

Appendix IV: Security Force Search Operations

Sources for this information are as follows: WO 169/19656-23228; WO 261/171-219; CO 733/456; Pyman Diaries, 6/1/8; Wilson, *Cordon and Search*, pp. 230-8. Search operations involving units of less than a platoon are not listed, owing to insufficient data.

Date	Location	Formations	Results
1945			
23 Nov.	north of Tel Aviv	Company and police	Nil.
25-27 Nov.	Rishpon	Two brigades with units under command	29 arrested, 2 killed, 16 wounded.
	Shefayim	As above	
	Hogla	As above	
26 Nov.	Givat Hayim	One brigade plus	10 wounded, 100 arrested.
28 Dec.	Jerusalem	Battalion plus and PMF	26 detained for one month.
	Ramat Gan	Battalion and police	59 detained for questioning.
1946			
1 Jan.	Jerusalem	Elements of two battalions and PMF	6 suspected insurgents arrested.
3 Jan.	Jerusalem	Four platoons and PMF	6 detained.
4 Jan.	Tel Aviv	Company and police	Nil.
			198
7 Jan.	Rishon Le Zion	Four battalions and police	55 detained, including one known insurgent.
8 Jan.	Jerusalem	CID and army	Equipment and documents seized.
13 Jan.	Yemini	Brigade with units under command	16 arrested, equipment and documents seized.
17 Jan.	Jerusalem	Army	Nil.
20-24 Jan.	Jerusalem	Army and police	47 detained, large quantity of arms and explosives seized, valuable intelligence gained in six searches.
22 Jan.	Hadera	Brigade with units under command	27 arrested.
24 Jan.	Tel Aviv	Battalion and police	Nil.
29 Jan.	Jerusalem	Platoon and police	2 detained.
30 Jan.	Jerusalem	Army, police and PMF	Nil.
31 Jan.	Tel Aviv	Brigade and police	11 detained.
	Jerusalem	Platoon plus and police	One detained, some equipment seized.
5 Feb.	Jib Yousef	Company and police	Nil.
6 Feb.	Tel Aviv?	Company and PMF	Nil.
7 Feb.	Rosh Pinna	Elements of brigade and police	Nil.
	Safad	As above	Nil.
11 Feb.	Rosh Pinna	Battalion and police	Nil.
13 Feb.	Rosh Pinna	As above	Nil.
	Tiberias	As above	Nil.
15 Feb.	Haifa	Brigade and police	6 arrested, equipment seized.

Date	Location	Formations	Results
18 Feb.	Elements of battalion and police	20 arrested, weapons and equipment seized in capture of Lechi transmitter.	
22 Feb.	Kfar Vitkin	Company and police	Nil.
28 Feb.	Birya	Brigade and police	25 arrested, two arms caches and documents seized.
	Ein Zetim Jerusalem	As above	Nil.
		Elements of brigade	Large arms cache seized.
6 Mar.	Sarafand area	Elements of division	Nil.
3 Apr.	south of Rehovoth	Elements of battalion and PMF	Some suspects detained in two settlement searches.
25 Apr.	Tel Aviv	Two battalions plus and PMF	79 detained and equipment seized.
5 May	Jerusalem	platoon, PMF and police	Nil.
17 June	across Palestine	All army units and police	One large arms cache seized in large number of searches.
18 June	Tel Aviv Jerusalem	Battalion plus Police	Nil.
19 June	Kfar Giladi	Brigade	Nil; 2 killed, 7 wounded.
20 June	Beerot Yishag	As above	Nil.
22 June	southern Palestine	Brigade and police	Nil.
24 June	south of Rehovoth	Battalion and police	Arms and ammunition seized, 7 detained.
25 June	Rehovoth	Company	4 arrested, some arms and ammunition seized.

Date	Location	Formations	Results
26 June	Rehovoth	Battalion	Nil.
29-30 June	across Palestine	All formations	700 detained, large quantities of arms, equipment, documents seized in 18 separate searches.
23 July	Jerusalem	Two battalions	46 detained.
30 July-	Tel Aviv	Division plus units under command	787 detained, large arms cache seized.
2 Aug.			
26 Aug.	Sedot Yam	Brigade	?
28 Aug.-	Dorot, Ruhama	Two battalions	Large quantities of arms seized at both locations.
2 Sept.			
10 Sept.	Ramat Gan	Brigade	47 detained for questioning.
	Sedot Yam, Hefsi Bah	As above	?
13 Sept.	Tel Aviv, Jaffa	As above	27 detained.
23 Sept.	near Petah Tiqva	Battalion?	Small quantity of arms seized.
3 Oct.	Kfar Bilu	Battalion	Nil.
9 Oct.	Nathanya	As above	4 arrested, small quantity of arms seized.
16 Oct.	south of Tel Aviv	Two platoons and police	Nil.
18 Oct.	Tel Aviv	Company and police	One arrested.
21 Oct.	Petah Tiqva	Company	?
23 Oct.	Petah Tiqva	Battalion	One suspected insurgent arrested.
	Rehovoth	Company	4 detained for questioning.
31 Oct.	Tel Aviv	Four platoons	Some equipment seized.
	Petah Tiqva	Two companies	Nil.

Date	Location	Formations	Results
30 Dec.	Petah Tiqva	Brigade plus units under command	19 detained, small arms cache seized.
	south of Nathanya	Brigade plus	24 arrested.
31 Dec.	Rishon Le Zion	Battalion plus	18 detained.
1947			
1 Jan.	Tel Aviv	Brigade plus	47 arrested.
2 Jan.	Rehovoth	As above	19 detained, some arms seized.
3 Jan.	Lydda area Jerusalem	Brigade As above	34 arrested, 30 detained, small quantity of equipment seized.
26 Jan.	Jerusalem	Company	Nil.
27 Jan.	Jerusalem Petah Tiqva	Battalion Brigade	Nil. Nil.
29 Jan.	Petah Tiqva Rishon Tel Aviv	Company and police As above Platoon and CID	? ? ?
30 Jan.	Jerusalem Jerusalem	Battalion and police As above	? ?
2 Mar.	Jerusalem	Battalion	11 detained.
7 Mar.	Rehovoth Hadara	Brigade plus Brigade	12 detained, 6 detained, including one suspected insurgent.
17 Mar.	Nathanya near Rishon Le Zion	As above Brigade plus	2 detained. 5 detained.
22 Mar.	Jerusalem	Battalion	Arms and explosives seized.
28 Mar.	Jerusalem	Company plus	2 detained.
4-5 May	Acre area	Brigade	4 separate searches, no results.

Date	Location	Formations	Results
6 May- 11 July	across Palestine	variable	46 separate search operations, results undetermined.
12 July	Nathanya	?	Nil.
12-13 July	Nathanya area	Brigade	Nil.
15 July	Nathanya	As above	18 detained, including 3 suspected insurgents.
16 July	Nathanya	Battalion	Nil.
17-18 July	Nathanya	same	Nil.
19-26 July	Nathanya	same	Nil.

Total Number of Search Operations: 176 plus.

At least 44 searches, or 25 per cent, produced no results. Of these, 31 were carried out by battalions or larger formations.

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF SECURITY FORCE SEARCH OPERATIONS

1. Monthly Rate of Operations

1945:	November	5
	December	2
1946:	January	19
	February	13
	March	1
	April	3
	May	1
	June	27 plus
	July	2
	August	3
	September	6
	October	9
	November	0
	December	3

1947:
 January
 February
 March
 April
 May-July

12
 0
 7
 0
 63

2. Location of Search Operations

(a) Jerusalem
 (b) Tel Aviv
 (c) Haifa
 (d) Lydda District (less Tel Aviv)
 (e) Other/undetermined

27
 14
 1
 32
 102 plus

3. Size of Search Operations

(a) Division
 (b) Brigade or larger
 (c) Battalion or larger
 (d) Company or larger
 (e) Platoon or larger
 (f) Other/undetermined

2
 38
 55
 19
 5
 58

Appendix V: The Cost of Insurgency

1. The Human Cost

Casualties sustained from August 1945 to August 1947:

	Killed	Wounded	Total
(a) British	141	475	616
(b) Jewish: (i) Insurgents	40	23	63
(ii) Others	25	115	140
(c) Arabs	44	287	331
(d) Others	10	12	22
Totals	260	912	1172

Of these casualties 1089 occurred between 31 October 1945 and 31 July 1947.

Source: High Commissioner to British Embassy, Washington, 18 September 1947, CO 537/477.

2. The Financial Cost

Sources for this information are as follows: CO 537/2279; CO 814/17, 40; FO 371/61770, 61941.

(a) Palestine Government

	Expenditures (1945/47) £	Estimates (1947/48) £
(i) Police and security	9206179	5700000
(ii) Damage to railway	304981 ¹	255019 ²
(iii) Internment of illegal immigrants in Cyprus	2200000 ³	900000
(iv) Evacuation and cantonment		300000
(v) Compensation for King David Hotel incident		400000
(vi) Repairs to buildings damaged by terrorism		500000 ⁴
(vii) Compensation to Shell Oil Company for damage from terrorism		400000
Totals	11711160	8455019
Revenue for period	44737774	n.a. ⁵
Percentage expenditure on Internal Security	26%	n.a.

(b) British Government

- (i) Expenditures on armed forces in Palestine, 1 July 1945 to 31 January 1947: £55 600 000 (army: £48 000 000).
- (ii) Estimate for calendar year 1947: £23 500 000 (army: £21 000 000)
1. Total cost of damage to 31 March 1947.
 2. Deficit charged against next fiscal year owing to damage and loss of revenue in 1946/47.
 3. Total cost to 31 March 1947.
 4. Cost of repairs undertaken for damage incurred in 1946/47.
 5. No figures available.

Notes:

Notes

CHAPTER 1

1. C. Von Clausewitz, *On War*, M. Howard and P. Paret (trans. and ed.) (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976) pp.88-9.
2. On this theme, see W. H. McNell, *The Pursuit of Power: Technology, Armed Forces, and Society Since AD 1000* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982); and M. Tugwell, 'Adapt or Perish: The Forms of Evolution in Warfare', in D. Charters and M. Tugwell (eds) *Armies in Low-Intensity Conflict: A Comparative Study of Institutional Adaptation to New Forms of Warfare*, ORAE Extra-Mural Paper No. 38 (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 1985) pp.1-22.
3. S. P. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil Military Relations* (New York: Vintage Books, 1957) p.71.
4. See Chapter 5 for development of this theme in respect of the British army.
5. Tugwell, p. 1.
6. P. Calvert, *Revolution and International Politics* (London: Frances Pinter, 1984) p.180.
7. E. Luttwak, *A Dictionary of Modern War* (London: Allen Lane, 1971) p. 116.
8. I. F. W. Beckett and J. Pimlott (eds) *Armed Forces and Modern Counter-Insurgency* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1985) p. 1.
9. B. E. O'Neill, 'Insurgency: A Framework for Analysis', in B. E. O'Neill *et al.* (eds) *Insurgency in the Modern World* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1980) pp. 1-2.
10. D. C. Prages, 'Political Stability and Conflict Management', in T. R. Gurr (ed.) *Handbook of Political Conflict: Theory and Research* (New York: Free Press, 1980) p. 433.
11. E. Ahmad, 'Revolutionary War and Counter-Insurgency', in D. S. Sullivan and M. J. Sattler (eds) *Revolutionary War: Western Response* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971) p. 5. Variations of this definition are identified in E. Zimmermann, *Political Violence, Crisis, and Revolutions: Theories and Research* (Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishing, 1983) p. 203.
12. T. Lomperts, 'Vietnam's Offspring: The Lesson of Legitimacy', *Conflict Quarterly*, vol. 6, no. 1 (Winter 1986) p. 21.
13. Ahmad, p. 5.

