

Law School of Harvard University,
Cambridge, Mass.

PRIVATE

October 18, 1938

"F. D. went very far in our talk in his appreciation of the significance of Palestine--the need of keeping it whole and of making it Jewish. He was tremendously interested--and wholly surprised--on learning of the great increase in Arab population since the War; and on learning of the plenitude of land for Arabs in Arab countries, about which he made specific inquiries. Possible refuges for Jews elsewhere he spoke of as 'satellites', and there was no specific talk of them."

Yours,

ref 2:1

Letter. Frankfurter to Wise

Registry Number } E 6606/10/31 FROM Sir R. Lindsay (Washington) to Sir L. Oliphant. Dated 3rd Nov. 1938 Received in Registry 10th Nov. 1938 E: Palestine and Transjordan.	Palestine: United States scheme. Records a conversation with President Roosevelt who put forward a scheme for relieving Palestine of 200,000 Arabs thus providing space for the immigration of Jews. The conversation ended inconclusively but, in case the matter is ever reverted to, requests that he may be supplied with a short answer to this scheme.
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But even assuming that water could be found in large quantities, it is now out of the question that any Arabs should be "compelled" to emigrate to the lands thus brought into cultivation. Whatever else may remain uncertain about the problem of Palestine, the impossibility of compulsion on this scale is now clear beyond dispute. Finally and in general, the President's suggestion, in which he has doubtless been coached by the Zionist leaders of America, is based on the old fallacy that the problem of Palestine, which has now become a political and sentimental issue of the first importance to the whole Arab and indeed the whole Moslem world, can be solved by economic aids and financial assistance.

L. Oliphant
10th November 1938

ref 2:10

Minutes. Foreign Office London

E 6606

10 NOV 1938

BRITISH EMBASSY,

WASHINGTON, D.C.

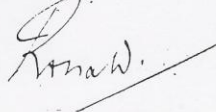
Confidential.November 3rd, 1938.
R - 9 -

Dear Lancelot:

On October 25th I had an interview with the President about another subject and at the end of it he said he wanted to offer a suggestion for dealing with Palestine. He was impressed by the fact that the Arab population had increased by 400,000 since the establishment of the Mandate, thereby causing great pressure of population on the territory. It was also a fact that in the countries adjoining across the Jordan great quantities of water could be got at shallow levels by boring wells. He suggested that a great programme should be undertaken for digging wells and making this water available for irrigation in what was now desert. The cultivable land this created should be set apart for Arabs from Palestine. They should be offered land free, and that ought to be enough to attract them; and failing the attraction, they should be compelled to emigrate to it. Palestine could thus be relieved of 200,000 Arabs, and so much more space for the immigration of Jews provided. Finally it would be necessary to prescribe that no Arab should be allowed to immigrate into Palestine, and no Jew into the Arab lands. All this might cost from twenty to thirty million pounds, "but we ought to be able to find that much money for the purpose." There was an implication that "we" meant the Jewish community of America, but that is by no means certain.

Sir Lancelot Oliphant K.C.M.G., C.B.,
Foreign Office,
London, S.W.1.

Yours ever,



NATIONAL POWER POLICY COMMITTEE
INTERIOR BUILDING
WASHINGTON

✓ November 21, 1938.

Dear Felix:

Isaiah saw the Chief Saturday. I give you herewith a summary of his (Isaiah's) report on the Conference:

He told Lindsey that he thought the British should call in some of the Arab leaders from Palestine and some of the leaders from the adjoining Arab countries. The British should explain to them that they, the Arabs, had within their control large territories ample to sustain their people. Palestine and Transjordan constituted only a small portion, probably not over 5% of their territories. Some Jews were in Palestine and others were clamoring to go there. Their coming to Palestine and Transjordan would not hinder the Arabs as there was plenty of land for all. Some of the Arabs on poor land in Palestine could be given much better land in adjoining Arab countries.

ref 2:16

Ben V. Cohen

Letter. Cohen to Frankfurter

MEMORANDUM

Suggestions have also been made that if the free offer of cultivable land in Transjordan did not suffice to attract the Arabs from Palestine, they might be compelled to emigrate from it, with the object of vacating land in Palestine for settlement by Jews.

ref 2:19

BRITISH EMBASSY,

WASHINGTON, D. C.,

December 20th, 1938.

British Government Memorandum

December 27, 1938.

My dear Mr. Justice:-

Also, it is my thought that quite aside from Transjordan, the British ought to explore for water to the south and to the north of there. I heard from the French that the land in Arabia across the Red Sea from Djibouti, and back of the coastal range of mountains, has all kinds of possibility for settlement — and also that the Iraq people are entirely willing to take a large Arab population for settlement on their newly irrigated lands.

Honorable Louis D. Brandeis, {
Associate Justice, United States Supreme Court,
Washington, D. C.

ref 2:21

Letter. Roosevelt to Brandeis

Supreme Court of the United States
Washington, D.C.

