was exhausted. Nevertheless, pending a final decision on future policy for Palestine, His Majesty's Government authorised a continuance of Jewish immigration at the rate of 1,500 a month. Unfortunately, instead of this provision being accepted pending decisions on long-term policy, there has been an increasing flow of illegal immigrants into Palestine. The numbers of these immigrants have had to be set-off against the monthly quota, and there are now more already detained in camps in Palestine or in ships in Haifa harbour than can be admitted if the whole quota is applied to no other purpose for many months ahead. Still others are known to be on their way to Palestine.

It is well-known that His Majesty's Government have been concerting plans with the United States representatives designed to provide for increased immigration into Palestine under conditions which would not disturb the peace and economy of the country. Reluctant as they were to do anything to prejudice the successful outcome of these negotiations, and moved by sympathy for the sufferings of the Jewish people in Europe, His Majesty's Government have hitherto allowed illegal immigrants to land, notwithstanding the grave embarrassment caused to the Palestine Authorities both in the administration of the quota and by the necessity for detaining in camps those whose entry was not immediately possible under the quota.

The patience and forbearance thus shown by His Majesty's Government have however been interpreted by those responsible for the traffic as a sign of weakness,

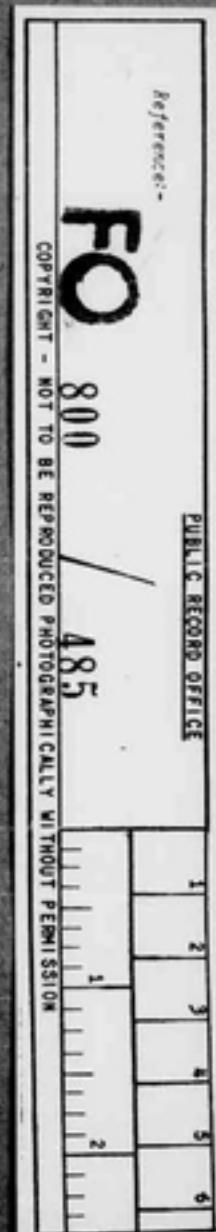
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weakness, and as an encouragement to re-double their efforts to increase the flow of illegal immigrants still further. The point has now been reached when it is clear that the present illegal traffic is not, as has been maintained, a movement arising spontaneously among European Jews who see in Palestine their only hope for the future. Nor are those who encourage and direct it inspired solely by the sympathy which is so widely felt for suffering. Recent developments have revealed the illegal immigrant traffic as a widely ramified and highly organised movement supported by very large financial contributions from Jewish communities throughout the world, which has been built up and put into operation by unscrupulous persons in an attempt to force the hand of His Majesty's Government and anticipate their decision on future policy as regards the Palestine problem. It maintains a closely knit network of agents in the principal European countries, especially those of Southern Europe, by whom considerable numbers of displaced Jews are moved from points of departure as far distant as Poland down to the Mediterranean seaboard. There, they are provided with forged visas, herded into overcrowded and unseaworthy ships with insufficient food and in conditions of the utmost privation and squalor, and brought across the Mediterranean, inspired by a conviction carefully instilled into them that this is their only road to safety. In all this process the laws and regulations of the countries concerned are ignored, identity and ration cards, travel documents, etc. are forged on a large scale, while food, clothing, medical supplies and transport provided by U.N.R.R.A. and other agencies for the relief of suffering in Europe are unscrupulously diverted to the maintenance of what is openly described as "the underground railway to Palestine".

Apart from the illegality of this traffic and
the



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the great danger it causes to law and order both in the countries through which it passes and in Palestine, acute suffering is caused to many distressed persons by the hardships they are forced to undergo on their journey. Moreover, the recent increase in illegal immigration is operating with great unfairness towards those immigrants who would otherwise have been able to enter Palestine legally under the quota, and much suffering to them and their families has arisen from this cause. Its continuance at the present time is likely to affect adversely the hopes of any general Palestine settlement. The reception and guarding of the large numbers of immigrants in question place an unbearable strain on the Administration, and it is obvious that, having regard to the evidence which exists that the terrorist elements have been reinforced by persons entering Palestine illegally, the promiscuous introduction of further large numbers is out of the question.

For all these reasons, His Majesty's Government are determined no longer to tolerate these attempts designed to force their hands in framing a new policy for Palestine. They have made urgent representations to the Governments of the countries from which the immigrants are despatched in order to stop the traffic at its source, and they have made strong protests to the Governments of those Eastern European countries in which anti-Jewish measures are still continuing. In addition, instructions have been given to the Palestine Authorities that the reception into Palestine of illegal immigrants must cease. Accordingly, immigrants arriving illegally will henceforward be conveyed to Cyprus or elsewhere and housed in camps there until future policy is decided. Meanwhile, it is fully understood that many of the illegal immigrants concerned have come through conditions of great hardship in circumstances not under

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their control, and all reasonable measures will be taken for their health and wellbeing.

In announcing these decisions His Majesty's Government wish to make clear their sincere sympathy with Jewish suffering and their earnest desire to press forward with a permanent solution of the Palestine problem. At the same time, they are determined that this attempt by a minority of Zionist extremists to exploit the sufferings of unfortunate people in order to create a situation prejudicial to a final settlement cannot be tolerated, and that the authority of the Mandatory Power must be supported.

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Pa T604/46

*Mr. N. Butler
N.A. Dept.
Eastern Dept.*

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Pa/46/58

[Cypher] P R I S E C

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO WASHINGTON

No. 7757 D. 6.00 p.m. 8th August, 1946.
8th August, 1946. - - - -

IMMEDIATE.

DEDIP

PERSONAL AND TOP SECRET

Following sent by President to Prime Minister.
Message of 8th August, 1946.
[Begins]

I regret that I was not able promptly to give you a definite reply to your telegram of July 25th asking for my views with regard to the recommendations of the American and British groups concerning Palestine. Mr. Byrnes and Mr. Harriman have, I believe, discussed the matter with you and have explained that I do not feel myself able in present circumstances to accept the plan proposed as a joint Anglo-American plan.

The whole matter is being carefully reviewed in Washington and I hope in the not too distant future to give you a more definite reply as to our position.

O.T.P.

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[CYpher] M R Butter
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FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO WASHINGTON

No. 7805 D. 9.00 p.m. 9th August, 1946
9th August, 1946

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IMMEDIATE

DEDIP

Personal and Top Secret.

Following sent by Prime Minister to President telegram of 9th August, 1946.

[Begins]

Thank you for your message which was passed to me by your Embassy yesterday morning.

2. I feel bound to express my great disappointment that you have not yet been able to accept the plan worked out with so much goodwill by the American and British experts as the best solution to this very difficult question. Meanwhile, it has been necessary for us to make arrangements for the proposed conference with Jews and Arabs at the end of this month and I think that it may be useful to you to know what our present intentions are.

3. We have given very careful consideration to the plan of the American and British experts. We are convinced that this plan is in all the circumstances the best that can be devised and the most likely to lead to a settlement in Palestine. We believe further that it may be possible as part of this plan to introduce a substantial number of refugees from Europe into Palestine in the near future without disturbing the peace of the whole Middle East and imposing on us a military commitment which we are quite unable to discharge. We doubt whether there is any alternative plan which would offer the same prospect.

4. It is accordingly our intention, as was stated by the Government in the recent Parliamentary Debate, to present the plan of the experts as the basis for negotiation at the Conference. Given the support of your Government, we should

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- 2 -

be able to put the plan forward without modification. If however you continue to feel that you cannot accept the proposals as a joint Anglo-American plan and we have therefore to carry it into effect with our own resources alone, we shall present it to the conference in a modified form. As we said in the Debate to which I have referred, these modifications will relate particularly to the tempo and extent of Jewish immigration and Arab development.

5. I need hardly add that we shall give careful consideration to any suggestions you may have to make but I thought it only right that you should know our present intentions.