14. Zimmermann, pp. 207-10, 212-15, 224-6, 228-30, 234.
15. H. Eckstein, 'On the Etiology of Internal Wars', in G. A. Kelly and C. W. Brown (eds) *Struggles in the State: Sources and Patterns of World Revolution* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1970) pp. 177-8. Eckstein offers 21 hypotheses on the sources of internal war.
16. A. Atkinson, 'Social War - The Death of Classicism in Contemporary Strategic Thought?', *Royal United Services Institute Journal for Defence Studies* (hereafter cited as *JRUSI*), vol. 119, no. 1 (March 1974) p. 43.
17. J. Niezing (ed.) *Urban Guerrilla: Studies on the Theory, Strategy and Practice of Political Violence in Modern Societies* (Rotterdam: Rotterdam University Press, 1974) p. 25.
18. Atkinson, pp. 44-8, expands upon this theme, based on the Maoist revolutionary 'model', in his book *Social Order and the General Theory of Strategy* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981). See also, O'Neill, pp. 3, 5-8, 9-10, 11-14.
19. Zimmermann, p. 208; Eckstein, p. 186; A. C. Janos, 'Authority and Violence: The Political Framework of Internal War', and L. W. Pye, 'The Roots of Insurgency and the Commencement of Rebellions', in H. Eckstein (ed.) *Internal War: Problems and Approaches* (New York: Free Press, 1964) pp. 120-41, 168-70; T. Bowden, *The Breakdown of Public Security: The Case of Ireland 1916-1921 and Palestine 1936-1939* (London: Sage Publications, 1977) pp. 284-6, 293-4, 299-301, 307-8.
20. O'Neill, p. 3.
21. *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13; See also F. Kitson, *Low Intensity Operations: Subversion, Insurgency, Peacekeeping* (London: Faber, 1971) Figure 5, p. 128.
23. See M. A. J. Tugwell, 'Revolutionary Propaganda and Possible Counter-measures', unpublished PhD dissertation, University of London, 1979, for a full discussion of revolutionary and nationalist insurgent propaganda themes.
24. *Ibid.*; O'Neill, pp. 6-11, 13-14.
25. O'Neill, pp. 4-5.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5, 26-34; see also, P. Wilkinson, *Terrorism and the Liberal State*, 2nd edn (London: Macmillan, 1986) pp. 113-14.
27. Kitson, pp. 51-2, 89-90.
28. *Ibid.*, pp. 71-2, 95, 98-9; Sir R. Thompson, *Defeating Communist Insurgency: Experiences From Malaya and Vietnam* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1966) pp. 55-7, 84-9; see also, N. Leites and C. Wolf, Jr, *Rebellion and Authority: An Analytic Essay on Insurgent Conflicts* (Chicago: Markham Publishing Company, 1970) pp. 151-2.
29. S. Hutchinson, 'The Police Role in Counter-Insurgency Operations', *JRUSI*, vol. 114, no. 4 (December 1969) pp. 57-8.
30. See J. Paget, *Counter-Insurgency Campaigning* (London: Faber, 1967) p. 166, on the importance of platoon-level operations.
31. Kitson, p. 90.
32. R. Clutterbuck, *The Long Long War: The Emergency in Malaya 1948-1960* (London: Cassell, 1966) p. 51.
33. See D. Charters, 'From Palestine to Northern Ireland: British Army

- Adaptation to Low-Intensity Operations', in Charters and Tugwell, pp. 249-52, 255-63.
34. A. Deane-Drummond, *Riot Control* (London: Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies, 1975) p. 64.
35. Lt-Col. J. C. M. Baynes, *The Soldier in Modern Society* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1972) p. 91, notes that between 1950 and 1967 infantry provided 70 per cent of the manpower for British 'emergency' operations, while the artillery and the armoured corps contributed 18 per cent and 12 per cent respectively.
36. Certainly a comparison of the British experience in the Korean War and the Malayan Emergency is suggestive in this regard. See H. Stashope, *The Soldiers: An Anatomy of the British Army* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1979) Appendix 6, p. 343.
37. O. Thomson, *Mass Persuasion in History: An Historical Analysis of the Development of Propaganda Techniques* (Edinburgh: Paul Harris, 1977) pp. 125-6, 128-9.
38. The British armed forces in Malaya, Northern Ireland and other campaigns became involved in propaganda and psychological warfare operations to a greater or lesser degree, as did the French army in Algeria, and the US army in Vietnam. See A. Short, *The Communist Insurrection in Malaya 1948-1960* (London: Frederick Muller, 1975) pp. 422-4, 451-2; D. Charters, 'Intelligence and Psychological Warfare Operations in Northern Ireland', *JRUSI*, vol. 122, no. 3 (September 1977) pp. 23-5; J. Pimlott, 'The British Army: The Dhorat Campaign, 1970-1975', in Beckett and Pimlott, pp. 32-5; A. Home, *A Savage War of Peace: Algeria 1954-1962* (New York: Viking, 1977) pp. 108-9, 165-7; A. A. Heggy, *Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in Algeria* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972) pp. 78, 147, 188-211; R. W. Chandler, *War of Ideas: The US Propaganda Campaign in Vietnam* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1981).
39. See A. Hooper, *The Military and the Media* (Aldershot: Gower, 1982) pp. 4-8, 111-22, 124-48, 181-4; R. Eveleigh, *Peace-keeping in a Democratic Society: The Lessons of Northern Ireland* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1978) pp. 37-47; Col. H. Summers, Jr (Ret'd), 'Western Media and Recent Wars', *Military Review*, vol. 66, no. 5 (May 1986) pp. 4-14.
40. Apropos of sports, the author finds this aphorism peculiarly relevant to the psychological warfare dimension of counter-insurgency.
41. Lt-Gen. Sir K. Darling, 'British Counterinsurgency Experience', *Military Review*, vol. 45, no. 1 (January 1965) p. 9.
42. Clutterbuck, p. 3.
43. A. Verrier, *An Army for the Sixties: A Study in National Policy, Contract and Obligation* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1966) p. 158. Verrier's criticism is cited and amplified in P. Darby, *British Defence Policy East of Suez, 1947-1968* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973) pp. 49-51.
44. Charters, 'From Palestine to Northern Ireland', p. 236 and notes 27-9.
45. J. B. Bell, 'Revolts Against the Crown: The British Response to Imperial Insurgency', *Parameters*, vol. 4, no. 1 (1974) pp. 31-46.

CHAPTER 2

1. Text in E8917, FO 371/61789, quoted in M. J. Cohen, *Palestine and the Great Powers 1945-1948* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982) pp. 276-7.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 37-8. See also Defence Committee's endorsement of Chiefs of Staff Appreciation, 5 April 1946, discussed in W. R. Louis, *The British Empire in the Middle East 1945-1951: Arab Nationalism, the United States, and Postwar Imperialism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984) pp. 28-31.
3. R. Owendale, 'The Palestine Policy of the British Labour Government 1947: The Decision to Withdraw', *International Affairs*, vol. LVI (1980) pp. 87, 90-91. See also Cohen, pp. 268-76, and Louis, pp. 473-7.
4. D. E. Knox, *The Making of Israel, 1917-1925* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1981) pp. 11-19.
5. E. Monroe, *Britain's Moment in the Middle East, 1914-1956* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1963) p. 43.
6. J. C. Hurewitz, *The Struggle for Palestine* (New York: Norton, 1950; reprinted New York: Schocken Books, 1976) p. 18.
7. Monroe, pp. 66-7, 79, 81; Knox, pp. 36, 42-3, 145-6, 152.
8. Hurewitz, pp. 20-2.
9. Knox, pp. 6, 9-10, 165-6, 176.
10. House of Commons Command Paper number [3530], 'Report of the Royal Commission on Palestine Disturbances of August 1929', pp. 161-2, *British Parliamentary Papers*, Session 1930.
11. Monroe, p. 81; Hurewitz, pp. 22-3.
12. HC [5479], 'Report of the Palestine Royal Commission', (1937); M. J. Cohen, *Palestine: Retreat From the Mandate. The Making of British Policy, 1936-1945* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1978) pp. 10-49 *passim*, 62-72; N. Bethell, *The Palestine Triangle: The Struggle Between the British, the Jews and the Arabs 1935-48* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1979) pp. 25-6.
13. HC [6019], 'Palestine: A Statement of Policy', (1939); Cohen, *Retreat From the Mandate*, pp. 72-87.
14. Cohen, *Retreat From the Mandate*, p. 87.
15. Monroe, pp. 88-9; Cohen, *Retreat from the Mandate*, casts doubt on the military priority the British assigned to the Middle East at the time of the White Paper.
16. Cohen, *Retreat From the Mandate*, pp. 160-1.
17. Churchill to Lord Privy Seal and Colonial Secretary, 18 April 1943, in Sir W. L. S. Churchill, *The Second World War: The Hinge of Fate*, vol. IV (London, 1956) p. 758.
18. War Cabinet Paper (hereafter cited as WCP) 178, 'Note by Prime Minister', 28 April 1943, CAB 66/36, Public Record Office, Kew.
19. WCP 563, 'Report of War Cabinet Committee on Palestine', 20 December 1943, CAB 66/44; Cohen, *Retreat From the Mandate*, pp. 161, 163-4.
20. Sir W. L. S. Churchill, *The Second World War: Triumph and Tragedy*,

- vol. VI (London: Cassell, 1954; reprinted 1956) p. 546; Cohen, *Retreat From the Mandate*, pp. 171-9.
21. WCP 214, 'Note by Minister Resident in the Middle East', 4 April 1945; and WCP 229, 'Memorandum by Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs', 10 April 1945, CAB 66/64; Cohen, *Retreat From the Mandate*, pp. 179-80.
22. J. Marlow, *The Seat of Pilate: An Account of the Palestine Mandate* (London: Cresset, 1959) p. 181; see also A. Bullock, *Ernest Bevin Foreign Secretary 1945-1951* (London: Heinemann, 1983) p. 47; G. Kirk, *The Middle East 1945-1950. Survey of International Affairs, Volume 5*, A. Toynbee (ed.) (London: Oxford University Press, 1954) p. 190n; Y. Bauer, *From Diplomacy to Resistance: A History of Jewish Palestine, 1939-1945* (New York: Atheneum, 1970; reprinted 1973) p. 348.
23. M. Fitzsimons, *Empire by Treaty: Britain and the Middle East in the Twentieth Century* (London: Ernest Benn, 1965) p. 54.
24. Cohen, *Palestine and the Great Powers*, p. 29, citing D. C. Watt, *Personalities and Policies* (London: Longmans, 1965).
25. Bullock, pp. 49, 53-4.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 49; Louis, p. 12; see also C. Attlee, *As it Happened* (New York: Viking, 1954) pp. 228-31; C. J. Bartlett, *The Long Retreat: A Short History of British Defence Policy, 1945-1970* (London: Macmillan, 1972) pp. 9, 11-13; R. N. Rosecrance, *Defense of the Realm: British Strategy in the Nuclear Epoch* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968) pp. 34-5; W. P. Snyder, *The Politics of British Defence Policy, 1945-1962* (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1964) pp. 206-7, 216.
27. Bullock, pp. 13-14, 121-4; Cohen, *Palestine and the Great Powers*, pp. 29-30.
28. Cohen, *Palestine and the Great Powers*, p. 30; Louis, pp. 12-14; see also B. Donoghue and G. W. Jones, *Herbert Morrison: Portrait of a Politician* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973) p. 404.
29. Bullock, pp. 126, 240; Cohen, *Palestine and the Great Powers*, p. 30; E. Barker, *The British Between the Superpowers, 1945-50* (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1983) pp. 55-6.
30. Barker, p. 56.
31. *Ibid.*, pp. 38-9, 56; Bullock, pp. 112, 128, 240-4.
32. In Attlee's view, Europe was the first priority, and the Middle East, second. F. Williams, *A Prime Minister Remembers: The War and Post-War Memoirs on The Rt. Hon. Earl Attlee* (London: Heinemann, 1960; reprinted 1961) p. 175. According to Bullock, p. 112, Bevin placed the Middle East fourth, after the Commonwealth and Empire, the international economic system and an international security system.
33. P. Darby, *British Defence Policy East of Suez, 1947-1968* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973) p. 1.
34. See Bullock, pp. 31-2, 34; and Monroe, p. 89.
35. Cabinet Defence Committee Paper DO(46)45, April 1946, CAB 131/2, quoted in Bullock, p. 113.
36. Cabinet Defence Committee, DO(46)10, 5 April 1946, CAB 131/1,

- cited in Louis, p. 31.
37. Barker, pp. 7, 10, 49-51; Bullock, pp. 242-3; Louis, pp. 28-31.
38. Post Hostilities Planning Staff Paper 10(0) (Final), 'Security in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East', 27 March 1945, in Chiefs of Staff Committee [hereafter COSC] Minutes, CAB 79/31; see also Chiefs of Staff Report, 'Strategic Position of the British Commonwealth', Defence Committee Paper DO(46)47, 2 April 1946, discussed in Louis, pp. 28-9.
39. Bullock, pp. 131-5, 240; Louis, pp. 16-21.
40. Bullock, pp. 128, 240-3; see also four articles by B. Liddell Hart, widely published and reprinted in 1946, items 5a, 11, 22, 25, Liddell Hart Papers, Box 10/1946, Middle East Defence Policy, Liddell Hart Centre for Military Archives, King's College, London. Also, item 29, letter G. Crowther (*The Economist* newspaper) to Liddell Hart, 21 March 1946, and Liddell Hart's reply, 2 April 1946; and item 39, A. J. P. Taylor, 'To Fight or to Share', *The Listener*, 28 March 1946, pp. 389-90, both in Box 10/1946.
41. Bullock, pp. 242-4; Louis, pp. 28-32.
42. Kirk, pp. 3, 6.
43. Louis, pp. 90-100; Cohen, *Palestine and the Great Powers*, p. 34.
44. Monroe, p. 154; Cohen, *Palestine and the Great Powers*, p. 35; Bullock, pp. 43-4.
45. Quoted in Williams, p. 177; see also Monroe, p. 154; Cohen, *Palestine and the Great Powers*, p. 37.
46. 'From an observer recently returned from the Middle East', 7 July 1946, item 28, Box 10/1946, Liddell Hart Papers. See also, Williams, p. 178.
47. Monroe, p. 155.
48. Cohen, *Palestine and the Great Powers*, pp. 35-7; Kirk, p. 8.
49. Quoted in Cohen, *Palestine and the Great Powers*, pp. 37-8; see also, Louis, pp. 10-1; Bullock, pp. 171, 243; and R. Owendale, 'The Palestine Policy of the British Labour Government 1945-1946', *International Affairs*, vol. LV (1979) p. 413.
50. Major R. D. Wilson, *Cordon and Search: With 6th Airborne Division in Palestine* (Aldershot: Gale and Polden, 1949) p. 4. Wilson says Palestine was chosen for the divisional base primarily because of the air training facilities (including several airfields) available in southern Palestine.
51. Monroe, p. 157, gives May 1946 as the date of the British offer. Cohen, *Palestine and the Great Powers*, p. 35 places it in April.
52. Louis, pp. 31-2; Cohen, *Palestine and the Great Powers*, p. 35.
53. For a selection of official views on this, see COS(45)443(O), *COSC Middle East Policy*, 10 July 1945, COSC memoranda 1945, CAB 80/95; CP(45)156, 'Report by Lord President of Council', 8 September 1945, CAB 129/2; Colonial Office, 'Memorandum on Short Term Policy for Palestine', 19 September 1945, E6966, FO371/45380; CP(46)258, 'Memorandum by Secretary of State for the Colonies on Report of the Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry', 8 July 1946; and CP(46)267, 'Anglo-U.S. Report - Military Implications - Report by the Chiefs of Staff', 10 July 1946, CAB 129/11; see also JP(47)130, 26 September