December 28, 1938

Dear Mr. President:

Re yours of 27th.¹

My thanks for letting me see the papers returned herewith.

The British attitude is deplorable. But ultimately -- if we insist --
folly will yield to reason and the right.

Enclosed from Blackwood's will interest you.

Our best wishes for 1939.

Cordially

Louis Brandeis

President Roosevelt.

[PSF: Palestine: AS]

ref 2:22

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

TELEPHONE Wabash 1285

6 באפריל, 1939.

Office of the President

SOLOMON GOLDMAN
220 S. STATE STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

מר בן-גוריון היקר:

ב. נסכתב פרטי לברנדייס הראה ויוולטס אהדה עמומה והבנה
הנונה. כן הוא סבר כציוני נסור ונלהב. הוא כותב על דבר העברת
כסה מאות אלפים ערבים סארן-ישראל לעירם. כרי לאפשר העברה זאת
הוא מציע ליסר קרן של שלש מאות סליון דולר. הוא חושב שאפשר לאסף
בין היהודים סאה סליון, הסססלה הבריטית תלוה סאה, ונס סססלה ארצות
הברית תלוה את שליש הסכום הנחון.

שלמה גולדמן

ref 2:25

Letter. Solomon Goldman to Ben-Gurion. 6 April 1939

June 20, 1939.

My dear Dr. Weizmann,

We have every reason to believe that the President has the finest understanding of, and the deepest sympathy with, our movement. In a letter to Justice Brandeis, he seems to have hit on the Iraq plan. He stated in so many words (I am not quoting verbatim, the letter is not before me) that two to three hundred thousand Arabs can and must be moved from Palestine to Iraq. He estimated that we should need a sum of \$500,000,000 to achieve such a wholesale transfer of Arabs. He thought that the Jews might be in a position to raise \$100,000,000, that the British and French might extend a loan of \$100,000,000, and the United States an equal sum. He seemed to indicate that as soon as he was somewhat relieved from the pressure of other affairs, he might try to tackle the job.

It was interesting to hear him state that the Arabs who have entered Palestine since 1917 can certainly not claim the country as belonging to them. He was under the impression that three hundred thousand of them had come in since the Balfour Declaration was issued. Deduct, he added, those three hundred thousand from the present Arab population and the Arab majority becomes insignificant. He was, of course, wrong in his figures. I am merely citing this as evidence of his interest in Zionism. I understand that on two occasions he used the trans-Atlantic telephone and spoke directly to Chamberlain.

Respectfully and affectionately,
(sgd). Solomon Goldman.

ref 2:26

December 3, 1942

what I think I will do is this. First, I would call Palestine a religious country. Then I would leave Jerusalem the way it is and have it run by the Orthodox Greek Catholic Church, the Protestants and the Jews - have a joint committee run it. They are doing it all right now and we might as well leave it that way." Then the President went on and said, "I actually would put a barbed wire around Palestine, and I would begin to move the Arabs out of Palestine." I asked him how he would do that and I said, "Would you have the Jews buy up the land?" He said, "No, but I would provide land for the Arabs in some other part of the Middle East, and I know there are plenty of places. Each time we move out an Arab we would bring in another Jewish family." I asked the President, "Would you propose that the majority should be Jews in Palestine?" and he said, "Yes, 90% of them should be Jews, but I don't want to bring in more than they can economically support, and I think that point has been reached." I said, "Well, what kind of a place would it be?" and he said, "It would be an independent nation just like any other nation - completely independent. Naturally, if there are 90% Jews, the Jews would dominate the government." He said, "There are lots of places to which you could move the Arabs. All you have to do is drill a well because there is this large underground water supply, and we can move the Arabs to places where they can really live."

ref 2:32

Morgenthau Presidential Diaries

THE DIARIES OF EDWARD R. STETTINIUS, JR., 1943-1946

CALENDAR NOTES | November 10, 1944

Palestine situation—I told the president what difficulty we were getting into and we should discuss the matter with Harriman. I said I would send him a memo on this. . . . The president feels confident, however, he will be able to iron out the whole Arab-Jewish issue on the ground where he can have a talk. He thinks Palestine should be for the Jews and no Arabs should be in it, and he has definite ideas on the subject. It should be exclusive Jewish territory. I told him of my recent talk with Dr. Wise.

ref 2:35

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, JULY 26, 1943.

HOOVER SPEAKS BY PHONE

The Long-Range View

The long-view solution, he said, resolves itself into two phases—where to move these people so as to give them permanent security and how to establish them there.

"We must accept the fact that the older and more fully settled countries have no longer any land and opportunity to absorb the migration of the oppressed," he said. "Most Jews recognize that it is not in their interest to force such an issue. Palestine could take more of them. But after all, Palestine would absorb only a part of the three or four millions whom this conference has been discussing as needing relief. That could be accomplished only by moving the Arab population to some other quarter. These are problems impossible to settle during the war."

ref 2:38

San Francisco, Cal.

