

American Jewish Com

American School of Oriental Research
Jerusalem, Palestine

August 4, 1946

Mr. John Slawson
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, N.Y.

Dear John,

For various reasons I am writing instead of cabling. I assume this letter is for the inner circle only of the American Jewish Committee. I consider the present British Federal Plan for Palestine to be prenicious and malevolent. It represents, for all practical purposes, a sugar coated petrification of the 1939 White Paper. It has all of the disadvantages of even a decent type of partition, and none of its advantages.

Any scheme of federal division or of partition which excludes most of Galilee, practically all the Jordan Valley, all of the Negev and even the Dead Sea concession, from the orbit of possible Jewish settlement and new or continued development, means nothing more than the schematization of the iniquitous White Paper.

All that is offered actually as an inducement for the Jewish acceptance of this Federal Scheme, which was already mooted and rejected at the time of the Peel Commission, is the holding out of the promise of allowing the 100,000 immigration to come in within 12 months after the scheme has been accepted, and added to that, the severely conditioned permission for Jews to immigrate into the Jewish province in accordance with the economic absorptive capacity. The High Commissioner of Palestine would have the final say in determining what the economic absorptive capacity would be. In other words, even in the fractionalized postage stamp area where the Jews would have nominal control, the central British government in Jerusalem could exercise veto power over the most fundamental issue of continued and creative Jewish life in Palestine, namely further Jewish immigration large enough to satisfy the most fundamental Jewish interests, and enable a healthy growth of the Jewish settlement in Palestine. I can envisage a thousand and one possibilities when, for a multitude of reasons, concerned primarily with British Imperial policy, and not with the obligations involved in the Balfour Declaration, immigration into the Jewish area could be so restricted by the central British government in Jerusalem, as to nullify its value altogether.

The Federal Plan gratuitously asserts that the smallness of the proposed Jewish area will have no effect upon the growth of the Jewish canton. The Jewish settlement, it is stated in this plan, would naturally become predominantly an industrial one. The healthy counterpart to any industrial community of a thriving agricultural background is dismissed with the stroke of the pen. But even assuming, as well might be the case under normal circumstances, that the Jewish settlement in Palestine would, in the course of time, become predominantly an industrial one, and thereby exercise a natural and beneficent role in the Near and Middle East, what guarantess are offered that the Jewish settlement would be allowed, to say the least, unhindered to develop in that direction. I could fill pages, citing instance after instance, demonstrating how the British government has not only prevented certain types of industry from developing in Jewish parts of Palestine, but also showing how industries which have grown up during the war, and which have a natural economic basis also in peace time,

are being stifled and methodically destroyed. No guarantee whatsoever is given that the Jewish industrial setup would in the future, any more than in the past, be able to trade, for instance, freely with America, or to purchase or sell or produce according to natural economic compulsions and possibilities.

No assurance, furthermore, is given, and I am certain that it is not envisaged, that Jewish schools and hospitals and old age- and sickness insurance and other related matters will be mainly supported out of direct and indirect taxes paid by Jews, instead of receiving, as they do now, a diminutive and disproportionate share of what the Jews contribute in the form of taxes.

The entire emphasis seems to be on the desirability of improving the economic and social conditions of the Arabs of Palestine. The official statement reads that the program suggested "will include the provision of a health service, comparable to that already available to the Jews, the expansion of educational facilities, the provision of cheap credit for Arab cultivators", and so forth. The statement insinuates that the health service available to the Jews stems perhaps from government support, and to that degree is misleading and mendacious. One can applaud the suggestion that the health and education and welfare services for the Arab community in Palestine be improved, but one wonders why the United States Government should pay for those improvements. If the Arab world is really as interested in the welfare of the Arabs in Palestine, as the various Arab states and Moslem groups claim to be, then why shouldn't they dig into their pockets as the Jews have done and build up out of private funds institutions comparable to the Jewish ones, which are almost completely supported by private Jewish contributions, over and above the comparatively modest sums which some of the Jewish institutions in Palestine receive from the Palestine government. Comparable Arab institutions in Palestine derive their sole support from the Palestine government.

Not only is the United States taxpayer requested to furnish the principal financing for Arab development projects in Palestine proper, but to furnish "large scale development loans to be made through an appropriate agency for the development of the Middle East region, including Palestine".

All of these hundreds of millions of dollars which America is being asked to furnish in order, ostensibly, to enable the realization of the Jewish part of the Federal Scheme, would naturally be administered by British officials throughout the Near and Middle East, and I am convinced, would serve British imperial interests far more than they would the needs of the various native Arab populations. Perhaps indeed, it is to American interests to support the British imperial interests in this part of the world, but then let it be said so clearly, and be dealt with on that basis. The use of the funds that America is being asked to furnish would serve, I am afraid, to support the reactionary feudal cliques which Great Britain seems to like to work with in this part of the world. How much, may I ask, has the average Iraqi benefited from the huge oil revenues accruing to the Iraq government from the oil being drawn out of Iraq by the I.P.C.!

I could develop this line of thought much further, but what I want to stress is that honest development projects dedicated to the welfare of the Arab people cannot, in the best of circumstances, be

superimposed upon them, but must stem, at least to an appreciable degree, from their own interests and through their own initiative. There is considerable wealth in the Arab world today, and yet I am convinced that nothing remotely comparable to the Jewish institutions in Palestine could be achieved for Arabs in Palestine from spontaneous and determined and continued Arab support alone.