- 1947, quoted in Cohen, *Palestine and the Great Powers*, pp. 39-40.
54. Churchill to Oliver Stanley, 6 July 1945, CAB 119/147.
55. Quoted in G. Meir, *My Life* (New York: G. P. Putnam, 1975) p. 161.
56. Bauer, pp. 47-8, 72.
57. S. Halperin, *The Political World of American Zionism* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1961) p. 222. See also Bauer, pp. 234-42.
58. Hurewitz, pp. 224-5, 227-8; Bullock, p. 46; Cohen, *Palestine and the Great Powers*, pp. 69-70. After the 'Jewish Brigade' was created in 1944, the demand for a Jewish army had been dropped.
59. Hurewitz, p. 228.
60. R. J. Donovan, *Conflict and Crisis: The Presidency of Harry S. Truman, 1945-1948* (New York: Norton, 1977) pp. 312-13, 317-18; see also, Cohen, *Palestine and the Great Powers*, pp. 44-5, 49-50.
61. Cohen, *Palestine and the Great Powers*, pp. 45-9, 52.
62. Bullock, p. 175.
63. Z. Ganin, *Truman, American Jewry, and Israel, 1945-1948* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1979) pp. xxiii-xvi, 4-5, 8-12, 36-7.
64. *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6, 120, 122-3; Halperin, pp. 184, 318-20 (membership figures on the latter pages).
65. See Chapter 3.
66. Cohen, *Palestine and the Great Powers*, pp. 109-10, 129-32, 135; Louis, pp. 35-6.
67. Cohen, *Palestine and the Great Powers*, p. 43.
68. House of Commons, Parliamentary Debates, 13 November 1945, col. 1934.
69. Louis, pp. 6-7, 384; Owendale, 'The Palestine Policy', p. 410; Bullock, pp. 299-300. Despite periodic reports of disagreement within Cabinet, the government maintained unity in public on the Palestine question. On the internal dissension, see Bethell, pp. 294-6; Williams, pp. 179-80; Diary of Field Marshal Viscount Alanbrooke (hereafter cited as Alanbrooke Diary), 5/11, 4 October 1945, Liddell Hart Centre for Military Archives, King's College, London; Elizabeth Monroe, interview with Francis Williams, October 1959, and with Arthur Creech-Jones, 29 October 1958, Papers of Elizabeth Monroe, St Antony's College, Oxford; Creech-Jones to Callaghan, 30 November 1961, f. 14, File 3, Box 32, Papers of Arthur Creech-Jones, Rhodes House Library, Oxford; *The Palestine Post*, 9 February 1947.
70. Bullock, pp. 96-8, 100.
71. Quoted in Bethell, p. 202.
72. Interview with author, 10 May 1978.
73. Bullock, pp. 57, 70-80; Louis, pp. 5, 383.
74. Cabinet Palestine Committee Minutes, 6 September 1945, CAB 95/14; Hall to Attlee, 19 September 1945, CO 733/461; CP 196, 'Memorandum by Secretary of State for the Colonies', 28 September 1945, CAB 129/2.
75. Cohen, *Palestine and the Great Powers*, pp. 55-7. See also Truman to Attlee, 31 August 1945, E7251 FO 371/45380.
76. Bullock, pp. 174-5.
77. Louis, p. 388 quotes Yehuda Bauer to the effect that the Jewish Agency was well aware that the number of Jews in the DP camps was only

- about half of the 100 000 figure and was worried lest the British accept Truman's proposal.
78. Cohen, *Palestine and the Great Powers*, pp. 57-9; Bullock, p. 175.
 79. Cabinet Minutes CM(45)38, 4 October 1945, CAB 128/1; Bullock, pp. 175-6; Ovendale, 'The Palestine Policy', p. 415.
 80. CP(45)216, 'Report by Lord President of the Council', 10 October 1945, CAB 129/3.
 81. Cohen, *Palestine and the Great Powers*, pp. 64-5; Ovendale, 'The Palestine Policy', p. 416; Bullock, p. 179.
 82. Hurewitz, pp. 236-44. Louis, pp. 397-405, 410-11, provides an illuminating dissection of the character of the commission's participants, and places considerable emphasis on the influential role of the British delegate Richard Crossman who, during the course of the commission's work, became decidedly pro-Zionist. On the commission's recommendations see HC[6808], 'Report of the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry Regarding the Problems of European Jewry and Palestine' (1946).
 83. Ovendale, 'The Palestine Policy', p. 419; 'Statement by the President on Receiving the Report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry', item 92, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Harry S. Truman, Containing the Public Messages, Speeches and Statements of the President, 1946* (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1962) p. 218.
 84. Louis, p. 425; Donovan, pp. 317-18.
 85. Alanbrooke Diary, 5/12, 24 April 1946; see also, Louis, p. 428; Ovendale, 'The Palestine Policy', pp. 416-18. Bevin referred to the Tel Aviv incident in correspondence with the American Secretary of State about the commission's reports. See Bethell, p. 235.
 86. Bullock, p. 257; Ovendale, 'The Palestine Policy', pp. 418-19.
 87. HC, Debates, 1 May 1946, cols 195-9.
 88. Hurewitz, pp. 249-50; Cohen, *Palestine and the Great Powers*, pp. 107, 113-14 suggests that Attlee's statement relieved the Zionists of the need to make a decision on proposals about which they were ambivalent. See also, GHO Middle East Forces, 'Weekly Military Intelligence Review' (hereafter WMIR), 3, 10 May 1946, WO 169/22882; and 1 Infantry Division, 'Intelligence Review', 7 May 1946, WO 169/22957.
 89. Cohen, *Palestine and the Great Powers*, p. 117; Ovendale, 'The Palestine Policy', pp. 420-1; Kirk, p. 217; Louis, p. 428.
 90. See Chapter 4.
 91. 'Note by General Sir Alan Cunningham', Index to Papers as High Commissioner, Sir Alan Cunningham Papers, Box IV, File 2, Middle East Library, St Antony's College, Oxford.
 92. Ovendale, 'The Palestine Policy', p. 422.
 93. Cohen, *Palestine and the Great Powers*, pp. 117, 121-2; Louis, pp. 433-4.
 94. CP(46)258, 'Memorandum by Secretary of State for the Colonies on Report of the Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry', 8 July 1946; CP(46)259, 'Long Term Policy in Palestine - Memorandum by Secretary of State for the Colonies', 8 July 1946; CP(46)267, 'Anglo-U.S. Report

- Military Implications - Report by the Chiefs of Staff, 10 July 1946, all in CAB 129/11; see also Cabinet Minutes, 22 July 1946, note 2, CAB 128/6; Cohen, *Palestine and the Great Powers*, p. 124; and Bullock, pp. 294-6.
95. Ovendale, 'The Palestine Policy', pp. 424-6; Donovan, pp. 319-20; Cohen, *Palestine and the Great Powers*, pp. 128-32; Louis, pp. 436-7.
 96. See Chapter 3.
 97. Cohen, *Palestine and the Great Powers*, pp. 135-6.
 98. Louis, p. 440.
 99. Cohen, *Palestine and the Great Powers*, pp. 136-7. Quote is from correspondence: Goldman to Ben-Gurion, 20 June 1946, in Ben-Gurion Archives, cited in Cohen.
 100. Cohen, *Palestine and the Great Powers*, pp. 139-40, 142-6; Minutes of Meeting, Sub-Committee - Colonial Office and Jewish Agency, 17 October 1946, E10531, FO 371/52562; Telegram, Cunningham to Creech-Jones, 29 October 1946, E10765, FO 371/52563.
 101. Cohen, *Palestine and the Great Powers*, pp. 147-51; UK Embassy (Washington) to Foreign Office, 9 August 1946, E7750, FO 371/52552.
 102. Cohen, *Palestine and the Great Powers*, p. 151; 'Palestine Policy: London Conference, Summary of Proceedings', September-October 1946, 75872/147/11, CO 733/464.
 103. 'Statement by the President Following Adjournment of the Palestine Conference in London, 4 October 1946, item 227, *Public Papers: Harry S. Truman (1946)*, pp. 443-4; Bethell, pp. 282-3.
 104. Cohen, *Palestine and the Great Powers*, pp. 160, 163-4; Ovendale, 'The Palestine Policy', pp. 427-8.
 105. Ovendale, 'The Palestine Policy', p. 429.
 106. Cohen, *Palestine and the Great Powers*, pp. 171-83.
 107. The process by which the various British proposals were drafted, discussed and rejected is examined in Ovendale, 'The Decision to Withdraw', pp. 75-86. See also Cabinet Minutes, 7, 14 February 1947, CAB 128-9; CP(47)30, 'Palestine - Memorandum by Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs', 14 January 1947, and CP(47)31, 'Palestine: Future Policy - Memorandum by Secretary of State for the Colonies', 16 January 1947, both in CAB 129/16; and CP(47)59, 'Palestine - Memorandum by Secretaries of State for the Colonies and Foreign Affairs', 13 February 1947, CAB 129/17.
 108. Bethell, pp. 312-13; Hurewitz, pp. 284-6, 289-90, 295-8.
 109. Cabinet Minutes, 20 September 1947, CAB 128/10; Bethell, pp. 344, 346; Hurewitz, p. 299.
 110. Bullock, p. 367.
 111. Creech-Jones to Callaghan, 30 November 1961, Creech-Jones Papers; E. Monroe, interview with Creech-Jones, 29 October 1958, Monroe Papers.
 112. Speech in House of Commons, 31 January, 1947, on Palestine issue. See Sir W. L. S. Churchill, *Winston S. Churchill: His Complete Speeches, 1897-1963*, volume VII, R. R. James (ed.) (London and New York: Chelsea House, 1974) p. 4722.
 113. Hurewitz, p. 281.

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2. See for example, A. Home, *A Savage War of Peace: Algeria, 1954-1962* (London: Macmillan, 1977) pp. 101, 104, 112, 134-5.
3. A. Perlmutter, *Military and Politics in Israel: Nation-Building and Role Expansion* (London: Frank Cass, 1960) p. 49. This constituted about 7 per cent of the Yishuv (the Jewish community in Palestine).
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 4-6, 11, 13, 29, 32-3; Y. Bauer, 'Rommel's Threat of Invasion, Zionist Policy, and the Jewish Underground in Palestine, 1942', *Studies in History*, vol. VII (1961) pp. 222-48.
5. 'The Jewish Agency - Extract from Report of the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry', G. Branch, HQ Palestine, WO 169/23022; Y. Bauer, *From Diplomacy to Resistance: A History of Jewish Palestine, 1939-1945* (New York: Atheneum, 1970; reprinted 1973) pp. 305-11, 351. On the Agency's role in relation to the World Zionist Organisation, see HC[5479] (1937), 172-4; and J. C. Hurewitz, *The Struggle for Palestine* (New York: Norton, 1950; reprinted Schocken Books, 1976) pp. 18, 40-1.
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31. Cohen, p. 232.
32. *Ibid.*; Brenner, pp. 4-5. Yair was Stern's cover name in the underground.

