



Palestine No. 1 (1947)

PROPOSALS FOR THE
FUTURE OF PALESTINE

JULY, 1946—FEBRUARY, 1947

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and the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to Parliament
by Command of His Majesty*

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PROPOSALS FOR THE FUTURE OF PALESTINE JULY 1946-FEBRUARY 1947

(1)

Extract from the Speech by the Right Hon. Herbert Morrison in the House of Commons on 31st July, 1946, describing the "Provincial Autonomy Plan" for Palestine (with explanatory map)

REPRESENTATIVES of His Majesty's Government and the Government of the United States, whom I shall describe as the expert delegations, have completed their examination of the recommendations made in the report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on the problems of European Jewry and Palestine.⁽¹⁾ The experts made unanimous recommendations on both sides, British and American, as to the policy to be adopted in respect of all the matters covered by the report of the Anglo-American Committee; and I think that I should outline, inevitably at some length, the main features of their proposals.

The expert delegations first dealt with the recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee regarding the position of the Jews in Europe. The events of recent years, after Hitler's rise to power, have given a special emphasis to the character of the Jewish National Home as a sanctuary for those who could reach it from among the tragically few survivors of European Jewry. It is the pressure of immigration from Europe that has so intensified the difficulties of the Palestine problem. The Anglo-American Committee recognised that Palestine alone cannot meet the immigration needs of the Jewish victims of Nazi and Fascist persecution, and recommended that our two Governments, in association with other countries—for the whole world shares the responsibility—should endeavour immediately to find new homes for all displaced persons, irrespective of creed or nationality.

The expert delegations proposed that our two Governments should adopt the following means of making an immediate contribution to the solution of this problem. First, they proposed that our two Governments should seek to create conditions favourable to the resettlement of a substantial number of displaced persons in Europe itself, since it is recognised that the overwhelming majority will continue to live in Europe. In the British and American zones of Germany and Austria, our two Governments are doing their utmost to assist resettlement and to eradicate anti-Semitism. In Italy and the ex-enemy satellite States, the authorities will be required by the Peace Treaties to secure to all persons under their jurisdiction human rights and the fundamental freedoms. As regards the countries in Europe, the expert delegations recommended that our Governments should support the efforts of the United Nations to ensure the protection of those rights and freedoms. Further, by assisting to re-establish political and economic stability in Europe, we should continue to contribute to the restoration of those basic conditions which will make possible the reintegration in Europe of a substantial number of displaced persons, including Jews.

But, when all that is possible has been done in Europe, it is clear that new homes must be found overseas for many whose ties with their former communities have been irreparably broken. The expert delegations outlined the following measures—some of which are already in train—designed to promote this movement. First, we should continue to press for the establishment of an International Refugee Organisation designed to deal effectively with the problem of refugees and displaced persons as a whole.

⁽¹⁾ "Miscellaneous No. 8 (1946)," Cmd. 6808.

Secondly, we should give strong support at the forthcoming General Assembly of the United Nations to an appeal calling upon all Member Governments to receive in territories under their control a proportion of the displaced persons in Europe, including Jews. I should here interpolate that His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have already given a lead in this matter by accepting a commitment to promote the resettlement of about 235,000 Polish troops and civilians and their dependants. This is, of course, in addition to refugees admitted during the period of Nazi persecution, of whom some 70,000 Jews remain in the United Kingdom. His Majesty's Government in the Dominions have been informed of the action being taken by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, and they will, we hope, support the appeal to Member Governments of the United Nations, an appeal which will include an invitation to receive a number of displaced persons in the territories under their control. I also understand that the United States, where 275,000 refugees, including 180,000 Jews have permanently resettled in the same period, are now resuming normal immigration and expect to receive some 53,000 immigrants each year from the European countries from which the displaced persons are drawn. Finally, pending the establishment of an International Refugee Organisation, we shall, in co-operation with the Government of the United States, continue to promote the resettlement of refugees and displaced persons through the agency of the Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees. Plans are in preparation, in co-operation with the nations concerned, for resettling large numbers of displaced persons in Brazil and other South American countries.

