

*Document 2: Tentative Conditions for an Arab-Israel Settlement,  
29 July 1952*

1. GENERAL

The Arab States to undertake to end the state of war with Israel and to rescind all measures taken in virtue thereof. The Arab States and Israel to undertake to exchange diplomatic representatives and in other ways to encourage the establishment of normal political and economic relations with one another.

TERRITORIAL PROVISIONS

2. (a) Rectification of the Israel-Jordan frontier in such a way as to reunite lands with villages to which they belonged.
- (b) Israel to surrender (against compensation) all claims to Mount Scopus, which will be handed over to Jordan.
- (c) Recognition by all Arab States of Israel's and Jordan's sovereignty over their respective sectors in Jerusalem, and a promise of support in the United Nations for a resolution giving such recognition, against guarantees to preserve international rights and interests there.
- (d) Adjustments to the line of demarcation in Jerusalem to establish a logical common frontier.
- (e) Israel sovereignty over the Huleh area to be acknowledged.
- (f) Syria to be given the Ein Gev area, access to Lake Tiberias and, consequently, a say in the disposal of Jordan waters.
- (g) Jordan to have the El Hamma salient, unless she is prepared to waive her claim in favour of Syria.
- (h) The United Nations to guarantee the frontier as established in the foregoing paragraphs and to request the signatories of the Tripartite statement, who accept the duty to see that this guarantee is implemented. In consequence of this guarantee, the frontiers to be placed within six months under exclusively police control; and Israel and the Arab States to give an undertaking to this effect.

- (i) The United Nations to undertake to make available a sum sufficient to dispose of resettlement problems in Jerusalem, including a grant for the re-building elsewhere of the Hebrew University and Hospital on Mount Scopus, compensation to owners of property deprived of its use, reconstruction of damaged areas and the establishment of frontier posts facilitating movement.

ETHNOGRAPHIC PROVISIONS

3. (a) Agreement on the principle that Arab refugees should not return to Israel, but should be compensated for the loss of all their property, movable as well as immovable.
- (b) The Arab countries to collaborate with the United Nations in the resettlement of all Arab refugees on Arab soil.
- (c) Israel to offer to buy out, on a generous scale of compensation, Arabs still resident in Israel, and the Arab States to encourage and help them to settle outside Israel, which would thus become homogeneous.

## Documents

*Document 1: Tripartite Declaration, 25 May 1950*

The Governments of the United Kingdom, France, and the United States, having had occasion during the recent Foreign Ministers meeting in London to review certain questions affecting the peace and stability of the Arab states and of Israel, and particularly that of the supply of arms and war material to these states, have resolved to make the following statements:

1. The three Governments recognize that the Arab states and Israel all need to maintain a certain level of armed forces for the purposes of assuring their internal security and their legitimate self-defence and to permit them to play their part in the defence of the area as a whole. All applications for arms or war material for these countries will be considered in the light of these principles. In this connection the three Governments wish to recall and reaffirm the terms of the statements made by their representatives on the Security Council on August 4, 1949, in which they declared their opposition to the development of an arms race between the Arab states and Israel.
2. The three Governments declare that assurances have been received from all the states in question, to which they permit arms to be supplied from their countries, that the purchasing state does not intend to undertake any act of aggression against any other state to which they permit arms to be supplied in the future.
3. The three Governments take this opportunity of declaring their deep interest in and their desire to promote the establishment and maintenance of peace and stability in the area and their unalterable opposition to the use of force or threat of force between any of the states in the area. The three Governments, should they find that any of these states was preparing to violate frontiers or armistice lines, would, consistent with their obligations as members of the United Nations, immediately take action, both within and outside the United Nations, to prevent such violation.



- (d) Lifting of anti-Jewish and anti-Arab legislation and discriminatory practices in the Arab States and Israel respectively, and freedom for minorities to emigrate if they so desire.

#### MISCELLANEOUS

4. (a) The United Nations to establish a board of technicians to report on the allocation of the waters of the Jordan and its tributaries. Israel and the Arab States to undertake to accept and implement the findings of such a report upon their ratification by the General Assembly. A permanent technical mission to be established to supervise execution.
- (b) Israel to establish a free port at Haifa; and Israel and Jordan might establish a free zone and possibly a free port in the Aqaba-Elath area, with free transit rights across Israel and Jordan territory between Saudi Arabia and Egypt.
- (c) Jordan to grant free access to Jewish Holy Places in the Jordan sector of Jerusalem.