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36. Z. Iwansky, 'Individual Terror: Concept and Typology', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. XII (1977) pp. 43–63; N. Bethell, *The Palestine Triangle: The Struggle Between the British, the Jews and the Arabs 1935–48* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1979) pp. 125–6; Frank, p. 150; Laqueur, p. 81.
37. Brenner, pp. 5–6; see Cohen, p. 221 on the rescinding of the order in 1944.
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40. Borisov, p. 142; Brenner, p. 20.
41. 'Situation: Bomb Outrages, 1944', 751561/151A, CO 733/456; Hurewitz, p. 199.
42. C. Weizmann, *Trial and Error: The Autobiography of Chaim Weizmann* (New York: Harper, 1949; reprinted Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1972) pp. 437–8.
43. Bauer, *Diplomacy to Resistance*, pp. 313–33; Begin, pp. 138–51; Bethell, pp. 188–91.
44. HC[6873] (1946), 4–5; E. Pedazur, *The History of the Irgun Zvai Leumi*, Volume III, K. Kaplan (trans.) (Jerusalem: Shilton Betar Department of Education, 1961) p. 30; M. J. Cohen, *Palestine and the Great Powers 1945–1948* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982) pp. 69–72; Begin, pp. 183–8; Katz, *Days of Fire*, p. 87.
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46. Defence Security Office, 'Monthly Summary no. 1', October 1945, WO 169/19758; telegram, Shaw to Hall, 1 November 1945, 75156/151A, CO 733/456; HC[6873] (1946), 3.
47. HC[6873] (1946), 4; Bethell, p. 216; M. J. Cohen, *Palestine and the Great Powers*, pp. 72–3.
48. Bethell, pp. 215–16; House of Commons, Parliamentary Debates, 2 November 1945, col. 786.
49. See Chapter 4.
50. HC[6873] (1946), 4–5; Brenner, p. 16; G. Cohen, *Woman of Violence*, pp. 102–3.
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53. See Chapter 5.
54. HQ Palestine, 'FIN no. 17', 23 June 1946, WO 169/23022.
55. *Ibid.* HC[6873] (1946), 8–9; Brilliant, pp. 249–50; Katz, 'Jewish Resistance', p. 49; Bethell, pp. 244–5; Hurewitz, p. 254; G. Blaxland, *The Regiments Depart: A History of the British Army, 1945–1970* (London: William Kimber, 1971) p. 217.
56. Telegram, Shaw to Martin, 25 June 1946, no. 85 75156/151A Part II, CO 733/456; 1st Guards Brigade, 'ISUM no. 16', 3 July 1946, WO 169/22989; Bethell, p. 246.
57. HQ Palestine, 'FIN no. 15', 26 May 1946, WO 169/23022; Defence Security Office, 'Monthly Summary no. 8', May 1946, WO 169/23031; G Branch, HQ 1st Infantry Division, Letter TS/4/G, 'Infantry Division/ North Palestine District, Operational Instruction no. 4', 15 June 1946, Appendix Z1, WO 169/22957; HQ 3rd Infantry Brigade, 'Message', 15 June 1946, Appendix F16, WO 169/22995. See also Chapters 4 and 5 for discussion of British intelligence capabilities and limitations.
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60. T. Clarke, *By Blood and Fire: The Attack on the King David Hotel* (New York: G. P. Putnam's, 1981) pp. 83–5, 97–101; Irgun Zvai Leumi, 'The Truth About the King David', 22 July 1947, copy in CO 537/2290; Begin, pp. 212–15; Bethell, p. 258.
61. Clarke, pp. 74–5, 78–80, 103–4, 107–9, 123–5, 133–4, 135–6, 144, 242–3, 245, 247–8; CO 537/2290; *The Times* (London), 23 July 1946; *The Palestine Post*, 24 July 1946; Bell, *Terror Out of Zion*, p. 173.
62. Begin, p. 226; Clarke, p. 256; Katz, *Days of Fire*, p. 92.
63. See Chapter 2.
64. Bell, *Terror Out of Zion*, p. 174.
65. See Appendix III.
66. 'Averet', *Memoirs of an Assassin*, B. Partridge (trans.) (London: Anthony Blond, 1959) p. 87; Major R. D. Wilson, *Cordon and Search: With 6th Airborne Division in Palestine* (Aldershot: Gale and Polden, 1949) pp. 122–5; see also Appendix III.
67. Quoted in Bethell, p. 288.
68. See for example, Quarterly Historical Reports, 2nd Infantry Brigade, WO 26/191–2.
69. Bethell, pp. 271, 277, 308; B. Fergusson, *The Trumpet in the Hall 1930–1958* (London: Collins, 1970) pp. 224–5; Avner, pp. 12–13, 16; see also Chapter 4.
70. Foreign Office, 'Weekly Intelligence Summary [hereafter WIS]', 7 January 1947, FO 371/61761; Cabinet Minutes, 27–8 January 1947, CAB 128/9; Bell, *Terror Out of Zion*, pp. 188–9; Wilson, pp. 87–8; G. Kirk, *The Middle East 1945–1950: Survey of International Affairs*, Volume V, A. Toynbee (ed.) (London: Oxford University Press, 1954) p. 234.
71. Begin, pp. 231, 257, 275–83; Bell, *Terror Out of Zion*, pp. 204–18; Bethell, pp. 336, 338.

72. Haber, pp. 182-3; Wilson, p. 123. See Appendix VI.
73. 1st Infantry Division, 'Report on Operation TIGER', WO 261/181; Begin, pp. 288-90; Wilson, pp. 132-4.
74. *Daily Telegraph and Morning Post*, 1 February 1947; *New York Herald Tribune*, 1 February 1947.
75. Quoted in Haber, p. 191.
76. 'Jewish Terrorist Outrages Since His Excellency's Arrival in Palestine', Box V, file 4, Papers of General Sir Alan Cunningham; and Minutes of Officers' Monthly Meetings, November 1946-August 1947, in Papers of Sir Arthur F. Kirby, General Manager, Palestine Railways and Ports Authority. Both collections in Middle East Centre, St Antony's College, Oxford; see also Bell *Terror Out of Zion*, p. 191; see also Appendix V.
77. Rome to Foreign Office, 31 October, 4 November 1946, FO 371/60786; D. Nimrod, letter to author, 12 December 1978; see also the following section on propaganda.
78. FO 371/52564, 60786, 67796; D. Nimrod, interview with author, 14 June 1978; Bethell, p. 308.
79. Avner, pp. 19-20, 21-3, 109-50.
80. P. Wilkinson, *Terrorism and the Liberal State* (London: Macmillan, 1977) pp. 49, 80-1, 110.
81. Avner, pp. 86-7.
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83. B. M. Jenkins, 'International Terrorism: A New Mode of Conflict', in D. Carlton and C. Schaert (eds) *International Terrorism and World Security* (London: Groom Helm, 1974) p. 16.
84. J. Ellul, *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes* (New York: Knopf, 1965) p. 16.
85. *Ibid.*, pp. 71-4; see also, E. Tavlin and Y. Alexander (eds) *Psychological Warfare and Propaganda: Irgun Documentation* (Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources, 1982) pp. 101-21, 234-5; Frank, pp. 55-7, 189-40.
86. Ellul, pp. 295, 298-9.
87. T. E. Lawrence, *The Seven Pillars of Wisdom* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1935) p. 195.
88. HC[6873], p. 3; see also Appendix I.
89. Quoted in Borisov, p. 79.
90. Great Britain, Ministry of Information, Overseas Planning Committee [hereafter MOIOPC], Paper 577A, 'Plan of Propaganda for Palestine: Second Revision of Channels', 9 June 1945, CO 733/465; 1 Infantry Division, 'Weekly Intelligence Review [hereafter WIR] no. 5', 7 May 1946, WO 169/22957; B. D. Weinryb, 'The Hebrew Press in Palestine', *Palestine Affairs*, vol. 2, no. 8 (August 1947) pp. 81-3. If Weinryb is correct, by 1947 the number of Hebrew dailies had declined to eight.
91. MOIOPC, 577A, CO 733/465; Cairo to Foreign Office, 4 January 1945, FO 371/45376; see also Begin, pp. 311, 314; Bell, *Terror Out of Zion*, pp. 179, 305-6; S. Halperin, *The Political World of American Zionism* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1961) p. 257. According to Z. Gannin, *Tumanan, American Jewry and Israel, 1945-1948* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1979) p. 23, *Time* and *Life* magazines, as well as

- the *New York Times* and the *Christian Science Monitor* newspapers were anti-Zionist.
92. Washington to Foreign Office, 18 October 1946, FO 371/52562; 'Proclamation of the Palestine Resistance', PM, December 1946, FO 371/52571; C. J. Levine, pp. 86, 94-5, 106-7, 121, 124; Halperin, pp. 318-20; Hutewitz, p. 278.
 93. Halperin, pp. 257-8, 402. In addition, the Jewish Agency's press services issued daily bulletins throughout the period of the insurgency. The ZOA circulated these in the United States.
 94. List of Advertisements: ALFP, 'Mail Campaign: Reference to Scrapbook Entries', f. 9, Box 14, Palestine Statehood Committee Papers; see also Bell, *Terror Out of Zion*, pp. 305-6. American newspapers published at least 24 full page advertisements and several two page ads. *The Answer* and other Irgun newspapers were published in Europe in several languages.
 95. Brig. M. A. J. Tugwell, 'Revolutionary Propaganda and Possible Counter-measures', unpublished PhD thesis, Department of War Studies, King's College, University of London, 1979, pp. 295-307.
 96. Ben-Gurion, quoted in letter, Shaw to Hall, 24 August 1945, *Palcor News Agency, Bulletin*, 29 November 1945, and Cunningham to Hall, 24 February 1946, CO 733/456; Washington to Foreign Office, 26 September 1945, CO 733/461; HQ Palestine, 'Operations Log - Report of *Kol Israel* broadcast', 20 February 1946, WO 169/23023; *Kol Israel* broadcast, 3 March 1946, cited in HC[6873], p. 7; 'Political Resolutions of the 22nd Zionist Congress', *Palestine Affairs*, vol. II, no. 1 (January 1947), pp. 8-10.
 97. 'Submission by Head of Command, Jewish Resistance Movement', 25 March 1946.
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 99. *Ibid.*, p. 49; 'Submission by Head of Command, Jewish Resistance Movement', 25 March 1946; *Palestine Post*, 1 July 1946; *Kol Israel* broadcast, 7 January 1947, cited in HQ South Palestine District, 'ISUM no. 21', 15 January 1947; Ben-Gurion to Attlee, 18 March 1947, E 2567, FO 371/61900; House of Commons, Parliamentary Debates, [5th series CLXXIV, 1881].
 100. See Defence Security Office, 'Monthly Summary no. 3', December 1945, WO 169/19758; 3rd Parachute Brigade, 'ISUM no. 10', 18 January 1946, WO 169/22997.
 101. Overseas News Agency, 'Report on Action of British Troops in Tel Aviv', 20 November 1945, copy in E 9183, FO 371/45386; 'Lullaby for Dying Children', *New York Post*, 29 November 1945, cited in 'List of Advertisements: ALFP', Palestine Statehood Committee Papers; 'The Battle of the Children', *Commentary*, January 1946, pp. 25-7, cited in Kirk, p. 201.
 102. Kirk, p. 220; *New York Herald Tribune*, 3 July 1946.
 103. Bethell, pp. 221; Kirk, p. 204; HQ Palestine, 'FIN' no. 8, 17 February 1946, WO 169/23021; article by G. L. Cassidy, *New York Post*, 25 October 1946, cited in telegram, British Embassy, Washington to Foreign Office, 25 October 1946, E 10606, FO 371/52562; Irgun Zvai

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105. D. A. Charters, 'Special Operations in Counter-Insurgency: The Farran Case, Palestine, 1947', *RUSI Journal for Defence Studies*, vol. CXXIV (June 1979) pp. 56, 59, 61n, 31, 32.
106. J. and D. Kimche, *The Secret Roads: The 'Illegal' Migration of a People, 1938-1948* (London: Seeker and Warburg, 1954) pp. 143-57.
107. *Ibid.*, pp. 123-42; see also Bethell, pp. 229-30; HQ Palestine, 'FIN' no. 12, 15 April 1946, and no. 13, 29 April 1946, WO 169/23022.
108. Bell, *Terror Out of Zion*, pp. 229-30.
109. The policy was approved in May, before the *Exodus* sailed. See Palestine Executive Council, 65th meeting, 31 May 1947, CO 814/41.
110. Colonial Office to Cunningham, 14 July 1947, copy in Colonial Office to HQ Middle East Land Forces, 14 July 1947, Diary of General Sir Harold E. Pyman [hereafter Pyman Diary], 6/1/7, Liddell Hart Centre for Military Archives.
111. Wilson, pp. 134-5; A. Bullock, *Ernest Bevin Foreign Secretary 1945-1951* (London: Heinemann, 1983) pp. 448-9.
112. Bell, *Terror Out of Zion*, pp. 231-2; Jewish Telegraphic Agency, 'Daily News Bulletin', nos. 166-7, 20-21 July 1947, copies in E 6038, 6610 FO 371/61912. The second bulletin revised the casualty figures downward to 3 killed, 28 wounded. R. Gruber, *Destination Palestine: The Story of the Haganah Ship Exodus 1947* (New York: Current Books, 1948) pp. 17-35, 40-1, 47-51 provides a colourful journalistic account of the boarding and transhipment, as well as photographs showing clearly the damage to the ship.
113. Wilson, p. 137; Bell, *Terror Out of Zion*, pp. 232-3; Bethell, pp. 335-6, 341-3; M. J. Cohen, pp. 255, 276; *Palestine Post*, 30 July 1947.
114. *Cabinet Minutes* (47) 66, 31 July 1947, CAB 128/10; telegram, Foreign Office to British Embassy, Washington, 16 August 1947, no. 36 in CO 537/2313; Bullock, pp. 449-50.
115. Hurewitz, p. 292. American anti-British rallies, propaganda advertisements in newspapers are described in files E 7148, 7500, 7667 FO 371/61758.
116. *Manchester Guardian*, 22 August 1947.
117. *Ibid.*, Bethell, p. 343; Wilson, pp. 137-8. Leon Uri's novel *Exodus*, and the film of the book were major successes.
118. HQ Palestine, FIN no. 8, 17 February 1946, WO 169/23021; 1 Infantry Division, WIR no. 2, 15 April 1946, WO 169/22956.
119. 'Irgun Zvai Leumi Speaks to the United Nations - Will There be War or Peace in Palestine', September 1947, pp. 1-5, f. 45, Box 12; Palestine Statehood Committee Papers; *Palestine Post*, 26 June 1946; Wilson, pp. 133-4.
120. Levine, pp. 110-15; R. Silverberg, *If I Forget Thee, O Jerusalem: American Jews and the State of Israel* (New York: Pyramid Books,