It will thus be seen from what I have said that the broader aspects of the refugee and displaced persons problem have not been overlooked, nor the restoration of conditions in Europe permitting the re-integration thereof of as many displaced persons, including Jews, as may wish to remain. The ability and talent of Jews and others is needed for the difficult tasks of reconstruction that lie ahead. At the same time, we are taking urgent and practical steps to ensure that other countries as well as Palestine will contribute to the resettlement of those displaced persons, including Jews, who must look elsewhere than to Europe for their permanent homes.

In formulating a new policy for Palestine, the expert delegations accepted as a basis the principles laid down in the third recommendation of the Anglo-American Committee, that Palestine as a whole can be neither a Jewish nor an Arab State, that neither of the two communities in Palestine should dominate the other, and that the form of Government should be such as to safeguard the interests in the Holy Land of both Christendom and the Moslem and Jewish faiths.

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

It is their proposal that, for this purpose, Palestine shall be divided into four areas, an Arab Province, a Jewish Province, a District of Jerusalem and a District of the Negev. The Jewish Province would include the great bulk of

the land on which Jews have already settled and a considerable area between and around the settlements. The Jerusalem District would include Jerusalem, Bethlehem and their immediate environs. The Negev District would consist of the uninhabited triangle of waste land in the South of Palestine beyond the present limits of cultivation. The Arab Province would include the remainder of Palestine; it would be almost wholly Arab in respect both of land and of population. The provincial boundaries would be purely administrative boundaries, defining the area within which a local legislature would be empowered to legislate on certain subjects and a local executive to administer its laws. They would have no significance as regards defence, Customs or communications, but, in order to give finality, the boundaries, once fixed, would not be susceptible of change except by agreement between the two Provinces. A provision to this effect would be embodied in any trusteeship agreement, and in the instrument bringing the plan into operation.

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

There would be reserved to the Central Government exclusive authority as to defence, foreign relations, Customs and Excise. In addition, there would be reserved initially to the Central Government exclusive authority as to the administration of law and order, including the police and courts, and a limited number of subjects of all-Palestine importance. The Central Government would have all powers not expressly granted to the provinces by the instrument of government. An elected Legislative Chamber would be established in each Province. An executive, consisting of a chief Minister and a Council of Ministers, would be appointed in each Province by the High Commissioner from among the members of the Legislative Chamber after consultation with its leaders. Bills passed by the Legislative Chambers would require the assent of the High Commissioner. This, however, would not be withheld unless the Bill is inconsistent with the instrument of government, whose provisions would afford safeguards for the peace of Palestine and for the rights of minorities.

It would also be necessary to reserve to the High Commissioner an emergency power to intervene if a Provincial Government fails to perform, or exceeds, its proper functions. The executive and legislative functions of the Central Government would initially be exercised by the High Commissioner, assisted by a nominated Executive Council. Certain of the departments of the Central Government would be headed, as soon as the High Commissioner deems practical, by Palestinians. The High Commissioner would establish a Development Planning Board and a Tariff Board composed of representatives of the Central Government and of each province. In the Jerusalem District, a council would be established with powers similar to those of a municipal council. The majority of its members would be elected, but certain members would be nominated by the High Commissioner. The Negev District would be administered, for the time being, by the Central Government.

This plan for provincial autonomy would greatly simplify the problem of Jewish immigration into Palestine. Though final control over immigration would continue to rest with the Central Government, this control

would be exercised on the basis of recommendations made by the Provincial Governments. So long as the economic absorptive capacity of the province was not exceeded, the Central Government would authorise the immigration desired by the Provincial Government. It would have no power to authorise immigration in excess of any limitations proposed by the Provincial Governments. Thus, though the Government of the Arab Province would have full power to exclude Jewish immigrants from its Province, the Jewish Province would, normally, be able to admit as many immigrants as its Government desires.

