

THE LABOUR PARTY  
THE  
INTERNATIONAL  
POST-WAR SETTLEMENT

Report by the National Executive Committee  
of the Labour Party to be presented to the  
Annual Conference to be held in London  
from May 29th to June 2nd, 1944.

## PALESTINE

Here we have halted half way, irresolute between conflicting policies. But there is surely neither hope nor meaning in a "Jewish National Home," unless we are prepared to let Jews, if they wish, enter this tiny land in such numbers as to become a majority. There was a strong case for this before the War. There is an irresistible case now, after the unspeakable atrocities of the cold and calculated German Nazi plan to kill all Jews in Europe. Here, too, in Palestine surely is a case, on human grounds and to promote a stable settlement, for transfer of population. Let the Arabs be encouraged to move out, as the Jews move in. Let them be compensated handsomely for their land and let their settlement elsewhere be carefully organised and generously financed. The Arabs have many wide territories of their own; they must not claim to exclude the Jews from this small area of Palestine, less than the size of Wales. Indeed, we should re-examine also the possibility of extending the present Palestinian boundaries, by agreement with Egypt, Syria, or Transjordan. Moreover, we should seek to win the full sympathy and support both of the American and Russian Governments for the execution of this Palestinian policy.

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*ref 4:1*

22. 9. 45.

The question of the delegation to Russia is pushed back to the International Sub. I pledge myself to make the first draft of my Heads of proposals for a post-war settlement in time for the next meeting of this Sub.

*ref 4:5*

Hugh Dalton. Diary entry

13. 10. 43.

Returning to the office, I dictate until 1.30 a.m. on L.P.'s International Post-War Settlement.

ref 4:6

Hugh Dalton. Diary entry

## POST-WAR SETTLEMENT

First draft. Dictated after midnight on a  
lousy day!

Also looking  
mid's Africa (Fr.) & Palestine

*ref 4:10*

Dalton. Initial sketch of his Memorandum

17th October, 1943

My dear Bill,

May I say, I have a mandate from the National Executive to make a draft on the International Post-war settlement.

I have been working on this, and reading many documents of various kinds, for some time. I hope to have the first rough outline of this draft - not much more at this stage than heads of proposals - ready for the next meeting of the International Sub-Committee of the Executive.

ref 4:12

Dalton to Forster

6 &amp; 7. 11. 43.

At W.I. Spend a lot of time on my Labour Party draft on Post War International Settlement. Each time that I spend time with it, I think that I improve it a good deal, but I am anxious not to spend too long improving it, but to put up something, in simple terms, to make a basis for general discussion at the International Sub. (attached; this draft as, a few days later, I send it in to Transport House.)

ref 4:13

Hugh Dalton. Diary entry

Private and ConfidentialLABOUR PARTYINTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENTPOST-WAR SETTLEMENT

This is not a Draft of a Declaration to be published. It is only a sketch, in rough outline and in simple terms, for the preliminary consideration of my colleagues, of some of the principles which, I suggest, should govern the International Post-War Settlement. To help provoke discussion and to test how far we really disagree among ourselves, I have stated my own views very frankly.

H.D.

12th November, 1943.

18. Palestine. Here we have halted half-way. I see neither hope nor meaning in a "Jewish National Home", unless we are prepared to let Jews, if they wish, enter this tiny land in such numbers as to become a majority. Here too surely is a case for transfer of population. Let the Arabs be encouraged to move out, as the Jews move in. Let them be compensated handsomely and let their settlement elsewhere be carefully attended to. The Arabs have not done very well since the last war, either for themselves or for us. We should not give in to their policy of Dog in the Holy Manger. They have many wide territories of their own, compared with poor little Palestine. Indeed I would like to extend the Palestinian boundaries either into Egypt or Transjordan. There is also something to be said for throwing open Libya or Eritrea to Jewish settlement, as satellites or colonies to Palestine. In any case, we must seek to remove Russian dislike of the Palestine experiment and encourage American interest in it and support for it.

ref 4:14



16. 11. 43.