6. You will, I am sure, realise that we have to deal with the actual situation with all its difficulties and dangers. The lives of British, Jews and Arabs are imperilled and I more than hope that you may see your way clear to assist us in a final and permanent solution.

O.T.P.

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OUTWARD TELEGRAM

Pa/46/60

[CYPHER]

PRISEC

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO WASHINGTON

NO. 7905.

D. 2.20 p.m. 13th August, 1946.

13th August, 1946.

Repeated to Paris (United Kingdom Delegation) No. 872 Immediate

V V V

IMMEDIATE

DEDIP

PERSONAL AND TOP SECRET

Following sent by President to Prime Minister telegram
No. T.408 of 13th August.

[Begins.]

I appreciate your courtesy in furnishing me information
contained your telegram August 9th.

After further study of recommendations of American and
British groups, and after detailed discussion in which members
of my Cabinet and other advisers participated, I have reluctantly
come to conclusion that I cannot give formal support to plan
in its present form as a joint Anglo-American plan.

The opposition in this country to the plan has become
so intense that it is now clear it would be impossible to rally
in favour of it sufficient public opinion to enable this
Government to give it effective support.

In view of the critical situation in Palestine and of
desperate plight of homeless Jews in Europe, I believe search
for a solution to this difficult problem should continue. I
have therefore instructed our Embassy, London, to discuss with
you, or with appropriate members of British Government, certain
suggestions which have been made to us and which, I understand,
are also being made to you.

Should it be possible to broaden coming Conference
sufficiently to consider these suggestions, it is my earnest
hope Conference may make possible decision by your Government
upon a course for which we can obtain necessary support in
this country and in the Congress so we can give effective
financial help and moral support.

[Ends.]

OTP

Reference: -

FO 800 / 485

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[CYPHER]

PARIS TO FOREIGN OFFICE
(From United Kingdom Delegation to Peace Conference)

No. 487.
15th August 1946. D. 8.30 p.m. 13th August 1946.
R. 9.20 p.m. 15th August 1946.

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MOST IMMEDIATE
TOP SECRET

Following Personal for Prime Minister from Secretary of State.

Following is text of message to Mr. Byrnes and Mr. Harriman from the State Department dated August 13th. This was handed to me by Mr. Harriman this afternoon.

[Begins]

Leaks from London prematurely on the contents of the recommendations incorporated in the Morrison plan gave groups, opposed to the plan, in this country an opportunity to mobilise so much public sentiment against it that the President and the Cabinet Committee felt that they could not agree to accept the recommendations until at least they had studied and discussed them in detail. American members of the Anglo-American Committee, alternates of the Cabinet Committee, other members of the Cabinet and various interested persons and groups have participated in the discussions. It has become clear, during the discussions, that it would be unwise for the President to give his formal support to the plan in its present form. The President feels, in view of the opposition to the plan, that he would not be able to prevail on Congress to agree to financial contribution for its implementation nor to rally sufficient public support to warrant an undertaking by this Government to /give

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give the plan moral backing in its present form.

Dr. Goldmann, acting on behalf of the Jewish Agency, has informed us in confidence that on August 5th, 1946 the executives of that agency adopted the following resolution:

"1. The Executive of the Jewish Agency regards the British proposals, based on the report of the Committee of Six and as announced by Mr. Morrison in the House of Commons, as unacceptable as a basis of discussion.

2. The Executive is prepared to discuss a proposal for the establishment of a viable Jewish state in an adequate area of Palestine.

3. As immediate steps for the implementation of paragraph 2, the Executive puts forward the following demands:

(a) The immediate grant of 100,000 certificates and the immediate beginning of the transportation of the 100,000 to Palestine;

(b) The grant of immediate full autonomy (in appointing its administration and in the economic field) to that area of Palestine to be designated to become a Jewish state;

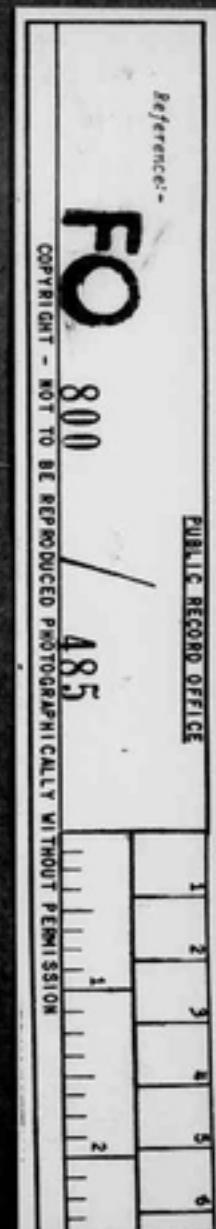
(c) The grant of the right of control of immigration to the administration of that area in Palestine designated to be a Jewish state."

In discussing this resolution, Dr. Goldmann has orally stated substantially as follows:

A. The Executive and most of the American Jewry object to the plan primarily because it calls for indefinite continuance of British control of the Jewish area, provides for boundaries which are unacceptable, does not give sufficient degree of self-government for the area allotted to the Jews, and does not provide for the immediate control by Jews of immigration into the Jewish area.

B. The Executive would be willing to accept a plan which:

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- (1) Would provide for immediate partitioning of Palestine into three areas: Jewish, Arab and the Holy Places; the Jewish area roughly to include territory assigned to Jews by the Peel report plus the Negeb; the Arab area to include the remainder except the Holy Places. (The Executive would be willing, however, to negotiate with regard to Galilee);
- (2) Would provide for a termination of the mandate so far as the Jewish area is concerned and for setting up of an independent Jewish state within a set period of not more than two or three years;
- (3) Would permit Jews to set up their own administration and to enjoy considerable home rule in economic matters pending the establishment of an independent Jewish state;
- (4) Would permit the Jews, immediately upon the adoption of the plan, to have full control over immigration into their area.

C. He could guarantee support for such a plan on the part of the Agency and of the majority of the Jews and friends of Zionism in the United States.

D. If such a plan were carried out Executive would be willing to consider the British Government as an ally of the Jewish state and would support the granting to Great Britain of such military establishments in the Jewish state as Great Britain might require.

E. In his opinion, the Jewish state would be willing to participate in the Confederation of Near Eastern States, including the Arab states, for the purpose of co-operation and under such conditions as should remove fear of Arabs that the Jewish state might serve as a spearhead for introducing external influences into the Near East.

F. In his opinion, more moderate Arabs could be induced not to oppose such a plan. If it should be decided to add the Arab area to Transjordan, the support of King Abdullah might be obtained since Transjordan might, with the addition of some 800,000 Arabs, become a viable state.

/G.

Reference: FO 800 / 485

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- (1) Would provide for immediate partitioning of Palestine into three areas: Jewish, Arab and the Holy Places; the Jewish area roughly to include territory assigned to Jews by the Peel report plus the Negeb; the Arab area to include the remainder except the Holy Places. (The Executive would be willing, however, to negotiate with regard to Galilee);
- (2) Would provide for a termination of the mandate so far as the Jewish area is concerned and for setting up of an independent Jewish state within a set period of not more than two or three years;
- (3) Would permit Jews to set up their own administration and to enjoy considerable home rule in economic matters pending the establishment of an independent Jewish state;
- (4) Would permit the Jews, immediately upon the adoption of the plan, to have full control over immigration into their area.

C. He could guarantee support for such a plan on the part of the Agency and of the majority of the Jews and friends of Zionism in the United States.

D. If such a plan were carried out Executive would be willing to consider the British Government as an ally of the Jewish state and would support the granting to Great Britain of such military establishments in the Jewish state as Great Britain might require.

E. In his opinion, the Jewish state would be willing to participate in the Confederation of Near Eastern States, including the Arab states, for the purpose of co-operation and under such conditions as should remove fear of Arabs that the Jewish state might serve as a spearhead for introducing external influences into the Near East.