I am incensed, after the experience of recent years, and, in particular, recent months, at part of the statement that "in the British and American zones in Austria we are doing our utmost to assist resettlement and eradicate anti-semitism." The statement was made by Mr. Morrison. If examined by itself, one could dismiss the first part of the statement as being naive. Indeed, I do believe that honest efforts are being made in the British and American zones to eradicate anti-semitism, but I know of no competent observer who feels, that for a very long time to come, Jews can be reintegrated as full fledged citizens into the life of Germany or of other large stretches of Europe. But my anger at the statement stems from the fact that it and related statements in the British government's presentation of the Federal Scheme, are dedicated to removing interest from the central core of the problem, namely, allowing Jews to settle and develop their lives in Palestine in accordance with the Balfour Declaration and the promises, explicit and implicit, in the British Mandate over Palestine.

In a word, I would recommend to the American Jewish Committee that it opposes, with all possible force, the Federal Scheme as presented to Parliament recently.

What are my alternatives?

a) The recommendation of the Anglo-American Inquiry Committee for the admission immediately of 100,000 Jews from Europe into Palestine, without any strings whatsoever attached to their entry, be accepted at once, and that the promise made in this connection to the American government be fulfilled without any more temporizing and without trying to sell the fate of these unfortunates for the support by the United States of a long range British Scheme for building up the Near and Middle East in accordance with imperial necessities and fears and ambitions.

b) If there is no other way out than partition, that the American Jewish Committee support a partition scheme which would give Jews the right to settle freely and in unlimited numbers not only in the recognized Jewish parts of Palestine, but particularly in the hills of Galilee, in the Negev, and in the Jordan Valley. Any Federal or Partition Scheme should include 1) Unconditional guarantees giving Jews the right to develop and settle the Huleh lands; 2) There must also be no interference with the Jewish Dead Sea concession, which should have the right to establish subsidiary companies in any areas in Palestine; 3) Jews should have the right to develop a Jordan Valley Authority in harmony with the Rutenberg Electric Power Concession and Palestine Potash Company Concessions; 4) All previous concessions must be corroborated; 5) In their own areas Jews should have complete control over immigration, courts, administration, education, customs, taxes, and police, and in no instance be asked to assume burdens disproportionately heavier than demanded by the central British government from non-Jewish parts of Palestine; 6) Jews should have representation on an inter-Palestine advisory council.

4.
c) I would prefer a return to the Balfour Declaration itself with its concern for "a Jewish National Home in Palestine", without that idea being confused by the miserably stupid Biltmore-plan demand for the establishing of Palestine as the Jewish Commonwealth. There must be clarification of the immigration question then, full representation for taxation; letting all except one or two government departments be directed equally by Jews and Arabs; ~~and~~ guarantees against the restoration of the vicious police-state which now exists in Palestine, *representation of the Palestine Jewish community in UNO.*

d) it would be far better not to have partition of any kind, but if something must be done to allay the Arab fears of becoming a minority in Palestine, which are just as baseless as the Jewish hope of ever becoming a majority, it would be better to agree to a scheme involving political parity with all that is understood by that, without concern for the various percentages of Jewish and Arab population. That implies that the Jews publicly give up the demand of becoming a majority in Palestine; they can't anyway, even if unlimited Jewish immigration is permitted. Even if a million Jews could be found to immigrate into Palestine, in a generation, because of the great disparity in birth-rates, the Arab community would again become a large majority, *without considering infiltration from neighboring Arab lands, which is constantly taking place, attracted by Jewish-created economic opportunities in Palestine.* The present Jewish Agency has sadly demonstrated its inability to guide the Jewish development in Palestine. It ought to resign and make way for new leaders, who are not committed to the policy officially adopted at the Biltmore Conference in 1942, which has led the Zionist movement into such a disastrous blind alley. In that reconstituted Agency the non-Zionists should take an active share and play a continuous role. The reconstituted Agency must make a planned and continuous effort to tie up the Arab economy ~~wxx~~ in Palestine with the Jewish economy, through the attraction of Arab venture- and investment-capital, and other means.

Sincerely yours

Nelson Glueck

P.S. One added remark: There is one British soldier in Palestine for every six Jews. There is no possible contingency which the British army could not cope with, whether it came from the Jewish side or from the Arab side, even from all the Arab states put together. No Arab state could stand up against the smallest, well-trained European forces. The rebellion in Iraq during the war was put down by 500 British- & British-led troops against 10 mechanized regiments. And no Arab state is going to send any appreciable amount of its armed forces to fight the British or the Jews in Palestine. The moment the Iraq army would leave Iraq, the Kurds, the Assyrians would revolt, and the Jews would move in. If the Syrian army left Syria, the Druze people & others would revolt. And so on.

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case of a probable Arab uprising if 100,000 Jews were allowed in now is the present. ~~the~~ ~~fact~~
that has ever been thrown out. The 100,000 troops which Great Britain now has in Palestine
are not and never have been primarily intended to quell any remotely possible disturbances
from any source in a new Palestine. I would prefer a statutory declaration of intent
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trained troops. And no Arab state is going to
send any appreciable amount of its armed forces to fight the
British or the Jews in Palestine. It means the Arab army would have
to drag the Jews, the British would have to drag the Jews, and as
the British army left Iraq, the Jews would have to drag the Jews, and as
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