International Sub. I put over my first sketch of the Post-War International Settlement. It is extremely well received, much better in some quarters than I had expected. Poor little

Gillies is terrified of my Palestine paragraph, and thinks this should be referred to a separate committee. I say this is all nonsense. He likes all the rest. Dallas, Walker and Burrows are all very complimentary, but the most surprising case is little Laski, who, looking rather ill and telling us that he has had a heart attack, takes half an hour to go through my draft point by point and express complete approval, except, perhaps, on Basic English, which he thinks we should get someone else to propose. He is deeply touched by my Palestine paragraph and also by my earlier reference to the German atrocities. He, like most of the others, are quite prepared for the transfer of population. The more I think, and speak, on this point, the more firmly am I persuaded that, amid the immense inevitable movements for repatriation and resettlement of prisoners-of-war, slave labourers and exiles, the deliberate transfer of some few millions of German minorities back behind the new German frontiers would be a relatively small addition to our problem. This, moreover, would be the unique moment for carrying out this movement, and, once it was done, it would take the sting out of Labour agitations for frontier revision.

ref 4:18

Hugh Dalton. Diary entry

SECRET

5704/

SHORT MINUTES OF MEETING HELD ON THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 18th, 1943, at 77 GREAT  
RUSSELL STREET, LONDON, W.C.1.

Present: Dr. Weizmann, Mrs. Dugdale, Professor Namier, Mr.  
Bakstansky, Mr. Linton.

1) LABOUR PARTY: Mr. Bakstansky said he had seen Mr. Middleton, who had told him that he would ask Mr. Greenwood to find out what the Government had in mind with regard to Palestine. At a meeting of the party executive Dr. Hugh Dalton had taken a leading part; he had drawn up a memorandum on future work for the Labour Conference, of which one paragraph dealt with Palestine, and suggested that Palestine should be given to the Jews, and the Arabs compulsorily transferred to Transjordan. Dr. Dalton had said that he was tired of these continual bickerings; he thought that now that Mr. Maisky had been to Palestine it should not be difficult to achieve such a solution. Mr. Bakstansky said that naturally very little of Dr. Dalton's memorandum had seen the light of day, but it was interesting that he was sticking to his guns; and also that he should have referred to Mr. Maisky. It was possible that Dr. Dalton might have his information about the Russian attitude from good sources. Professor Laski would be seeing Mr. Morrison at the end of November, and would then arrange a dinner with Dr. Weizmann. Professor Laski had also written to him to say that Dr. Dalton was proposing that the whole of Western Palestine should be given to the Jews with the exception of the Holy Places.

ref 4:21

Minutes. Jewish Agency Executive, London

Telegraphic Address: "LABREPCOM, SOWEST LONDON"

Telephone: VICTORIA 9434 (8 Lines)

# THE LABOUR PARTY

TRANSPORT HOUSE (South Block), SMITH SQUARE, LONDON, S.W.1

Secretary: J. S. MIDDLETON

DALTON 7/10 (51)

November 27th, 1943.

Dear Colleague,

The group of international friends from the Occupied Territories who constitute a Labour Party Consultative Committee, will meet at St. Ermin's Hotel, Caxton Street, off Victoria Street, S.W.1., on Friday, December 10th, 1943, at 10.30 a.m. Chairman: George Dallas.

At this meeting of the Committee, it is proposed to have a general discussion on the terms of the International Post-War Settlement, military, political and economic. A statement will be made on behalf of the International Sub-Committee of the National Executive, and we shall be very glad if, in the course of the discussion, you will give us your views on any of the following questions, and any others to which you attach particular importance.

ref 4:27

WILLIAM GILLIES

Secretary,  
International Department.

Letter to Allied Socialists

10. 12. 43.

Spend morning, and lunch, with Allied Socialists at St Ermin's, seeking their views on the international Post-war Settlement (Questionnaire attached). They don't add much, but they oppose nothing of importance in my plan, which I don't positively disclose to them, only asking them questions. The most intelligent is Brodson (?), the Luxembourg Minister of something or other. He says that an Army can only, in the next stage, become international at the staff level, though, in the light of our war experience, an Air Force can become international lower down. Most are for "decentralisation" in Germany, and it may be that this will prove the magic formula. If you "decentralise" enough, the result will not be practically different from "dismemberment", e.g., if you "decentralise" the right to make war. They all undertake to send particulars of German conduct in their own countries. I am inclined to think that we should make a separate publication of this, collecting also something from the Soviet Embassy. None want German labour gangs in their territory; they think the Russians should have the monopoly of this form of reparation. Most are scared of any European organisation, political or economic, which would exclude Britain and Russia. This, one of them says, would be nothing less than a Greater Germany.

ref 4:28

Hugh Dalton. Diary entry

(Minutes: No. 11, 1943/44)

Private and ConfidentialLABOUR PARTYINTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENT

The International Sub-Committee of  
the National Executive Committee

A Special Meeting of the above Committee was held on Tuesday, February 8th, 1944, at 2.30 p.m. in Transport House, Smith Square, S.W.1.