F. In his opinion, more moderate Arabs could be induced not to oppose such a plan. If it should be decided to add the Arab area to Transjordan, the support of King Abdullah might be obtained since Transjordan might, with the addition of some 800,000 Arabs, become a viable state.

/G.

Reference: FO 800 / 485

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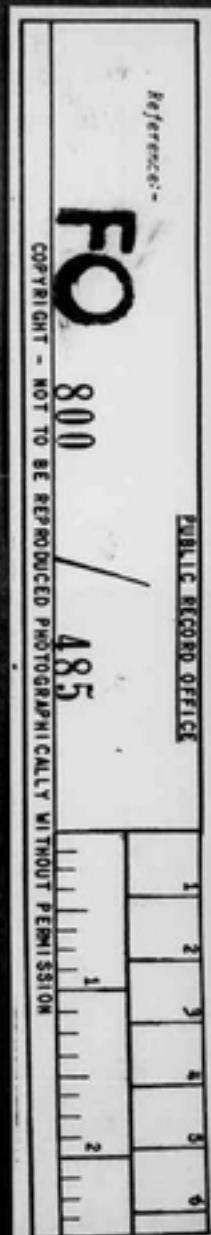
G. In his opinion, the Jewish state could be set up and recognised as independent by Great Britain without a detailed review by the United Nations in the same manner as Transjordan has been set up; naturally, when the Jewish State would apply for admission to U.N.O. it would be subject to scrutiny given all applicants for admission to that organisation.

H. Immediately upon reaching a decision to adopt the plan immigration of 100,000 Jews should commence.

I. Dr. Weizmann was authorised by the Executive to discuss the plan with the British Government and the Executive hoped that without loss of time the two Governments might be willing to accept it as a basis for coming negotiations on the part of the British with the Jews and the Arabs and that the American Government would give any solution based on it financial support comparable in extent to that proposed in the Morrison plan. In particular, it hoped that the American Government would find it possible to give financial assistance in facilitating the voluntary migration of Arabs from the Jewish to the Arab area. Every consideration would be given by the Jews to the Arab population and no pressure would be brought by the Jews upon the Arabs, directly or indirectly, to leave the Jewish area.

An examination of the above plan outlined by Dr. Goldmann indicates that in spite of the first paragraph in which the Executive states that it rejects the plan proposed by Mr. Morrison as a basis for discussion, the counter proposals as elaborated by Dr. Goldmann might be regarded as alterations and extensions of the various provisions of the Morrison plan rather than an entirely new plan. For instance, these counter proposals contemplate a short definite rather than an indefinite transition period, and the expansion of the

/authority



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authority of the local government during this period.

According to Dr. Goldmann the Jews wish during this period to nominate their own Ministers subject to the approval of the Mandatory; the Jews wish that their area should have the authority to deal with such questions as exports and imports and the borrowing of money, although they fully realise that they could only borrow money from persons or organisations who were willing to rely upon the credit of this transitory Government. The Jews also insist that their area have full control of immigration into it. Furthermore, the boundaries that they have in mind apparently are much more liberal to the Jews than those which are defined in the Morrison plan. In regard to Negeb they recognise and admit that this area is of problematical value, but because it would add many square miles to the Jewish area it is of great psychological importance.

The British Government is in a much better position than we are to assess the reception which such a plan would receive from the Arabs. This recent development, however, seems to us to offer hope that the Jewish Agency is prepared to join realistically in a search for a practicable solution. Under the circumstances, we suggest as a possible first step that the British Government might let it be known that the coming consultations will not be bound rigidly to consider one plan only, and also, that the creation at an early date of a viable state in the Jewish area is not precluded as a possibility. If the British Government as a result of consultations with the Jews and the Arabs reaches a decision which this Government feels can obtain public approval generally in the United

/States,

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States, even though it may not be satisfactory to the extremist elements this Government will give it moral support and endeavour to give it appropriate financial assistance.

In discussing this matter with Mr. Attlee or Mr. Bevin you should emphasise that secrecy is of the utmost importance.

[Copies sent to His Majesty The King, the Prime Minister, Secretary of State for the Colonies, Sir E. Bridges, General Ismay and Sir Norman Brook]

O.T.P.

Reference: FO 800 / 485

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

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Sir N. Brook
158

Pa/46/62

Room 6

M. Howe
Easter

PRISEC Sir O H

[CYPHER]

FROM PARIS TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to Peace Conference)

No. 488.

D. 8.40 p.m. 13th August, 1946.

13th August, 1946.

R. 8.44 p.m. 13th August, 1946.

V V V

MOST IMMEDIATE

TOP SECRET

Following PERSONAL for PRIME MINISTER from SECRETARY OF STATE.

I refer to the message contained in my immediately preceding telegram. This was handed to me by Mr. Harriman very privately this afternoon. I have been asked to have an exchange of views about it here with Mr. Byrnes.

2. The Americans are obviously very perturbed. I took the opportunity of pointing out to Mr. Harriman that these matters would be easier discussed and settled if it were not for the illegal immigration. It seemed to me worth while pointing this out.

3. Before I start on discussions with Mr. Byrnes, I should be glad to have your views and those of the Colonial Secretary. It will, I think, be essential for the Colonial Secretary to be here when the talks take place. He has had previous discussions on these lines with W. We should, I am sure, give ourselves plenty of time in considering the American proposals. It would be wrong to give the impression of being rushed. It may be, however, that you will think it wise to send a personal message to the President telling him that we are discussing the proposals, and that it will take us a few days before we can give our views on them.

[Advance copy sent to the Prime Minister.]

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PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

Record of an Interview given by the Secretary of State
to Representatives of the Jewish Agency, at
11 a.m. on Thursday, 15th August, 1946.

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Pa/46/63

Present:-

Secretary of State (The Rt.Hon. George Hall, M.P.)
Sir Arthur Dawe
Sir Douglas Harris
Mr. Trafford Smith.

The Jewish Agency

Dr. Chaim Weizmann
Rabbi Wise }
Dr. Goldmann } From the American Executive of
 the Agency.
Mr. Linton

The Secretary of State opened the discussion by welcoming Dr. Weizmann and enquiring after his health. Dr. Weizmann replied that he was going into hospital for his operation on August 16th, and would be out again in 9 or 10 days' time, when his sight would be partially restored. He would be in a position to take part in the Conference. He presented his colleagues from America, Dr. Goldmann and Rabbi Wise, referring to the latter's part in ending the agitation against the British loan in American Zionist circles. Rabbi Wise remarked that when he had been refused a visa to enter Palestine, he had retaliated in Christian fashion by doing what he could to help the British loan through. The Secretary of State expressed his appreciation of this act.

The meeting then turned to the question of the invitations to be issued to the forthcoming Conference with Jews and Arabs, and the Secretary of State asked Dr. Weizmann whether he was now in a position to give the Agency's decision. Dr. Weizmann said that the Agency regarded the invitation as a matter of great importance,

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and that he and his colleagues wished to use the meeting today as an opportunity of giving their views on it and on the coming negotiations. The Secretary of State made it clear that His Majesty's Government also regarded the Conference as of the first importance, and that in his opinion it should go on with or without the Jewish Agency. Dr. Weizmann replied that his desire was to bring about a set of circumstances which would make it possible for the Agency to take part in the Conference. He referred to the report that the Arabs on their side had already refused to sit round the same table with the Jews, and drew the analogy with the St. James' Conference in 1939, which had had to be conducted in separate meetings with the Arabs and Jews, and had virtually been two parallel conferences in water-tight compartments.

He wanted to refer to one unfortunate result of that procedure in 1939. Owing to a misunderstanding, the Jewish Representatives had received one morning what was virtually the first draft of the 1939 White Paper from which they had concluded that a commitment had been made to the Arabs, and that there was thus no reason for the Agency to continue to take part in the Conference.

With this in mind, Dr. Weizmann desired to put it clearly to the Secretary of State: could the Secretary of State give an assurance that, on the present occasion, H.M.G. was now in no way committed to the Arabs before the Conference opens? He (Dr. Weizmann) had read in the Press that the Government would never agree to a Jewish State having control over immigration. If the Government were already committed to the Arabs on that point, then the two main pillars on which the Agency wished to base their case at the coming Conference were removed.