Source: Enclosure in Ross (FO) to Burrows (UKEmb Washington), 29 July 1952, PRO FO371/98258 E1056/83.

#### Document 3: Possible Terms of Settlement, 2 December 1953

The times which a Palestine settlement might theoretically take were discussed tentatively some months ago between the Foreign Office and the State Department, who were in general agreement. These tentative provisions, which have been somewhat revised by the Levant Department in the light of later developments, are listed below. They might in some cases be facilitated by the rescission of relevant UN resolutions. [...]

- (a) The Arab States and Israel should end the state of war, rescind all discriminatory legislation, and establish normal political, diplomatic and economic relations with one another.
- (b) Rectification of the Israel-Jordan Armistice line in such a way as to reunite lands with villages to which they belonged.
- (c) Israel to surrender (against compensation) all claims to the Mount Scopus area of Jerusalem (at present a UN enclave in Jordan territory). The area would be handed over to Jordan and its important Jewish institutions transferred elsewhere (see also (h) below).
- (d) Adjustments to the line of demarcation in Jerusalem, and recognition of Israel's and Jordan's sovereignty over their respective sectors.
- (e) Israel and Jordan to guarantee free access to Christian, Moslem and Jewish Holy Places for all, including each other's nationals; and to agree to a system of UN control of the Holy Places.
- (f) Other territorial adjustments designed mainly to render politically acceptable a scheme for joint use of the Jordan and Yarmuk waters on the lines of the TVA [Tennessee Valley Authority] scheme recently commissioned by UNRWA, which both sides should agree to carry out under UN auspices (see also (j) below). The suggested adjustments are as follows:

- (i) Israel sovereignty over the Huleh area to be acknowledged.
- (ii) Syria to be given the Ein Gev area, access to Lake Tiberias and consequently a say in the disposal of the waters of the River Jordan.
- (iii) Jordan to have the El Hamma salient unless she is prepared to waive her claim in favour of Syria.
- (iv) Israel to have the demilitarised Banyas zone (on the Syrian frontier); this would bring under Israel control the dam on the head waters of the River Banyas which is proposed in the TVA scheme.
- (v) Jordan to have a triangle south of Lake Tiberias which would be bounded on the west by the River Jordan, on the south by the River Yarmuk and on the east by a line at the southern end of the Ein Gev zone (to be agreed with Syria), so as to leave in Jordan the proposed line of the diversion canal taking the flood waters into Lake Tiberias. This proposal takes account of the TVA scheme and avoids Israel control of the in-flow and out-flow between Lake Tiberias and the East Ghor (Jordan) irrigation scheme.
- (g) The UN or the signatories of the Tripartite Declaration, to guarantee the frontiers resulting from (b), (c), (d) and (f) above, which should be placed within six months under exclusively police control.
- (h) The United Nations to make available a sum sufficient to dispose of resettlement problems in Jerusalem (including a grant for the rebuilding elsewhere of the Hebrew University and Hospital on Mount Scopus), compensation to owners of property deprived of its use, reconstruction of damaged areas, and the establishment of frontier posts facilitating movement.
- (i) Agreement on the principle that Arab refugees should not return to Israel but should be compensated for the loss of all their property (...). The Arab countries to collaborate with UNRWA in the resettlement of all Arab refugees on Arab soil.
- (j) The United Nations to undertake to finance through UNRWA the TVA scheme (which should eventually settle some 200,000 refugees) and to provide a technical mission to supervise its execution.
- (k) The United Nations to guarantee the continued payment through UNRWA of relief funds until the refugees are resettled, and to give sympathetic consideration to financing further resettlement schemes which might later be evolved, e.g. in Syria and Iraq.
- (l) It might be useful, as an insurance against future trouble between Israel and Jordan, if the former were to establish a free port at Haifa. Similarly, the Aqaba-Elath area, with free transit across Israel and Jordan territory between Egypt and Saudi Arabia.

Source: Extract from R. Allen memorandum, 'Settlement of the Palestine Problem', 2 December 1953, PRO FO371/104770 ER1078/3.