- 1970) pp. 323-5; I. Zaar, *Rescue and Liberation: America's Part in the Birth of Israel* (New York: Bloch Publishing, 1954) pp. 193-4; Alexander and Tavin, pp. 121-6.
121. See, for example, *New York Herald Tribune*, 15 May 1947.
122. Silverberg, pp. 326-7.
123. Palestine Resistance Committee advertisement in *The New Republic*, 24 April 1947, copy in E 3484, FO 371/61860; see also statement by Guy Gillette, in US Congress, House of Representatives, *Congressional Record*, 79th Congress, 2nd Session (1946), XCII, Appendix 4744.
124. 'Document issued by Irgun Zvai Leumi on the bomb outrage in Rome', translation of document in telegram, Rome to Foreign Office, 4 November 1946, ZM 3732, FO 371/60786.
125. D. Briggs, 'British Precautions are Futile', *Continental Daily Mail* (14 November 1946), copy in letter, British Embassy, Paris to Foreign Office, E 11365, FO 371/52565.
126. Letter, His Majesty's Representative, Rome, to Secretary General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Italy, 27 November 1946, enclosing notes taken by member of British Embassy Staff at Smerlenko press conference, E 12101, telegram, Rome to Foreign Office, 29 November 1946, and telegram, Foreign Office to Washington, 11 December 1946, E 11660, FO 371/52571. See also note 78.
127. Fighters for the Freedom of Israel, 'An Outline of Foreign Policy', Jerusalem 1947, pp. 9-13, 26-33, 37-40.
128. Telegram, Political Action Committee for Palestine to Artlee, 30 August 1946, copy in E 8903, FO 371/52556; letter, British Embassy, Washington to Foreign Office, 18 October 1946, discussing advertisement by the Political Action Committee in *New York Post* (15 October 1946), E 10625, FO 371/52562; Friedman-Yellin interview with Frank in *Liberty* (1946), FO 371/52563; Fighters for the Freedom of Israel, *LHI-Bulletin* (Palestine, August 1947), pp. 12-13, 19-20, 22, P.P. 1149 mcl., British Library, London; I. Eldad, *The Jewish Revolution: Jewish Statehood*, H. Schmorack (trans.) (New York: Shengold, 1971) p. 81.
129. D. Lerner (ed.), *Propaganda in War and Crisis: Materials for American Policy* (New York: George W. Stewart, 1951) pp. 260, 347, 421, 474; Sir R. B. Lockhart, *Comes the Reckoning* (London: Putnam, 1947) pp. 155, 262; C. Roetter, *Psychological Warfare* (London: Batsford, 1974) pp. 16-18; R. H. S. Crossman, 'Psychological Warfare', *RUSI Journal for Defence Studies*, vol. XCIV (1952) pp. 320-1, 324.
130. *Palestine Post*, 5 May 1947; 'The Irgun Speaks at Acre', *New York Post*, 7 May 1947; Bell, *Terror Out of Zion*, p. 218; Katz, *Days of Fire*, p. 150; Alexander and Tavin, pp. 155-8.
131. Kirk, p. 204.
132. Tugwell, pp. 147-8, 171; C. J. Levine, pp. 144-5 suggests that this was the case with respect to the Irgun's propaganda fronts in the United States.
133. *Palcor News Agency, Bulletin*, 29 November 1945, CO 733/456; Fighters for the Freedom of Israel, 'An Outline of Foreign Policy', p. 44; 'Irgun Zvai Leumi Speaks to the United Nations', pp. 12-13.

134. C. Sykes, *Cross Roads to Israel* (London: Collins, 1965) p. 26.
135. Begin, pp. 97-103; Bell, *Terror Out of Zion*, p. 182; Sir W. L. S. Churchill, *Winston S. Churchill: His Complete Speeches, 1897-1963*, Volume VII, R. R. James (ed.) (London and New York: Chelsea House 1974) pp. 7422-3. Police difficulties were emphasised by John Briance and Sir Richard Catling in interviews with the author.
136. Elhul, p. 302.
137. Lawrence, 'The Evolution of a Revolt', p. 152.
138. Begin, p. 43.
139. S. Katz, 'Curtew in Jerusalem', *Commentary*, vol. II (1946) p. 529.
140. Brenner, p. 13. According to General Sir Richard Gale, in an interview with the author, 6 July 1976, the Arabs even concealed a senior Jewish official to prevent his arrest during Operation AGATHA in June 1946.
141. American Jewish contributions to the two largest fund-raising projects - the Jewish National Fund and the Palestine Foundation Fund - increased from almost \$15 million in 1945 to more than \$59 million in 1947; Halperin, pp. 325-6. See also *New York Times*, 24 March 1947; Foreign Office note, digested from a series of *Daily Mail* articles, 'Illegal Jewish Immigration, Theory and Practice', 6 August 1947, E 7462, FO 371/61860.
142. Letter, British Embassy, Washington to Foreign Office, 15 April 1947, E 3348, FO 371/61753; Foreign Office, 'Memorandum on Jewish Affairs in the United States', June 1947, E 5489, FO 371/61756; C. J. Levine, pp. 106-7, 124.
143. On the reactions of the British security forces, see 3rd Parachute Brigade, 'ISUM no. 2', 21 November 1945, WO 169/19705; HQ Palestine, 'Ops Log', 9 December 1945, WO 169/19745; letter, Astor to Hall, 7 March 1946, no. 32, 75156/151A, CO 733/456; 3 Field Security Section, 'Security Report for Week Ending 11 May 1946', WO 169/24120; 'Minutes of Security Conference', 11 July 1947, no. 40, f. 1, Box IV, Cunningham Papers; Wilson, *Cordon and Search*, p. 110.
144. Haber, p. 189.
145. *The News Chronicle*, 9 November 1946; *The Times*, 12, 15 November 1946; *Heru*, no. 65 (December 1946); *Washington Daily News*, 13 November 1946, cited in Zaar, p. 212; Katz, *Days of Fire*, pp. 103-5; letter, M. Harris to author, 18 February 1978.
146. 'Govern or Get Out', *Sunday Express*, 2 March 1947, cited in Bell, *Terror Out of Zion*, p. 190; Eric Grey, 'Even Guns Didn't Make Them Talk', *Daily Express*, 27 March 1947, copy in 15/5/24, Box 1, Liddell Hart Papers; letter, Creech-Jones to Monroe, 23 October 1961, Monroe Papers.
147. Bullock, p. 450.

CHAPTER 4

1. Interview with author, 13 September 1976. Farrar-Hockley served in Palestine as a company commander in the Parachute Regiment.
2. Palestine: Memorandum by the Minister of State, 'War Cabinet Paper (43) 246, 17 June 1943, CAB 66/37.
3. 'Extract from note on points raised with Secretary of State by the High Commissioner', 14 November 1945, 75872 Part VI, CO 733/461; note, Martin to Gater, Colonial Office, 7 May 1946, 75015/60, CO 733/451.
4. The administrative and legal parameters of Martial Law are explained and documented later in this chapter.
5. Government of Palestine, *A Survey of Palestine: Memorandum Submitted to the Anglo-American Commission of Enquiry by the Government of Palestine*, Volume I (London, 1946) pp. 1-10, 17, 108-13.
6. D. Goldsworthy, *Colonial Issues in British Politics, 1945-1961* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971) pp. 15, 41-2; J. M. Lee, *Colonial Development and Good Government: A Study of the Ideas Expressed by the British Official Classes in Planning Decolonization, 1939-1964* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967) pp. 12, 34.
7. Government of Palestine, *A Survey of Palestine*, Volume II, p. 582; Major R. D. Wilson, *Cordon and Search: With 6th Airborne Division Palestine* (Aldershot: Gale and Polden, 1949) pp. 16-17.
8. HQ 21 Area, 'OI21', 21 November 1945, WO 169/19821; GSI HQ Palestine, *Short Handbook of Palestine* (Jerusalem, April 1944) p. 7, copy in Private Papers, Mr J. Briance, London; Minutes of the meetings of the Central Security Committee, 1946-47, in the Papers of General Sir Alan Cunningham, Box IV, File 1, St Antony's College, Oxford. Information relating to the operations of the committees was also acquired in interviews with Mr J. Briance and Sir R. Catling (ex-Palestine police), 3 March 1977 and 28 May 1976 respectively, and Mr R. W. D. Pawle, formerly personal secretary to the High Commissioner, 18 May 1978.
9. HQ Palestine, 'OI21', 27 October 1945, WO 169/19745; HQ 21 Area, 'OI21', WO 169/19821. This is only a partial list but it covers the principal illegal activities.
10. *Ibid.*
11. Compiled from the war diaries of formations in Palestine in November 1945, WO 169/19656-19717; and 'Appreciation by GOC Palestine', 5 August 1947, Appendix D to General G. H. A. MacMillan (GOC Palestine), 'Palestine - Narrative of Events from February 1947 until Withdrawal of all British Troops', 3 July 1948, Papers of General Sir Gordon MacMillan of MacMillan, Imperial War Museum, London. The Order of Battle of the 1st Armoured Division as of 1 June 1947 indicates a higher complement of armoured units than appears in the GOC's appreciation, but this number may have been reduced during the intervening two-month period. See 1st Armoured Division, 'OI no. 2', 30 May 1947, WO 261/178.
12. G. Blaxland, *The Regiments' Depart: A History of the British Army, 1945-1970* (London: William Kimber, 1971) pp. 31, 33-4, 35; General

- Sir R. Gale, *Call to Arms* (London: Hutchinson, 1968) pp. 159-61; 1st Infantry Division, 'Location Statement', 21 April 1946, WO 169/22956. While the 1st was in Egypt (minus one brigade left in Palestine) the 3rd Division (two brigades) replaced it in the north of Palestine.
13. Wilson, pp. 4-5, 21-4, 42.
14. Blaxland, p. 33; see also, war diaries, 185 Infantry Brigade WO 169/19717, and 7th Infantry Brigade, WO 169/22999; and 9th Infantry Brigade, Quarterly Historical Report, October-December 1946, WO 261/207.
15. Blaxland, p. 42; Wilson, p. 97; 1st Armoured Division, 'OI' no. 2, 30 May 1947, WO 261/178.
16. E. Horne, *A Job Well Done: Being a History of the Palestine Police Force 1920-1948* (Leigh-on-Sea, Essex, UK: Palestine Police Old Comrades Benevolent Association, 1982) pp. 35, 595; Government of Palestine, *A Survey of Palestine*, Volume I, pp. 119-20, Volume II, p. 582; GSI, *Short Handbook of Palestine*, p. 72; 'Table of Organisation - Palestine Police', Appendix A to 1st Armoured Division, I.S. Instruction no. 4, 6 June 1947, WO 261/178. See also Appendix II.
17. Horne, pp. 515-17, 521-4; 'War Establishment: Police Mobile Force, Middle East', 16 July 1944, CO 733/451; Sir R. Catling, interview with author, 14 February 1979. Curiously, although the unit was disbanded in 1946, the AIG (PMF) is still shown on strength of the 1947 organisation table.
18. Horne, pp. 428-31, 436-40.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 525-7, 542; T. Bowden, *The Breakdown of Public Security: The Case of Ireland 1916-1921 and Palestine 1936-1939* (London: Sage Publications, 1977) pp. 158-60; GS(Ops) British Forces Palestine and Trans-Jordan, 'The Development of the Palestine Police Under Military Control', June 1939, WO 201/831; Government of Palestine, *A Survey of Palestine*, Volume II, pp. 590-2.
20. Government of Palestine, *A Survey of Palestine*, Volume I, pp. 111-12; GSI, *Short Handbook of Palestine*, p. 7; HQ Palestine, 'OI no. 21', February, 27 October 1945, WO 169/19743, 19745. The tendency to rely on the military courts can be attributed in part to the fact that by 1945 litigation had outrun the ability of the civilian courts to cope with the caseload. See letter, Chief Justice W. J. FitzGerald to Gort, 6 February 1945, 75125, CO 733/455. Also, comments in interviews with author, Sir M. Hogan, 10 May 1976 and Sir I. Rigby, 27 April 1978. Hogan had been Solicitor-General of Palestine, and Rigby a District Court judge in Tel Aviv.
21. Mr Moffatt, 'Criminal Investigation Department', in 'Report by Sir Charles Wickham' [on the Palestine Police Force], 2 December 1946, 75015/82A, CO 5371/2269; Horne, pp. 469-70; J. Briance, interview with author, 3 March 1977. See also Appendix II.
22. C. Andrew, *Secret Service: The Making of the British Intelligence Community* (London: Heinemann, 1985) p. 363; N. West, *M6: British Secret Intelligence Service Operations, 1909-45* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1983) p. 124; J. T. Richelson and D. Ball, *The Ties That Bind: Intelligence Cooperation Between the UKUSA Countries* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1985) pp. 17-18.