As part of this plan, the experts suggest that it would become possible to accept the recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee for the immediate admission of 100,000 Jewish immigrants into Palestine, and for continuing immigration thereafter. The experts prepared a plan for the movement of 100,000 Jews from Europe into the Jewish area of Palestine, and this plan would be set in motion as soon as it is decided to put into effect the scheme as a whole. The immigration certificates would be issued as rapidly as possible, and every effort would be made to complete the operation within 12 months of the date on which the immigration begins. The immigrants would be selected, primarily, from Jews in Germany, Austria and Italy, and priority would be given to those who have already spent some time in assembly centres in those countries and to others who, though no longer in those centres, were liberated in Germany and Austria. Within those groups, priority would be given to building craftsmen and agricultural workers, young children, the infirm and the aged. The bulk of the 100,000 would be drawn from Germany, Austria and Italy; any certificates available for the Jews in other countries of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe would be issued only to orphan children. Shipment would proceed at the maximum rate consistent with the clearance of the transit camps in Palestine, in which the immigrants would be temporarily accommodated until they could be absorbed.

Under this plan, the United States Government would be asked to undertake sole responsibility for the sea transportation of those Jewish refugees, to whom I have referred, from Europe to Palestine. They would provide the ships and would defray the whole cost of sea transportation. They would also provide food for the immigrants for the first two months after their arrival in Palestine. The cost of transferring and settling this number of persons in Palestine would, of course, be considerable. The Jewish organisations have accepted the financial responsibility, and the experts saw no reason why the required finance should not be found from reparations, from contributions by world Jewry and from loans. The experts accepted the recommendation of the Anglo-American Committee that improvements of the economic and social conditions of the Arabs in Palestine were desirable. The programme which they suggested would include the provision of a health service comparable to that already available to the Jews, an expansion of educational facilities, the provision of cheap credit for the Arab cultivators, and other measures designed to increase the productivity of the land, the promotion of the co-operative movement, the development of light industries and improvements in both rural and urban living conditions.

The expert delegations gave warning that, for some years, the implementation of these and other plans for the improvement of economic opportunities and living standards in Palestine would impose heavy capital costs not eligible for loans, and would constitute a severe strain on the finances of Palestine. The setting up of the provincial system would also entail a deficit in the budget of the Arab Province which would have to be met by a Central Government subvention. Further financial aid for

Palestine would be required if the plan, as a whole, is to be carried out. To meet this situation, the experts suggested that the United States should be asked to make a substantial grant to the Government of Palestine, to be used principally for financing Arab development projects not suitable for self-liquidating loans, and for assisting in the meeting of extraordinary expenditure during the transitional period, while this country should be asked to take ultimate responsibility for meeting Palestine's annual budgetary deficit up to the time when increased revenues made this unnecessary.

The experts believed that the need for economic development in Palestine should be considered against the background of the Middle East as a whole. They understood that the Governments represented in the Arab League were now examining the possibilities of economic development in their countries, and they, therefore, suggested that if any of those States found difficulty in obtaining international loans for this purpose the United States should authorise large-scale development loans. These loans would be made through an appropriate agency for the development of the Middle East region, including Palestine. Most large-scale development from which Palestine could benefit should be undertaken in co-operation at least with Transjordan, and probably with Syria and Lebanon. The experts proposed that, subject to the consent of the Government of Transjordan, the common water resources of both Palestine and Transjordan should be surveyed as soon as possible by consulting engineers acting under government auspices.

I have now completed my outline of the recommendations of the expert delegations. His Majesty's Government, believing that these recommendations represent the best line of advance towards a solution of the problem, informed the United States Government of their willingness to accept them as a basis for negotiation. We had hoped before the Debate to receive from President Truman his acceptance, but we understand that he has decided, in view of the complexity of the matter, to discuss it in detail with the United States expert delegation who are returning to Washington for the purpose. The President is thus giving further consideration to the matter, and we hope to hear again from him in due course.