63) POST-WAR SETTLEMENT

The Committee continued the discussion of the draft memorandum on the principles of the post-war settlement.

They AGREED that the discussion should be concluded at the ordinary meeting of the Sub-Committee in March.

ref 4:35

8. 2. 44

International Sub spends an hour and a half on the second part of my draft for Post-War International Settlement. It goes wonderfully well and there is really no opposition, hardly even from Phil, who, of course, arrives late. I am now left to redraft, but we shall not try to get it before the Executive until their March meeting. G.D. was very businesslike in the Chair and I am amazed at the facility with which it has practically all gone through. H.J.L. was again most friendly and wrote me afterwards a letter, very emotional, thanking me for my paragraph on Palestine.

ref 4:36

Hugh Dalton. Diary entry

LABOUR PARTYINTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENT

The International Sub-Committee of  
the National Executive Committee

A meeting of the above Committee was held on Tuesday, March 14th, 1944, at 2.30 p.m., in Transport House, Smith Square, S.W.1.

72) INTERNATIONAL POST-WAR SETTLEMENT

The Committee again considered the draft memorandum on the International Post-War Settlement and AGREED that the Memorandum, as approved, should be submitted for the consideration and approval of the National Executive Committee at their next meeting.

ref 4:39



14. 3. 44

This afternoon I finally see my Post-War International Settlement document through the International Sub. Only small amendments are suggested. Phil and Harold Clay, the two likeliest critics, come in late when we have finished this item.

ref 4:40

Hugh Dalton. Diary entry

~~SECRET.~~

SHORT MINUTES OF MEETING HELD ON THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 17TH, 1944, AT 77, GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON, W.C.1.

Rabbi Fishman said that he had a number of questions to ask: 1) When was the Resolution adopted by the Executive of the Labour Party, and when would it come up for consideration by the Party; 2) Dr. Weizmann had told them that their friends had said that they should wait until the Government had shown its hand. What was Dr. Weizmann's opinion about this.

Dr. Weizmann said that as regards 1) he believed that it would come before the Party Conference in June, but Mr. Locker would be able to give additional information. On the second point, he interpreted their friends to mean that if the Government thought that its proposal would not be accepted by the Jews and the Arabs, it would impose it, and therefore it was better for them not to find out in advance what its proposal was. He thought that they should find out what its proposals were unofficially, and they might perhaps be able to influence a change in the right direction. It was not good to wait blindly.

ref 4:42

Minutes. Jewish Agency Executive. London

~~SECRET.~~

Short Minutes of Meeting held at 77 Great Russell Street, London, W.C.1. on Thursday, the 9th March, 1944.

Present: Dr. Weizmann, Dr. Goldmann, Dr. Schmorak, Mrs. Dugdale, Mr. Locker, Mr. Bakstansky, Mr. Hodess, Mr. Linton.  
.....

#### I. MR. NOEL BAKER AND DR. DALTON.

Dr. Weizmann said that he had dined the previous evening with Mr. Noel Baker, Dr. Hugh Dalton, and Mr. Bakstansky. Mr. Noel Baker had been the host. They had learnt very little that was new. The general opinion was that it was not wise to wait with a decision until the end of the war. Something could still be done even during the war. They promised to look into their affairs. Dr. Dalton had told them that he had drafted a resolution which he thought would satisfy them. The resolution would probably be published in a month's time. It had not yet come before the Labour Executive, but Dr. Dalton was confident that it would be passed.