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The Secretary of State said that he wished to make it absolutely clear that the Government were in no way committed to anything of the sort. The Government were putting forward their plan as a basis of discussion, and hoped to get both sides to reach agreement. But if any alternative proposals were put forward from either side, H.M.G. were perfectly prepared to discuss them in the Conference. He wished, however, to issue a warning. His own experience of negotiations had taught him that it was no use submitting proposals that were impossible from the start, and that, while it was legitimate to put initial demands somewhat on the high side, it was useless to enter the Conference, and would prejudice all hopes of success, if demands were maintained too high throughout. On the present occasion, both sides were fully at liberty to submit proposals, but it was his earnest hope that these proposals would be framed with a view to ultimate compromise and an agreed settlement.

If the Arabs first refused to sit, H.M.G. would attempt to persuade them to do so. The Government's only wish was to obtain the co-operation of both sides in bringing about an agreed settlement.

The recent debate in the House of Commons had in some aspects been unsatisfactory, though there had been very significant passages in Mr. Churchill's speech - significant especially to the Jews, and no one knew Mr. Churchill better than Dr. Weizmann. The present Government had been a tolerant Government, Dr. Wise had been present last year when he (the Secretary of State) had been talked to as never previously in his life by Mr. Ben Gurion, who had made demands couched in arrogant and intolerant terms.

Dr. Weizmann

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Dr. Weizmann recalled the Secretary of State's remark at his previous interview that the past must be forgotten and attention concentrated on the future. He and his colleagues had come to the Colonial Office in an ardent desire to reach a settlement. It would be appreciated how tragic the present situation was for him, who had devoted his whole life to friendship between Jews and British, and between Jews and Arabs. The Secretary of State stressed once more that H.M.G.'s only wish was to be as receptive as possible to all suggestions for a solution. He asked Dr. Goldmann to outline the Agency's position.

Dr. Goldmann said that he, too, wished to avoid going over the past. Lord Inverchapel, whom he had met in Washington, insisted that he should see Mr. Bevin and yesterday he had had a long talk with the latter in Paris.

No-one could desire more earnestly than the Jews that an agreed settlement should be reached. The present impass was far more tragic for the Jews than for the British. Whether a settlement was reached or not the British Empire would go on; but failure to reach a settlement would be the end of Jewish hopes. There could be no question of the status quo continuing. The present generation of Jews in Palestine must either build or destroy. They could not remain quiet, and if there were no improvement the situation must necessarily become more explosive.

Thus the Jews were vitally interested in reaching a settlement at the present opportunity, and were prepared to compromise. They could however see no basis for compromise in the joint plan. They were ready to give up part of Palestine, but if they did they must have independence and self-government in their zone in return for the sacrifice they were making. Without this, there was no basis for discussion.

The Jews would be delighted to have the same treaty relationship between H.M.G. and the Jewish State as already existed between H.M.G. and Trans-Jordan. They were realists. They had no intention, in the early years at least, of relying exclusively

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exclusively on U.N.O., and would gladly agree to a treaty giving military rights to the British. But they must have full power to control immigration, and self-government after a limited transition period. After all, the Jews in Palestine could claim, with as much right as the Arabs of Trans-Jordan, to have reached the stage necessary for self-Government. He did not ask for a commitment before the Conference opened, but he wished to make it clear that unless H.M.G. would agree to enter into discussion of partition and the creation of two independent states in Palestine at the forthcoming Conference, the Agency would not feel able to take part in the Conference.

The present Government had done one great thing for the Jews - it had drawn America into the Palestine problem. He could understand the British view that a solution would be far easier if American support were forthcoming, but when he had left America a few days ago the outlook was bad. The President seemed about to wash his hands of the Palestine problem, and he (Dr. Goldmann) had exercised all his influence to prevent this, as a development disastrous to the Jews. He had seen the Cabinet Committee in Washington and had told them that the withdrawal of America offered no solution, would produce a stalemate, and would be bad for all concerned. He had stressed the necessity for American support of Great Britain, and had expressed the willingness of the Jews to reach a compromise on the basis of partition, excluding the Holy Places which would remain under an outside régime.

It had not been easy to get the President to refrain from washing his hands of the Palestine problem. He (the President) had prejudices against what he described as a racial and theocratic state. Dr. Goldmann hoped that he had done something to influence President Truman on this, as the proposed Jewish State would not of course be a "racial state", but simply a state having a Jewish majority.

He had told Mr. Acheson that nothing could be obtained for the Jews without the agreement of H.M.G. and that America must help. Mr. Acheson had asked whether he (Dr. Goldmann) would support the grant of \$300,000,000 for Arab development in Congress.

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Congress. He had willingly agreed. The Jews had no objection to [redacted] development and progress, and there would be no question of forced evacuation of Arabs from the Jewish State.

Dr. Goldmann went on to say that he had expressed to Mr. Bevin the Jewish desire to come to the Conference, if it were possible to settle such questions as the participation of the detained members of the Executive. But H.M.G. must clearly understand that for the Jewish Agency to agree to partition was a considerable scaling down of their original claim to the whole of Palestine and Trans-Jordan. To save the Jewish people, the Agency, almost against their consciences, were prepared to accept the compromise solution of partition. For this, they were prepared to give up the larger part of Palestine, since the Balfour Declaration had covered the whole of Palestine and Trans-Jordan. The Secretary of State interjected that he did not agree with that, but that he was unwilling to enter into such controversial matters.

Dr. Goldmann continued that, to put it succinctly, if the Jews were going to give up area, they wanted status. Why, with all the surrounding States free, should the Jews and Arabs be expected to remain for ever under trusteeship? The Secretary of State said that that was a misconception: a trusteeship agreement was for a specific period. When it would come to an end depended on the development of the territory in question.

Dr. Goldmann went on that an agreement before the next meeting of the Assembly of U.N.O. would be a wonderful thing, and that the Jews wished to press forward as quickly as possible. All they wanted to know from H.M.G. now was that discussion of partition, and the creation of two separate independent states, were within the purview of the Conference. Details of boundaries etc. could be discussed during the negotiations.

The Jewish conception was this: after a reasonable transition period, two independent states would be set up in treaty relationship with Great Britain. The boundaries of the Jewish State would be for discussion at the Conference, but their present conception was the delimitation prescribed by the

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Peel Report, plus the Negeb. Two things were necessary for the Jews during the transition period: (1) autonomy - an elected administration, the personnel of which would be approved by the High Commissioner, and (2) freedom to control immigration from the start. Both points would apply equally to Jews and Arabs. Such matters were for discussion at the Conference. He must however press for a statement by H.M.G. that discussion of the establishment of two states in Palestine - one with a Jewish majority one with an Arab majority - after a transition period was within the legitimate scope of the forthcoming Conference.

DR. Goldmann continued that he would like to give some views on the American attitude and that of the Arabs. If a basis of understanding for participation at the Conference was not reached, President Truman would walk out. He was irritated and under pressure from Jewry in America, which was in a highly emotional condition, as well it might be after losing 40% of its manpower. The Arabs would undoubtedly say from the start that they could accept no division of Palestine. They would expect to maintain the White Paper position. The task of the Conference would be to make the Arabs understand that they must accept some compromise, and that some proportion of Palestine must go to the Jews. He thought that once they had agreed to compromise, the Arabs would prefer full partition rather than some autonomous area scheme. The Arabs on their side did not wish to be under trusteeship and the British régime for ever.