Meanwhile, however, the situation in Palestine will brook no delay. We are inviting the representatives of the Jews and Arabs to meet us for discussion of these problems and we hope that we shall be able to bring before them as a basis for negotiation the plan recommended by the expert delegations. If it is found acceptable, our intention would be that it should be embodied in a trusteeship agreement for Palestine. But I should make it clear that we mean to go ahead with discussion with Arabs and Jews of a constitutional scheme on these lines. We believe that it offers many advantages to both communities in Palestine.

The Jews will be free to exercise a large measure of control over immigration into their own Province, and to forward there the development of the Jewish national home. The Land Transfers Regulations will be repealed. It will be open to the Government of the Arab Province to permit or to refuse permission to Jews to purchase land there, but the area of the Jewish Province will be larger than that in which Jews are free to buy land at present. The Arabs will gain, in that the great majority of them will be freed once and for all from any fear of Jewish domination. The citizens of the Arab Province will achieve at once a large measure of autonomy and powerful safeguards will be provided to protect the rights of the Arab minority left in the Jewish Province. To both communities the plan offers a prospect of development, of which there would be little hope in a unitary Palestine.

In the long term, the plan leaves the way open for peaceful progress and constitutional development either towards partition, or towards federal unity. The association of representatives of the two Provinces in the administration of central subjects may lead ultimately to a fully developed federal constitution. On the other hand, if the centrifugal forces prove too strong, the way is open towards partition. Our proposals do not prejudge this issue either way. We believe that this plan provides as fair and reasonable a compromise between the claims of Arab and Jew as it is possible to devise, and that it offers the best prospect of reconciling the conflicting interests of the two communities. This, however, must be made clear. The full implementation of the experts' plan as a whole depends on United States co-operation. I hope that that will be forthcoming. If not, we shall have to reconsider the position, particularly as regards the economic and financial implications, and this is bound to affect the tempo and extent of immigration and development.

These, then, are our proposals. I ask the indulgence of the House for the fact that I have had to stick closely to my notes in the circumstances in making this speech, because a great deal of this speech was necessarily based upon the recommendations of the expert delegations, and I was exceedingly anxious to be accurate in what I said. It would, in any event, be impracticable to enter, at this stage, into greater detail regarding proposals which it is intended shall form the basis of discussion with representatives of the Arabs and Jews whom we have promised an opportunity for consultation before a final decision is reached.

I commend these proposals to the House, and I would urge upon both communities in the Holy Land to give them their most earnest consideration. While our consultations are proceeding, I would appeal to all men of good will on either side to co-operate with the Government in suppressing terrorism and in bringing to justice those responsible for crimes of violence. Let nothing be said or done that will render it more difficult to reach a final settlement. The world is weary of this senseless strife of Jew and Arab, and sickened by its barbarous incidents. It calls upon them to end a sordid chapter of history, and join with the civilised nations in building the foundations of a nobler and happier world. Their friends everywhere will anxiously await their verdict. Mere negation, however, does no good and would be particularly dangerous and regrettable in a combustible situation of the kind with which we are dealing. There is a responsibility on both Jews and Arabs to be willing to sit down as practical people to discuss, to negotiate and to talk with a view to reaching a practicable solution, with the expedition and with the sense of urgency which this grave problem demands.

[The explanatory map appears at the end of the Paper.]

Constitutional Proposals put forward by the Arab States Delegations to the Palestine Conference on 30th September, 1946

1. The first step would be for the High Commissioner to establish, by nomination and after consultation with the leading Palestinian elements, a Provisional Government consisting of seven Arab and three Jewish Ministers of Palestinian nationality. The legislative and executive powers of the present administration in Palestine would be transferred to the Provisional Government as soon as it has been appointed. The High Commissioner would retain a power of veto throughout the transition period.