ref 4:43

Minutes. Jewish Agency Executive. London

8. 5. 44

Dine with Phil at R.A.C. to meet Weizmann and Bakstanski. I all but tell them that I have drafted a very hot paragraph for the Labour Party on post-war Palestine. I hint as much on leaving. W. is very conscious of the influence of the Arabs in the Middle East itself, and of the hostility of British officials, and especially of Moyne, who is still in Cairo.

ref 4:44

Hugh Dalton. Diary entry

HUGH DALTON

## THE FATEFUL YEARS

Memoirs 1931-1945

I put this in my draft and persuaded my colleagues to accept it—Laski expressed most emotional gratitude—without any consultation with the Zionists. I was not then in close touch with them, though over a long period I used to see Weizmann from time to time and Lewis Namier occasionally, and some of my pupils at the London School of Economics had been, and still were, keen Zionists.

An Arab minority might wish to remain in Palestine. But, when I looked at the map, and when I studied the possibilities of irrigation and other development in the vast unpeopled areas of the Arab states, I was equally sure that these states too, given the external help to which they were entitled, had before them a bright and prosperous Arab future. Most of the Palestinian Arabs, and their descendants, would surely be much happier in these states than in a Palestine into which so strong a Jewish stream would soon be pouring. We, as the Mandatory Power in Palestine, should, therefore, take the lead in carrying out in this region of the Middle East a major operation, on the morrow of the Allied victory. Then, when so much everywhere would be in flux, and when both our moral influence and our military power would be at their height, would come the perfect opportunity. There must be large shifts of population, of Jews into Palestine and of Arabs out of it. We must put massive resources, in finance and in technical advice, behind these shifts, so that material development, for the benefit of all concerned, might follow quickly. This would be a unique moment, I judged, when the pulse of history could quicken, and a determined and imaginative leadership could telescope into a few years changes which otherwise would drag along, slowly and painfully, through centuries.

ref 4:45

DIARY

25. 5. 44

Locker to see me. He is, naturally, very pleased with our Palestine paragraph, particularly as we have put it in, as he says, without any pressure from the Jewish Agency. (He is, of course, their liaison man with the British Labour Movement.) He argues against our giving way - which we have no intention of doing - to the suggestion that we should amend the reference to "encouraging" Arabs to move out as Jews move in. He agrees that it is quite clear that "encouragement" in this context does not mean "compulsion". I ask him to send me any further points on this.

ref 4:62

Hugh Dalton. Diary entry. 25 May 1944

26. 4. 44

Oliver Stanley comes to see me to say how very disturbing is our Palestine paragraph in I.P.W.S. It is, he says, "Zionism plus plus". It is tacked on, he feels, rather unnaturally, to a long and helpful statement on Europe. It will not, he hopes, be much played up in our propaganda. I say that I don't think it will. But I remind him that the Labour Party has always taken a pro-Jewish line in Parliamentary debates for many years. He is afraid that it may do harm in Palestine, both by encouraging the Jews to believe that the next British Government, which they think may well be a Labour Government, will do everything for them, and equally by unsettling the Arabs.

To bed early!

ref 4:69

Hugh Dalton. Diary entry

## THE LABOUR PARTY

TRANSPORT HOUSE, (South Block), SMITH SQUARE, LONDON, S.W.1

Secretary:

J. S. MIDDLETON

Chief Woman Officer:

MARY E. SUTHERLAND, J.P.

PERSONAL

April 14, 1944.

Rt. Hon. Hugh Dalton, M.P.,  
Board of Trade,  
Millbank, S.W.1.

Dear Hugh,

I meant to send you this note last week-end - to say how much I like the statement on International Reconstruction to which you must have given much time ~~and~~ thought.

I am hoping very much that it may be possible to have the statement in the hands of the press in time for me to include an article in the May issue of "The Labour Woman".

Again, with many thanks,  
Yours sincerely,

*Mary E. Sutherland*

CHIEF WOMAN OFFICER.

ref 4:70



# THE CHARIOT OF ISRAEL

*Britain, America and the State of Israel*

HAROLD WILSON

Attlee was, in fact, fully committed to an independent state for the Jews in Palestine - even to the extent of expelling some of the Arabs. As Party Leader he was one of the principal signatories of the National Executive Committee's Annual Report, quoted on the previous page.\*

ref 4:73

## DAILY NEWS BULLETIN

Issued by the  
JEWISH TELEGRAPHIC AGENCY, LTD.

