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MEMORANDUM
FOR THE HON. HERBERT HOOVER

ON THE
AMERICAN RESETTLEMENT COMMITTEE
for Uprooted European Jewry

(f) Should the Palestinian Arabs persist in their objection to and obstruction of Jewish settlement in Palestine, a sound plan for the transfer of the Palestinian Arabs to Iraq could be evolved, which would be highly beneficial to the country of Iraq, to the Arab settlers from Palestine, and to a final solution of the Palestinian and Jewish problems. Transfers of populations will have to be undertaken in many regions of the world, in order to eliminate causes for future trouble and conflagrations. In the words of Herbert Hoover and Hugh Gibson in The Problems of Lasting Peace:

"In most cases the problem of mixed border peoples may have to be solved by the heroic remedy of transfer of populations. The hardship of moving is great, but it is less than the constant suffering of minorities and the constant recurrence of war."

ref 5:5

The Waldorf-Astoria
New York, New York
May 12, 1943

Dear George:

Wherein does this movement differ from the Zionist movement? It proposes just two things: to raise money to move refugees, and to move Arabs out of Palestine, neither of which can be done--in any event, until the war is over. And is that not too great a job for anybody but governments?

Mr. George Sokolsky
300 West End Avenue
New York, New York

ref 5:6

Letter from Herbert Hoover

THE JEWISH PROBLEM MUST BE SOLVED

Palestine for the Jews, Iraq for the Arabs—
And Peace in the Middle East

An End Can Be Put to the Arab-Jewish Conflict

There is room enough in Palestine for the Jews and the Arabs who live there today, for their children and children's children, and for additional millions of Jewish immigrants. The Jews are willing to live with the Arabs in peace and amity. Some Arabs are not. Whether insti-

gated by outside interested factors, or on their own initiative, these Arabs persist in creating friction, and cause periodic trouble and bloodshed. *The conflict between the Arabs and the Jews must be resolved for all time not through political devices, but on the basis of lasting economic well-being for both peoples.* We submit that such a basis exists in the project for an organized and voluntary transfer of the Palestinian Arabs to Iraq.

Jews to Palestine, Arabs to Iraq

Iraq is ancient Mesopotamia. It was once the granary of the world. The highly fertile soil of the valley of the Tigris and the Euphrates is still there. So are the waters of the two rivers. Millions of acres of the world's best cultivable land wait for the settler to come, live on it, feed himself and feed others. This vast, rich land, which is so sparsely populated, badly needs an influx of Arab peasants who would readily merge in the national organism of Iraq, without creating new problems of national minorities. There are, however, no such prospective immigrants outside of the Palestine Arab population.

The Soundest of All Transfers

In the past, the Greco-Turkish exchange of population, compulsory as it was, proved highly beneficial to both Turkey and Greece, to their mutual relations and to the 1,800,000 transferred Greeks and Turks. After this war, many transfers of population will have to be undertaken. In the words of Herbert Hoover and Hugh Gibson in *The Problems of Lasting Peace*: "In most cases the problem of mixed border peoples may have to be solved by the heroic remedy of transfer of populations. The hardship of moving is great, but it is less than the constant suffering of minorities and the constant recurrence of war." We do not hesitate to say that of all the transfers planned, the transfer of the uprooted Jews to Palestine and of the Palestinian Arabs to Iraq would serve the greatest humanitarian cause and would entail the least difficulty. By these far-reaching measures, the problems of Iraq, of the Palestinian Arabs and of European Jewry can be permanently and soundly solved.

A Plan of Action

The American Resettlement Committee for Uprooted European Jewry, comprising as it does Gentiles and Jews from all walks of life, proposes the following plan of action to all public-spirited Americans who wish to help in the rehabilitation of the Jews of Europe:

1. To collect and establish all the facts concerning the actual conditions of the uprooted European Jews.
2. To clarify and publicize the little-known facts about the absorptive capacities of both Palestine and Iraq.
3. To map detailed plans for the post-war mass-repatriation of European Jews to their legally established National Home.
4. To promote the creation of a new granary through the irrigation of the forsaken lands of the Tigris and the Euphrates, providing a powerful inducement to the Arab peasants of Palestine and Transjordan to settle in Iraq.
5. To explore the financial, engineering and juridical aspects of the resettlement projects.
6. To help create the necessary agencies for the resettlement of the uprooted European Jews in Palestine, and of Palestinian Arabs in Iraq.