There was a false impression among the Arabs that a Jewish State would be a spearhead of European - or British - imperialism in the Middle East. To meet this, the Agency were quite prepared that the Jewish State should join in a Middle East Federation, not simply the Arab League, but a larger group of States including possibly Turkey. This would be the ideal solution, as it would both establish good relations with the Arabs and provide "an industrial hinterland" for the new Jewish State. If the Arabs were convinced that the Jews were ready to

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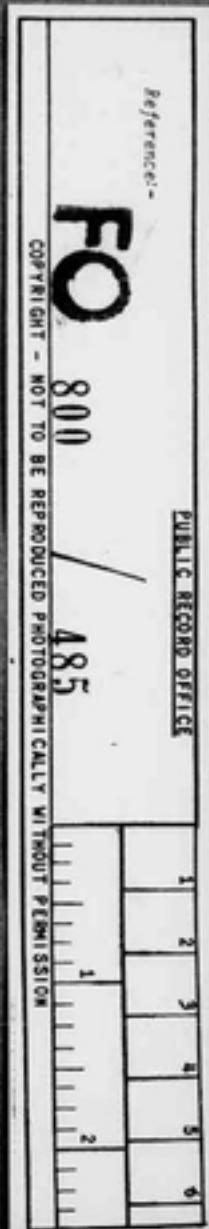
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join them on a basis of equality in such a Middle East Federation within the Charter of the United Nations they would know that there could be no question of the Jewish State forming a European spearhead against them. He would prefer such a situation rather than that the Jewish State should be a British Dominion within the British Empire, which would be unacceptable to the Arabs as representing a European spearhead against them.

The Secretary of State said that he could not agree to the Agency laying down conditions on which they would enter the Conference. If the Jews named their conditions, the Arabs would name theirs and there would be a breakdown before the Conference started. If H.M.G. were to agree to the discussion of partition as a basis for the Conference, the Arabs would wish to put the opposite condition ruling out partition. The position was that Jews and Arabs alike could put forward any alternative solution they desired to propose. For either side to make conditions before the Conference opened would prejudice its success from the start.

Rabbi Wise argued that the Arabs had no need to make conditions, as their conditions had already been fulfilled in the White Paper - a source of infinite woe to the Jews, whose position was not parallel to that of the Arabs. The Secretary of State again stressed the need to avoid going over the past. In an attempt to reach a compromise, Dr. Weizmann pointed out that the difference between the point of view of H.M.G. and that of the Agency was not really so wide. Sir Douglas Harris read out the terms of the telegram inviting the Arabs, from which it was clear that the British plan was to be merely a basis of discussion, and that either side was fully at liberty to put forward alternative proposals. Dr. Weizmann thought that it should be possible to find a formula. The Jewish delegation at the Conference might put forward the partition proposals and make them the crux of the discussion. He himself would like to explain



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plain why he was not in favour of partition. He had been in favour of it after the Peel Commission, and in the teeth of strong opposition. If partition was correct in 1937-38, a fortiori it was correct now. There was great bitterness today in Palestine, a vicious circle which had to be broken, and the only way to break it was to separate each unit. It was inconceivable that H.M.G.'s plan would work, for no Jew would take an appointment at the hands of H.M.G. Public opinion would not allow it. H.M.G. would be sitting on a powder magazine. A clean cut was the only way out of the impasse. Cantonisation had all the difficulties of partition without any of its advantages.

He himself had understood from Colonel Stanley and Mr. Amery that a Cabinet Committee under the Coalition Government had come to the conclusion that the only solution was partition more or less on the Peel line, the Negeb to be developed by both sides. Assuming this report to be true, he saw no reason why this plan should not be revived in some form. It would command support in this country, in America and among World Jewry, Zionist and otherwise, except for the Irgun and the Revisionists. Both the American public and the opposition in this country would support it.

Dr. Goldmann said that he must stress the need for clarity on both sides. The statement His Majesty's Government had made to the Arabs was not sufficient for the Agency, who had to consider Jewish public opinion and the feelings which would be aroused by the sacrifice they were making in accepting the possibility of partition. They had been called traitors by their own supporters.

The Secretary of State said that it was necessary to be a realist. He was not unmindful of feeling in America, but there was public opinion in this country to be considered too. Public opinion was best expressed here by the House of Commons, and had the joint plan been put to the House at the end of the Debate, there would hardly have been a division against it. His Majesty's Government were anxious only to arrive at an agreed solution. If full agreement were reached between the Jews and Arabs, they would

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undertake to accept it. They had no desire to keep troops in Palestine. The British people were in no way anti-semitic. All they wanted was a settlement. Rabbi Wise interjected that Christian opinion in America took precisely the same view.

Dr.Goldmann replied that he was thinking of public opinion inside Jewry. The Agency was a democratic body and had to respect it. It was necessary for Jewish public opinion to know that discussion of a Jewish State was possible at the conference. The voting had been ten to one in the Executive, and 90 per cent of American Jewry were understood to support partition. But to make it acceptable, it must be publicly said that discussion of the partition plan was within the scope of the conference. The Secretary of State considered that the present proposals of His Majesty's Government covered the point raised by Dr.Goldmann. His Majesty's Government did not object to partition being discussed at the conference, but why should they say so specifically? Their terms, that either side could submit any plan it liked for discussion at the conference, were broad enough. If

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His Majesty's Government openly said that they were going to discuss partition, the Arabs would put forward impossible proposals.

Rabbi Wise said that Dr. Weizmann would not be supported at the next Zionist conference in November if he could say no more than that partition would be considered among other things. He could not go to the Agency and report failure to secure partition as a basis for discussion as there would be a revolt against his leadership. He (Rabbi Wise) hated to think of "the hell we shall have to face in America".

Sir Douglas Harris pointed out that the differences between the partition proposals of the Agency and the Government's plan were not so great as was assumed. Partition was really a modification of the plan - a possible development to which the plan might lead. Dr. Weizmann agreed, and Sir Douglas Harris went on to point out that if the plan were the basis of discussion, the conference was free to negotiate in any direction it liked, and it might well negotiate in the direction of partition. Dr. Weizmann said that he wanted to make one point clear. The press were saying that Zionists wanted a Jewish State on both sides of the Jordan. No reasonable Zionist now thought in these terms and the attitude of the "Times" in this regard was vicious.

The meeting then turned to the meaning of the term Negev. Sir Douglas Harris explained, with the aid of a map, that the Joint Committee had understood it to mean an area south of the line where cultivation stops. Dr. Weizmann said that the Agency thought of the Negev as beginning at a line drawn east from Beersheba to the coast. He said that he understood that the Government's plan for the Negev was to use it as an area of common endeavour for both Jews and Arabs. The Jews would be quite ready to work the land together with the Arabs. The whole question could come up for discussion at the conference.

/Dr. Goldmann.

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PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

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Dr. Goldmann said that he wished to raise two more points - the position of the members of the Executive detained in Palestine and the question of the issue of invitations through the Agency. On the first point, Dr. Weizmann must have Mr. Shertok to support him at the Conference. The Agency had decided on a compromise of partition, and as many as possible of their leaders must bear responsibility for their decision to negotiate on that basis. There was a precedent in India for the release of persons from detention to take part in conferences, and the release of Mr. Shertok would make the task confronting the Agency very much easier. He appealed to His Majesty's Government to consider the matter in a spirit of co-operation, generosity and understanding. The Secretary of State pointed to the possibility of the Arabs suggesting that the Mufti should attend the conference if the detainees were released, but undertook to obtain a ruling on the whole subject.

On the second point, so long as the Mandate was in force, the Agency was the proper channel through which invitations should be issued to Jewry, and this had been recognised at the St. James's Conference. The Secretary of State pointed out that His Majesty's Government's intention was that the Agency should send representatives and that the Secretary of State should invite representatives of other Jewish bodies after consultation with the Agency. Dr. Goldmann maintained that this cut away the basis of the Agency's position under the Mandate and was tantamount to withdrawal of recognition of the Agency. The Secretary of State pointed to the necessity for compromise. There might well be mutual consultation on the question of negotiations, but the Agency must not adopt too many positive demands before coming to the Conference. While His Majesty's Government were in no way committed to work through the Agency, they would naturally refrain from inviting anyone distasteful to the Agency.