Chronicle House, 72/78, Fleet Street, London E.C.4. Telegrams: Jewcorrau London.  
Telephone: Central 3821-2.  
Telex: Central Telex 9222.

Vol. XXV. No. 100. 4 pages. Friday, 28th April, 1944.

### Camille Huysmans Supports Demand For Jewish State.

M. Huysmans described the Nazi mass murder as a challenge to modern civilisation. The Jews, though dispersed, were a force in America, and Palestine had a great future. "Never have I more enthusiastically agreed with a report of the Labour Party of this country than this year, particularly with the resolution dealing with Palestine for the next conference," M. Huysmans said. "I hope it will be adopted. "Palestine must become a Jewish State," M. Huysmans continued. "This is a moral engagement of the world. The Jews claim justice and must get it. When the case of Germany will be considered the Jews, too, should be consulted. The Battle of the Ghetto ranks in this war with the Battle of Stalingrad."

ref 4:74

S. 5. 44

Lunch with Cudlipp at Boulestin's.

We speak also of the I.P.W.S. and I tell him the story of the composition of this. He is frankly frightened of my Palestine paragraph. He has more sympathy with Arabs than Jews. He asks, rather absurdly, why the Jews shouldn't all go to the British Empire and the U.S.A. Why need they go to Palestine?

ref 4:76

Hugh Dalton. Diary entry

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HLT SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS LONDON

THE PALESTINE ARABS LEARNED WITH DEEP REGRET AND GREAT ASTONISHMENT OF THE PROPOSALS CONCERNING PALESTINE INTRODUCED BY THE LABOUR PARTY EXECUTIVE STOP THE PROPOSALS SIGNIFY EXECUTIVES COMPLETE IGNORANCE OF FACTS AND CIRCUMSTANCES PALESTINE PROBLEM STOP PROPOSALS ENDANGER MOST SACRED RIGHTS OF INNOCENT PEOPLE INHABITING ITS HOMELAND AND CHALLENGE AND THREATEN INTERESTS ENTIRE ARAB AND MOSLEM WORLD WHOSE OPINION CONCERNING PALESTINE WELL KNOWN STOP EXECUTIVE ATTITUDE CONTRARY TO LABOUR AND DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES TO ATLANTIC CHARTER AND REPEATED PROMISES GIVEN ARABS BY GREAT BRITAIN STOP WE VEHEMENTLY PROTEST AGAINST AND STRONGLY OBJECT TO THOSE PROPOSALS AND DEMAND THEIR NEGLECT AND WITHDRAWAL

THE PALESTINE ARAB PARTY

NO ENQUIRY RESPECTIVE FROM TELEGRAM CAN BE ATTACHED TO WITHOUT PRODUCTION OF THIS COPY  
REPLIES SHOULD BE MADE IN AT ONE OF THE COMPANY'S OFFICES.

ref 4:79

<p>Registry Number } S 2105/05/31</p> <p>TELEGRAM FROM Palestine Arab Party</p> <p>No.</p> <p>Dated 3rd May Received 3rd May in Registry 1944</p> <p>To: Palestine and Transjordan</p>	<p>Labour Party Executive's proposals for Palestine Arab Protest.</p> <p>Protests against proposals concerning Palestine introduced by Labour Party Executive as being contrary to Labour and democratic principles and to Atlantic Charter. Urges their withdrawal.</p>
<p>Last Paper.</p> <p>E2670</p> <p>References.</p> <p>(Print.)</p> <p>(How disposed of.)  <i>Mr Boyd (C.O.) May 6th.</i>  <i>Mr Boyd (C.O.) from Mr Carter May 22</i></p>	<p>(Minutes.)</p> <p><i>Copy Mr. Boyd, C.O. + re-submit. 16/5</i></p> <p>The protest is against the statement about Palestine mentioned in the last part of the attached extract from the "Times". It will be seen from the extract within from the Jewish Telegraphic Agency Bulletin that similar comments have been sent to the P.M. etc, but not apparently to any members of the Labour Party. I shall like to circulate copy to Labour Friends, but I suppose we cannot do that.</p> <p><i>16/5</i></p>
	<p>I have read the protest which was sent by the Palestine Arab Party against the proposals concerning Palestine contained in the Labour Party's policy on the international post-war settlement. I think this protest should be sent to the Secretary of the Labour Party, as the proposals contained in the statement of policy issued by the Executive of the Labour Party are only tentative and will come up for discussion at the Con- ference of the Party which is to be held at the end of the month. I think it would be useful for the views of the Palestine Arabs to be made known to the Labour Party Executive before the proposals are finally approved.</p> <p><i>14/5</i> 12th May, 1944.</p> <p><i>Draft to Mr. Middleton, Transport House.</i></p> <p><i>We had better get the C.O. to take the necessary action, if they see no objection Draft to Mr. Boyd.</i></p> <p><i>16/5</i> <i>18/5</i></p>