August 6th, 1943

Dear Arthur --

I have just returned from a rather long interview with Herbert Hoover. He listened to me quite attentively and I think I made a decided impression.

He told me during our hour and a half conversation the following:

- (1) That in his opinion Palestine cannot become a Jewish Commonwealth when the Arabs are evacuated to other countries in the Near East.
 - (2) That this evacuation cannot be voluntary, but must be compulsory, imposed by the British or the United Nations.
 - (3) That the British are afraid to impose such compulsory evacuation because of the repercussion on the "Arab world".
-
- (10) That Jews have attacked him for the speech, but he believes that actually he will be of great service to the Jewish cause. Indeed, (as an after-thought, I believe) he said that Britain will be so fearful about being required to give up the very rich Kenya and Tanganyika area, that it will much prefer to make a real Jewish State of Palestine, and will even force the Arabs to evacuate to the Arab countries, investing the necessary funds to develop these undeveloped lands so as to receive the Arabs from Palestine.

ref 2:40

Cordially,

Louis E. Levinthal

A BRICK FOR THE BRIDGEby Eliahu Ben-Horin

It was back in 1945, during the critical years of our fight for the establishment of a Jewish State. Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, who was aware of my contacts with the former President, asked me whether I could get a statement from Mr. Hoover in support of our position. I said I would try.

Next day, I was sitting with Mr. Hoover in his office in the Waldorf Towers. When I stated my request, he answered: "I am willing to issue a statement, but not the one you have in mind. I was impressed with the plan you outline in your book (THE MIDDLE EAST: CROSSROADS OF HISTORY - EBH) for a transfer of Palestine's fellaheen to Iraq. What is more, it is a solution which would greatly benefit all concerned: the Jewish people, the Palestinian Arabs and the State of Iraq. I am willing to propose this solution in a statement to the press."

After thanking Mr. Hoover, I felt obliged to say: "...But you probably know that the Zionist Organization does not favor such a transfer."

To this the former President answered with a twinkle in his eye: "Fortunately, I am not a member of the Zionist Organization, and my statement would not be in their name."

All Mr. Hoover wanted to know was, whether such a statement by him would be welcome to the Zionist movement and would be considered a positive contribution to the solution of the Palestine problem. After consulting Dr. Silver, I gave him this assurance. Thus the H "Hoover Plan" was born.

The Waldorf-Astoria Towers
New York 22, New York
November 14, 1945

My dear Mr. Ben-Horin:

Many thanks for the booklet. I
have now gone over some fifteen books! I
am trying to boil a statement down to 200
words.

Yours faithfully,

Mr. Eliahu Ben-Horin
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Enclosure

ref 2:43

Letter. Hoover to Ben-Horin

11/14/45

There is a possible - possibly remote - method of
settling the Palestine question and providing ample
Jewish refuge. It at least is worth inquiry.

My own suggestion is that Iraq might be financed to
complete this development in consideration that it be made
the scene of resettlement of the Arabs from Palestine.
This would clear the Palestine completely for a large
Jewish emigration. A suggestion of transfer of Arabs
to Iraq was made some years ago but without adequate pro-
posals to finance both the land reclamation and the
migration to it.

ref 2:45

Early draft by Hoover of his transfer plan

Hoover Urges Resettling Arabs to Solve Palestine Problem

NEW YORK WORLD-TELEGRAM, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1945.

Says Irrigation Could Provide Good Iraq Land

Believes Migration Would End Conflict Over Jewish Refuge

There is a sane and practical solution of the Palestine problem in the opinion of former President Herber Hoover. The idea, offered in response to an inquiry by the World-Telegram, approaches the problem from an engineering standpoint. As a result emotional, racial and political aspects of the problem would be subordinated in a process by which both Jews and Arabs would benefit materially.

In reply to the direct question from the World-Telegram as to whether he believes any sound or practical basis exists for settlement of the highly inflammatory Jewish-Arab question Mr. Hoover replied:

"There is a possible plan of settling the Palestine question and providing ample Jewish refuge. It is at least worth serious investigation for it offers a constructive humanitarian solution.

Irrigation Theory. "In ancient times the irrigation of the Tigris and Euphrates valleys supported probably 10 million people in the kingdoms of Babylon and Ninevah. The deterioration and destruction of their irrigation works by the Mongol invasion centuries ago, and their neglect for ages, are responsible for the shrinkage of the population to about 2,500,000 people in modern Iraq. Some 30 years ago, Sir William Willcocks,

an eminent British engineer, completed a study of the restoration of the old irrigation system. He estimated that about 2,800,000 acres of the most fertile land in the world could be recovered at a cost of under \$150,000,000.

"Some progress has been made under the Iraq government but their lack of financial resources and the delays of the war have retarded the work greatly. Some years ago it was proposed that this area should be developed for settlement by Jewish refugees. This did not, however, satisfy the Jewish desire for a homeland.