2. Simultaneously, the High Commissioner would initiate the preparation by the Provisional Government of an electoral register on the basis of one stage adult male suffrage. As soon as this register was prepared, the Provisional Government would hold elections for a Constituent Assembly in accordance with an electoral law to be enacted by them. This Constituent Assembly would consist of 60 members. The electoral law should provide for the adequate representation in the Constituent Assembly of all the important sections of citizenry, as defined in paragraph 4 (vi) (a) below, in accordance with their respective numbers.

The representation of Arabs and Jews in the Provisional Government would be without prejudice to the proportions to be determined in the constitution for the representation of Arabs and Jews in the Legislative Assembly. The method of election of the Constituent Assembly would similarly be without prejudice to the permanent electoral law (see paragraph 5 below).

3. The Provisional Government would prepare and submit to the Constituent Assembly a draft constitution for Palestine. If the Constituent Assembly proved unable to reach decision on the terms of the constitution within a period of six months from the date of its opening, the Provisional Government would reconsider their draft in the light of the Assembly's debates, would revise it if necessary, and would then enact it themselves.

4. The Provisional Government in drafting or enacting the constitution, and the Constituent Assembly in debating and voting on it, would be bound by directives issued by the High Commissioner. With the exception of these binding directives, the constitution, as decided by the Constituent Assembly would not be subject to the power of veto by the High Commissioner. These directives would provide for the embodiment in the constitution of the following principles:—

- (i) Palestine should be a unitary State.
- (ii) It should have a democratic constitution, with an elected legislature.
- (iii) The constitution should provide guarantees for the sanctity of the Holy Places, covering inviolability, maintenance, freedom of access and freedom of worship in accordance with the *status quo*.
- (iv) The constitution should guarantee, subject to suitable safeguards, freedom of religious practice in accordance with the *status quo* throughout Palestine (including the maintenance of separate religious courts for matters of personal status).
- (v) The law of naturalisation should provide amongst other conditions that the applicant should be a legal resident of Palestine for a continuous period of ten years before his application.

(vi) The constitution should provide guarantees for:—

(a) Full rights of citizenship for:—

- (1) Any person falling under Part I and, subject to (3) below, any person falling under Part II of the Palestinian Citizenship Order, 1925-41.
- (2) Any person who acquired Palestinian citizenship by naturalisation before May 1939.
- (3) Any person who acquired Palestinian citizenship after May 1939, under the Palestinian Citizenship Order, 1925-41, and has been permanently resident in Palestine for a period of ten years.
- (4) Any person who in future acquires Palestinian citizenship by naturalisation under the new law of naturalisation referred to in sub-paragraph (v) above.

(b) The right of any resident in Palestine to apply for and acquire Palestinian citizenship on the same terms and conditions without discrimination on grounds of race, religion or language.

(c) The right of religious bodies or other societies and individuals to maintain, in addition to educational establishments administered by public authority, private schools and universities, subject to the compulsory teaching of Arabic in the schools and to Government control for the purpose of maintaining educational standards and preventing subversive teaching with the object of creating common allegiance.

(d) The right of Jews to employ the Hebrew language as a second official language in districts where they form an absolute majority.

(e)—1. Securing that the electoral law for the Legislature shall provide for the adequate representation of all the important sections of the citizenry, as defined in sub-paragraph (a) above, provided that in no case shall the number of Jewish representatives exceed one-third of the total number of the members.

2. Securing that the constitution shall provide for the adequate reflection in the Executive and the Administration of the distribution of the representation in the legislature.

(vii) Unless and until legislation provides otherwise, Jewish immigration into Palestine should be entirely prohibited, and the existing land transfer restrictions should remain unchanged. The constitution should provide that any change in the above two matters can only be effected by law requiring the consent of the Arabs in Palestine as expressed by a majority of the Arab members of the Legislative Assembly.