Enclosure I.

C O P Y.

THE NATIONAL DEFENCE PARTY.  
JERUSALEM.

9th May 1944.

I have the honour to forward herewith to Your Excellency the National Defence Party's protest against the British Labour Party's recent resolution thereby supporting prejudicially the newly grown Zionist designs on Palestine, which resolution, owing to its aggressive and provocative nature, seems to have obviously followed the steps of the similarly biased resolution of the two pro-Zionist American Senators some months ago;

As submitted on all past occasions and put before the British Government, the Arabs as a nation aiming at the full attainment of freedom and self-government will never betray their history by allowing their country to go or be passed to non-Arabs.

ref 4:87

(Sgd) Ragheb Nashashibi,  
President. National Defence Party.

Letter to High Commissioner

Enclosure III.

C O P Y.

The National Bloc,  
Central Office.

Resolution adopted by the Central Committee  
of the National Bloc on the 30th  
April 1944.

3. In this connection, the National Bloc observes with astonishment that there exists in the ranks of the British Labour Party in the Parliament of the honourable British Nation a group of members who have no limit to their imagination and fail to face facts, as may be seen from a proposal in which it was stated: We find in Palestine a necessity based on humanitarian considerations which calls for the transfer of the population in the interest of reaching a definite settlement.

For this reason, the National Bloc calls upon the Arab Nation to be on the alert and to take effective measures for the solution of the Palestine case immediately and without delay within the principles of the national covenant viz: the Arabs alone have the right to determine the Palestine case (both by right and by justice).

(Seal) The National Bloc.

ref 4:89

Letter to High Commissioner

PALESTINE

NO 517

SECRET

Colonial Office,

Downing Street,

6<sup>th</sup> July, 1944.

Sir,

(12) I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Captain Shaw's secret despatch of the 19th May forwarding copies of communications which have been received from certain quarters in Palestine on the subject of a statement said to have been issued by the Executive Committee of the British Labour Party on the policy which that party is said to favour in regard to Palestine.

2. I have to request that a formal acknowledgment may be conveyed to the senders.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient  
humble servant,

(Sgd) OLIVER STANLEY.

ref 4:95

Colonial Secretary to High Commissioner

## 2. Arab affairs.

Feeling among the Arabs has been sharply stimulated

during the past month by various manifestations of Jewish political activities, and, in particular, by the reported resolution of the British Labour Party that Arabs should be induced to move out of Palestine to make room for Jews. There was an outburst of indignant Press comments and numerous protests from different quarters, followed by noticeable increase in Party activity.

Reactions to the resolution have been widespread and bitter. Arab population, who had been inclined to regard Zionist propaganda abroad with little more than irritation, are now thoroughly alarmed at what they regard as this new manifestation of its effectiveness. They are genuinely shocked and dismayed that the chosen representatives of a large section of the British public could contemplate the removal of Arabs from their homes in Palestine in favour of the Jews.

ref 4:97

Extract of Telegram from High Commissioner. 29 May 1944

# JEWISH LABOUR

Bulletin of the Poale Zion—Jewish Socialist Labour Party  
Affiliated to the Labour Party

JUNE, 1944

SIXPENCE

I do not think the demand for a great Jewish immigration into Palestine needs any explanation in the light of our policy since the days of the Balfour Declaration. As for the proposed transfer of population and extension of Palestinian boundaries it should be noted that the statement speaks of encouragement and agreement, not of any sort of compulsion.

ref 4:104

Article by Arthur Greenwood

## Private and Confidential

### ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON IMPERIAL QUESTIONS

#### LABOUR PARTY

#### INTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENT

A meeting of the above Committee was held on Wednesday, May 10th, 1944, at 2 p.m. in the Palace of Westminster in a room reserved in the name of Mr. Ben Riley, M.P.