Arabs Would Benefit. "My own suggestion is that Iraq might be financed to complete this great land development on the consideration that it be made the scene of resettlement of the Arabs from Palestine. This would clear the Palestine completely for a large Jewish emigration and colonization. A suggestion of transfer of the Arab people of Palestine was made by the British Labor Party in December, 1944, but no adequate plan was proposed as to where or how they were to go.

"There is room for many more Arabs in such a development in Iraq than the total of Arabs in Palestine. The soil is more fertile. They would be among their own race which is Arab speaking and Mohammedan. The Arab population of Palestine would be the gainer from better lands in exchange for their present holdings. Iraq would be the gainer for it badly needs agricultural population.

Model Migration. "Today millions of people are being moved from one land to another. If the lands were organized and homes provided, this particular movement could be made the model migration of history. It would be a solution by engineering instead of by conflict.

"I realize that the plan offers a challenge both to the statesmanship of the Great Powers as well as to the goodwill of all parties concerned. However, I submit it and it does offer a method of settlement with both honor and wisdom."

JEWISH JOURNAL AND DAILY NEWS

ה'ער פארדען וישורנאל

18721918 יאר תרע"ח

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 27, 1918. VOL. XLV. NO. 13,418.

הוואוער'ס פלאן פאר אראבער

עקספרויירענס הערבערס האבער אין א חוץ א דעפלאטא און
 פאליטישע און הויכאפערענדיק א באהאנדלענדיק אונזשיער
 צווישן ריינענדיק קיין דעפלאטא און פאליטישע נאר ווי א הויכאפער
 דער און אונזשיער, אין ער אריינגעבליבן מיט א פלאן ווי אויף צו
 ריינען און אריינשטעלן ערשטליך אין מיט דעם פאנאנד-מאפע-און
 מיט אידן אין מיט אראבער וואס וועלן זיין צושרייען.

דער עקס פרויעדענס ווייזט מיט רעכט אן, אז עס איז א גאנץ
 געווענליכע און צו עראנספערירען א באפעלקערונג פון איין לאנד
 אין צווייטען, באזונדער ווען דער דעם ווערס און קעגנזאגן, וואס
 עס דער פלאן געבליבן פון אירע וואסלען און סאנץ צווישן סטחאט
 אונגעווענליכע און געשריבן אז אירע וועלען און באהעטן אז אנדער אום-
 רעכענענדיק און אירי וואסלענען אראבער, אבער קומענדיק פון א
 גאנצן פון אזא עראנספערירען ווי הערבערס האבער וועט דער עס-
 פלאנענדיק געוויס זיין א גאר אנדערער.

ref 2:59

"Hoover Plan for Arabs"

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
MURRAY Hill 2-1160

Constituent Organizations

Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

November 21, 1945

Hon. Herbert Hoover
Waldorf-Astoria Towers
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

You may be interested to know that the Jewish press in New York has commented very favorably on your proposal. I will have a summary of the comments in the Jewish press prepared, and translated into English and I will send it to you.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

L. Ben-Hur

Eliahu Ben-Horin

EFH:RB
Enc.

ref 2:60

COMMENT OF AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL ON HOOVER PLAN

Asked for comment on the Hoover proposal, published in the New York World-Telegram, for the resettlement of Palestine Arabs in Iraq in order to facilitate the complete solution of the Palestine question, a spokesman of the American Zionist Emergency Council stated the Zionist position as follows:

The Zionist Organization never advocated the transfer of Palestine's Arabs to Iraq or elsewhere.

All this we state for the record. It seems to us however, that every man of good will, interested in alleviating the terrible Jewish tragedy and in helping to re-establish the Jewish State in Palestine, will welcome Mr. Hoover's plan as an expression of constructive statesmanship. When all the long accepted remedies seem to fail, it is time to consider new approaches. The Hoover Plan certainly represents a new approach, formulated by an unprejudiced mind well trained in statesmanship, relief and rehabilitation.

In conclusion, let us state that we highly appreciate the timing of Mr. Hoover's statement.

ref 2:61

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
342 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

January 25, 1946

My dear Mr. Ben-Horin:

Thank you for your letter of January 23. I appreciated the full report which you gave me of your conversation with Hoover. I am pleased that progress is being made in that direction.

ref 2:66

Abba Haddad Selinger

American JEWISH CONFERENCE

521 Fifth Avenue Telephone Murray Hill 2-7197 New York 17, N. Y.

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HERMANN STERN
DAVID WERTHEIM
DR. STEPHEN S. WISE

November 28, 1945

Mr. Herbert Hoover
Waldorf-Astoria Hotel
50th & Park Ave.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I read your response to the inquiry by the New York World Telegram in which you proposed that the Arabs in Palestine should emigrate to Iraq. Your suggestion would, if carried out, provide a real solution to the perplexing problem now confronting world statesmen.

We at the American Jewish Conference would appreciate it if you could find time to broadcast your views over a national network. We have a tentative promise for time on one of the major networks.