There was some further discussion of the position of

the

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the Agency under Article 4 of the Mandate, and of the precedent of the St. James's conference. The Secretary of State finally agreed to put the point to His Majesty's Government for a ruling, and stressed the fact that there was no intention of withdrawing recognition of the Agency.

Dr. Weizmann said that it was not a question of prestige. Other Jewish bodies such as the Board of Deputies and Agudath Israel would, of course, be invited. He suggested that a list of representatives to be invited should be worked out in consultation with His Majesty's Government and the Secretary of State agreed. It was left that the Government would further consider the issue of invitations through the Agency.

Originating from a suggestion by Dr. Goldmann, various possible compromise formulae were discussed, and it was finally agreed that the oral invitation extended to the delegation by the Secretary of State at the meeting should be taken as a formal invitation to the Agency and that the Agency representatives, after further discussion with their Executive in Paris, should reply that they accepted the invitation subject to further consideration of three points -

- (i) the intention of the Agency to raise the partition scheme at the conference as their basis for negotiation;
- (ii) the question of participation of the members of the Executive now detained in Palestine; and
- (iii) the question of the Agency's desire to be recognised as the channel through which all invitations to Jewish representatives should be issued, after agreement with His Majesty's Government as to the representatives to be invited.

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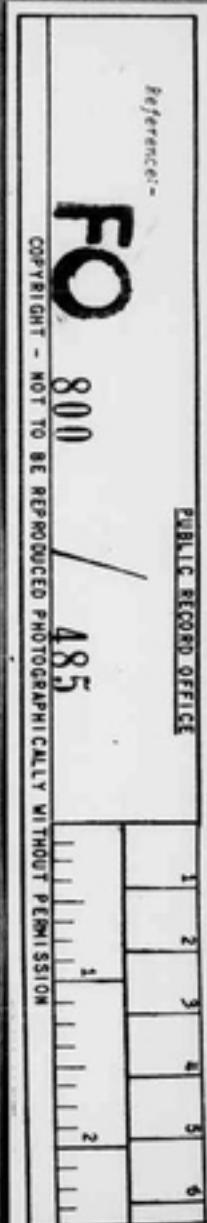
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Note of the principal points made during the discussion with Dr. Weizmann.

1. The Jewish Agency can enter the conference only on the understanding that their part in the discussions will be based on the plan of partition submitted by Dr. Goldmann.
2. They are bound to take up this position because of the state of public opinion throughout the Zionist world. Partition represents a great concession from their original demands for the whole of Palestine and Trans-Jordan. Even with the undertaking to discuss not less than this at the conference, they will be faced with serious opposition from among Zionists.
3. Far from desiring to obstruct the conference, the Jewish Agency are most anxious to make it a success. They regard it as the last hope of a peaceful settlement of the Palestine problem.
4. To make their position tenable at the conference, it is necessary for them, for the sake of Zionist public opinion, to have obtained the release of the detained members of the Executive, especially Mr. Shertok, to assist Dr. Weizmann in presenting the Agency's case.
5. If invitations to the Jewish side of the conference are not issued through the Jewish Agency, that will be tantamount to withdrawal of recognition from the Agency. It may be possible to compromise by agreeing the list of persons to be invited with the Agency before invitations are issued.
6. In any scheme of partition, the Jewish State would be willing to enter into a Treaty relationship giving full military rights to the British. The Agency are, however, unwilling that the Jewish State should be within the British Commonwealth as a Dominion, as the Arabs might regard that as a spearhead of European influence in the Middle East. The Agency would be prepared for the Jewish State to enter a Middle East Federation under U.N.O. with other Middle East States, including Turkey



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7. As regards the position reached at the end of the discussion, it was finally agreed that the oral invitation extended through the Delegation to the Jewish Agency should be taken forthwith by Dr. Weizmann and his colleagues to the meeting of the Executive in Paris. They would endeavour to persuade the Executive to reply accepting the invitation subject to further consideration of three points -

- (i) the intention of the Agency to raise the partition scheme at the conference as their basis for negotiation;
- (ii) the question of participation of the members of the Executive now detained in Palestine; and
- (iii) the question of the Agency's desire to be recognised as the channel through which all invitations to Jewish representatives should be issued, after agreement with His Majesty's Government as to the representatives to be invited.

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OUTWARD TELEGRAM

Pa/46/64.

[CYPHER]

P R I S E C

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO WASHINGTON

No. 7999
15th August, 1946

D: 3.40 p.m. 15th August, 1946

&&&&&

IMMEDIATE
DEDIP

Personal and Top Secret.

Following sent by Prime Minister to President
telegram No. T414 of 15th August.

(Begins)

Thank you for your personal message of
August 13th. I have now received from the Foreign
Secretary in Paris a copy of the message sent by the
State Department to Mr. Byrnes and Mr. Harriman. We
are discussing these proposals and it will probably
take a few days before we can give our views on them.

(Ends).

O.T.P.

Reference:

FO 800 / 185

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Department of origin under Section 3 (4)
of the Public Records Act, 1958

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6/10/82

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NOT TO BE ENTERED

[CYPHER]

Pa / 46 / 66 PRISSEC

FROM PARIS TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to the Peace Conference)

No. 522

D. 3.49 p.m. 17th August 1946

17th August 1946

R. 3.50 p.m. 17th August 1946

MOST IMMEDIATE

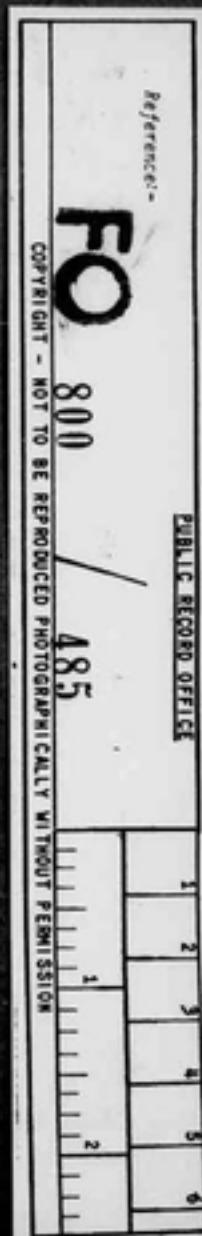
TOP SECRET

For Prime Minister only from Foreign Secretary.

Hall and I have had a long talk with Goldmann, Wise and Locker this morning. We told them we could not accept Dr. Weizmann's letter of August 16th to the Colonial Secretary, and as a result of the talks we have submitted to them to consider the document in my immediately following telegram so as to get agreed basis for attendance at the Conference. They are seeing us again at 10.00 a.m. on Sunday, August 18th. George is staying on for this meeting and if we get agreement he will return to you to consider endorsement.

[Copies sent to the Prime Minister].

O.T.P.



[CYPHER]

Mr Harvey
Mr Howe
Mr Reuter } These tele. are for
 } P.M. only (copy to CO)
 } and Kerfor ~~not~~ not there,
 } be copied. ¹⁷⁷
 PRISEC

FROM PARIS TO FOREIGN OFFICE

No 10

(From United Kingdom Delegation to the Peace Conference) ^{PA/46/6718} 4 apmNo. 523
17th August 1946D. 4.03 p.m. 17th August 1946
R. 4.10 p.m. 17th August 1946

— NOT TO BE ENTERED

MOST IMMEDIATETOP SECRET

For Prime Minister only from Foreign Secretary.

My immediately preceding telegram.

Following is text of Note handed to representatives
of Jewish Agency.

[Begins]

Without prejudice and subject to endorsement by His Majesty's Government. Summary of suggestions made to representatives of the Jewish Agency at an interview with the Foreign Secretary and the Colonial Secretary (Paris, August 17th, 1946).

1. Agenda for the Conference.

His Majesty's Government would place before the Conference as its first agenda the proposals recently outlined in Parliament. All Delegations would then be free to suggest amendments to these proposals, or to introduce counter proposals, which would receive full consideration. His Majesty's Government would do their utmost to obtain the largest possible measure of agreement.