23. Defence Security Office Palestine, War Diary 1945-46, WO 169/19758, 23031; N. West, *A Matter of Trust: M15 1945-72* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1982) pp. 14, 18-19; A. W. Cockerill, *Sir Percy Sillitoe* (London: W. H. Allen, 1975) p. 187; Briance, interview, 3 March 1977; Miss J. Dannatt, interview with author, 17 February 1978. Miss Dannatt served as an Intelligence Corps Lieutenant in the DSO, 1945-46.
24. The Hon. M. M. C. Charteris, 'A Year as an Intelligence Officer in Palestine', *Middle East Society Journal*, vol. 1 (1946) pp. 15-23; The Rt Hon. Sir M. Charteris, letter to author, 9 November 1976. In neither source was Charteris forthcoming about GSI. Nor is anything on organisation and duties to be found in the HQ Palestine G Branch war diaries. On this, see also, A. Nachmani, 'Generals at Bay in Post-War Palestine', *Journal of Strategic Studies*, vol. 6, no. 4 (December 1983) pp. 72, 81-2n48.
25. GHQ Middle East Forces, 'Directive no. 245 - Internal Security', 23 June 1945, WO 169/19510; 3 Field Security Section, Middle East Forces, war diary 1945, WO 169/21414; J. Haswell, *British Military Intelligence* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973) pp. 167-8, 210-12; Colonel (ret'd) F. G. Robson, Curator, Intelligence Corps Museum, letter to author, 30 April 1986.
26. A. V. Lovell-Knight, *The Story of the Royal Military Police* (London: Leo Cooper, 1977) pp. 275-89.
27. See F. H. Hinsley, *et al.*, *British Intelligence in the Second World War. Its Influence on Strategy and Operations* (London and Cambridge: HMSO and Cambridge University Press, 1979-84), vols. I-III; see also, entry for 19-24 December 1946, Diary of Major-General H. E. Pym, 6/1/1, December 1946, and 'War Establishment Strengths of GHQ MELF and Ancillary Units as at 1 Aug 1947', Annexure A to CINC's Conference 'Size, Role and Location of GHQ', 7 August 1947, Pym's Diary, 6/1/8 August 1947, Liddell Hart Centre for Military Archives.
28. Hinsley, vol. I, pp. 205, 282-3; 'Policy - Palestine Detachment', CSDIC/MEF, notes for February 1946, GSI GHQ Middle East Forces, War Diary, WO 169/22882; Annexure A to CINC's Conference, 7 August 1947, Pym's Diary 6/1/8.
29. Ministry of Information, Overseas Planning Committee [hereafter MOIOPC], 'Second Revision of Channels', Paper no. 577A, 9 June 1945, and Christopher Holme, 'Note of a Talk Given by the PIO Jerusalem [Holme] on British Publicity in Palestine and its Relation to the Other Functions of Government', 13 March 1945, 75893, CO 733/465; Government of Palestine, *A Survey of Palestine*, Volume II, pp. 875-6.
30. Government of Palestine, *A Survey of Palestine*, Volume II, p. 877.
31. *Ibid.*, Volume I, p. 121, Volume II, pp. 874-8, 930; MOIOPC Paper 577A, CO 733/465. In August 1944 censorship functions were transferred to a separate Chief Censor, and on 31 October 1945, became the responsibility of an office of the Palestine Government Secretariat.
32. Annex C to letter, C. N. Ryan, MOI, Middle East Services, Cairo, to MOI, Middle East Division, London, 13 August 1945, INF 1/430, Ministry of Information Papers, PRO.
33. Government of Palestine, *A Survey of Palestine*, Volume I, p. 114;

- MOIOPC, Paper 577A, CO 733/465. The MOI paper says that the PBS broadcast 16 news bulletins in seven languages daily. It also stated that as of June there were 54 871 licence holders. The *Survey* put the 1945 figure at 57 000.
34. 'Post War Activities of the Ministry of Information, 1945-March 1946', INF 1/943; M. Ogilvie-Webb, *The Government Explains: A Study of the Information Services* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1965) p. 44.
 35. Ogilvie-Webb, pp. 67, 81-2, 86; J. B. Black, *Organising the Propaganda Instrument: The British Experience* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1975) pp. 14-22, 30.
 36. A. Briggs, *The History of Broadcasting in the United Kingdom, Volume IV: Sound and Vision* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979) pp. 28-30, 35, 36-7, 38, 137-8, 142, 145-6, 153-6; Black, pp. 59, 62-4.
 37. Secretary of State for the Colonies, 'Report of Discussion of Palestine Policy', 25 May 1945, 75872, CO 733/461.
 38. Telegram, Shaw to Hall (Secretary of State for the Colonies), 9 November 1945, 75156/151J, CO 733/457; Great Britain, House of Commons, Command Paper 6873, 'Palestine: Statement of Information Relating to Acts of Violence', July 1946, pp. 4-5; 3rd Parachute Brigade, 'ISUM no. 3', 28 November 1945, WO 169/19705.
 39. Telegram, Shaw to Martin, 3 November 1945, 75156/151A, CO 733/456.
 40. Telegrams, Cunningham to Hall, 29-30 December 1945, CO 733/457; Palestine Executive Council Minutes, 1 January 1946, CO 814/41.
 41. CM, 1 January 1946, CAB 12815; Extract from Brief supplied to Creech-Jones for Cabinet, 1 January 1946, and telegrams, Hall to Cunningham, 2 January 1946, CO 733/457; COSC Minutes, 9, 16 November 1945, CAB 79/41; CINC's Middle East to COSC, 19 November 1945, and Cabinet Defence Committee (CDC) Paper 31, 'Situation in Palestine: Report by Chiefs of Staff, 19 November 1945, Cunningham Papers, V/4.
 42. CP 238, 'Memorandum by Secretary of State for the Colonies', 19 June 1946, CAB 129/10; CM, 20 June 1946, CAB 128/5.
 43. *Ibid.*
 44. Letter, Cassels to author, 27 November 1976. Cassels' recollection is confirmed in 'Record of a Meeting in the Chief Secretary's Office', 26 April 1946, Cunningham Papers, V/4; and message, GHQ Middle East Forces to Cabinet Office, 1 May 1946, WO 169/22881.
 45. HQ Palestine, message, 18 June 1946, WO 169/23022; CP 238, 19 June 1946, CAB 129/10; telegram, Cunningham to Hall, 21 June 1946, 75156/151A, CO 733/456.
 46. CM, 20 June 1946, CAB 128/5.
 47. Telegram, Cunningham to Hall, 27 December 1945, 75872/142, CO 733/463; Lt-Gen. E. Barker, 'Military Action to be Taken to Enforce Law and Order in Palestine', 22 June 1946, Cunningham Papers, V/4.
 48. Gale, p. 168.
 49. HQ Palestine, 'Statement by High Commissioner', 29 June 1946, WO 169/23022.
 50. 'Minutes of Meeting, Colonial Office and Jewish Agency Sub-commit-

- tee', 17 October 1946, E10531, FO 371/52562.
51. Barker, 'Military Action', Cunningham Papers.
 52. Wilson, pp. 55-6.
 53. Barker, 'Military Action', Cunningham Papers.
 54. Field-Marshal Viscount Montgomery of Alamein. *The Memoirs of Field-Marshal Montgomery* (London: Collins, 1958) p. 423. This quote is from the Field-Marshal's diary, in which he called for actions which he was certain would lead to a 'war against the Jews'. See N. Hamilton, *Monty: The Field-Marshal 1944-1976* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1986) pp. 636-7.
 55. Telegram, Cunningham to Creech-Jones, 23 November 1946, no. 11, CO 537/1731.
 56. Montgomery, *Memoirs*, pp. 433, 436.
 57. Cunningham to Creech-Jones, 23 November 1946.
 58. See Memorandum of the Comparative Treatment of the Arabs During the Disturbances of 1936-39 and of the Jews During the Disturbances of 1945 and Subsequent Years', enclosed in telegram, Cunningham to Creech-Jones, 19 June 1947, Cunningham Papers II/1, cited in Hoffman, pp. 76-81.
 59. A. Chalfont, *Montgomery of Alamein* (London: Methuen, 1977) p. 334.
 60. 'Notes on Relationship Between High Commissioner and General Officer Commanding Palestine', November 1946, CO 537/1731.
 61. COSC Minutes and CDC Minutes, 20 November 1946, FO 371/52565.
 62. Cunningham to Creech-Jones, 23 November 1946; in a letter to the author, 30 August 1976, General Barker said that he felt the system of consultation worked well. He could not recall any issues that were not resolved in this manner.
 63. Cunningham to Creech-Jones, 23 November 1946; Hamilton, p. 665.
 64. Cunningham to Creech-Jones, 23 November 1946.
 65. Hamilton, pp. 636, 665-6.
 66. Letter to Sir Alan Lascelles, quoted in *ibid.*, p. 667.
 67. Cunningham to Creech-Jones, 3 December 1946, no. 17, CO 537/1731.
 68. *Ibid.*, 3 December 1946, no. 19; also 6, 12 December, CO 537/1731.
 69. CDC Paper DO(46)145, 'Use of Armed Forces, Part II: Colonial Office Views', 19 December 1946, CO 537/1731.
 70. *Ibid.*, 'Part I: War Office View'.
 71. Montgomery, *Memoirs*, p. 469.
 72. CDC Minutes, 1 January 1947, CO 537/1731; telegram, Montgomery to Pyman [COSMELF], 2 January 1947, Pyman Diaries, 6/1/2.
 73. 'Note of a Conference at the Colonial Office', 3 January 1947, CO 537/1731. Curiously, Nigel Hamilton, Montgomery's biographer, makes no mention of this very important meeting or its consequences.
 74. CM, 6, 15 January 1947, CAB 128/9; CP(47)3, 'Memorandum by Secretary of State for the Colonies: Use of Armed Forces', 7 January 1947, CAB 129/16. In his *Memoirs*, p. 469, Montgomery claims that Creech-Jones asked him to draft the new directive. The documents make no mention of this, but the directive bears the unmistakable stamp of his thinking.