For your information, the American Jewish Conference is composed of sixty national Jewish organizations affiliated with it, with a constituency of over 2,500,000 members.

Trusting that you will find time to cooperate with us in the suggested broadcast, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Allen Roberts

Allen Roberts
Radio Director

AR:RK

THE INTERIM COMMITTEE WAS ESTABLISHED BY THE DELEGATES OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE IN NEW YORK, SEPT. 2, 1943, TO IMPLEMENT ITS RESOLUTIONS ON: THE RESCUE OF EUROPEAN JEWRY; THE RIGHTS AND STATUS OF JEWS IN THE POST-WAR WORLD; THE RIGHTS OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE WITH RESPECT TO PALESTINE

התנועה היהודית לארץ ישראל

The Jewish Agency for Palestine

MEMORANDUM No. 39

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

TO: Members of the Executive, The Jewish Agency for Palestine February 19, 1946
 Washington/London/Jerusalem
 FROM: Elisha Epstein

SUBJECT: Conversation with Mr. Herbert Hoover, former President of the United States

Sometime ago Mr. George Sokolsky, the columnist, arranged for me to see Mr. Herbert Hoover. My purpose in seeing him was to inquire into his project for the transfer of Arabs from Palestine to Iraq, which he made public through a press release.

I explained to Mr. Hoover the political inadvisability of our becoming sponsors for such a plan which might, despite all its good intentions for Jews and Arabs alike, lead to all kinds of dangerous conclusions regarding our aims in Palestine.

ref 2:73

Mr. Elisha M. Friedman
 41 Broad Street
 New York 4, N. Y.

February 4, 1948

Dear Mr. Friedman:

If I am not mistaken, Grossman was accompanied by Mr. Wolfsohn. After they told Hoover how highly they thought of his Plan, etc., Hoover spoke frankly to them telling them how his Plan originated with him and of his great interest in the problem. Then, Grossman suggested that he and his people would like to arrange a dinner in Hoover's honor, with him as the main speaker, at which time a group would be organized to sponsor the Hoover Plan.

Hoover was noncommittal, asked for a memorandum containing these suggestions, and inquired of Grossman whether he knew me - hinting that he would like to have my opinion on the Grossman proposal.

ref 2:75

Elisha Ben-Horin

DEPARTMENT
OF
STATE

INCOMING
TELEGRAM

DIVISION OF
CENTRAL SERVICES
TELEGRAPH SECTION

ACTION: NE
INFO:
S MH-893 -0

PLAIN

U

Baghdad via War

C

Dated November 25, 1945

A-D

A-D

SA

Rec'd 7:25 a.m.

SA/GN -

SA /M-2

ESC

SIA Secretary of State

EUR-3

NEA

Washington

DC/L-A

WRB

SPD-2

445, Twenty-fifth.

FC-14

OIC

INI

OPI

PL

Ex-President Hoover's reported proposal regarding

resettlement of Palestine Arabs in Iraq front paged in

Baghdad papers of November 22 under such headings as:

"Fiendish American proposal--Iraq after Palestine" "From
the insides of Truman's bomb comes a new Zionist proposal".

"No sir! Ex-President Hoover proposes transferring Arabs

of Palestine to Iraq so that Palestine may absorb the

Jews." "Weird proposal for solving Palestine problem".

ref 2:77

November 27, 1945

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Here is a dispatch of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency which may
interest you. It is a cable from Cairo, dated November 23, and it
reads as follows:

"A boycott of American goods was urged today by Bagdad
papers in reply to a suggestion by former President
Herbert Hoover that the United States grant a large
loan to Iraq to finance the resettlement there of Arabs
from Palestine, according to a Reuters dispatch.

"Under such headings as 'Devilish American Plan' and
'New Zionist Scheme,' the papers sharply attack Hoover's
suggestion for large-scale irrigation of arid land in
Iraq and the transfer of Palestinian Arabs as a means
of solving the Palestine problem."

ref 2:78

E. Ben-Horin

The New York Times

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1945.

Hoover Plan Approved

An Irrigated Iraq Regarded as Best Home for Arabs

The writer of the following letter is a member of the American Economic Committee for Palestine, on the board of the American Friends of the Hebrew University in Palestine, and on the finance committee of the Palestine Endowment Funds and of the Red Cross Medical Organization.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES: Herbert Hoover made a constructive practical and humanitarian proposal to solve the problem of Palestine. It became even more significant upon the appointment of the Anglo-American Committee on Immigration of Jews into Palestine. He proposed the irrigation of Iraq and the transfer to its more fertile acres of the Arabs of Palestine. He suggested that this irrigation project would make room in Iraq for many more Arabs than the one million now living in Palestine. The Arabs would be swapping poor land, mostly waste, for fertile fields.

The proposal to restore the irrigation system was made in 1939 by Sir William Willcocks, engineer to the Ottoman Ministry of Public Works. His plan involved irrigation of about three million acres. Part of this plan was executed by the British engineering firm of Sir John Jackson, Ltd., in 1941 to 1943.