2. Composition of the Jewish Agency Delegation.

The representatives of the Jewish Agency should consult their Executive, and should then return with a list of the Delegates by whom they desired to be represented at the Conference. This list could then be discussed.

3. Other Jewish representation.

The Colonial Office would give the Jewish Agency a

list

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list of the other Jewish representatives to whom they proposed to issue invitations. The Jewish Agency would be asked to comment on this list, with a view to reaching an understanding before the invitations were issued by His Majesty's Government.

[Ends].

[Copies sent to the Prime Minister].

O.T.P.

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OUTWARD TELEGRAM

Reh
[CYPHER]

Pa/46/68

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE
TO :-CAIRO NO. 1510
BAGDAD NO. 749
BEIRUT NO. 613
JEDDA NO. 534
JERUSALEM(Please pass to Amman
NO. 47)

*King 179
Co.
SINBROOK
Fleming
L. Edwards
Mr. Hart
PRISBO
Sir O.H.
Eason
Paris
No 10
(Row 6)*

18th August, 1946. D. 1.5 a.m. 19th August, 1946.

MOST IMMEDIATE
DEDIP
TOP SECRET~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

It has been reported in the Press that I have met, in company with the Colonial Secretary, some of the Zionist leaders in Paris. I think you should know what took place at these meetings.

2. On August 15th the Colonial Secretary met Dr. Weizmann, Dr. Stephen Wise, and Dr. Goldmann in London, and extended through them to the Executive of the Jewish Agency an invitation to participate in the forthcoming Conference on Palestine. On the following day Dr. Weizmann wrote to the Colonial Secretary, to the effect that the Jewish Agency could not participate in any discussion based on the British proposals as outlined recently in Parliament but that they would be prepared to participate "if the establishment of a Jewish State in an adequate area of Palestine is the purpose of the discussion". The Jewish Agency also asked for full freedom to designate the members

of

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OUTWARD TELEGRAM

- 2 -

of its delegation, including any who were now detained or liable to detention in Palestine, and that invitations to other Jewish representatives to participate in the Conference should be issued, after consultation, by the Jewish Agency and not by His Majesty's Government.

3. Mr. Hall then joined me in Paris where we had an interview on the morning of August 17th with Dr. Goldmann, Rabbi Wise and Mr. Locker. After discussion of the conditions which the Executive of the Jewish Agency had sought to impose, the following aside-mémoire was handed to Dr. Goldmann, who promised to return on the following day with the views of his Executive on the suggestions therein contained.

[Begins]

Without prejudice and subject to endorsement by His Majesty's Government. Summary of suggestions made to representatives of the Jewish Agency at an interview with the Foreign Secretary and the Colonial Secretary (Paris, 17th August, 1946).

I. Agenda for the Conference :

His Majesty's Government would place before the Conference as its first agenda the proposals recently outlined in Parliament. All delegations would then be free to suggest amendments to these proposals, or to introduce counter proposals, which would receive full consideration. His Majesty's Government would do their utmost to obtain the largest possible measure of agreement.

II.

Reference:-

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OUTWARD TELEGRAM

- 3 -

II. Composition of the Jewish Agency Delegation :

The representatives of the Jewish Agency should consult their Executive, and should then return with a list of the delegates by whom they desired to be represented at the Conference. The list could then be discussed.

III. Other Jewish Representation :

The Colonial Office would give the Jewish Agency a list of the other Jewish representatives to whom they proposed to issue invitations. The Jewish Agency would be asked to comment on this list, with a view to reaching an understanding before the invitations were issued by His Majesty's Government.

[Ends]

4. The Zionist representatives returned on August 18th. Instead of bringing the reply of the Jewish Agency to our suggestion, they came with a counter proposal. This was that the Conference should be delayed while informal talks took place between His Majesty's Government and the Jewish Agency for Palestine in order to "prepare the ground", parallel talks taking place simultaneously between His Majesty's Government and the Arabs. The Jewish Agency would not be able to enter the Conference unless they had in advance some indication of His Majesty's Government's attitude to their proposal for the partition of Palestine. I told them that what they were saying in effect was that, unless in the course of informal talks we

could

Reference: FO 800 / 485

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OUTWARD TELEGRAM

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- 4 -

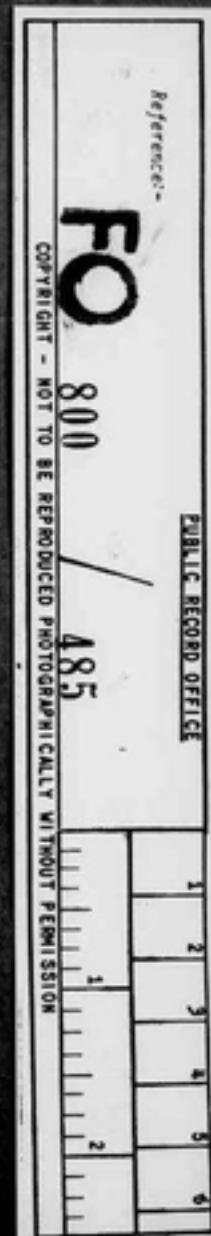
could induce the Arabs to agree that partition on the lines of the Jewish Agency's proposal should be the basis of discussion at the Conference, the Jewish Agency would not agree to participate in the latter. The Colonial Secretary added that he regarded the condition as an impossible one. His Majesty's Government could not agree that the agenda of the Conference should be predetermined in this way. Their own proposals for procedure at the Conference would give every delegation the fullest freedom to advance its views.

5. It was agreed that both sides should take a day or two to consider the situation further, and that I should see the Zionist leaders again. I left them in no doubt that we were disappointed by their attitude and pointed out that this attempt to impose conditions was unlikely to be accepted.

6. In case from Press reports the Arab Governments should conclude that we have been negotiating separately, they should be made aware by your oral explanations of what occurred. We will keep you continually informed. The object of His Majesty's Government is to promote a settlement of this difficult problem, and for that reason we desire to avoid anything that will create distrust and suspicion.

7. If you or the Arabs have any views on this we should welcome them.

O.T.P.



OUTWARD TELEGRAM

S UTH 183
N. Howe
Eastern
Co

[CYPHER]

PRISEC

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO PARIS

(To United Kingdom Delegation to the Peace Conference)

No. 1003

18th August 1946

D. 8.00 p.m. 18th August 1946

MOST IMMEDIATE

PERSONAL AND TOP SECRET.

FOR FOREIGN SECRETARY FROM COLONIAL SECRETARY.

I saw the Prime Minister this afternoon and he fully approved of the action which we took in Paris. While leaving your hand free in regard to further negotiations he is quite prepared to deal with the Jewish demand on the lines of the draft reply to Weizmann which was prepared but not sent and of which you have a copy. As regards the detainees however he thinks that it may be well not entirely to close the door on reconsideration of the request if the Agency is prepared to withdraw its other demand.

The Prime Minister agrees that, if the Jews refuse to participate in the Conference owing to their demand not being met, the Conference must go on without them. He does not consider the holding of a Cabinet Meeting on the above question to be necessary.

O.T.P.

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OUTWARD TELEGRAM

P.M. / President

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Pa / 46 / 70

[CYPHER]

PRISEC

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO "ASHINGTON"

No. 8160

19th August 1946

D. 2.25 p.m. 19th August 1946

IMMEDIATEDEDIP

Personal and Top Secret.

Following sent by Prime Minister to President telegram No. T418 of 18th August.

[Begins]

I am now in a position to give a fuller reply to your message of the 13th August.

2. It is, of course, a great disappointment to us that you should feel yourself unable to give support to the plan recommended by the Anglo-American Expert Delegations. The discussion of the summary of this plan which we recently presented to Parliament will form the first Item on the Agenda at the coming Conference. We earnestly hope that, as a result of the Conference, some solution will emerge which, even if not fully accepted by either Arabs or Jews, may be possible of implementation without too gravely endangering the peace of Palestine or of the Middle East as a whole. But you will appreciate that any such solution must, as matters stand, be one which we can put into effect with our resources alone.