75. Telegram, Montgomery to Dempsey, 16 January 1947, Pymon Diaries, 6/1/2; Montgomery, *Memoirs*, p. 470.
76. Sir W. L. S. Churchill, *Winston S. Churchill: His Complete Speeches, 1897-1963*, Volume VII, R. R. James (ed.) (London: Chelsea House) p. 7422.
77. Letter, Pymon to Hobart, January 1947, Pymon Diaries, 6/1/2.
78. Montgomery to Pymon, 2 January 1947.
79. Gen. Sir A. Cunningham, 'Policy in Palestine: An Answer to Montgomery's Criticisms', *Daily Telegraph*, 9 December 1958.
80. Minutes of Security Conference, 23 February 1947, Cunningham Papers.
81. Telegram, Dempsey to MacMillan, 3 March 1947, Pymon Diaries, 6/1/4.
82. Telegram, Montgomery to Dempsey, 4 March 1947, Pymon Diaries.
83. Quoted in *Daily Telegraph and Morning Post*, 3 March 1947.
84. Letter, Gale to MacMillan, 13 March 1947, in 1 Infantry Division, 'Report on Operation Elephant' (1947), pp. 9-10, copy in the Private Papers of General Sir R. Moore, Hampton Court, Surrey; telegrams, Cunningham to Creech-Jones, 14, 16 March 1947, CO 537/2299; Minutes of Security Conference, 17 March 1947, Cunningham Papers; CP(47)95, 'Memorandum by Secretary of State for the Colonies: Palestine - Use of Armed Forces', 19 March 1947, CAB 129/17; CM, 20, 27 March 1947, CAB 128/9.
85. CP(47)107, 'Report by Chiefs of Staff: Palestine - Imposition of Martial Law', 26 March 1947, CAB 129/18; CM, 27 March 1947, CAB 128/9.
86. Telegram, Cunningham to Creech-Jones, 7 August 1947, CO 537/2299.
87. R. N. Rosecrance, *Defence of the Realm: British Strategy in the Nuclear Epoch* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968) p. 63.
88. *Ibid.*; P. Darby, *British Defence Policy East of Suez 1947-1968* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973) pp. 10, 37; G. Kirk, *The Middle East 1945-1950: Survey of International Affairs* (London: Oxford University Press, 1954) p. 8.
89. Telegrams, Crocker to Simpson, Simpson to Crocker, 3-4 August 1947, Pymon Diaries, 6/1/8.
90. Telegrams, Cunningham to Creech-Jones, Creech-Jones to Cunningham, 4-5 August 1947, CO 537/12299.
91. Note, Trafford-Smith to Lloyd, 12 August 1947, CO 537/2299.
92. 'Conference no. 2: Palestine, and Discussion with General MacMillan', 7 August 1947, and letter, Crocker to Cunningham, 13 August 1947, Pymon Diaries.
93. Letter, Charteris to Mathieson, 10 September 1947, CO 537/2299; Rosecrance, p. 63.
94. CM, 20 September 1947, CAB 128/10.
95. A list of major operations, forces involved, and results, is provided in Appendix IV.
96. HQ Palestine, message, 19 October 1945, WO 169/19745; see also formation war diaries, WO 169/19685, 19697, 19699, 19701, 19703, 19706; Wilson, p. 22; Blaxland, p. 31.
97. 3rd Parachute Brigade, 'ISUM no. 3', 28 November 1945, WO 169/19705; see also WO 169/19745, 19685, 19920, 19921; Wilson, pp. 27-9; Blaxland, pp. 32-3.

98. Wilson, p. 36. The war diaries are incomplete; they did not always record and identify individually each search operation. The number cited is the known minimum. See Appendix IV.
99. 3rd Infantry Division, 'Report of a Train Robbery 12 January 1946 and Subsequent Search 13 January 1946', WO 169/22967; 9th Infantry Brigade, 'Report on Cordon and Search Ops, Yemini 13 January 1946', WO 169/23003; Brig. R. N. Anderson, 'Search Operations in Palestine: The Problems of the Soldier', *Army Quarterly*, vol. LV (1947-8) pp. 204-8.
100. 185 Infantry Brigade, 'Schedule of Anti-Terrorist Measures', 28-31 January 1946, WO 169/23006.
101. G Branch, HQ 6th Airborne Division, Report - 'Attack on Airborne Car Park Tel Aviv 25 April 1946', 26 April 1946, WO 169/22978.
102. War diaries, October-November 1945, 6th Airborne Division, 3rd Infantry Brigade, WO 169/19685, 19703.
103. 185 Infantry Brigade, war diary, January 1946, WO 169/23006.
104. *Ibid.*, and 'OI no. 2', 10 January 1946, and 'Schedule of Anti-Terrorist Measures', HQ Palestine, 'Directive - Searches and Road Checks', January 1946, WO 169/23021. There were 10 identity checks and 15 searches in Jerusalem in January 1946. Emergency roadblocks provided a ring approximately one mile in diameter around the centre of the most likely targets.
105. 185 Infantry Brigade, war diary, January 1946, and 'Report on Operations in Jerusalem 19 January and on Subsequent Dates'.
106. 7th Infantry Brigade, war diary, February-March 1946, WO 169/22999.
107. 31st Infantry Brigade, 'Anti-Terrorist Operations - Jerusalem', 31 March 1946, 'Security Operations - Jerusalem', and 'Foot Patrols - Jerusalem', April 1946, WO 169/23005; 1st Battalion, Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, 'OI no. 12', 26 March 1946, Guards, Patrols, etc. - Adjustments to', 17 May 1946, war diary, April-May 1946, WO 169/23196. Removal of the guard at the hotel may have been the result of long-standing complaints by officers about excessive security. See, HQ Palestine, 'Notes on BGS Conference', 5 January 1946, WO 169/23021.
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117. HQ Palestine, 'Operational Log [hereafter cited as Ops Log] 28-9 June 1946 Op AGATHA', and 'COSINTINTREP' nos. 562, 564, 29-30 June 1946; 1st Infantry Division/North Palestine District, 'AGATHA Summary, nos. 1, 2', 29-30 June 1946; 6th Airborne Division, 'Ops Log', 29-30 June 1946; 1st Guards Brigade, 'Report on Op AGATHA', 29 June-1 July 1946; 3rd Parachute Brigade, 'Report on Operation AGATHA', 29-30 June 1946; Wilson, p. 59; Bethell, p. 249; G. Merri, *My Life* (New York: G. P. Putnam's, 1975) p. 195; D. Trevor, *Under the White Paper: Some Aspects of British Administration in Palestine From 1939 to 1947* (Jerusalem: Jerusalem Press, 1948) p. 211.
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120. G(Ops)1 GHOMEF, 'COSINTINTREP no. 186', 30 June 1946; HQ Palestine, 'COSINTINTREP', nos. 562, 564, letter, GOC to formation commanders and I.G. Police, 30 June 1946. Total casualties: three Jews killed, 60 injured (16 hospitalised) and one British soldier killed accidentally.
121. 2nd Parachute Brigade, 'Diary of Events - Operation HARRY II, 14-20 July 1946', in Quarterly Historical Report, WO 261/213; Trevor, p. 229.

122. CM, 25 July 1946, CAB 128/6; Barker, 'Military Action', Cunningham Papers; Wilson, pp. 67, 72-3.
123. 2nd Infantry Brigade, 'OO no. 2 - Op SHARK', 28 July 1946, WO 261/191; 2nd Parachute Brigade, 'Report on Operation SHARK', 3 August 1946; Begin, pp. 227-30; Wilson, pp. 67-8, 70-1; letter, Charters to author, 9 November 1976. The arms caches yielded: four machine guns, 23 mortars, 176 rifles, 127 000 rounds of ammunition, a large quantity of explosives, and forged currency.
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125. 2nd Parachute Brigade, 'OI no. 8 - Operation COMB', 19 September 1946, and 'OI no. 11 - Enforcement of Curfew', 27 October 1946; 1st Parachute Brigade, 'OI no. 12 - Brigade Commander's IS Conference 31 October 1946', and 'OO no. 16', 3 November 1946, WO 261/209; 9th Infantry Brigade, 'OI no. 10', 7 November 1946, WO 261/207.
126. 1st Parachute Brigade, 'OO no. 18', 14 November 1946; see also 2nd Parachute Brigade, Quarterly Historical Report; Wilson, pp. 82-4.
127. 1st Parachute Brigade, Quarterly Historical Reports, WO 261/209-10; letter, Dimoline to Dempsey, 9 January 1947, Pyman Diaries 6/1/2; Wilson, pp. 88-9, 91, 235-6.
128. See pp. 88-9.
129. 3rd Parachute Brigade, 'OI no. 25 - IS in Haifa District', 23 January 1947, in Quarterly Historical Report, WO 261/218; 9th Infantry Brigade, 'OI no. 13', 23 January 1947, WO 261/208; 1st Guards Brigade, 'OI no. 2', 25 January 1947, WO 261/187.
130. 9th Infantry Brigade, 'OI no. 17: Cantonment Plan', 2 February 1947; see also Quarterly Historical Reports, 8th Infantry and 1st Parachute Brigades, WO 261/202, 210; Foreign Office, 'WIS', 4, 13 February 1947, E52/56/31, FO 371/61761; telegram, British Embassy, Washington, to Foreign Office, 3 February 1947, E1083, FO 371/61765; Wilson, pp. 102-5. Accordingly to J. C. Hurewitz, *The Struggle for Palestine* (New York: Schocken Books, 1976) p. 282, by the end of February 1947 only 11 British civilians resided outside the security zones.
131. 1st Infantry Division, 'Report on Operation ELEPHANT' (1947), pp. 4, 30; 9th Infantry Brigade, 'OI nos. 19, 20 - Op HIPPOMINIMUS', 1, 7 March 1947; CP(47)107, 'Report by Chiefs of Staff: Palestine - Imposition of Martial Law', 26 March 1947, CAB 129/18.
132. 1st Infantry Division, 'Report on Operation ELEPHANT' (1947), pp. 4, 44; 9th Infantry Brigade, 'OI no. 19', and 'Report on Op HIPPOMINIMUS', 22 March 1947.
133. 1st Infantry Division, 'Report on Operation ELEPHANT' (1947), pp. 66-79; 9th Infantry Brigade, 'OI no. 20', and 'Report on Op HIPPOMINIMUS'.
134. CM, 20 March 1947, CAB 128/9; CP(47)107; Colonial Office, Monthly Reports, April-June 1947, CO 537/2281; entry for 24 April 1947, Pyman Diaries, 6/1/4; see also Appendix III. The 78 arrests reported by the Chiefs of Staff may have included some arrests made subsequent to the operation itself.
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- the Jews, and the Arabs 1935-48 (London: Andre Deutsch, 1979) p. 302; Lt-Col. R. L. Clutterbuck, 'Bertrand Stewart Prize Essay 1960', *Army Quarterly and Defence Journal*, vol. XXCI (1960) p. 167; R. Farrar, *Winged Dagger - Adventures on Special Service* (Motley, Yorkshire: Elmfield, 1948) pp. 348, 351; B. Fergusson, *The Trumpet in the Hall 1930-1958* (London: Collins, 1970) pp. 210-11, 225-6.
136. Farrar, pp. 370-1; Fergusson, p. 227. This is probably the operation described in C. Mitchell, *Having Been a Soldier* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1969) p. 61.
137. Colonial Office, Monthly Report, April 1947; see also Chapter 3, p. 70, and Chapter 5, pp. 150-2.
138. Telegram, MacMillan to Simpson (VCIGS), 3 August 1947, Pymon Diaries, 6/1/8.
139. 1st Infantry Division, 'Report on Operation TIGER', copy in WO 261/181; CP(47)208, 'Memorandum by Secretary of State for the Colonies: Palestine - Security Measures', 19 July 1947, CAB 128/20; Minutes of Security Conference, 26 July 1947, Cunningham Papers; MacMillan, 'Palestine - Narrative of Events', p. 9, MacMillan Papers; Minutes of Security Conference, 8 August 1947, Cunningham Papers; Betar was known to be a major source of recruits for the Irgun.
141. Colonial Office, 'Palestine Situation - Outrages 1947', CO 537/477.
142. MOI/OPC Paper 576A, 'Plan of Propaganda for Palestine: Second Revision of Aims and Objectives', 1 June 1945, CO 733/465.
143. MOI/OPC Paper 575B, 'Plan of Propaganda for Palestine: Second Revision of Appreciation', 2 June 1945, INF 1/943.
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145. Minutes of Security Conference, 22 August 1947, Cunningham Papers. Samples of PIO communiqués may be found in: G Branch, HQ Palestine, war diary, February 1946, WO 169/23021; in correspondence files, High Commissioner to Colonial Secretary, October 1946, FO 371/52563.
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147. HQ Palestine, 'OI no. 57 - Press', 31 December 1945; 1st Infantry Division, 'Report on Operation ELEPHANT' (1947), pp. 102-5, 'Report on Operation TIGER'; 9th Armoured Division, 'IS Instruction no. 4', 6 June 1947, WO 261/178; Farrar-Hockley, interview with author.