The previous proposals to irrigate Iraq were intended to develop it economically and to benefit its masses. But no one before Mr. Hoover made this proposal as a means of solving the Palestine question.

More People Needed
Iraq needs more population. Land is already abundant. The Prime Minister of Iraq, after Fatha al-Akkari, as quoted in a paper to the Royal Asiatic Society in London in 1926. "The size of the country is 150,000 square miles, about three times that of England and Wales, while the population is only three million. . . . What Iraq wants above everything else is more population."

Walter Clay Lowdermilk, chief of the Soil Conservation Service of the United States, in his book "Palestine, Land of Promise," confirms this view, stating: "In the great alluvial plain in the Tigris and Euphrates Valley there is land enough for vast numbers of immigrants. Centuries of neglect of this land and consequent wastage demonstrate that the Arabs have not shown the genius or ability to restore the Holy Lands to their possibilities. But the Jews, by their magnificent examples of colonization, have demonstrated their ability to reclaim and redeem wastelands from desolation to high productivity."

Palestine has shown what irrigation and scientific agriculture can do with poor soil. For Iraq, Palestine would constitute a sort of agricultural experimental station. The Jews, too, could bring the light of Western science into the dark Middle East. In this function the Jews could again act as international couriers of the ideas bringing the culture of the modern West to the Moslem East, which is historically now in its own "dark age."

Mr. Hoover's proposal has other significance. Historic social forces are swirling about the Jewish people today. The papers bring the news of pogroms and murders of Jews in Poland. They tell of returning remnants were pursued by terrorist gangs, the secret Polish organizations A.S. and N.S.Z., who publicly avowed slogan is "Death to the Jews."

Trouble in Argentina
Again, from Argentina comes equally disturbing news. A series of press campaigns over a period of weeks tell of the burning and looting of Jewish synagogues, stores and homes while the police stood by idly. Those Jews who protested were arrested and sent to jail. The refugees, who had fled from Europe seeking an asylum in Argentina, are on the march again looking for a new refuge.

The Jewish settlement in Argentina stands as a foil against Palestine. In 1889 after a series of pogroms in Central Russia and Western Europe, Baron Maurice de Hirsch tried to relieve the situation by establishing colonies for Jewish farmers in the Argentine. His gifts included many millions. Fifty years later anti-Semitism now acts in that same Argentina in which, un-

like Poland, population is scant and competition for economic survival is not too keen.

Baron de Hirsch had considered the emigration of Jews from Russia to Palestine in 1881 and wrote a memorandum preferring other places. "Colonization ought to be tried in the first place in the New World and, especially, in the Argentine Republic. Jews should emigrate with the view not of gaining only a few years of tranquility and respite but with the firm purpose of securing for their posterity rest and stability in the future." Baron de Hirsch died in 1896 before he could execute his intentions in Palestine.

History has set the Argentine settlement as a contrast against the Palestine colonization. Today 200,000 Jews in Argentina are looking helplessly to an unresponsive Government. On the other hand, in Palestine there are 200,000 Jews living happy, creative and significant lives.

In every other country of the world when Jews were attacked they fled, except in the epic battle of the Warsaw "Ghetto." But in Palestine the Jews fight not in defense of their lives but for their legal right to immigrate.

Their exploits in the African campaign were unsurpassed by any other army. In Argentina the Jews, as every where else, are as they should be, the bearers of the local culture, and the better like the immigrants to any other country. In Palestine alone they have re-created the ancient Hebrew tradition. Agriculture and industry, science and art, poetry and music are being revived in Palestine for the first time since the destruction of the Second Commonwealth.

How is Mr. Hoover's project, costing about \$100,000,000, to be financed? The property of the 7,000,000 Jews of Europe, destroyed in Germany, Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, etc., by the Nazis is conservatively estimated at \$5 billion. Are the survivors entitled to no reparation—not even 1 per cent? The number of Jews killed is officially stated at six million. This can only be measured in terms of the total population of some of the countries of Europe—Sweden, 6,400,000; Ireland or Switzerland, 4,500,000; Finland or Denmark, 3,800,000; and Norway, 2,800,000. Imagine, if you can, the destruction of the total population of any of these countries. How

masking would be shocked! What international efforts to atone and compensate! The Jews lost relatively more than any other people in the world. And even absolutely the number of Jews killed in this war was exceeded only by the losses of Russia out of a population of 180,000,000 and of China with 400,000,000.

Losses Held Just

The nations of the world did not avert the murder of these millions of Jews. Let them save the Jewish remnant. An international reparations plan for the Jews by the United Nations Organization to irrigate Iraq should be issued to finance Mr. Hoover's proposal.

Mr. Hoover points out that large-scale migration is not a new concept. His proposals might constitute the modest migration of history. It would be a solution of the Palestine question by engineering. Instead of by conflict, it offers a method of settlement with both honor and wisdom."