3. As regards the plan of partition submitted by the Jewish Agency, it is, as I have said, our intention to place the outlines of the provincial autonomy plan before the Conference. On various matters, and in particular as regards the boundaries of the provinces and the degree of self-government to be conceded to them, we designedly refrained from committing ourselves in any way when presenting the plan to Parliament. While we are adopting the plan as the initial basis for discussion, we do not propose to take up an immovable position in regard either to the plan itself or to its constituent features in advance of the Conference.

4. It is accordingly open to the Jews or to the

Arabs,

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PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

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OUTWARD TELEGRAM

-2-

Arabs, if they accept our invitation to attend the Conference, to propose alterations in the outline plan as announced, to make recommendations as to its details or to submit counter proposals. All such proposals and recommendations will be given due consideration.

[Ends].

O.T.P.

Reference: **FO 800 / 485**

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Sir OH. 186

N. Howe
Eastern.

Pa/46/91 Wilson
[Signature]

P R I S E C

[CYPHER]

FROM WASHINGTON TO PARIS.

(To United Kingdom Delegation to Peace Conference)

Lord Inverchapel D: 9.16 p.m. 19th August, 1946
No. 58
19th August, 1946 R: 3.40 a.m. 20th August, 1946
Repeated to FOREIGN OFFICE No. 5244.

&&&&&&

IMPORTANT

Following personal for Foreign Secretary from Ambassador.

In my telegram No. 5053 of August 10th to the Prime Minister while you were ill I suggested after seeing Goldmann here that it would be useful if either you or Attlee were to have a talk with him when he got back to Paris.

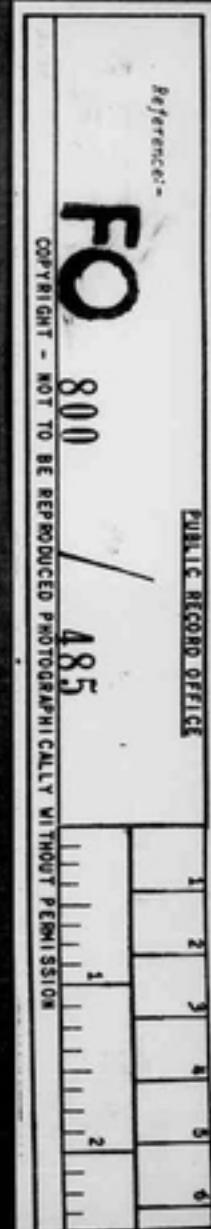
2. I see from newspaper report from Paris of August 17th that you and George Hall saw Wise, Locker and Goldmann on that date and from a London newspaper report of August 18th that Hall has returned there to report on these conversations.

3. I realise what extremely heavy pressure you are under from all directions and how high feeling is running at home. It would, however, help me greatly in dealing with my own hornets nest here if I could be kept generally informed of any talks with the Jewish agency representatives.

Foreign Office please pass important to United Kingdom Delegation Paris as my telegram No. 58.

[Repeated Important to United Kingdom Delegation Paris under Foreign Office No. 1033.]

O.T.P.



187

Sir O'Hanvey. [CYPHER]

Mr. Howie.

Mr. Birk. *Re*

Mr. Baeth.

Re

2/1

PARIS TO WASHINGTON

(From United Kingdom Delegation to Peace Conference)

No. 13.

D. 5.12. p.m. 20th August 1946.

20th August 1946.

R. 5.15. p.m. 20th August 1946.

Repeated to Foreign Office No. 547.

P R I S E C*Pa/46/72*IMMEDIATE

Pass to Washington "Immediate".

Top Secret and Personal.

Your telegram No. 38.

Following personal for Lord Inverchapel from
the Secretary of State.

I am arranging for the Foreign Office to repeat
to you for your confidential background information
their telegram to Cairo No. 1510 and my telegram to
them No. 539. These telegrams contain a full account
of the conversations which have so far taken place
here with representatives of the Jewish Agency.

[Repeated to Washington "Immediate" as Foreign
Office telegram No. 8214.]

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• Col
Supt Sargent to see. 189

P.M. (Paris)/46/15.

PRIME MINISTER. "Note." Pa/46/574

TOP SECRET. C.R.A.
PERSONAL. 25/8/66

PLEASE RETURN TO
PRIVATE SECRETARY

I see from Foreign Office telegram No.61
of August 17th to our Delegation in Geneva that
you may receive La Guardia on August 30th.

2. Our people in Geneva suspect that he wants
to talk to you about the effect of the Palestine
situation on Anglo-American relations. I can
well believe it. I am sure that he is playing
an election game; and I fear he might well
abuse the opportunity of a discussion of this
subject with you.

3./

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3. I earnestly hope that you will be
able to steer him away from this topic, which
I am sure you will agree it is better to
confine to the orthodox channels.

(Sd.) ERNEST BEVIN

21st August, 1946.

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PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MINUTE

SERIAL No. M 273/46

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Pa 146/77

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR CHANCES

The handling of the press and publicity side of the Palestine Conference requires great care and co-ordination by Departments. I should be obliged if you would instruct your Public Relations Officers to confer on this with Mr. Francis Williams.

CRA

AS

20th August, 1946

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Sir O'Sullivan

Pa/46/78

[CYPHER]

P R I S E CFROM PARIS TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to Peace Conference)

No. 605.

29th August 1946.

D. 11.42 p.m. 29th August 1946.
R. 11.42 p.m. 29th August 1946.

0:0:0:0

IMMEDIATEDEYOU

Strictly personal for the Prime Minister from the Foreign Secretary.

I am rather disturbed by the tendency of Press to imply that I shall only attend the Palestine Conference in a casual capacity (see for example today's Daily Telegraph). I agreed with George Hall that he and I would handle the talks jointly, he for Palestine and I for the international aspects. I think it would be bad both for the Palestine question and its international implications especially in Egypt if the impression were given that the Foreign Secretary was not taking his full part.

2. I think you will agree, and if you do I hope you will see that the correct slant is given to our publicity about the Palestine conference. I have worked very hard on this business and have set my mind on getting a settlement, and if my position is weakened now it will be misinterpreted and do harm.

[Copies sent to the Prime Minister]

O.T.P.

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PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

Sir Osbert
Herbert
A. Bally. JH

[CYPHER]

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO PARIS

(To United Kingdom Delegation to Peace Conference)

No. 1215

50th August, 1946

D. 1.40 p.m. 50th August, 1946

F F F F F

IMMEDIATE

SECRET

Following from Prime Minister for Foreign
Secretary.

Your telegrams Nos. 606 and 607.

I agree with you on your attitude to
Dr. Goldmann's proposal. It looks to me to be an
obvious manoeuvre to put the Arabs in the wrong and
to avoid a position where the Jews would have to come
out for partition.

[Copies sent to Prime Minister]

(OTP)

194

Pa / 46 / 79

P R I S E C

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PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

At
Sir & Sons
Mr. Boulton
Mr. Bulley

195
End

Pa / 46 / 80

[Cypher]

P R I S E C

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO PARIS.

(From United Kingdom Delegation to Peace Conference)

No. 1218.

D. 4.40 p.m. 30th August, 1946.

30th August, 1946.

IMMEDIATE.

SECRET.

Following personal for Foreign Secretary from Colonial Secretary.

Your telegram No. 607.

Dr. Goldmann's proposal is in my opinion quite unacceptable and contrary to the decision in the matter already communicated to the Agency, vide paragraph 5 of your telegram No. 559. Prime Minister and I entirely agree with you that Agency should now be pressed to reply to my letter extending invitation to attend the conference and either to accept or refuse that invitation. As the conference is timed to start in nine days time there should be no more bargaining or negotiation.

O.T.P.

Reference -

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