#### PRESENT:

B.Riley, M.P., (Chairman)

Professor N.Bentwich,  
Mrs. Crutchley,  
C.W.W.Greenidge,  
T.Reid, C.M.G.,

Capt. John Dugdale, M.P.,  
Dr. Hinden,  
Major Graham Pole,

Leonard S. Woolf (Chairman)

- 3) The Committee resolved to draw the attention of the Executive Committee to the unfortunate implications in the policy with regard to Palestine in the Report on The International Post-War Settlement. The suggestion that the Arabs should 'move out' of Palestine must cause the greatest uneasiness to the Jews no less than to the Arabs and the Committee suggests that the policy should be reconsidered before it is submitted to the Conference.

ref 4:108



PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL

E.C.14. 1943-44

A Special Meeting of THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
was held in the Eighth Floor Board Room at  
Transport House, Smith Square, London, S.W.1.,  
on Tuesday, May 16th, 1944 at 10 a.m.

INTERNATIONAL:296. "International Post-War Settlement": (Palestine)

Minutes of the Meeting of the Advisory Committee  
on Imperial Questions held on May 10th, indicating  
dissent from the Executive Committee's views on the  
Palestine Problem, were reported.

RESOLVED: "That the matter be referred to the  
International Sub-Committee."

ref 4:110

Minutes No.17: 1943/44

Private and ConfidentialLABOUR PARTYINTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENT

The International Sub-Committee  
of the National Executive Committee

92) PALESTINE

The Committee considered the suggestions of the Advisory  
Committee on Imperial Questions that the paragraph on  
Palestine in the Report on the International Post-War  
Settlement should be reconsidered before it is submitted  
to the Conference.

The Committee AGREED to let the paragraph stand as it  
is, as the terms of the paragraph as drafted already makes  
it clear that any transfer of the Arab population would be  
of a voluntary character, and no compulsion was contemplated.

ref 4:111

20.6.44.

International Sub-Committee. We decide to ignore  
the suggestions from various quarters that we should go back  
on our proposal for voluntary emigration of Arabs from  
Palestine; also that I should draft for the N.E. a salute to  
the Armed Forces and to the Resistance Movements in Europe.

ref 4:112

Hugh Dalton. Diary entry

החליטה אוכלוסין, אבל הם לא יסכימו לכך והם יכרזו את זה לא כהוגן. נחמתי קצת  
 יגיעה, אינני זוכר אם זה היה מכתב או טלפון, טגיליס:

"We are getting protests from all sides. What are we going to do?"  
 אמרתי לטגיליס: אילו הייתם מחייצים אתי, לא הייתי מייצג לכם להכניס את זה.

"But shall we delete it?" "No, don't delete it because they will say you  
 have drawn what you wanted to do"  
 אחר כך קראתי לרולטון, אחר ליי: אני הייתי הסתבר על חומר הזה. מה עלי לעשות.  
 אמרתי לו:

"Mr Dalton, this is a very just idea. But as things stand,  
 the Arabs won't accept it and they will, of course, interpret it  
 the wrong way. My view is that you should leave it but the man who  
 will introduce it shall say, we don't mean expulsion, we mean a  
 sort of exchange of population by mutual agreement."

ref 4:113

Interview with Berl Locker. October 1960

## JUDAEA LIVES AGAIN

by

NORMAN BENTWICH

FORMERLY ATTORNEY-GENERAL  
OF PALESTINE

It might be possible to facilitate a mass movement of Jews from Europe to Palestine—if a mass remains and wishes to emigrate—by making provision for the transfer of such part of the Arab population as wish to live in an Arab State to neighbouring Arab territories. There can, however, be no question of a forced movement. Such a solution must be based on negotiation and voluntary agreement; and it must include constructive measures of agrarian settlement for the benefit of the migrating Arabs among their own kin, as well as of Jews and Arabs alike in Palestine. On those conditions, but only on those conditions, transfer of population might be a means of solving the national conflict.

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