If the Arab countries are regarded as a unit, as the Pan-Arab League assumes, the movement of the Arabs from Palestine to Iraq would have an analogue in American history. Hundreds of thousands of farmers from the New England States went West to Ohio, Iowa and Oregon. They abandoned poor soil and acquired fertile land. Mr. Hoover's proposal shows a large conception in social engineering.

Mr. Hoover's proposal fits in with the historic British record on Palestine. The Peace Head Book on Palestine, published by the British Foreign Office in 1926, gives a long series of British proposals dating back to 1880 for the settlement of Jews in Palestine, and for their civil equality outside of Palestine. In 1938 Lord Shaftesbury was "amused about the hopes and dashed hopes of the Jewish people. Everything seems right for the return to Palestine." Lord Palmerston, the Foreign Secretary who received this memorandum, found no Jewish organization capable of handling the matter. The Shaftesbury proposal became the British official policy of protecting the Jews in the East.

If British policy on the settlement of Jews in Palestine has changed in recent years, it may be due to a concern about the Arab oil concessions. However, pre-war appeasement of the

Arabs proved a tragic failure. The Arabs were either suitably neutral or attempted to betray the democracies.

The British should settle the oil question not by continuing mutuality to appease the Arabs but by international law. The British and American Governments should, under the UNO, sponsor an international court to protect investments abroad. Bankruptcies and defaults on government bonds should be adjudicated by law, instead of being unilateral decisions by dictators. Confiscation of investments and repudiation of oil or mining concessions should be brought within the law. The proper approach is not the appeasement of unstable chieftains set up by the British but international legal procedure.

New Approach Urged

The Zionist organization never advocated the transfer of Palestine Arabs to Iraq or elsewhere.

When all the long-accepted remedies seem to fail it is time to consider new approaches. Mr. Hoover's plan certainly represents a new approach formulated by an unprejudiced man with broad experience in vast engineering enterprises, in relief and rehabilitation, and in high statesmanship, domestic and international.

Mr. Hoover's statement comes at a time when Jewish seems to have been deserted by most of its friends, and will greatly encourage Jews in their belief that the great leaders of the Christian world stand ready to offer them justice.

Mr. Hoover's proposal is endorsed by the expert, Walter Clay Lowdermilk, who, in his book on Palestine states: "In the case of the Jews there is no place except Palestine where additional Jewish refugees can be placed at the close of this war and be rehabilitated physically, spiritually and economically after experiencing a martyrdom unparalleled in world history. By making possible the settlement of millions of Jewish refugees in their historic homeland, we shall wipe out one of the darkest blots on our civilization—the persecution of the people who have given us the foundation of our religious conception and the basis of the democracy for which we fight today with death."

Mr. Hoover's proposal deserves the earnest study of the new Anglo-American Commission.

ELIZABETH M. FARMAN.

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Hoover Iraq Plan Opposed

Suggested Transfer of Arabs to That Country Is Disapproved

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

Both Herbert Hoover and Ellsah M. Friedman, who approves his plan in THE TIMES of Dec. 16, have lengthy arguments regarding the desirability and engineering possibility of transferring over a million Arabs from Palestine to Iraq. In his letter Mr. Friedman never alluded to the crux of the matter—whether the Palestine Arabs wish to be transferred to Iraq or not.

Is it not high time for those who volunteer to solve the Palestine question to consider the wishes of two-thirds of its inhabitants? Palestine is home to the Arabs. It has been home to them for only thirteen centuries. Millions of their babies were born on Palestine's holy soil and millions of their dead lie buried there.

The Haram Sanctuary, erected on the ancient Temple of Solomon, is sacred to them. Over a hundred and fifty thousand Christian Arabs in Palestine look with utmost reverence to the birthplace of their Savior, and to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Olivet, Bethany, Nazareth and Galilee are dear to these Christian Arabs and they cling to them for dear life.

It is not a question of financing and of engineering; it is a human, moral and religious matter which cannot be viewed from mere technical considerations. Matters affecting religion and traditions in the Middle East are exceedingly explosive and must be handled with care. The mere calculations of engineering may lead to disaster. Palestine is a Holy Land not only to the Christian Arabs in Palestine but to those in Syria, Lebanon, Egypt and Iraq. Furthermore, it is a Holy Land to 300,000,000 Moslems all over the world.

Even though the Arab countries are regarded as a unit, this is no excuse for packing a million Arabs from Palestine to Iraq in order to make room for further Zionist immigration. Granted that Jewish refugees need to be settled somewhere, is it the part of wisdom and statesmanship to unsettle a million Arabs in order to settle Jewish refugees who could be accommodated in America, Europe and the Dominions?

Need we inflict an injustice on the Arabs in order to do justice to Jewish refugees, especially since the Arabs are not responsible for that injustice against the Jews? Again, it must be made plain, that the whole Palestine difficulty is one of ethics and justice and not one of finance and engineering.