New York Times. 4 October 1943

ref 5:13

ZIONEWS

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**THE AMERICAN RESETTLEMENT
COMMITTEE**

The American Resettlement Committee offers a sound and far-reaching plan of action to solve not only the Jewish problem in Europe, but also, in large measure, the Arab problem. The Committee has submitted to "transfer those Arabs of Palestine who prefer to live in a purely Arab State, to one of the rich and underpopulated Arab territories in the Middle East, preferably to Iraq which badly needs an influx of population for its present large-scale projects of irrigation and development." It has also pointed out that "this project would not avail a unilateral transfer of Arabs, but rather a Jewish-Arab exchange of populations, as several hundred thousands of Jews now living in Arab lands could be transferred to Palestine."

The plan will gain support. Exchange of Greek and Turkish populations on a similar scale, was effected in 1923 and 1924, leading to beneficial results for both Turkey and Greece. Exchange of Jewish and Arab populations, although on a much smaller scale, was advocated by the Peel Commission. Sir Norman Angell, Henry Morgenthau Sr. and noted political figures in Europe, expressed their approval of the proposal. Some twenty-five years ago, Israel Zangwill fought energetically for the same solution, only to be denied and scoffed at by a shortsighted Zionist leadership. Zangwill raised this demand before the convening of the last Peace Conference, stating that the most suitable time for exchange of populations is when a new world order is being planned. Now we face again such a situation and the same opportunity presents itself to us. It was at the right moment that the American Resettlement Committee brought the project to the fore.

ref 5:17

Nationalism is bad enough when it trusts in nothing but the rude force of the nation. A nationalism that necessarily and admittedly depends upon the force of a foreign nation is certainly worse. This is the threatened fate of Jewish nationalism and of the proposed Jewish State, surrounded inevitably by Arab states and Arab peoples. Even a Jewish majority in Palestine — nay, even a transfer of all Palestine Arabs, which is openly demanded by Revisionists — would not substantially change a situation in which Jews must either ask protection from an outside power against their neighbors or effect a working agreement with their neighbors.

ref 5:21

Hannah Arendt. "Zionism Reconsidered"

ref 5:23

Evidence given by Hanoch Kalay

מדיניות-חזק: מדיניות של כריתות עם מלכויות גויים ושכני גויים לשם עזרה צבאית וחיסול הגולה ע"י הקמת מלכות ישראל כחיל. פתרון בעיית הערבים במסלכת ישראל ע"י העברת האוכלוסים.

ref 5:24

Hanoch Kalay's proposals. October 1940

בְּכֹהֵן תֵּרָתָה

גליון ב' — חשון תש"א

עיקרי התחיה

ממשטם הזרים פתרון בעיית הזרים על ידי חלופי האוכלוסים.

ref 5:26

Bamachteret. 1940

[illegible]

ref 5:30

Commentary by Israel Eldad

מסמכי לופטק בימים 17.3.1939 - 14
מרים עם הסולטן נשה אל אסד ושליחין

1. טרנספר של חדרונים מאיי לג'בל דרוז - הסולטן כנס את ראשי
הדרוזים בג'בל וסחור הסכם איתם מציע לנו לקנות את כפר
הדרוזים בארץ-ישראל (18 - 12 כפרים) ולהעביר את הדרוזים
לג'בל עימ לישיב אותם שם. לדעתו החצקה הזו תתקבל על דעת
הדרוזים באיי - תסיב עמם, תביא תועלת לג'בל אל דרוז -
באשר בכספיים שיקבלו תתייחסו בעד הכפרים באיי אפשר לא
רק לישיב את הדרוזים האיי אלא לעשות מפעל גדול לפתוח הג'בל
ולקדומו. אדמת הג'בל ממשיקה ליותר מ-15,000 חדרונים אשר
בארץ-ישראל.

ליהודים עלולים הכפרים האלה להביא תועלת רבה - גם מטעם
טיב הקרקע וגם מבחינת מצבם הגיאוגרפי והאסטרטגי. טרנספר
זה עלול גם לדעתו להיות לדוגמא ולעזובה פוליטית חשובה
בארץ-ישראל.

ref 6:1

Report of Abba Hushi on his journey to Damascus. March 1939

My Dear Dr. Goldmann,

April 28th, 1939.