(viii) The guarantees concerning the Holy Places should be embodied in a declaration made to the General Assembly of the United Nations by the Independent Palestine State, which would bind itself thereby that those guarantees should not subsequently be modified without the consent of that Assembly.

(ix) The guarantees concerning the rights of the Jewish citizens which are prescribed in the preceding provisions should not be subject to amendment without the consent of the Jewish citizens of Palestine as expressed by a majority of the Jewish members of the Legislative Assembly.

(x) Machinery should be provided, through the establishment of a Supreme Court, for determining whether any legislation is inconsistent with the provisions of the constitution, and it should be open to any citizen of Palestine to have recourse to that tribunal.

5. When the constitution had been adopted, the Provisional Government would proceed forthwith to hold the first parliamentary elections. The first Head of the Independent Palestine State would then be appointed, by whatever procedure was laid down for the purpose in the constitution. The Head of the State would forthwith assume full powers under the constitution. The Mandatory Power should effect the termination of the Mandate and recognise the independence of Palestine. A Treaty of Alliance should be concluded to define the future relations between His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the Independent State of Palestine.

6. During the transition period, substantial numbers of Palestinians should be progressively brought into the administration.

7. Every effort should be made to complete with the least possible delay the stages described in the preceding paragraphs, notwithstanding the non-co-operation of any section of the Palestine citizenry. The assumption of powers by the Head of the Palestine State should take place not later than 31st December, 1948.

(3)

The Proposals submitted by the British Delegation to the Palestine Conference on 7th February, 1947, and also Communicated to Representatives of the Jewish Agency

1. Article 2 of the Mandate for Palestine defines the responsibilities of the Mandatory Power in the following terms:—

- (a) To place the country "under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home, as laid down in the preamble."
- (b) To place the country under such conditions as will "secure the development of self-governing institutions."
- (c) To safeguard the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine, irrespective of race and religion.

Article 6 of the Mandate, which deals with Jewish immigration and the settlement of the Jews on the land, reads in part as follows:—

"The Administration of Palestine, while ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced, shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions."

2. During the last twenty-five years, efforts have been made by the Mandatory Government to associate the population of the country with the Administration, but these have invariably broken down because it has not been possible to find a basis of co-operation acceptable to both Arabs and Jews. It has therefore not been possible to establish political institutions leading towards self-government.

3. A time has come when development in the direction of self-government can no longer be delayed. So long as government is imposed from without, neither community has the incentive to develop that sense of responsibility without which the two peoples in Palestine cannot live together in harmony. Forms of government must therefore be established which have their roots in the people of the country and which offer a prospect of full independence within a reasonably short period.

4. To this end it is proposed that the people of the country shall be given a large measure of responsibility for local affairs and shall be associated with the Central Government as soon as the new policy is put into effect; that British participation in the Government shall not continue for longer than is necessary to effect the transition from Trusteeship to complete independence; and that a definite time limit shall be fixed for this period of transition. The period suggested is five years. In other words, it is proposed that His Majesty's Government should administer a five-year Trusteeship over Palestine, with the declared object of preparing the country for independence.

5. Under these proposals, His Majesty's Government would be carrying on the obligations which already rest upon them under the Mandate. At the same time, they would be looking forward to an early termination of the Trust, and would be acting in full conformity with the provisions of Article 76 of the United Nations Charter.

If it emerged from the present discussions that the initiation of such a policy would command substantial acquiescence from both communities in Palestine, interim arrangements in harmony with this policy could no doubt be made in advance of its formal approval by the United Nations.

6. The essential features of the proposed Trusteeship Agreement are outlined in the succeeding paragraphs.

Local Government

7. Areas of local administration would be delimited in such a way as to include in each a substantial majority either of Arabs or of Jews. To the local Administrations the central Government would devolve a wide range of powers, legislative, administrative and financial, including some share in responsibility for the police. As the local administrative boundaries would not have the character of State frontiers, it would not necessarily follow that all the Arab or all the Jewish territory need be contiguous.