KHALIL TOTAH,
Executive Director, Institute of Arab-American Affairs.
New York, Dec. 20, 1945.

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CONFIDENTIAL NO. 72

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

January 14, 1946

A special meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday afternoon, January 14, at 3:00 o'clock, at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

STAFF

The status of Mr. Eliahu Ben-Horin as a permanent member of the staff was formally confirmed.

HERBERT HOOVER

Mr. Ben-Horin reported on an interview with Mr. Hoover which evoked a lengthy and detailed discussion.

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<i>Hoover Herbert</i>	EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING January 14, 1946 <i>REPORT -</i> <i>ADDED 1/15/46</i>
REPORT OF <u>MR. BEN-HORIN'S INTERVIEW WITH MR. HOOVER</u> <p>Mr. Ben-Horin stated that Mr. Hoover is very interested in the irrigation plan of Iraq and the transfer of the Arabs from Palestine. While Mr. Ben-Horin himself is very much in favor of the transfer, that was not the position of the Zionist movement.</p>	
<p>He asked whether his statement was received favorably by the Zionists of America. Several individuals lauded and praised him and told him that they were in accord with his proposal - some Jewish, non-Jewish and several Zionist quarters. In view of the present Zionist relations it would be very harmful if the Zionists were to launch a program of transfer.</p>	
<p>Mrs. Halprin felt that the entire question was dynamite, and that we should do nothing on this question without first consulting with the Jewish Agency representative.</p>	
<p>Mr. Bublick felt it would be dangerous for our cause to suggest the transfer of the Arabs. The public will then say that if this is at the back of the minds of the Zionists the Arabs are right. They will say that this has always been the motive and that it shows the Jews cannot live together with the Arabs.</p>	
<p>Dr. Berkson agreed with Mr. Bublick, and felt that it would be a calamity for the Zionist movement. Dr. Berkson felt, further, that if we should adopt the plan it should be made public. Hx It would be a complete disaster to denounce something publicly and privately support it.</p>	
<p>Rabbi Kirshblum was favorably inclined toward's Mr. Ben-Horin's plan.</p>	
<p>Mr. Lipsky agreed with the plan for the transfer of the Arabs. The projection of this idea would be valuable to us. If there are other people like Hoover who are interested in pushing this idea we should help them promote it. Mr. Hoover believes in this and stakes his reputation as an engineer on it.</p>	

Minutes of Meeting at N.Y. Faculty Club - March 4, 1946

At the instance of Mr. Elisha Friedman, Mr. Fondiller called together a group of engineers to discuss with them the formation of a Committee to work with Mr. Herbert Hoover along the lines of his proposal to solve the Palestine problem by re-settling the Palestine Arabs in Iraq. This is along the lines of the interview published in the World Telegram of November 19, 1945 with Mr. Herbert Hoover. Mr. Friedman was called to Washington unexpectedly. Those attending the meeting were:

Prof. B.A. Bakhmeteff, of Columbia
Col. J.R. Elyachar, Intelligence Corps (Army)
M.D. Heyman, Mechanical Engineer
Eugene Halmos, Consulting Engineer
Ben-Horin, Writer
William Fondiller, A.V.P. Bell Telephone Labs.
Philip Sporn, Executive Vice Pres. American Gas & Elec. Co.
Lazarus White, President, Spencer, White, Prentiss.

Mr. William Fondiller acted as Chairman.

Mr. Ben-Horin was called on to outline briefly the genesis of the project. He described the interview which he and Mr. Friedman had with Mr. Hoover in which the latter expressed a strong, humanitarian interest in the plan to irrigate several million acres of land in Iraq and transplant about a million Palestinian Arabs to this improved land. Prof. Bakhmeteff showed a striking grasp of the problem and declared that the solution of the matter of making Palestine a Jewish Home was a serious international one, and he was strongly in favor of Mr. Hoover's proposal. He went on to say that he had no doubt that the engineering problem could be solved, but that the major problem would be a political one.

Mr. White produced a map of the area in question to indicate where dams could probably be located on the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. Mr. White also felt that the political difficulties would be very substantial. Some questions were raised as to the attitude of the Arab leaders. Mr. Ben-Horin answered these questions indicating that under present conditions their attitude would not be co-operative.

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W. FONDILLER

March 5, 1946

Dear Dr. Silver:

I then brought them back to the suggestion made to them by Fondiller at the opening of the meeting that a sub-committee meet with Herbert Hoover, who could give them a great deal of information with regard to the sources which he used in studying the problem. This was agreed upon. The matter was left in Fondiller's hands who will contact Mr. Hoover (Hoover is out of town now and will be back by the middle of the month). The sub-committee will probably consist of Fondiller, Professor Bakhmeteff and Sporn.

This is as far as we went yesterday. I am meeting Colonel Elyachar this week and with Mr. Friedman's return from Washington, we may be able to formulate our next plans.

Very sincerely yours,

EBH:RW
cc: Mr. Harry L. Shapiro

Elisha Ben-Horin

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