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149. 1st Infantry Division, 'Publicity', 8 May 1946.
150. HQ Palestine, 'OI no. 56'; 3rd Parachute Brigade, 'OI no. 38 - Appendix: Relations with Press', 30 April 1947, WO 261/219.
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CHAPTER 5

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2. Y. Allon, *The Making of Israel's Army* (London: Valentine, 1971) p. 29. Even historian Walter Laqueur, in his book *Terrorism* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1977) p. 118 shares this view.
3. J. B. Bell, *Terror Out of Zion: Irgun vai Leumi, Lehi, and the Palestine Underground 1929-1949* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1977) p. 238; this general theme permeates Menachem Begin's notoriously self-serving account, *The Revolt: Story of the Irgun* (London: W. H. Allen, 1951) e.g. p. 329.
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81. Telegram, H. Gurney to Creech-Jones, 25 June 1947, Cunningham Papers, II/1.
82. Begin, pp. 99-100.
83. Interview with author, 27 May 1976.
84. M. Lowenthal, 'The Burdensome Concept of Failure', in A. C. Maurer, *et al.* (eds) *Intelligence: Policy and Process* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1985) p. 43.
85. As strategic intelligence is defined in E. Luttwak, *A Dictionary of Modern War* (London: Allen Lane, 1971) p. 183.
86. Alternatively referred to as combat or target intelligence. See Luttwak, p. 199; and Brig. P. H. C. Hayward, *Jane's Dictionary of Military Terms* (London: Macdonald and Janes, 1975) pp. 41, 163.
87. JIC (45) 338 (0) (Revised Final) 'Joint Intelligence Sub-Committee Report - Middle East Policy', 31 July 1945, Annex to Joint Planning

- Staff Report (45) 145 (Final) 'Middle East Policy', 3 August 1945, in COSC Minutes, 8 August 1945, CAB 79/37; 'Structure and Organisation of the Haganah', Appendix E to 1st Guards Brigade, 'Intelligence Summary No. 15', 12 June 1946, WO 169/22989. The JIC estimate placed the combined strength of the Haganah and Palmach at 65 000, or about twice the actual size of the two groups. The Guards Brigade assessment was based on documents seized during the search of Bryra settlement 27 February 1946. For details of content of documents, see undated official communique, 75156/151A 1946 Part 1, CO 733/456.
88. Joint Intelligence Committee, GHO Middle East Forces, 'Probable Jewish Reactions and the Potential Threat of Jewish Forces in Palestine in Certain Eventualities', 11 January 1945, CAB 119/147. The second phase, as described in the document, resembled more the period November 1947 to May 1948 and is thus not relevant to this analysis.
89. CID Report, 24 April 1945, copy in Telegram, Gort to Stanley, 27 April 1945, 75156/151J, CO 733/457; House of Commons, Command Paper no. 6873 (1946), pp. 3-5.
90. Defence Security Office, 'Monthly Summary No. 8', May 1946, WO 169/23031; 1st Infantry Division, 'OI no. 4', 15 June 1946, WO 169/22957; 3rd Infantry Brigade, 'Message', 15 June 1946, WO 169/22995.
91. JIC, 'Probable Jewish Reactions . . .', 11 January 1945.
92. Lt-Gen. E. Barker, 'Military Action to be Taken to Enforce Law and Order in Palestine', 22 June 1946, p. 1, Cunningham Papers, V/4.
93. Entries for 7, 11 January 1947, Pyman Diaries, 6/1/72.
94. The record of search operations speaks for itself. See Chapter 4 and Appendix IV.
95. See E. Horne, *A Job Well Done: Being a History of the Palestine Police Force 1920-1948* (Leigh-on-Sea, Essex: Palestine Police Old Comrades Benevolent Association, 1982) p. 299; and T. Clarke, *By Blood and Fire: The Attack on the King David Hotel* (New York: G. P. Putnam's, 1981) p. 147. It is noteworthy, however, that neither the CID report nor other contemporary documents relating to the bombing, in file CO 537/2290, suggest that the police received any such advance warning.
96. Crime statistics for 1945-46 in Government of Palestine, *A Survey of Palestine: Memorandum Submitted to the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry by the Government of Palestine*, Volume II (London: HMSO 1946) Chapter 15, Table 4, and *Supplement to Survey of Palestine: Notes Compiled for the Information of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine* (Jerusalem: June 1947) p. 81; detention statistics in Hoffman, p. 80, based on official sources; prosecution statistics (1 August 1945 to 22 April 1947) in United Kingdom Information Office, *Britain and Palestine* (Ottawa: May 1947) p. 22.
97. J. Richelson, *The U.S. Intelligence Community* (Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger Publishing, 1985) p. 3.
98. Lowenthal, pp. 50-1.
99. Interviews with author, Sir R. Catling, 28 May 1976, Mr J. Briance, 3 March 1977.
100. See, for example, J. Paget, *Counter-insurgency Campaigning* (London: Faber, 1967) pp. 157-64.

101. S. Hutchinson, 'The Police Role in Counter-Insurgency Operations', *JRUSI*, vol. 114, no. 4 (December 1969) pp. 57-8. In his report on the Palestine police, veteran policeman Sir Charles Wickham described terrorism as 'crime in its most highly organised form', which the police should deal with by 'an intensification of their normal procedure and operation', 'Report by Sir Charles Wickham' (hereafter 'Wickham Report'), 2 December 1946, 75015/82A, CO 537/2269.
102. Interview with author, 13 September 1976.
103. Letter, Goulburn to HQ 1 Infantry Division/North Palestine District, 21 June 1946, WO 169/22989; see also, 3 Infantry Division, 'Directive no. 2 - Combined Ops Police and Milt', 23 January 1946, WO 169/22967; HQ Palestine, 'OI no. 67', 17 June 1946, WO 169/23022; 1 Infantry Division/North Palestine District, 'OI no. 7, 28 June 1946, WO 169/22957; interviews with author, Brigadier M. Tugwell, 3 November 1976; Major-General H. E. N. Bredin, 28 June 1977; Lieutenant-General Sir N. Crookenden, 9 June 1976.
104. Interview with author, 26 May 1976.
105. Interview with author, 14 February 1976.
106. HQ Palestine, 'OI no. 67 - Military Cum Police Operations', 17 June 1946, WO 169/23022; HQ Palestine, *Combined Military and Police Action* (June 1947), pp. 8-9, copy in the Private Papers of Mr J. Briance, London: HQ 3rd Infantry Division, 'Directive no. 6', and 'Directive no. 7 - Wireless Communications - Coordination with Palestine Police Network', 25 February 1946, WO 169/22967; HQ 9th Infantry Brigade, 'Internal Security Instruction no. 5', 2 March 1946, WO 169/23003; '1 Div Intelligence Course Programme', 17-30 January 1946, 1st Infantry Division, War Diary, January 1946, Appendix 19, WO 169/22956.
107. As late as May 1947 efforts were under way to improve civil-military liaison over intelligence in Palestine. See entry for 31 May 1947, Pymon Diaries, 6/1/5; see also Horne, pp. 560-1.
108. Horne, p. 557; 'Police Vacancy - Inspector General 1945', 75015/52, CO 733/451.
109. Horne, p. 557; Fergusson, p. 202; interviews with author: Briance (1976); Catling (1976); Mr H. B. Shaw, 2 February 1977; Brig. J. M. Rymer-Jones, 5 March 1977; Col. W. N. Gray, 23 July 1976.
110. Interview with author, 17 February 1978.
111. Dempsey to Montgomery, 4 March 1947, Pymon Diaries, 6/1/3.
112. Palestine Police, 'Annual Administrative Report 1946', CO 814/40; Gray, interview (1976).
113. *Ibid.*
114. Interviews with author: Briance (1976), Catling (1976, 1979), Gray (1976), Shaw (1977).
115. Quoted in B. Chapman, *Police State* (London: Macmillan, 1970) p. 97.
116. Briance, interview (1977).
117. HQ Palestine, War Diary, October 1945, WO 169/19745; 1st Infantry Division, 'WIR no. 11', 24 June 1946, WO 169/22957; Telegram, Cunningham to Creech-Jones, 7 August 1947, E7273, FO 371/61784;

- Minutes of Security Conference, 15 August 1947, Cunningham Papers, IV/1; Government of Palestine, *Supplement to Survey of Palestine* (1947), p. 86, estimates that the Irgun had a 100-member intelligence group, some of whom were employed in government and military establishments. E. Dekel, *Shai: The Exploits of Haganah Intelligence* (London, New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1959) pp. 127-35, 142-7, 313-19, 334-59; Begin, p. 99; Bethell, pp. 248-9; Letter, Y. Medad, National Studies Institute, Jerusalem, to author, 31 October 1978. *The Times* (London), 20 August 1984, contains an account of a Lechi 'mole', who worked in the transport section of army headquarters in the King David Hotel.
118. Home, pp. 474-7, 555.
119. 'Wickham Report', Government of Palestine, 'Draft Estimates, 1945-46', 75005, CO 733/450, and 'Annual Report of the Accounts and Finances, 1945-46, 1946-47', CO 814/40; 'Establishment of Interrogation Centre for Examination of Terrorists, 1946', CO 537/1838; interviews, Catling (1979), Gray (1976).
120. By June 1946, the British section of the force was 48 per cent under-strength. Recruiting did not exceed wastage (from casualties, resignations, retirements and transfers) until January 1947, and thereafter declined constantly. 'Police Force - Recruitment of Other Ranks', 1945, 1947, 75015/55B, CO 733/451, CO 537/2268; 'Palestine Police - Recruitment Propaganda, 1946', 75015/60, CO 733/451; Palestine Police, 'Annual Administrative Report 1946'; 'Wickham Report'; Gray, interview (1976).
121. 'Wickham Report'; 'Draft Estimates, 1945-46'.
122. Interviews, Briance (1976), Catling (1976, 1979), Shaw (1977); Begin, pp. 97-102; 'Wickham Report'.
123. Gen. Sir R. Gale, *Call to Arms* (London: Hutchinson, 1968) pp. 163, 166-9, and interview with author, 6 July 1976.
124. The Hon. M. M. C. Charters, 'A Year as an Intelligence Officer in Palestine', *Middle East Society Journal*, vol. 1 (1946), pp. 17, 18, 20. The article, based on a lecture to the society, is deliberately vague on intelligence tasks and sources. In his correspondence with the author, 9 November 1976, he was equally circumspect.
125. See War Diaries, G Branch HQ Palestine, 1946, WO 169/23021-2.
126. Appendix 137A, June 1946, WO 169/23022.
127. Gale, interview (1976).
128. For example, it was the DSO's 'Monthly Summary no. 8', May 1946, (WO 169/23031) that accurately predicted a revival of terrorism on a major scale in June. Lechi member 'Avner' points out that Major Desmond Doran, Area Security Officer for Tel Aviv, was selected for assassination precisely because he was so good at his job: fluent in Hebrew, an expert on the Lechi, and a skilled interrogator. See 'Avner', *Memoirs of an Assassin* (London: Anthony Blond, 1959) pp. 13, 82-3. Also, Dannat interview (1978).
129. M. Tugwell, 'Revolutionary Propaganda and Possible Counter-measures', unpublished PhD dissertation, University of London, 1979, pp. 15-16, 311, 325-34.

130. See, for example, the three lectures on psychological warfare, by R. H. S. Crossman, in *JRUSI*, vols XCVII-VIII (August 1952–November 1953).
131. H. Beeley, note on file, EI10173, 15 October 1946, FO 371/52561.
132. Tugwell, p. 160.
133. Sir R. B. Lockhart, *Comes the Reckoning* (London: Putnam, 1947) p. 339.
134. Minutes of Security Conference, 25, 27 September 1946, Cunnigham Papers; R. W. D. Pawle, interview with author, 18 May 1978. The phrases in quotations are Cunningham's.
135. See references to psychological operations in the Minutes of Security Conferences, September 1946 to July 1947, Cunnigham Papers.
136. MOIOPC Paper 575A, 'Plan of Propaganda for Palestine: Second Revision of Appreciation', 2 June 1945, and 557A, 'Second Revision of Channels', 9 June 1945, 75893, CO 733/465; MOI, 'Aide – Memoire of Meeting to Discuss Reduction of Palestine Budget', 18–19 June 1945, INF 1/419; letter, Finance Officer, MOI Middle East to Middle East Division MOI (London), 30 August 1945, INF 1/430. Budget: 1945/6 (original): £97 668; (revised): £66 507; (minus revenue): £55 807; 1946/7 (estimate): £46 837.
137. Letters, Driberg (MOI) to Eastwood (Colonial Office), 16, 26 October 1946, Eastwood to Driberg, 7 November 1945, Gutch to Eastwood, 21 November 1945, Trafford-Smith to Driberg, 16 January 1946, all in 75893, CO 733/465.
138. R. M. Graves, *Experiment in Anarchy* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1949) p. 91.
139. 'Bad Tempered Censorship', *Evening Standard*, 25 November 1946.
140. Letter, Cassels to author, 27 November 1976.
141. MacMillan, 'Palestine: Narrative of Events', p. 7.
142. Bethell, p. 269; Hurewitz, pp. 256–7; *The Palestine Post*, 1 August 1946; and Tugwell, p. 163.
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CHAPTER 6

1. T. E. Lawrence, 'The Evolution of a Revolt', in M. Elliott-Bateman *et al.* (eds) *Revolt to Revolution: Studies in the 19th and 20th Century European Experience*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1974) p. 150.
2. D. Duncanson, 'Lessons of Modern History: the British Experience', in S. C. Sarkesian and W. L. Scully (eds) *U.S. Policy and Low-Intensity Conflict: Potentials for Military Struggles in the 1980s* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1981) p. 100.
3. D. Charters, 'From Palestine to Northern Ireland: British Army Adaptation to Low-Intensity Operations', in D. Charters and M. Tugwell (eds) *Armies in Low-Intensity Conflict: A Comparative Study*

- of *Institutional Adaptation to New Forms of Warfare*, ORAE Extra-Mural Paper no. 38. (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 1985) pp. 254–64.
4. See Appendix V for a breakdown of the human and material costs of the insurgency.
5. A. Short, *The Communist Insurrection in Malaya, 1948–60* (London: Frederick Muller, 1975).
6. Charters, pp. 234–81.
7. *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 17 May 1981.
8. Charters, p. 236, and p. 298n27.
9. Short, pp. 121, 131 and n25, 141, 501; E. Horne, *A Job Well Done: Being a History of the Palestine Police Force 1920–1948* (Leigh-on-Sea, Essex: Palestine Police Old Comrades Benevolent Association, 1982) p. 573.
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