There is another matter of extreme importance which I
would like you to bring to the notice of Justice Brandeis and that is the
possibility of acquisition of a large tract of land belonging to the Druses as
per enclosed map. I need hardly point out to you that if this land could be
acquired, the whole problem of Upper Galilee would be definitely settled. This
would give us a territory almost contiguous from the Hulah down to Rehovot, which
in its size almost equals the territory allotted to us by the Peel Report.
Incidentally the Druse, who are a small minority in this country are very uneasy
in view of the new British policy. They are not only willing to divest them-
selves of the lands, but also to migrate to the Jebel Druse and join their
brethren in Syria. The realisation of this project would mean the emigration
of 10,000 Arabs, the acquisition of 300,000 dunams and the creation of a block
ranging from Hulah through the Emek down the Coastal Plain to Beer-Tuviah, with
a reserve of land which would enable us to work quietly for the next five or ten
years, without any fear of whatever restrictions the British Government might
contemplate.

It would relieve us of a great many of our political
troubles for a long time to come and by consolidating our holdings in Upper
Galilee, Hulah and the Coastal Plain we would be able easily to expand further
when the time comes. It would also create a significant precedent if 10,000
Arabs were to emigrate peacefully of their own volition, which no doubt would
be followed by others, and I believe that the President's suggestion of a large
loan for the transmigration of Arabs from Palestine to Iraq would then become
a realizable project.

ref 6:5

Letter from Weizmann to Solomon Goldman

הסוכנות היהודית לארץ ישראל

י"ד אייר תרצ"ט
3.5.39 ירושלים

ס ו ד י

אל: - ה' א. קפלן

מאת: - א. אפשטיין

הנדון: תזכיר על חירושים בא"י ותכנית העברת
מהארץ לג'בל דרוז.

החלק השני של התזכיר הרצוף מכיל הערות לתכנית בדבר
העברת חירושים הארצישראלים לג'בל דרוז. היה נכוונתי להבהיר
בהערות אלו את יחסם האפשרי לתכנית זו של החירושים הארצישראלים
בא"י והשלטונות האנגלים - מכאן, וחירושים מג'בל דרוז והשלטונות
הצרפתים - מכאן.

ref 6:6

א.א.

Letter from Eliahu Epstein to Eliezer Kaplan.
3 May 1939

הבוקר אכן היה מלאוויס, חם מעט, אולם לא ירונות
המזג האוויר, אלא גו בהלל, וזאת א הפלג היורה והוא יצאנו אלה כל
המקור. חיים נכנסו הבוקר א אלה, חזני מילסמן המלך, קצת
גורמים אלה המים בהודק רבה לעתיד והבליח זכרם.

ref 6:14

Moshe Shertok (Sharett). Diary entry. 28 May 1939

זח ז' - 31.5.39

הבוקר אכן אכן, יורה גו ביום; אולם לא התקיימו הדיונים
לשם ה"תקנת מים". הבליח ליתר גתן זה אלא האמן בסודיה.
התקנה מתיי וזאת בלום מסינו דמיון א מתיי התקן בסייסי.

ref 6:15

Moshe Shertok (Sharett). Diary entry. 31 May 1939

זח א' - 4.6.39

לפני השקים מתיי מ ו-למן, בחוץ הבלו מתיי רבה גתני
הדיונים, גם יחס א רחב קי' ק'אורס חיוכי. המלכו הנוריד
הוא לתקנת הוואו אלא האמן בבירות מתיי נהואסני הבלו
מתיי יתן גו קצת וזכה.

ref 6:16

Moshe Shertok (Sharett). Diary entry. 4 June 1939

[illegible]

ענין ג' י"ל נחמל בזמן ג' בשיטתו עם ראש ^{הממשלה} המלכותי בלונדון ועומד בראש
המשרד העברי. הוא נחשב לאחד מגדולי המהוריסים בלונדון ועומד בראש
המחלקה המנהלית לראש המחלקה ^{המלכותית} המלכותית. כהני חזקו עם המלכה מאת
הממשלה עתה-לילה חורג. בדבריו על המשרד בלונדון עולה בין חורג-ישראל
המוריד והלונדון המהוריס חזקו. המלכות וביניהם כרב אפי' כיש להחזיר
יחד - ג' י"ל נחמל. יש הכרה לפניהם המלכותי המלכותי, המהוריס
מבא המלכה לעם המלכות, וראש המשרד בלונדון המהוריס עם המלכות
המלכותית ועודו לכן המלכה נחמל ואשכנזי.

[illegible]