8. Safeguards would be provided for the rights of the Jewish population in Arab areas and of the Arab population in Jewish areas. The rights of these minorities would include:—

- (a) Adequate representation in local legislatures;
- (b) A reasonable proportion of posts in the local Administration;
- (c) Freedom of religious practice in accordance with the *status quo*, including the maintenance of separate religious courts for matters of personal status;
- (d) The right to maintain their own educational institutions;

- (e) The right to use their own language in their communications with the Administration and in the Courts of Law.

It would be a special responsibility of the High Commissioner to ensure the maintenance of these rights.

Immigration

9. The British Delegation cannot accept the contention of the representatives of the Jewish Agency that the rate of Jewish immigration into Palestine as a whole should be determined by the Jews alone. Nor can they accept the demand of the Arab Delegations that all Jewish immigration into Palestine should cease forthwith. They do not contemplate either a settlement which would bring to an end the development of the Jewish National Home, or the admission of Jewish immigrants without reference to the effect of their entry on the rights and position of the population of the country. Any provisions made for future Jewish immigration must rest upon consideration for the well-being of Palestine as a whole.

10. With this end in view the Trusteeship Agreement would provide for Jewish immigration, at a rate of 4,000 monthly, for a period of two years. This would guarantee the entry of approximately 100,000 additional Jewish immigrants. During the remainder of the period of Trusteeship, the continuance of immigration and the rate of entry would be determined, with due regard to the principle of economic absorptive capacity, by the High Commissioner in consultation with his Advisory Council; and in the event of disagreement the final decision would rest with an arbitration tribunal appointed by the United Nations.

Land Transfers

11. Control over transfers of land, including the power to amend the existing Land Transfers Regulations, would be conferred on the local authorities.

Central Government

12. The High Commissioner would continue to exercise supreme legislative and executive authority. He would, however, endeavour to form an Advisory Council so composed as to include representatives, not only of the Arab and Jewish local Administrations, but also of labour and other organised interests. Despite this composition, it is probable that voting in the Advisory Council would tend at first to follow communal lines. Since, however, the functions of the Council would be advisory and not legislative, the High Commissioner would be required to give due attention to the views of minorities. On the conclusion of the Trusteeship Agreement, the Jewish members of the Advisory Council would supersede the Jewish Agency for Palestine as the official channel of communication between the Jewish community and the High Commissioner.

13. During the period of trusteeship, the High Commissioner would introduce Palestinians into his Executive Council, and would progressively increase the proportion of Palestinian members in that Council.

14. It would be the duty of the central Government to stimulate the economic development of the country through the agency of Development Boards including both Arab and Jewish members.

15. The central Government would be responsible for ensuring that adequate provision was made by the local Administrations for the enforcement of minimum wage rates and conditions of labour.

Termination of Trusteeship Agreement

16. At the end of four years a Constituent Assembly would be elected. If agreement was reached between a majority of the Jewish representatives and a majority of the Arab representatives in the Constituent Assembly, the High Commissioner would proceed forthwith to take whatever steps were necessary to establish the institutions of the independent State.

17. In the event of disagreement in the Constituent Assembly, the various drafts prepared for its consideration and the record of its debates would be submitted to the Trusteeship Council which would be asked to advise upon future procedure.

Conclusion

18. Throughout the period of mandatory rule in Palestine, it has been the object of His Majesty's Government to lay the foundations for an independent Palestinian State in which Arabs and Jews would enjoy equal rights. The state of tension between the two peoples which has existed hitherto has continually thwarted the attempts of the mandatory Power to progress towards this end. His Majesty's Government are not prepared to continue indefinitely to govern Palestine themselves merely because Arabs and Jews cannot agree upon the means of sharing its government between them. The proposals contained in the present Memorandum are designed to give the two peoples an opportunity of demonstrating their ability to work together for the good of Palestine as a whole and so providing a stable foundation for an independent State.



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